Maryland State Roads Civil Rights Context

Prepared for:

MARYLAND DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
STATE HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

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List of Abbreviations

ACCESS	Access Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs
ACT UP	AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AIM	American Indian Movement
ASCO	American Store Company
BCHRM	Baltimore County Human Relations Commission
BHA	Baltimore Housing Authority
BUL	Baltimore Urban League
CCJ	Citizens Committee on Justice
CIG	Civic Interest Group
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations
CNAC	Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DBCA	Dorchester Business and Citizens Association
DOE	Determination of Eligibility
DRUM	Democratic Radical Union of Maryland
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
ESP	Eastern Shore Project
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
GSU	Georgia State University
HBCU	Historically Black College and University
ICRA	Indian Civil Rights Act
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MHT	Maryland Historical Trust
MIHP	Maryland Inventory of Historic Places
MNG	Maryland National Guard
MPDF	Multiple Property Documentation Form
MSC	Morgan State College
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAAWP	National Association for the Advancement of White People
NAG	Nonviolent Student Action Group
NCAI	National Congress of American Indians
NCC	National Council of Churches
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NIYC	National Indian Youth Council
NOW	National Organization for Women
NPS	National Park Service
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
NSM	Northern Student Movement
NUL	National Urban League
RFC	Rescue and Fire Company

SAFE	Student Appeal for Equality
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SPSS	Special Protocol Service Section
SSC	Salisbury State College
UMES	University of Maryland Eastern Shore
YAWF	Youth Against War and Fascism
YPM	Young Progressives of Maryland

Introduction

SHA commissioned this report to more consistently identify and evaluate certain classes of historic properties, particularly linear resources, as part of compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and its implementing regulations, particularly 36 C.F.R. 800.4 ("Identification of Historic Properties"). The civil rights movement in the twentieth century created substantial changes in the demographics and patterning of resources in Maryland. The transformations of this era created associations among significant events, historical patterns, and persons with sites, districts, and buildings. A uniform, but flexible framework to characterize and evaluate integrity, significance, and effects of these resources is needed when planning transportation projects on Maryland State Roads.

This context presents resources associated with civil rights activities along Maryland roadways and linear civil rights resources in general. Other contexts in Maryland have investigated civil rights activities in the state, but none have addressed resource types specifically in relation to roads and corridors. Linear civil rights resources present a particular challenge for transportation agencies. Roadways were often the setting for activities such as marches and motorcades, and frequently involved demonstrations in the streets themselves. In other cases, the highway forms a notable connection between civil rights resources associated with the path of a demonstration. Investigating long corridors for civil rights associations is impractical on a project-by-project basis, where impacts are typically limited to small segments. Adding to the challenge, current scholarship on identifying civil rights resources employs a variety of terms and definitions to describe civil rights activities and their associated physical resources.

The context provides an overview of civil rights demonstrations in Maryland involving a range of groups, and it draws on new research and existing documentation to establish a shared vocabulary with which to identify and define civil rights demonstrations in Maryland and elsewhere. Finally, it identifies specific resources along Maryland roadways that are likely to be encountered during highway projects. The context focuses on the period from 1942 to the present day with an emphasis on demonstrations that occurred 30 or more years ago.

Informed by the history of civil rights demonstrations in Maryland and the specific resources identified in the context, a framework is established herein for early identification of important resources, their significant aspects, and project elements that are either likely or unlikely to affect the integrity of such resources. Use of the context will lead to better informed, more sound transportation decisions, improving both efficiency and consistency in identification and evaluation in the planning process.

RGA completed this context report under contract with RK&K, an engineering and planning firm based in Baltimore, as part of an SHA-funded study. SHA contracted RK&K and RGA to complete the study in accordance with Contract No. 2021-20 A and the 1986 Specifications for Consulting Engineers Service Manual–Section IV.

At RGA, Robbie D. Jones served as the principal senior architectural historian and primary author. Architectural historians Mary Cate Mosher and Sydney Schoof contributed to the report research and text. Mr. Jones, Ms. Mosher, and Ms. Schoof are based in RGA's Tennessee branch office in Nashville. At SHA, Matt Manning served as the consultant architectural historian and a contributing author.

Part 1: Historic Context

This historic context focuses on civil rights in Maryland in the mid-to-late twentieth century with an emphasis on four diverse groups of people: African Americans, women, Native Americans, and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community. A section is devoted to each group with detailed information on specific places associated with civil rights resources. An additional section covers civil rights events not directly connected to these four groups. Overall, the context focuses on a period from the 1940s into the 1990s.

The section on African American civil rights is divided into four overlapping periods: the early civil rights movement (1941–1956), the Maryland student movement (1955–1964), a flash point (1963), and Maryland after the Civil Rights Act (1964–1971). In the twentieth century, Maryland played a leading and pivotal role in the American civil rights movement, therefore this section is the most comprehensive in the report. This section provides context for a variety of events and places from lunch counters and movie theaters to swimming pools and amusement parks. It also includes in-depth histories of specific demonstrations, marches, and protests.

The women's rights section focuses on the women's equality movement in the late 1970s and the abortion-rights movement in the 1980s. This section provides context for three specific protest rallies held in Salisbury, Towson, and Annapolis from 1979–1985.

The section of Native American rights provides context for The Longest Walk, which traversed Maryland in 1978. Playing a high-profile role in the American Indian Movement, during this months-long demonstration Native Americans marched from San Francisco, California, to Washington, DC, with several stops in Maryland. Likewise, the LGBT rights section provides context for a protest rally held at the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) headquarters in Rockville in 1988.

Other demonstrations associated with civil rights addressed in this context include an anti-bias march around the Capital Beltway in 1966, a fair housing protest in Baltimore in 1969, and anti-Vietnam War protests at College Park from 1970–1972.

This context attempts to provide a broad overview of Maryland's significant role in the struggle for civil rights for many groups of people and to shed light on noteworthy people and places that have received little attention. Some of the events and places documented in this context are well-known; however, many are not. And in a few cases, the stories are being told here for the first time.

1.1. African American Civil Rights

Founded in 1634 as an English colony, Maryland, like other southern English colonies, was overwhelmingly rural with large agricultural operations dependent upon the labor of enslaved Black people. Maryland's early settlements clustered along waterways that empty into Chesapeake Bay. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Maryland's heavily plantation-based economy was centered mostly on the cultivation of tobacco. Enslaved Black people also labored in iron furnaces and coal mines, harvested wheat on farmsteads, and worked in Baltimore's shipyards.[1]

Unlike other southern states, Maryland had a large population of free Blacks—over 85,000 in 1860—the largest concentrations of which lived in cities such as Annapolis and Baltimore, where over 90 percent of the 27,000 Black people were free in 1860. Federick Douglass (1818–1895) and Harriet Tubman (1822–1913)—two of the most famous Black abolitionists—escaped enslavement in Maryland. The northernmost southern state, Maryland did not secede during the American Civil War, although its residents were deeply divided over slavery. Due to its proximity to Washington, DC and Virginia, Maryland was strategically located and played an important role in the war. Since the state did not secede from the Union, the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) on January 1, 1863, did not apply to Maryland. However, Maryland abolished slavery on November 1, 1864.[2]

In the decades after the end of the Civil War through the 1930s, African American leaders in Maryland focused on advancing educational resources, political engagement, housing, business opportunities, and cultural activities for Black citizens. These successful developments emerged in the shadow of increasing Jim Crow segregation laws and threats of violence, resulting into a divided state where African Americans consistently received fewer public resources and were excluded from planning decisions about Maryland's future development.

Early examples of civil rights activism occurred in Baltimore, the largest city in Maryland. In 1885, a group of Baptist ministers founded the Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty with the mission "to use all legal means within our power to procure and maintain our rights as citizens of this our common country." The group waged campaigns against the state's "Black laws" such as prohibition on interracial marriage and for improved educational opportunities and worker's conditions. In the late nineteenth century, the Black community established over 30 newspapers that reported on racial injustices. Founded in 1892 by John H. Murphy Sr. (1840–1922), the *Afro-American* became one of the most important newspapers in the American civil rights movement. In 1912, Black residents formed

[1] "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," Pamphlet, 2008, at the Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland Annapolis, Maryland, 1–13.
[2] Maryland State Archives and University of Maryland College Park, "Slavery," 2008, 14–17; Jim Carrier. *A Traveler's Guide to the Civil Rights Movement.* Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc., 2004, 340.

the Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), then the nation's leading civil rights organization.[3]

During the 1910s and 1920s, Black Marylanders focused on the "uplift" of poor and working-class residents, many of whom lived in sharply defined racially segregated neighborhoods, partially the result of a 1911 municipal ordinance—the nation's first—designed to establish segregated white and Black residential blocks. Throughout the state, towns and cities established churches, schools, and colleges to build improved Black communities. Other community anchors included hospitals, clubhouses, libraries, facilities for the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations, and meeting halls for mutual aid societies.[4]

In February 1913, Black women attempted to join the 230-mile-long Suffrage Hike from New York City to meet with President-elect Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) at Washington, DC. Led by Rosalie Gardiner Jones (1883–1978), the Suffrage Hike—the second held in the U.S. to draw attention to the suffrage cause—followed U.S. 1 through Maryland with overnight stops in Baltimore, Laurel, and Hyattsville. Black suffragists attempted to join the hike at Laurel, in Prince George's County, but were rebuffed by Jones. The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 marked a new era for the civil rights movement in Maryland as "women grew in power and visibility as activists and organizers during this period" and "helped shape the movement throughout the twentieth century." Additionally, Black leaders challenged residential displacements, restrictions, and other obstacles that had created segregated Black communities in cities throughout the state.[5]

In the mid-1930s, Black leaders in Maryland advocated for increased educational and economic opportunities. The NAACP led the way, and Baltimore became the center for civil rights protests. In 1935, Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993), a Black attorney in Baltimore, and Charles Hamilton Houston (1895–1950), dean of the law school at Howard University in Washington, DC, won a lawsuit in the Baltimore Circuit Court on behalf of Donald Gaines Murray (1914–1986) against Raymond A. Pearson (1873–1939), president of the University of Maryland, and other administrative staff to desegregate the public university's all-white law school in Baltimore. The Baltimore branch of the NAACP had hired Marshall and Houston to represent Murray and the Baltimore chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. The university appealed the *Pearson, et al v. Murray* decision to the Maryland Supreme Court in Annapolis, which affirmed the lower court's decision. Murray entered the University of Maryland in the fall of 1936 and graduated three years later in the top third of his class. The *Pearson,*

[3] Eli Pousson and Nicole Diehlmann, "Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland, 1831–1976," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2023), 37–45.

[4] Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023: 46–51, 55–66; Waldo E. Martin Jr. and Patricia Sullivan, eds. *Civil Rights in the United States*, Vol. 2. (New York, NY: MacMillan Reference USA, 2000), 456.

[5] Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023: 55–66; Martin and Sullivan, *Civil Rights*, 2000, 456; "Pilgrims in Sight of National Capital," *Brooklyn Eagle*, February 27, 1913: 5. Participants in the 1913 Suffrage Hike stopped in the Overlea community in northeast Baltimore.

et al v. Murray decision marked the first legal victory in desegregating all-white public universities in the nation.[6]

Marshall and Murray soon relocated to New York City to work as attorneys for the NAACP, where they led efforts to dismantle Jim Crow laws throughout the U.S. In December 1936, they filed a pro bono lawsuit on behalf of William B. Gibbs Jr. (1905–1984), principal at the Rockville Colored Elementary School, against Edwin W. Broome (1885–1956), superintendent of the Montgomery County school board, for equal pay for Black schoolteachers. The case made news throughout the state. In February 1937, a bill was introduced in the General Assembly to equalize teachers' salaries statewide; however, the bill died in committee. Marshall and Murray argued the case in June 1937 at the Montgomery County Courthouse (M:26-11-1; NRHP, 1986). In July 1937, the school board settled out of court and agreed to increase pay for Black schoolteachers throughout the county.[7]

The *Gibbs v. Broome* case assisted the NAACP in setting a precedent for other legal cases that challenged *Plessy v. Ferguson* which had established the "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896. The *Gibbs v. Broome* decision also assisted in laying the groundwork that led to the landmark U.S. Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that in 1954 desegregated the nation's public schools. The *Gibbs v. Broome* case was also foundational for the struggle for women's pay equity and became part of the yet to be ratified 1972 Equal Rights Amendment.[8]

A series of brutal lynchings of Black men in Salisbury and Princess Anne in 1931 galvanized Black leaders towards aggressive activism and mass movements. During the early 1930s, residents of Baltimore initiated a mass movement calling for anti-lynching legislation and organizing against police violence. On October 18, 1933, the leaders of an angry mob of 1,000 white people dragged a 23-year-old Black man named George Armwood from the Somerset County Jail in Princess Anne, lynched him, and burned his corpse from a pole on the lawn of the Somerset County Courthouse (S-91; NRHP, 1980). Armwood had been accused of assaulting a 71-year-old white woman. The gruesome

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[6] Smith, "Civil Rights," 2008: 88–100; Pearson, et al v. Murray, 182 A. 590, 169 Md. 478, 103 A.L.R. 706 No. 53. January 15, 1936; University of Maryland, "Donald Gaines Murray and the Integration of the University of Maryland School of Law." 2024. https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/specialcollections/murray/; John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 131–132, 152; Martin and Sullivan, *Civil Rights*, 2000, 456. After graduating from the University of Maryland, Murray joined a law firm in Baltimore and was involved in several legal cases that led to the desegregation of graduate programs at the University of Maryland.

[7] Jerry Klinger, "William B. Gibbs Jr.'s Fight for Equal Schools," *San Diego Jewish World,* March 22, 2019. https://www.sdjewishworld.com/2019/03/22/william-b-gibbs-jr-s-fight-for-equal-schools/; "Opening Gun Fired in War to Equalize Teachers' Pay," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 12, 1936: 16; "They May Win $500,000 Per Year," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), June 12, 1937: 14; "Chronology of Teachers' Salary Case," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), July 31, 1937: 9. The Rockville Colored Elementary School, no longer extant, was a Rosenwald-funded school. Broome was chair of the Montgomery County School Board. In 1938, the school board fired Gibbs. That same year, Marshall was appointed the chief legal counsel for the NAACP after Houston returned to private practice. Black teachers in Baltimore had won salary equalization in 1926.

[8] Klinger, "Gibbs," 2019.

murder sent shock waves across the region and into Washington, DC, where members of Congress were considering antilynching legislation. "Decades of legal and political advocacy by the Brotherhood of Liberty, Maryland Suffrage League, and others prevented the mass disenfranchisement found in other Southern towns and cities," stated historians with Baltimore Heritage. "But, despite efforts by the new local branch of the NAACP, discriminatory policies and racial prejudice by white leadership frustrated the ambitions of Black Baltimoreans seeking equal treatment by city, state, or private employers." The editor of the *Afro-American* declared in 1933 that Baltimore was a "border city with Southern feelings."[9]

During the Great Depression, Black leaders gained "some support from white neighbors, including communists, progressive reformers, and, after 1935, labor organizers with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), who were seeking better working conditions and more equitable hiring." The early 1930s was a period when labor and freedom movements worked closely together in Baltimore, which at the time was home to the fourth largest center of Black population in the U.S.[10]

In September 1933, Prophet Kiowa Costonie (1904–1972), a charismatic revivalist minister, and Juanita Jackson Mitchell (1913–1992), a cofounder of the City-Wide Young People's Forum in 1931, launched a "Buy Where You Can Work" direct-action campaign in Baltimore that resulted in boycotts and picket lines against white business owners who refused to hire Black workers, many of whom were unemployed. The businesses consisted of large chain stores such as A&P and American Store Company (ASCO), and small businesses, primarily owned by local Jewish merchants. The boycotts focused on the 1700 block of Pennsylvania Avenue in the commercial heart of the Black community in northwest Baltimore (B-1373; NRHP, 2004). The 1700 block was composed primarily of theaters, nightclubs, and a variety of retail stores. The campaign was inspired by similar demonstrations that had occurred in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and New York.[11]

Soon religious ministers, housewives, young activists, and prominent leaders such as Thurgood Marshall and Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson (1889–1975), a pioneer civil rights activist who organized the

[9] C. Fraser Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow: Civil Rights in Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 71–77; Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965: The Great Depression and World War II," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, 2024. https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1930-1965/.

[10] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 81.

[11] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Andor D. Skotnes, "The Black Freedom Movement and the Worker's Movement in Baltimore, 1930–1939," (PhD diss, Rutger's University, 1991), 216–224; Spencer David Tyrus, "Prophet Kiowa Costonie in Baltimore from 1933–1934," (master's thesis, Morgan State University, 2001), 27–54; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 81–87; Fred B. Shoken, "Old West Baltimore Historic District (B-1373)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2004), as amended in 2024 by Nicole A. Diehlmann. The City-Wide Young People's Forum was cofounded in 1931 by Juanita Jackson Mitchell and her sister Virginia Jackson Kiah (1911–2001). Meeting in churches, the forum consisted of high school and college students. From 1935–1938, Juanita Jackson Mitchell served as the NAACP's National Youth Director. In 1950, she became the first Black woman to graduate from the University of Maryland's law school. After graduating from Columbia University in 1950, Virginia Jackson Kiah moved in 1951 to Savannah, Georgia, where she operated an art museum. The 1700 block of Pennsylvania Avenue is in the Old West Baltimore Historic District.

Baltimore branch of the NAACP, became involved. (Lillie C. Jackson was the mother of Juanita Jackson Mitchell.) Costonie led mass meetings with hundreds of attendees and mass marches as part of the demonstrations. The campaign received little support from white people except for the interracial Baltimore unit of the Communist Party, which advocated for Black and white workers. Campaign leaders in Baltimore worked closely with the New Negro Alliance to launch a Buy Where You Can Work campaign in Washington, DC.[12]

During the 1933 Christmas shopping season, "Pennsylvania Avenue was transformed from a shopping district to one continual mass demonstration site." The picket lines consisted of as many as 200 people picketing some 75 businesses for 8 days (Figure 1). As temperatures turned colder, the pickets turned contentious and violent, and campaign leadership became fragmented. On December 15, 1933, white and Jewish business owners successfully sued for a legal injunction to bring an abrupt end to the increasingly combative picket lines. Nevertheless, the short-lived 1933 Baltimore "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign resulted in business owners hiring dozens of Black clerks at several stores along the 1700 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, such as A&P, ASCO, Max Meyer's Shoe Store, and Goodman's Five and Dime Store.[13]

Two years later, in 1935, NAACP attorney Charles H. Houston and Carl J. Murphy (1889–1967), editor of the Baltimore *Afro-American* newspaper, convinced Lillie C. Jackson to take over as president of the Baltimore branch of the NAACP, which she continued to lead for the next 35 years. Beginning in 1935, Murphy and Jackson rallied an army of local volunteers, students, and activists to join the burgeoning civil rights movement in Baltimore.[14]

The 1940s and 1950s brought new opportunities along with new challenges for Maryland's African American community. Local events placed Maryland on the national stage for race relations in different ways. These included a first-of-its-kind protest march at the state capital and protest demonstrations at drugstore lunch counters and a movie theater in Baltimore. During these years, the leadership of Black educators, ministers, newspaper editors, and civic leaders positioned Maryland for a nonviolent, interracial civil rights student movement that would emerge in the early 1960s.

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[12] Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 84–85; Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Skotnes, "Worker's Movement," 216–224; Tyrus. "Prophet," 2001, 27–54. Costonie, a faith healer originally from Utah, left Baltimore in 1934 and moved to Harlem. In the 1950s he worked as a faith healer in Atlanta, Nashville, Little Rock, Louisville, Reno, and San Francisco. He settled in Chicago in the 1960s.

[13] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Skotnes, "Worker's Movement," 220–236; "Baltimore Picketers Boycott Stores; Methodist Bishops Speak Out in Capital," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 16, 1933: 24; "Kiwah Costonie Leads Baltimore's "Buy Where You Can Work" Program," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 16, 1933: 1; Tyrus, "Prophet," 2001, 55–68. Black attorneys fought a losing battle against the injunction for two years. White business owners won an injunction to stop the simultaneous pickets in Washington, DC.; however, NAACP attorneys representing the New Negro Alliance appealed the decision to the US Supreme Court, which overturned the injunction.

[14] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 88.

BUY WHERE YOU CAN WORK PROGRAM HITS PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE—With scores of Baltimore boys and girls under the direction Prophet K. Costonie, doing double picket duty, stores stocked with Christmas goods put out their pickets to attract buyers. Inset, Jacob Bagget, who was arrested Friday night when he asked a storekeeper whether colored help was employed there. The Young People's Forum put up $101.45 for Mr. Bagget.

Figure 1. Photograph of the "Buy Where You Can Work" picket on Baltimore's Pennsylvania Avenue (Source: *Afro-American*, December 16, 1933, 24).

1.1.1 Early Civil Rights Movement, 1941–1956

World War II had a profound impact on the civil rights movement in Maryland, particularly in Baltimore, then the nation's seventh-largest city with a population of over 859,000 people, of which nearly 166,000 were Black. New coalitions were formed to combat Jim Crow discrimination and segregation in housing, schools, employments, and public accommodations. The Baltimore branch of the NAACP—the second largest in the nation—joined forces with the Baltimore Urban League (BUL), and the CIO. Carl Murphy, editor of the *Afro-American* newspaper, joined other Black newspaper editors along with the NAACP-Baltimore and Black churches in embracing the "Double V" campaign, which sought victory over fascism abroad and victory over racial injustice at home. The Double V campaign mobilized support for equal rights protests regarding housing and police brutality throughout the duration of the war.[15]

[15] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Martin and Sullivan, *Civil Rights*, 2000, 456; Carroll P. Kakel III, "Fighting Hitler and Jim Crow: Baltimore Activists, Equal Rights, and World War II, 1941–45," *Journal of Civil and Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2020), 53–55; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 82–83.

> This all-out charge by Black activists—and not a few white allies—included wartime employment, public accommodations, direct political action, housing, and racial unity campaigns. In wartime Baltimore, the city's neighborhoods, defense plants, theaters, parks, and department stores became contested sites, where its Black and white citizens played out the racial politics of Jim Crow segregationist culture. In the end, most white Baltimoreans chose to resist changes to the local Jim Crow racial status quo and to keep Baltimore a Jim Crow city. Yet, despite defeat in the war against Jim Crow, Baltimore's Black activists gained much from the lessons and legacies of their wartime equal-rights struggle. In many ways, wartime protest and confrontation, in the Baltimore case, was a 'turning point' in the local equal-rights struggle—forging interracial alliances, reshaping local (and ultimately state and regional) politics, and laying the foundation for the eventual defeat of Jim Crow in its northernmost outpost. Well before the emergence of a national civil rights movement, Baltimore had already entered the modern civil rights movement phase of its centuries-long Black freedom struggle.[16]

Baltimore evolved into a wartime "boom town" due to its steel, shipbuilding, aircraft, and electronics industries, which supported the military defense efforts with government contracts. During the peak war years, industries increased their employment substantially. In December 1940, the CIO and its partners in Baltimore launched a campaign to force the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company to hire and train skilled Black workers. Under pressure the company began hiring Blacks in late 1941. Strikes, a "near riot," and other protests led to increased employment opportunities. Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyards and Western Electric together had over 10,000 Black employees. By the end of the war, Black employees held nearly 18 percent of the city's wartime manufacturing jobs.[17]

The wartime campaigns for Baltimore's defense industries to hire Black employees were linked to the March on Washington Movement, organized in January 1941 by activist A. Phillip Randolph (1889–1979), a Black labor union leader, to pressure the federal government into providing fair working opportunities for Black people and to desegregate the armed forces. Randolph was assisted by Black activist Bayard Rustin (1912–1987), the NAACP, the National Urban League (NUL), and others. Randolph threatened to lead a mass protest march with 100,000 people on the nation's capital in July 1941; however, he cancelled the march when President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) issued an executive order in June 1941 that prohibited racial discrimination in the defense industry under contract to federal agencies. Randolph continued the March on Washington Movement until 1947.[18]

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[16] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 53.
[17] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 55–57; Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024.
[18] Jessie Kindig, "March on Washington Movement (1941–1947)," *BlackPast*, December 6, 2007. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/march-washington-movement-1941-1947/. The U.S. armed forces were not desegregated until 1948, under President Harry S. Truman. The March on Washington Movement served as a

The following section provides an overview of 8 specific events that shaped the early civil rights movement in Maryland from 1941–1956.

1.1.1.1 March-on-Annapolis, April 1942

On February 1, 1942, Edward Richard Bender Sr. (1905–1964), a white Baltimore police officer, shot Pvt. Thomas Edward Broadus (1916–1942), a uniformed Black soldier in the U.S. Army stationed at Fort George G. Meade (AA-34). Broadus was taken to Fort Meade Hospital, where he died of a gunshot wound to his liver. Broadus was reportedly trying to hail an unlicensed taxi with his friends on Pennsylvania Avenue when Bender confronted the men. When Broadus attempted to leave the scene, Bender shot him in the back. Two years prior, Bender shot and killed Charles Parker, a Black man, during a scuffle. He was exonerated in both cases. The killing of Broadus led to outrage from the city's Black community, then numbering around 160,000 people. The Asco Club, a local Black social organization, appointed Dr. John E. T. Camper (1897–1977), a prominent physician and activist, to reach out to Lillie C. Jackson, president of the NAACP-Baltimore, about investigating the shooting of Broadus. The Asco Club and NAACP bracketed the investigation with the March on Washington Movement, then underway in Washington, DC.[19]

As part of their investigation into the killing of Broadus, Jackson, Dr. Camper, and other Black activists founded the interracial Citizen's Committee for Justice (CCJ), chaired by Carl Murphy. Juanita Jackson Mitchell served as the director and Rev. E. W. White Sr., pastor of Provident Baptist Church, as the secretary. Represented by 150 organizations, the CCJ planned a march from Baltimore to the state capital in Annapolis to protest the criminal injustice and police brutality of Black residents by white police officers. Lillie C. Jackson's home at 1226 Druid Hill Avenue in northwest Baltimore served as the offices for the CCJ and the NAACP-Baltimore.[20]

The "March-on-Annapolis" was planned to take place on Friday, April 24, 1942. The night before, the CCJ and NAACP-Baltimore held a mass meeting at the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church

model for the 1963 March on Washington where Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

[19] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 77–79; Emmanuel Mehr, "The March on Annapolis and the Struggle against Police Brutality, 1942," *Baltimore Histories Weekly*, January 20, 2024. https://baltimorehistories.substack.com/p/the-march-on-annapolis-and-the-struggle; Valerie Gibson, "Thomas Edward Broadus," Ancestry.com, 2024. https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/10514456/person/342335493289/facts; "City Policeman Faces Fatal Shooting Charges: Patrolman Edward Bender Held in Death of Negro During Fight," *Baltimore Sun*, February 15, 1940, 20; "Policeman Exonerated In Shooting Of Negro," *Baltimore Sun*, February 22, 1940: 22; E. A. Harleston, "Your Neighbor: Brief Sketches of Fellow Baltimoreans You Should Know," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 22, 1943: 15; Dr. J. E. T. Camper, "Oral History Interview by Charles Wagandt," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, July 2, 1976, 3-23; Juanita Jackson Mitchell, "Oral History Interview by Leroy Graham," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, December 9, 1976, 40-45. A native of Georgia, in 1938 Thomas E. Broadus married Estelle Elizabeth White (1919–1994) in Pittsburgh, where they lived.

[20] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Mehr, "March on Annapolis," 2024; Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 63; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 83–85.

(B-2963; NRHP, 1982) at the intersection of Dolphin and Etting streets in northwest Baltimore. The meeting's key speaker was Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (1908–1972), a New York City councilman, civil rights activist, and pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. Some 1,200 people crowded the sanctuary with another 400 listening via outdoor loudspeakers.[21]

"When you march on Annapolis, you're doing something history-making which will echo throughout the world, because colored people have said: 'To hell with the world; we are not going to stand for this any longer,'" stated Rev. Powell. "I have never been so alarmed by the number of police brutalities I have heard about here tonight." "There's a new Negro emerging today," he continued. "Two years ago it would not have happened here in Baltimore, but today we've had enough—we've gotten up nerve to March on Annapolis and we don't give a damn what happens. We believe it is better to die fighting for freedom than to live a slave." The audience "went wild." "Every colored Baltimorean should be in this march—whether he crawls, walks or rides," argued Powell. "Whether he has to work or not, he ought to march to Annapolis." Black ministers also encouraged members of their congregations to take the day off from work and join the march.[22]

"If we are willing to march on Berlin and Tokyo, we must be willing to march on Annapolis first," Leon Ransom (1900–1954), an attorney with the NAACP and dean of the Howard University Law School, told the crowd. "If we're going to fight for this country, let's make it a country worth fighting for." The meeting closed with statements from Lillie C. Jackson and her daughter Juanita Jackson Mitchell, who made appeals for donations to help fund the trip. Over $800 was raised to cover transportation costs. A local church choir sang "Tramping for Justice," written specially for the march by S. Otis Swann.[23]

Dr. Camper, who lived at 639 North Carey Street, served as the chairman of the CCJ's transportation committee tasked with organizing protestors to travel from Baltimore to Annapolis. Fired up by the mass meeting held the night before, the group of protestors—numbering from 1,800 to 2,000 people and representing some 150 groups—gathered at the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church before making the 25-mile trip on 20 chartered buses and 50 private automobiles (Figure 2). Some reportedly walked to Annapolis. The caravan of chartered buses and automobiles most likely traveled along the recently completed Governor Ritchie Highway (AA-4), originally called Annapolis Boulevard, a state highway (MD 2) completed from 1934–1939, from downtown Baltimore to downtown Annapolis. Funded mainly with New Deal infrastructure funds, the scenic route was Maryland's first divided state highway. Within Baltimore, the caravan likely followed Druid Hill Avenue or Pennsylvania Avenue to

[21] "Die Fighting: We Won't Stand Abuse Any Longer, Powell Tells 1,200," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 2, 1942: 10; In 1944, Powell became the first Black person elected to the U.S. Congress from the Northeast, representing Harlem from 1945–1971.
[22] *Afro-American*, "Die Fighting," 1942: 10; "U.S. Urged to Strike Down Cops Who Draw Guns on Soldiers," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 2, 1924: 9.
[23] *Afro-American*, "Die Fighting," 1942: 10; *Afro-American*, "Cops," 1942: 9.

Hanover Street (MD 2). Within Annapolis, the caravan likely followed MD 2 (now MD 450) along King Street and College Avenue to the Maryland State House.[24]

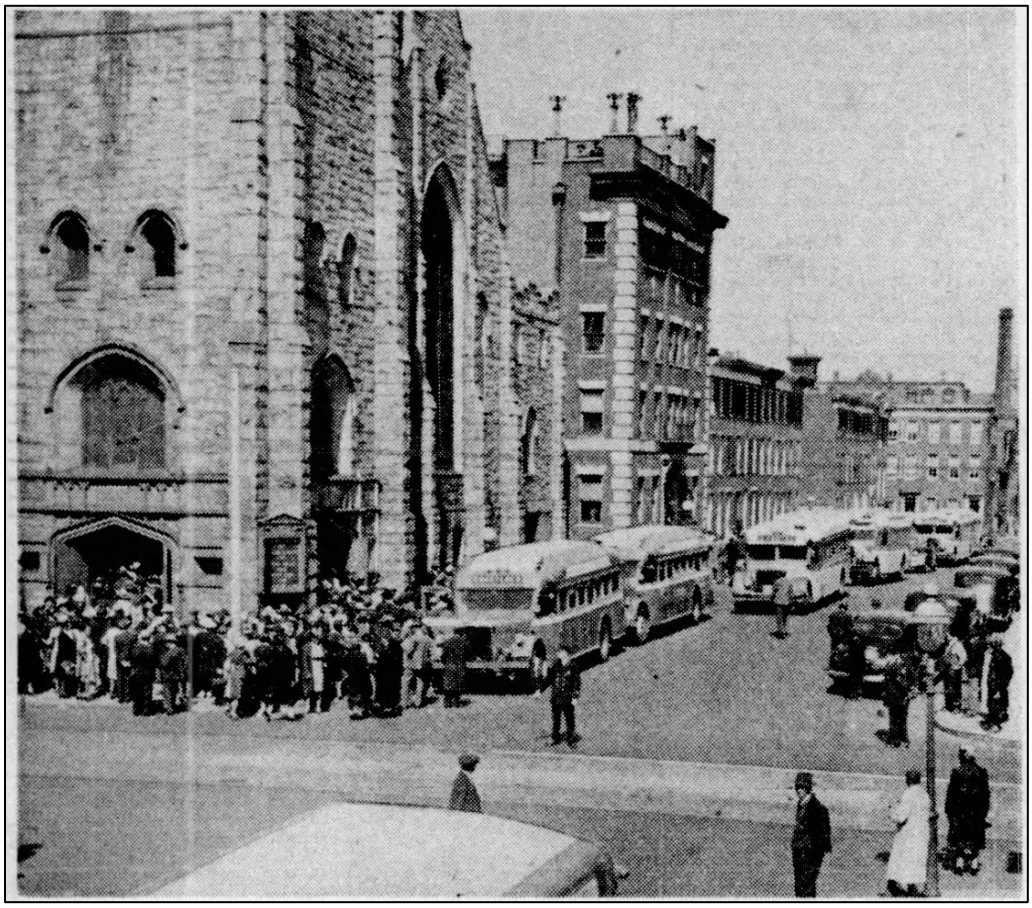

Figure 2. Photograph of protesters boarding buses at Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church (Source: *Afro-American*, "March on Annapolis," May 2, 1942: 12).

On April 24, 1942, some 2,000 protesters gathered outside the Maryland State House (AA-685; NHL, 1960; NRHP, 1966) where the CCJ had scheduled a meeting with Democratic Governor Herbert R.

[24] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Harleston, "Your Neighbor," 1943: 15; Harry A. Cole. "Oral History Interview by Richard Richardson," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, March 3, 1976, 1; Sherri Marsh, "Governor Ritchie Highway/Annapolis Boulevard (AA-4)," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form, 1998. Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis. The highway was funded in part by the Public Works Administration (PWA). In 1955 MD 2 was rerouted along the US 50 bypass in Annapolis with the original segment of MD 2 spanning the Severn River and connecting to the Maryland State House designated as MD 450. Within Baltimore's downtown commercial business district, MD 2 followed Hanover Street and spanned the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River on the Hanover Street Bridge (B-4530). In the 1970s, MD 2 was rerouted from Hanover Street to East Montgomery, Light, and St. Paul streets when the Baltimore Convention Center was constructed. The southern end of the highway near Annapolis features the Governor Ritchie Memorial and Scenic Overlook (AA-3) and the Severn River Bridge (AA-764). Within Annapolis, the caravan would have crossed the no-longer-extant College Street Bridge (AA-763) spanning College Creek.

O'Conor (1896–1960). The protestors then filed into both legislative chambers of the state house, aisles, and balconies (Figure 3). Ten Black community leaders—ministers, attorneys, and activists—presented petitions to Gov. O'Conor and testified that Robert F. Stanton (1869–1956), the Baltimore Police Commissioner, had ignored their repeated efforts to initiate crime reforms and refused to hire Black uniformed officers. (The police department had hired its first Black non-uniformed officer in 1937.) An attorney for the NAACP requested an investigation of the 10 police killings that had occurred under Stanton's watch. At least one member asked for the removal of Stanton as the police commissioner. According to a reporter, Black leaders testified that they feared a "serious racial conflict may result" unless the "wave of police brutality" in Baltimore ceased. Black residents also asked for equal representation on state boards and commissions. Harry A. Cole, president of the student council at Morgan State College (MSC)—a historically Black college now known as Morgan State University—represented the city's Black youth. After the two-hour hearing, the protesters returned to Baltimore (Figure 4).[25]

The March-on-Annapolis was the largest civil rights demonstration in Maryland history to that point. An Associated Press article about the protest was published in newspapers across the country. As a result of the testimony, Gov. O'Conor appointed a statewide interracial "Commission on Problems Affecting the Negro Population" with the mission of considering the concerns of the protesters. Gov. O'Conor appointed five Black people to the commission: Lillie C. Jackson; Lucille W. Fitzgerald, a member of the YWCA board of managers; Edward S. Lewis, executive director of the BUL; Linwood Koger, attorney; and Rev. Monroe H. Davis, bishop of the AME Church–Baltimore District. White members of the commission included Judge Morris A. Soper of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals; Albert D. Hutzler, merchant; Joseph P. Healy, representing industry; Daniel W. Siemon, personnel manager at Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company; Frank B. Ober, attorney; Dr. Robert H. Riley, Maryland Director of Health; John M. Scraff, architect; James Drury, president of the Baltimore Industrial Union Council; Glenn D. Brown, administrator for the National Youth Administration; David S. Jenkins, assistant superintendent of schools for Anne Arundel County; Charles A. Piper, president of Liberty Trust Company; Paul Knotts, member of the Eastern Shore State Hospital Board; and Joseph C. Mattingly, former associate judge for the Seventh Judicial Circuit. However, the commission's impact was limited. Mitchell called it a "do-nothing commission," and at least one Black member felt that the commission was a "farce" and resigned.[26]

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[25] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Associated Press, "Negroes Assail City Policemen: 1,800 Make Pilgrimage To Annapolis To Explain Views To O'Conor," *Baltimore Sun*, April 25, 1942: 6, 22; "Negroes Making Demands On Governor: 'Marching' On Annapolis To Protest 'Wave of Police Brutality," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), April 24, 1942: 44, 50; "2,000 Baltimore Citizens in Impressive March on Annapolis," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 2, 1942: 12; Cole, "Oral History," 1976, 1; Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 63–64.

[26] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; "5 Named on Governor's Commission," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 23, 1942: 9; Mehr, "March on Annapolis," 2024; Camper. "Oral History," 1976, 3-23; Mitchell, "Oral History," 1976, 40-45; Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 64–65. The Associated Press article was published in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington.

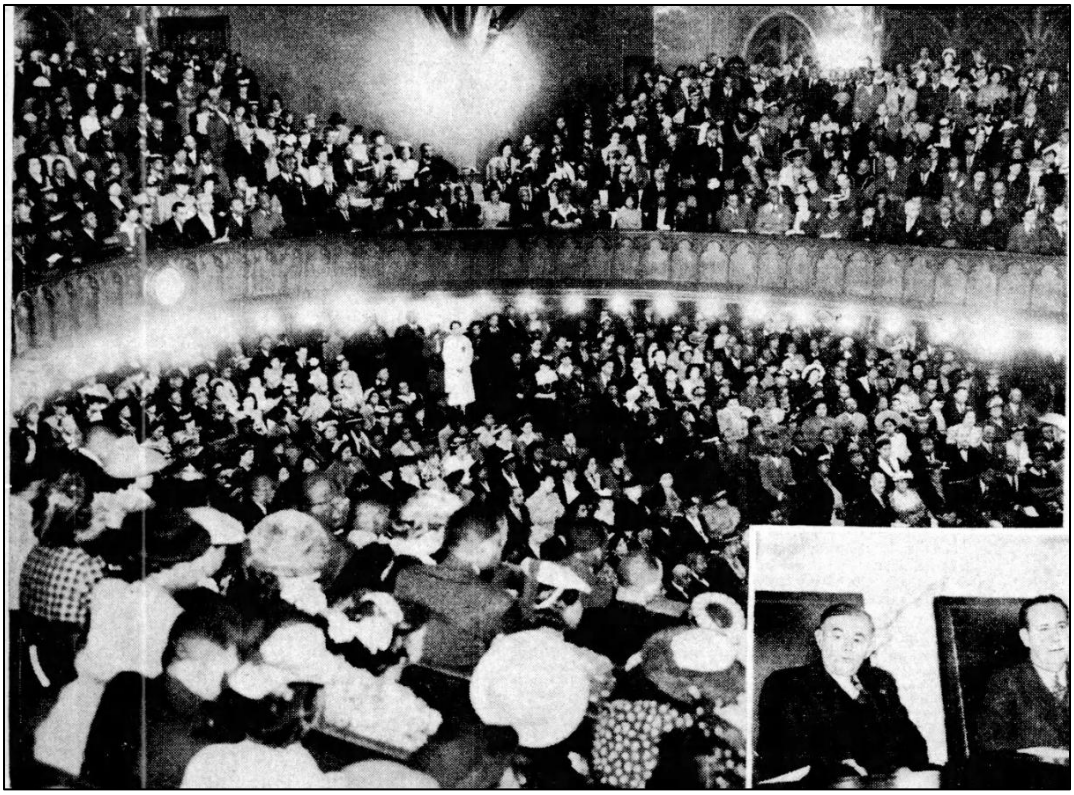

Figure 3. Photograph of protesters in the Maryland State House
(Source: *Afro-American*, "March on Annapolis," May 2, 1942, 12).

When Stanton resigned as the Baltimore Police Commissioner on June 1, 1943, the Baltimore police department employed three Black male officers, none of whom were uniformed, and two Black female officers. Stanton had refused to reopen the investigation of Bender's shooting of Broadus. In response, in 1943, the NAACP-Baltimore debuted a police training school for Black officers, which generated newly trained and qualified candidates for the city's police force. Frustrated with Gov. O'Conor's limited response, activists in Baltimore launched a massive "Votes for Victory" voter registration drive in the early 1940s. The NAACP-Baltimore formed a non-partisan March on the Polls Committee and door-to-door campaign to help Black candidates running for city council (none were successful) and Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin (1900–1974), a liberal white Republican, win office as mayor in May 1943. Serving from 1943–1947, Mayor McKeldin supported many long-sought demands of Black residents such as membership on the city's school board. He also hired Black staff members. For the first time in its history, Baltimore was led by a pro-civil rights mayor.[27]

[27] "Atkinson Says Change Is Set for This Week," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), June 12, 1943: 5; Mehr, "March on Annapolis," 2024; Camper, "Oral History," 1976, 3-23; Mitchell, "Oral History," 1976, 40-45; Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 65–67; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 100–112. Stanton's replacement, Hamilton R. Atkinson, immediately

Figure 4. Photograph of protesters leaving the Maryland State House
(Source: *Afro-American*, "March on Annapolis," May 2, 1942, 12).

In 1943, the NAACP-Baltimore created the Total War Employment Committee to combat discriminatory employment practices at the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company and the Baltimore Transit Company, which operated the city's buses and streetcars. That same year, the NAACP-Baltimore also challenged the Enoch Pratt Free Library's policy of barring Black women from its librarian-training class. A federal court determined that the library had violated the "equal protection" clause guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In April 1944, members of the youth council of the NAACP-Baltimore marched to City Hall (B-60; NRHP, 1973) with placards to protest discrimination against Black residents from gaining jobs as telephone operators, bus drivers, and street conductors. Although the protest fell on deaf ears, wartime civil rights campaigns resulted in gains in employment opportunities for Black residents of Baltimore.[28]

reassigned the three Black male officers as uniformed officers; however, he refused to reopen the Bender investigation. McKeldin served as governor of Maryland from 1951–1959 and as mayor of Baltimore again from 1963–1967.

[28] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 57–60; Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024.

Civil rights activists in Baltimore also addressed the lack of adequate wartime housing and increasingly segregated neighborhoods. During war years, between 60,000 and 90,000 Black people migrated to Baltimore, primarily seeking jobs in war-related defense industries. The influx swelled the city's Black population to 194,000 people. Property owners subdivided houses into apartments to help meet the demand. Despite the stressed housing condition, many of the city's white residents were opposed to expansion of "Negro housing." In 1943, federal authorities appropriated $8 million for new public housing for Black war workers. The Baltimore Housing Authority (BHA) chose a site near Herring Run Park in an all-white neighborhood for a 1,400-unit housing complex containing some 5,000 Black people. White residents strongly opposed the "Negro slum" project. Mayor McKeldin appointed an Interracial Commission on Negro Housing to address this situation.[29]

On July 20, 1943, around 800 white citizens led by three clergymen held a protest at the city's War Memorial Building (B-3935; NRHP, 1987) opposing the Herring Run site. The following month, another 800 white citizens marched on City Hall and presented a petition with over 10,000 signatures opposing the Herring Run site to Mayor McKeldin. The mayor deferred to the all-white city council, which opposed the site. State authorities proposed that any new Black housing should be built adjacent to existing Black neighborhoods. City and federal authorities compromised and developed plans for separate, smaller housing projects with 1,750 units spread across four sites in historically Black neighborhoods. In 1945, Mayor McKeldin resisted a series of protests by white residents who opposed Black people moving into existing white neighborhoods beyond Fulton Avenue in west Baltimore. Black activists referred to this as the "Fulton Avenue break through." In the end, wartime equal-rights activism had resulted in many gains, but not broken Jim Crow's hold on Baltimore.[30]

After World War II ended in 1945, civil rights activism in Maryland focused on segregated housing and public accommodations, including movie theaters, lunch counters, and recreational facilities. Additionally, the movement spread to other cities beyond Baltimore. Activists had made attempts at forcing desegregation of these accommodations and businesses during the war years, but they resulted in little success. In the post-war period, civil rights activism evolved into nonviolent direct-action campaigns and civil disobedience with leadership originating with students at MSC, who collaborated with the Baltimore branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the BUL, the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and the NAACP-Baltimore. In 1955, students at MSC formed an independent organization known as the Civic Interest Group (CIG), which became a civil rights force with impact felt throughout Maryland.[31]

In January 1945, the Maryland state legislature introduced a bill to repeal a 1904 law requiring separate accommodations for white and Black railroad and steamship passengers traveling within the state. The

[29] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 67–68.
[30] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 68–70.
[31] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 80; Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 61–62.

bill received interracial support from the NAACP-Baltimore, BUL, CIO, *Afro-American*, and Black churches. Although Gov. O'Conor also supported the bill, it was ultimately killed by a voice vote in the House of Delegates. The interracial support, however, marked a turning point in the civil rights movement in Maryland.[32]

In the late 1940s, Black residents continued to buy homes in previously all-white neighborhoods, especially after the 1948 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Shelly v. Kraemer* case made deed restrictions that prevented Black residents from buying property unenforceable. While the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) provided financial assistance for white residents to buy new suburban homes, the FHA's refusal to insure mortgages in or near Black neighborhoods—a policy known as "redlining"—severely limited access to the loans for Black residents. Likewise, the postwar GI Bill promised low-interest home loans to veterans, but the program's structure prevented Black veterans from fully accessing the benefit. A study completed in the early 1950s found that almost 50 percent of the city's substandard housing was occupied by Black families and only 30 percent of Black households were owner occupied, far below the rate of ownership for white households. The rate of Black ownership was deceiving because many Black families utilized non-traditional contracts since they could not obtain traditional mortgages. As a result, inner-city Black "ghettos" formed.[33]

1.1.1.2 Ford's Theater Protest, Baltimore, February 1947

In 1947, the NAACP-Baltimore joined forces with Black churches and students at MSC in a multi-year campaign protesting segregated public accommodations throughout Baltimore. The direct-action, nonviolent protests included picket lines, boycotts, and pressure on elected officials.

In February 1947, local activists protested segregated seating at the historic Ford's Theater on West Fayette Street between North Howard and Eutaw streets. Operated by the Union Booking Office in New York, Ford's Theater allowed Black performers on stage but forced Black patrons to sit in a separate area known as "the pit" due to a limited view of the stage or in the top rows of the balcony. To access the balcony, Black patrons were required to enter the historic theater via a three-story staircase accessed from a side alley. This protest followed years of efforts to force the operator of Ford's Theater to desegregate its seating.[34]

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[32] Kakel, "Baltimore Activists," 2020, 61–62; Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024.

[33] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 85–86; Terry Gross, "A 'Forgotten History' Of How the U.S. Government Segregated America," *National Public Radio*, May 3, 2017. https://www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 114–116.

[34] Baltimore Heritage, "Ford's Theater: Theatrical and Civil Rights History." *Explore Baltimore Heritage*, 2024. https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/621; Emmanuel Mehr, "Ford's Theater and the Struggle for Postwar Civil Rights in Baltimore City," *Baltimore Histories Weekly* (blog), May 6, 2023. https://baltimorehistories.substack.com/p/fords-theater-and-the-struggle-for; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 86–87; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 105. The theater opened in 1871 as Ford's Grand Opera House. Kaufman claimed the Black community had struggled for seven years to desegregate the theater.

In March 1948, celebrated concert artist and civil rights activist Paul Robeson (1898–1976) joined A. Robert Kaufman (1931–2009), a Jewish activist, and Dr. John Camper of the NAACP-Baltimore and others on a picket line at the theater (Figure 5). That year, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin also joined a picket line. By 1950, the theater realized a 50 percent decline in box office receipts due to the ongoing protests and boycotts by Broadway stars—such as English actor Rex Harrison (1908–1990), white actress Tallulah Bankhead (1902–1968), and Black actor Canada Lee (1907–1952)—and production companies who refused to cross the picket lines. Bankhead and Lee even walked the picket lines in costume. In January 1952, Gov. McKeldin—former mayor of Baltimore who had been elected Republican governor in 1951—declared that he wanted all seating at Ford's Theater to be opened to Black patrons and charged his recently formed Commission on Interracial Relations to investigate the situation. The commission convinced the Union Booking Office to desegregate its seating at Ford's Theater on February 1, 1952. (The theater was demolished in 1964.)[35]

Figure 5. Photograph of Paul Robeson (second from left) and Dr. Camper (fourth from left) picketing Ford's Theater, circa 1948 (Source: Maryland Historical Society).

[35] Baltimore Heritage, "Ford's Theater," 2024; Mehr, "Ford's Theater," 2023; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 104–106.

1.1.1.3 Druid Hill Park Protest, Baltimore, June 1948

In 1948, the Young Progressives of Maryland (YPM), a civil rights activist group, tested segregated tennis courts at Baltimore's Druid Hill Park (B-56; NRHP, 1973), a 745-acre urban park established in 1860. The YPM was an interracial political group that included many Jewish people living near the park in northwest Baltimore. Although open for anyone to use, the city's Bureau of Recreation enforced racial segregation at the park's recreational facilities, particularly those used by people of both sexes. In the early twentieth century, the city had constructed separate facilities for Black visitors such as a children's playground, a swimming pool, picnic grounds, and tennis courts. The facilities for Black visitors were often inferior and not as well maintained as those for white visitors.[36] On July 11, 1948, the YPM organized a protest at the park consisting of an interracial group of Black and white tennis players who gathered at two of the "whites only" clay courts to play tennis. The city park board's ban on Black players using the courts reserved for white players was enforced by police officers. The YPM posted flyers reading "Kill Jim Crow! Demand Your Rights! Organize to smash discrimination in recreational facilities." The group also sent notices to the newspapers, police department, park board, and city officials that they intended to host an interracial tennis match at the park. The staged protest drew hundreds of people who supported desegregating the tennis courts. The protesters were met by city police officers, who arrested the eight players—four male and four female. "Some of them were members of the Young Progressives," stated Mildred "Mitzi" Freishtat Swan (1930–2020), a Jewish teenager who was arrested. "But most of them came from the [all-Black] Baltimore Tennis Club." The police also arrested 14 protestors and transported them all to the Northern Police Station. Seven of those arrested served jail sentences for disturbing the peace, although their attorneys fought the charges through appeals courts. Charges against the rest, including all eight players, were dropped. The tennis courts remained segregated for several more years. (The clay tennis courts were removed in 1989 and replaced with manicured lawn.)[37]

Black residents fought to desegregate other public recreational facilities. In 1947, Charles H. Houston with NAACP filed a lawsuit against the Park Board to desegregate the city's four municipal golf courses. Until then, only the Carroll Park Golf Course was available to Black golfers. This 9-hole course was inferior to the city's three municipal "whites-only" 18-hole courses. After four years of legal battles, in 1951 the Park Board finally opened all four of the city's golf courses to Black golfers.[38]

By the early 1950s, the City of Baltimore operated seven public outdoor swimming pools, all of which were segregated. In 1951 the Baltimore Board of Recreation and Parks set aside certain recreational facilities in parks for interracial play; while no parks were specifically segregated, recreational facilities

[36] Barry Kessler and Anita Kassof, "Fighting Racial Discrimination in Druid Hill Park," *The Associated Jewish Federation of Baltimore*, 2017. https://associated.org/stories/fighting-racial-discrimination-in-druid-hill-park/.
[37] Tyler Wilson, "Site of the Clay Tennis Courts in Druid Hill Park," *Explore Baltimore Heritage*, 2024. https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/719; Kessler and Kassof, "Druid Hill Park," 2017; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 160–164.
[38] Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 119–123.

including beaches, swimming pools, tennis courts, sports fields, pools, and some playgrounds were operated as segregated. Druid Hill Park (B-56; NRHP, 1973) featured two swimming pools, one for whites and one for Blacks. The other "whites only" pools were Patterson Park (B-4607), Clifton Park (B-4608; NRHP, 2007), Gwynn's Falls Park (B-5199), Riverside Park (B-5139, within Riverside Historic District NRHP, 2021), and Roosevelt Park (B-1372, within Hampden Historic District NRHP, 2004). The city's only municipal pool for Black patrons, the pool at Druid Hill Park was smaller than the pool for whites and did not feature amenities—such as a sand beach, a pool deck, or lounge chairs—that were offered at the pools for whites.[39] In 1955 the city opened a second pool for Black patrons at Cherry Hill Park (B-5370) in south Baltimore, just months before all the city's recreational facilities were desegregated. The park was located on a landfill, directly adjacent to the city's Reedbird Incinerator.

In 1951, Gov. McKeldin established the Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations and soon thereafter desegregated accommodations on the state's passenger trains and boats. Two years later, he desegregated state parks.[40] In 1955, Gov. McKeldin desegregated state-owned swimming pools and beaches, as mandated by the US Supreme Court upholding the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeal's decision in *Robert M. Dawson Jr. et al. v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore et al.* that *Brown v. Board of Education* applied to recreational facilities. The case combined three separate Maryland cases challenging segregated beaches and pool facilities at Sandy Point State Park (AA-2305; NRHP, 2024), Fort Smallwood Park (AA-898; NRHP, 2013), and in Baltimore City. The US Supreme Court decision led to the eventual desegregation of public recreational facilities throughout the country. The City of Baltimore officially integrated its facilities after the decision, though it was years before it was fully implemented.

1.1.1.4 Drugstore Lunch Counter Protests, 1953–1959

In early 1953, several activist groups in Baltimore launched a nonviolent, direct-action campaign protesting segregated lunch counters at several commercial businesses along the 100 and 200 blocks of West Lexington Street in downtown Baltimore. The campaign was led by the Baltimore chapter of CORE, an interracial organization made up of labor representatives and students and faculty at MSC, Johns Hopkins University, and other schools. Ben Currey Everingham (1908–1979), a white history teacher at Edmondson High School, served as the president. The five and dime stores included S. S. Kresge's (B-2321; NRHP, 2020), Schulte-United (B-2319; NRHP, 2020), F. W. Woolworth & Company (NRHP, 2020), and McCrory's (B-2320; NRHP, 2020). Local chapters of CORE and the ADA along with the BUL and students at MSC led the campaign. These stores "are realizing there is no color line in the dollars you spend," wrote Elizabeth Murphy Phillips, a columnist for the *Afro-American*. By May, Kresge's and Woolworth had desegregated their lunch counters. By

[39] Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 154–155.
[40] Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023:87.

November, Phillips reported that McCrory's had reversed its policy and "will serve all comers." The Schulte-United store desegregated its lunch counter soon thereafter.[41]

In the spring of 1954, members of CORE-Baltimore led protests at W. T. Grant's department store at 216 Lexington Street in downtown Baltimore. The store's manager, William Dreier, refused to allow Black customers to use the store's tearoom facilities and required Black customers to stand up at its front lunch counter. In response to the protests, Dreier agreed to install stools at the lunch counter for Black customers; however, he refused to reverse his policy for the whites-only tearoom. The national CORE office worked with James Peck, secretary of the War Resisters League, which owned stock in W. T. Grant's Company, to bring the topic up at the stockholders' meeting held in May 1954 in New York City. Peck told the shareholders that W. T. Grant's Company was losing money due to the discriminatory policy at Baltimore. During the board meeting, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin and others carried placards outside. The company's executive vice president said he would investigate the situation. CORE-Baltimore vowed to continue the protests.[42]

In the late 1950s, Mary B. Williams, president of the Montgomery County chapter of the NAACP, initiated a boycott campaign to force desegregation of eating facilities in the county. Between 1957 and 1959, the following stores desegregated their lunch counters, tearooms, and restaurants: three branches of the Drug Fair drugstores, eight branches of the People's drugstores, four branches of Hot Shoppes, and the Woolworth and W. T. Grant's five and dime stores in Rockville.[43]

1.1.1.5 Desegregation of Public Schools, 1954–1956

The desegregation of schools and universities took place earlier in Maryland than southern states and with less protest by white segregationists. The U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis desegregated in 1943 with Wesley Brown becoming the first Black graduate in 1949. In 1948, St. John's College in Annapolis admitted its first Black student. In 1952, Polytechnic High School in Baltimore was desegregated because of pressure from the NAACP-Baltimore and the BUL. [44]

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[41] Baltimore Heritage, "1930–1965," 2024; B. M. Phillips, "If You Ask Me: This and That About Our Town," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), November 7, 1953: 12; "2 Downtown Baltimore Stores Drop Lunch Ban," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 16, 1953: 1, 22; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 86, 91. CORE-Baltimore formed in January 1953. The 2000 NRHP nomination for the Market Center Historic District was amended in 2020 under the *Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland: 1831–1976* MPDF to include historical association with the civil rights movement for S. S. Kresge's Store, Schulte-United, F. W. Woolworth & Co., and McCrory's. The F. W. Woolworth & Co. store had not been previously surveyed.

[42] "Stockholders to study Grant's lunchroom policy," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), May 8, 1954, 8. The W. T. Grant Co. store was demolished circa 2010.

[43] "NAACP Starts Drive Against Restaurants That 'Discriminate.'" *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), January 7, 1960: 9.

[44] Maryland State Archives. "Researching African American Families at the Maryland State Archives." Pamphlet, 2018. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, 20–21; Wide Angle Youth Media, "School Desegregation and Segregation in Maryland," 2024. https://www.wideanglemedia.org/desegregation-timeline; University of Maryland Archives,

Most of the desegregation efforts were the result of legal battles led by the NAACP. The University of Maryland desegregated its law school at Baltimore in 1936 because of the *Pearson, et al v. Murray* decision by the Maryland Court of Appeals. In 1950, the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Esther McCready (1931–2020), a Black nurse's aide at Sinai Hospital, for admittance into the University of Maryland School of Nursing in Baltimore, and for Parren J. Mitchell (1922–2007) who sought graduate education in sociology at the University of Maryland at College Park. The following year, in 1951, the University of Maryland at College Park admitted Hiram Whittle (1931–2021) into its undergraduate engineering program. In 1954, the University of Maryland system was desegregated after the landmark *Brown v. Board* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.[45]

Southern High School Protest, Baltimore, October 1954

The May 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision also led to the desegregation of all public schools and colleges in Maryland. The transition was uneventful in most of Maryland with exceptions such as Baltimore where white residents protested desegregation at some schools. Baltimore quickly desegregated its public schools in June 1954. However, when schools opened that fall, white parents picketed at Carroll Barrister Elementary School (NRHP, 2006), and a segregation protest was held at Southern High School (B-3272; NRHP, 1970) in the Federal Hill neighborhood on Friday, October 1, 1954 (Figure 6). Some 800 white students and pro-segregationists participated in the protest at Southern. They carried placards reading "Negroes Not Allowed" and chanted "We want Southern back." This protest was purportedly influenced by Byrant William Bowles Jr. (1920–1997) and the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), a white supremacist organization based in Delaware from 1953–1955. (Bowles was employed as a contractor in Baltimore.) Several skirmishes and a near riot resulted in six arrests and five were fined for disorderly conduct. Pickets took place at George Washington (No. 22), Carroll Barrister (No. 34), James Monroe (No 48), and Samuel F. B. Morse (No. 98). Picketing had initially occurred at Carroll Barrister the day before, on September 31. Parents at Hampden (No. 55) passed out petitions against desegregation.[46]

"Trailblazers: Integration at the University of Maryland (Part 2)," University of Maryland Archives, February 27, 2014. https://umdarchives.wordpress.com/2014/02/27/trailblazers-integration-at-the-university-of-maryland-part-2/.

[45] Wide Angle Youth Media, "Desegregation," 2024; Maryland State Archives, *African American Families*, 2018. In 1971, Parren Mitchel became the first Black person elected to Congress from Maryland. He had participated in the Ford's Theater protests in 1955. His brother was Clarence Maurice Mitchell Jr. served as the chief lobbyist for the NAACP for nearly 30 years.

[46] David Armenti, "'Are We Satisfied?': The Baltimore Plan for School Desegregation," *Maryland Center for History and Culture*, May 2014. https://www.mdhistory.org/are-we-satisfied-the-baltimore-plan-for-school-desegregation/; Clive Webb, *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010) 19–31; "School Boycott Spreading In City," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), October 1, 1954: 1, 3; "Integration at Southern Stirs Unrest," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1954: 16, 26; Kenny Driscol, "Baltimore City Police History: Sun Paper Pictures," *Baltimore Police Historical Society*, December 29, 2002. https://baltimorepolicemuseum.com/en/component/content/article/492-bpd-sun-paper-pictures; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 132–135, 146–147; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 88. Bowles and the NAAWP led protests in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Washington, DC. Carroll Barrister Elementary School is now the Barrister Court

Figure 6. Photograph of white protesters at Southern High School in Baltimore, 1954 (Source: Kenny Driscol, "Baltimore City Police History," 2002).*School Desegregation Protests, Baltimore, October 1954*

The following Monday, October 4, white students at Merganthaler Vocational-Tech High School—commonly referred to as Mervo—left school at 8:00 a.m. and led a march around the city against desegregation. Students from City College, Clifton Park Junior High School, Eastern High School, Samuel Gompers Vocational School, and Polytechnic Institute joined the march. As they marched around the city, the mob of up to 2,000 students and protesters blocked traffic, broke the window of a streetcar, shouted anti-integration slogans, taunted Black residents, and created a near riot (Figure

Apartments at 1300 Washington Boulevard, a contributing resource within the Pigtown Historic District (NRHP, 2006). Southern High School is a contributing resource within the Federal Hill Historic District (NRHP, 1970).

7). The students marched down Calvert Street from north Baltimore towards City Hall carrying signs reading "They Go or We Go, Mervo." The protest march swung by Southern High School before ending at Clifton Park Junior High School. Some white protestors threw rocks and punches at Black residents. White protestors also chased Black shoppers from the Cross Street Market. Concerned for their safety, Black employees at the South Baltimore General Hospital and Southern High School asked for a police escort as they left to return to their homes. Other schools were also picketed that day. Protestors in automobiles circled schools, including Southern High School, in acts of intimidation. Around 50 police officers, led by Police Commissioner Beverly Ober (1890–1955), ultimately dispersed the protesters that afternoon.[47]

Figure 7. Photograph of white students during the desegregation protest, 1954
(Source: Armenti, "Desegregation," 2014).

The following day, on October 2, Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. (1903–1987) issued a statement:

> The situation is a matter of serious concern to all Baltimoreans. It is my sincere hope that there will be no inflammatory action or word by anyone to aggravate the tension

[47] Armenti, "Baltimore Plan," 2014; "Students March In Integration Protest," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), October 4, 1954: 22, 40. Built in 1953 at 3500 Hillen Road, Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical High School has not been surveyed.

> which exists. This is a time for cooler heads and calm consideration. Disorder could lead to grave consequences which everyone would regret."[48]

NAAWP Rally, Glen Burnie, October 1954

On October 4, 1954, Bowles and the NAAWP held a rally attended by 700 people against school desegregation at the Ritchie Raceway in Anne Arundel County. "I can't tell you to picket, and I'm not telling you not to," stated Bowles. "As long as you keep moving, I don't think they can do anything to you." Bowles continued: "I understand the commissioner of police is predicting he is going to arrest everyone. I don't know him—or his color—but I do know he'll have to build a bigger jail." Charles J. Luthardt of Baltimore also spoke at the rally. Luthardt had been arrested as "part of the racial unrest."[49]

The following day, Commissioner Ober stated on radio stations and in a press conference with all three local television stations that any protestors would be arrested to end the picketing near schools. "We're going to get tough," he warned. By October 6, the protests and "occasional violence" had withered out due to continued police presence at the half dozen or so schools that had been involved. "We are very glad Colonel Ober's order stopped the picketing of the schools," reported the *Afro-American*. "We are also glad we did not have to go to court for an order to enjoin the pickets when the authorities themselves can do it."[50] Carl Murphy published an editorial in the *Afro-American* that read:

> After three days of riotous picketing, several hundred Baltimore school children went back to their desks on Tuesday, but not before they gave this city a black eye before the rest of the nation; exposed the city's law enforcement agencies as totally unprepared for the blitzkrieg type of mob, led by expert agitators; closed several schools, intimidated parents, teachers, and pupils, and finally, made a big mistake of storming the City Hall and blocking traffic in the heart of this traffic-conscious city.[51]

Poolesville Desegregation Protest, Montgomery County, 1956

However, desegregation of schools was a slower process in the state's counties, and white protests continued in Baltimore. Most schools desegregated without incident and by the end of the 1956 school year, there were 85 desegregated county public schools in Maryland. Montgomery County was an

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[48] *Baltimore Sun*, "Integration," 1954: 16.

[49] Armenti, "Baltimore Plan," 2014; "Schools Almost Normal After Turmoil," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), October 6, 1954: 72. Ritchie Raceway was a half-mile dirt track and drag strip that operated from 1948–1954 in the northeast quadrant of the intersection MD 710 (West Ordnance Road) and Shelly Road just west of the Gov. Ritchie Highway (MD 2) in Glen Burnie, Anne Arundel County. The dirt track is currently the site of the Arundel Plaza strip shopping center.

[50] Armenti, "Baltimore Plan," 2024; *Evening Sun*, "Turmoil," 1954; "Ober Notes Police Duty in Picketing: Appears on TV To Ask School Demonstrations Be Halted," *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1964: 23, 36; "Schools back to normal," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), October 16, 1954: 8.

[51] "The City Redeems Itself (An Editorial)," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), October 16, 1954: 8.

outlier. In March 1956, the Gaithersburg Parent-Teacher Association passed a resolution against "compulsory integration"; however, the school desegregated without incident.[52]

On September 4, 1956, some 150–200 white parents and students blocked the entrance to Montgomery County's Poolesville School (M: 17-68) in protest of desegregation (Figure 8). Police officers escorted 14 Black students—who became known as the "Poolesville 14"—inside the school. The Maryland Petition Committee (MPC), an anti-desegregation group led by Everett Severe of Kensington, had instigated the protest. The MPC hosted a meeting at the Poolesville Town Hall and organized a march on September 7 on the Montgomery County Courthouse at Rockville to expand the protest countywide. Police officers, however, confronted and dispersed the protest demonstration. The MPC filed multiple unsuccessful lawsuits in federal court from 1954–1967.[53]

Figure 8. Photograph of white protesters at the Poolesville High School, 1956
(Source: Norm Gordon, "Black History," 2024).

[52] Armenti, "Baltimore Plan," 2014; Montgomery History, "The Effects of Brown v. Board of Education in Montgomery County," 2004. https://montgomeryhistory.org/exhibit/the-effects-of-brown-v-board-of-education-in-montgomery-county/.
[53] Norm Gordon, "More Local Black History: The Poolesville 14," *Germantown Global Connection*, February 19, 2024. https://germantowngc.org/the-poolesville-14/; Benjamin Walker. "Poolesville High School (M:17-68)." Determination of Eligibility Form, 2021. Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis, 7-8.

Throughout Maryland, many white parents sent their children to segregated private schools or moved from urban cities to the predominantly white suburban counties. By 1960, most students attending Baltimore's public school system were Black. By the mid-1960s, some schools in Baltimore, such as Garrison Junior High School and Clifton Park High School, had shifted from serving all-white students to predominantly Black students.[54]

1.1.2 Maryland Student Movement, 1955–1964

The 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision and victories in desegregating schools and recreational facilities throughout Maryland motivated college students to take the lead in the civil rights movement in Maryland. In the spring of 1955, Black students at MSC and white students at Johns Hopkins University formed the Civic Interest Group (CIG), an independent civil rights organization. Students involved with CIG and CORE-Baltimore led the way in desegregation efforts in Baltimore. Many of the leaders associated with CORE-Baltimore had been involved with the drugstore lunch counter desegregation demonstrations of 1953–1954. Within a few years, college students in Maryland inspired students in Kansas, Oklahoma, Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina, and elsewhere to take courageous action to desegregate public accommodations in their own states.[55]

The following section provides an overview of specific events associated with the Maryland student movement from 1955 to 1964.

1.1.2.1 Baltimore Protests, 1955–1963

From 1955 to 1963, Baltimore became the epicenter of the civil rights movement in Maryland. Members of CIG and CORE-Baltimore led the Baltimore movement.

Read's Drugstore Sit-Ins, Baltimore, January 1955

In January 1955, the MSC students and members of CORE-Baltimore set their sights on the segregated lunch counters and soda fountains at Read's Drugstores. The activists targeted Read's Drug Store at 123-127 North Howard Street (NRHP, 2020) at the intersection with West Lexington Street in downtown Baltimore and the Read's Drug Store in the suburban Northwood Shopping Center near MSC. The effort had begun in May 1954 when CORE-Baltimore sent a letter to Ralph Arthur Nattans Jr. (1915–2003), a Jewish merchant and owner of the Read's Drug Store chain, requesting a change in its policy. The board of directors for Read's refused the request. After a letter writing campaign failed to produce results, the activists staged a sit-in demonstration on Thursday, January 20, 1955, at the

[54] Armenti, "Baltimore Plan," 2014.
[55] Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 88; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 165; Baltimore Heritage, "Civil Rights, 1930–1965," 2024; Bruce Hartford, "Civil Rights Movement History, 1960," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, 2024. https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis60.htm#1960background. Following Baltimore, sit-in demonstrations took place at Durham, North Carolina, in 1957; Wichita, Kansas, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1958; Miami, Florida, in 1959; and Nashville, Tennessee, and Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960.

flagship store on Howard Street and the suburban location at Northwood Shopping Center. It was the first sit-in demonstration to target multiple locations in one city. The sit-ins lasted less than one hour. No one was arrested. Two days later, on January 22, 1955, Nattans announced that Read's would desegregate all 37 of its drug stores with eating facilities.[56]

The sit-in demonstrations were led by Ben Currey Everingham, vice chairman of CORE-Baltimore; McQuay Randolph Kiah (1917–1986), a Black professor at MSC; and Joan Wertheimer (1927–2020), a Jewish member of CORE-Baltimore. Helena S. Hicks (1934–2024), a Black student at MSC, was one of the half-dozen participants at the downtown store.[57]

Northwood Shopping Center, Baltimore, 1955–1963

Located in the all-white Northwood suburb just two blocks from MSC, the Northwood Shopping Center opened in August 1940. The shopping center contained a variety of stores including Read's Drug Store, Arundel Ice Cream Company, and Acme grocery store. In August 1950, the 1,000-seat Northwood movie theater opened, and in 1954, Hecht's opened its first suburban department store, along with a rooftop restaurant, at Northwood.[58]

On April 29, 1955, students from MSC and Johns Hopkins attempted to desegregate Northwood Theater. Around 150 students lined up to buy tickets to see "Untamed," a western film starring Tyrone Power, Susan Hayward, and Richard Egan. The theater manager refused to admit them. The next week, around 300 demonstrators, including 50 from Johns Hopkins, tried to buy tickets to an early showing. The theater manager once again refused them admission. The "stand-in" demonstrations continued for six weeks with police officers arresting one white student from Johns Hopkins for disorderly conduct. The students eventually ceased the stand-ins.[59]

In March 1959, students with the CIG once again turned their sites on Northwood Shopping Center. This time, they attempted to desegregate the Arundel Ice Cream fountain. More than 400 protesters

[56] Baltimore Heritage, "Civil Rights, 1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 86; Eli Pousson, "Read's Drug Store," *Explore Baltimore Heritage*, 2024. https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/93; Samuel Momodu, "The Read Drug Store Sit-Ins (1955)," *BlackPast*, February 14, 2024. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/the-read-drug-store-sit-ins-1955/; Eli Pousson, "Why the West Side Matters: Read's Drug Store and Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage," *Baltimore Heritage*, January 7, 2011. https://baltimoreheritage.org/why-the-west-side-matters-reads-drug-store-and-baltimores-civil-rights-heritage/; "37 Baltimore Drugstores Open Lunch Counters To All Patrons." *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), January 22: 1955, 6. The 2000 NRHP nomination for the Market Center Historic District was amended in 2020 under the *Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland: 1831–1976* MPDF to include historical association with the civil rights movement for Read's Drug Store, which had not been previously surveyed.
[57] *Afro-American*, "Drugstores," 1955: 6; Ron Cassie, "And Service For All," *Baltimore Magazine*, January 2015. https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/section/community/morgan-students-staged-reads-drugstore-sit-in-60-years-ago/
[58] William F. Zorzi. "Baltimore's Northwood: Remembrance of Desegregation Past." *Maryland Matters*, July 9, 2020. https://marylandmatters.org/2020/07/09/baltimores-northwood-remembrance-of-desegregation-past/. The Northwood Shopping Center was demolished in 2020.
[59] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020; Mayumi Sakoh. "The Integration of Northwood Theater, 1955–1963." Research paper, Morgan State 2007,

staged a demonstration on March 13, 1959. They were refused service but returned the following day. Robert B. Watts (1922–1998), a civil rights activist and Black attorney for NAACP-Baltimore, advised the group to stand down to allow representatives from the BUL, CORE-Baltimore, the Commission on Interracial Relations and Watts to meet with the shopping center management.[60]

The following Monday, Daisy Bates (1914–1999), president of the Arkansas chapter of the NAACP, spoke to more than 400 students at MSC. Bates had gained fame for her leading role in the 1957 campaign to desegregate Central High School in Little Rock. "I am proud of you because you are on the right track," Bates stated. "You have the right at an early age to decide what type of world you live in." Lillie C. Jackson, president of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP, urged the students to continue the demonstrations. "Get up on the picket line," she stated. "Let the world know you're willing to die for democracy."[61]

The next Friday, some 450 students reconvened their picketing and demonstrations. By Wednesday, management of Arundel Ice Cream had desegregated its shop at Northwood and others throughout the city. "I want you to know that you have as much right to come in here and be served as anyone else," stated George F. Kerchner, supervisor of Arundel's Ice Cream, to the MSC students. "Whenever you come here, you will be treated just like any other customer, and if any one refuses to serve you, just notify me and it will be taken care of." The students vowed to continue picketing at the Northwood Theater and Hecht's rooftop restaurant, both of which remained "whites-only."[62]

In March 1960, students from CIG resumed their pickets to desegregate Hecht's rooftop restaurant. On March 15, about 100 protesters sat for an hour in the restaurant after being refused service. Demonstrators outside held up placards reading "Must Northwood Be Southward" and "Why Not Equality For All Americans?" On the fourth day, a scuffle between an MSC student and the restaurant manager resulted in both their arrests. On the seventh day, police officers arrested four sit-in protesters. Attorneys for Hecht's petitioned the court for an injunction and Judge Joseph Allen granted a temporary ban on picketing. The following weekend, CIG protestors, along with 30 city ministers, initiated pickets at four downtown department stores, including Hecht's, which refused to serve Black customers at their restaurants. Hothschild, Kohn & Co. desegregated immediately while others held out. Finally on April 16, 1960, Hutzler's and Hecht's surrendered and desegregated their restaurants throughout the city. By May 1960, twelve downtown restaurants had desegregated.[63]

Students from CIG continued their demonstrations at Northwood Theater for three years. On February 15, 1963, they escalated their efforts, and 26 students refused to leave the lobby when they

[60] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020.
[61] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020.
[62] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020; "Morgan State's Sit-Down Strikers Win Fight," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), March 28, 1959, 3.
[63] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020; Baltimore Heritage, "Civil Rights, 1930–1965," 2024; Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 89.

were refused admission. Police officers arrived and arrested all of them. Protests and arrests continued. Within a week, over 340 students from MSC, Johns Hopkins, and Goucher College had been sent to jail. With bail set at $600, most were jailed for several days before their hearings. Jails were overflowing. Members of the state legislature threatened to have student protesters expelled from state-funded colleges. Students from Howard University sent reinforcements en masse from their campus in Washington, DC. "That was a real big, oh, boy, there's real, real power in numbers," recalled Jean Wiley (1942–2019), an MSC student who had been arrested. Protesters began picketing Mayor Phillip A. Goodman at City Hall.[64]

A week later, on February 22, 1963, the owners of the theater finally capitulated and desegregated the Northwood Theater. The following day, 23 students from MSC bought tickets to see "In Search of the Castaways," a Disney movie starring Maurice Chevalier and Hayley Mills (Figure 9). The *Afro-American* published a special edition about the victory, which read: "Thus the Northwood Story ends. A story which dates back to 1955. Its heroes? Students of Morgan State College." It had taken eight years of protests and rebellious demonstrations for Black students to go to a movie at Northwood.[65]

Hooper's Restaurant Sit-In, Baltimore, June 1960

On June 17, 1960, students attempted to desegregate Hooper's Restaurant at Charles and Fayette streets in downtown Baltimore by holding a sit-in demonstration. The group of CIG students included Robert Mack Bell (b.1943), a 16-year-old junior at Dunbar High School. Police officers arrested 12 students for trespassing. The students were found guilty, but the NAACP hired a team of attorneys, including Thurgood Marshall, to represent the students. The NAACP appealed the *Bell v. Maryland* case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which remanded the case to back the Maryland Court of Appeals on June 22, 1964. The state court eventually overturned the convictions in April 1965. (Bell graduated from the Harvard University Law School in 1969 and later became the first Black chief judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals—now known as the Supreme Court of Maryland—in 1996.)[66]

[64] Bruce Hartford, "Civil Rights Movement History, 1963: Northwood Theater–Baltimore (Feb)," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, 2024. https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis63.htm#1963northwood; Jean Wiley, "Oral History/Interview," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, October 26, 2001. https://www.crmvet.org/nars/wiley1.htm. Jean Wiley became a civil rights leader and worked for SNCC in Maryland Alabama from 1960–1967.

[65] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020; Evan Greenberg, "Northwood Commons Renovation Marks New Era for Northeast Baltimore Community." *Baltimore*, January 15, 2020. https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/section/community/northwood-commons-renovation-marks-new-era-for-northeast-baltimore-community/.

[66] Zorzi, "Northwood," 2020; Jean Marbella and Andrea F. Siegel, "Chief Judge of Maryland Court of Appeals retiring," *Baltimore Sun*, April 13, 2023.

Figure 9. Photograph of students at Northwood Theater after desegregation, 1963 (Source: Greenberg, "Northwood Commons," 2020).

1.1.2.2 NAG Protests, Summer 1960

In the summer of 1960, student members of the Non-Violent Action Group (NAG) at Howard University in Washington, DC, staged a series of protest demonstrations at public accommodations in Washington, DC, as well as its suburbs in northern Virginia and southwestern Maryland. The NAG students—both Black and white—joined local activists in the confrontation protests in both states. In Maryland, the NAG protests ultimately led to desegregation of an amusement park, a movie theater, a bowling alley, drugstores, and restaurants in Rockville, Adelphi, and Bethesda.[67]

[67] Mark Walston, "A Time of Protests: How the fight against segregation heated up in Montgomery County in the summer of 1960," *MoCo 360*, October 15, 2018. https://moco360.media/2018/10/15/a-time-of-protests/; "Theaters Added to Sitdown Protests," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), August 6, 1960: 8.

Students, both Black and white, formed NAG at Howard University on June 26, 1960. NAG was a campus affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formed in April 1960 at a conference hosted by Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. SNCC was founded by 126 students representing 58 sit-in centers in 12 states, including civil rights movement strategy centers in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998) was a delegate for Howard University at the SNCC formation meeting. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. invited the students to Raleigh for the conference.[68]

NAG leaders included Stokely Carmichael, Paul D. Dietrich (1931–2005), John Moody (1931–2018), Jan Triggs (b.1941), Dion Diamond (b.1941), Gwendolyn Greene (1941–2008), Joan Trumpauer (b.1941), and Laurence G. Henry (1934–2024), a divinity student. Their first sit-in protests took place on June 9, 1960, at a People's drug store and a Drug Fair at the Lee Highway Shopping Center, both in Arlington, Virginia. NAG continued their protests in Arlington through June 22. George Lincoln Rockwell (1918–1967) and members of the American Nazi Party, based in Arlington, accosted the protesters at the sit-ins. On June 22, the drugstores relented and desegregated their lunch counters. NAG then turned their sites to Montgomery County, Maryland, where several store owners continued to operate "whites only" businesses. Rockwell and his Neo-Nazis followed them to Maryland.[69]

On August 15, 1960, over 300 student activists traveled to Washington, DC, where they assembled at the rotunda in the U.S. Capitol, White House, Congressional Houses, and the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee. The students gathered to advocate for civil rights legislation under consideration by Congress. Students traveled from throughout the South, including 40 students with NAG and CIG who walked 41 miles from Baltimore. Twenty-two students walked back to Baltimore on August 22 for a hearing on a federal lawsuit pertaining to civil rights.[70]

Glen Echo Amusement Park Protests, Glen Echo, Summer 1960

The summer campaign to desegregate public accommodations in Montgomery County began on June 30, 1960, at the Glen Echo Amusement Park (M:35-41; NRHP, 1984) in Glen Echo. Located along MacArthur Boulevard and George Washington Memorial Parkway (M:35-61), the privately owned park included a swimming pool that utilized publicly funded recreational programs. Founded in 1891

[68] SNCC Legacy Project and Duke University, "Nonviolent Action Group (NAG)." *SNCC Digital Gateway*, 2024. https://snccdigital.org/inside-sncc/establishing-sncc/campus-affiliates/nonviolent-action-group-nag/.
[69] Jan Leighton Triggs and John Paul Dietrich. "Freedom Movement in Washington, DC: 1960–1961; Based on the Actions of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG)." *Nonviolent Action Group*, 1961, revised 2011. https://www.crmvet.org/info/dc60.htm; "Crazy Dion Diamond: A 1960 Rights Warrior in the Suburbs," *Washington Area Spark*, January 20, 2013. https://washingtonareaspark.com/2013/01/20/crazy-dion-diamond-a-1960-rights-warrior-in-the-suburbs/. Rockwell formed the American Nazi Party in 1959 with headquarters at his home in Arlington. He became the self-styled leader of Neo-Nazism in the U.S. Gwendolyn Greene later married SNCC member Travis Tritt.
[70] Triggs and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011. No information about the student walks could be found. Sponsored by Republicans, the civil rights legislation was opposed by southern Democrats and ultimately filibustered in the Senate.

along the Potomac River, the Glen Echo Amusement Park consisted of several distinguished facilities such as the Dentzel Carousel (M-35-39; NRHP, 1980), Chautauqua Tower (M:35-26; NRHP, 1980), Spanish Ballroom, Adventure Theater, and the Crystal Pool. By the mid-twentieth century, the site had evolved into the premier amusement park in the region surrounding the nation's capital.[71]

Built in 1931, the Crystal Pool facility contained three swimming areas, a sandy beach, and lockers for 3,000 swimmers. The Crystal Pool was especially popular in the summer months. However, since the amusement park was whites-only, Black residents were forced to travel to a public swimming pool in Washington, DC.[72]

About 75 students—both Black and white—with NAG initiated the demonstration with a sit-in protest at the Dentzel Carousel, which resulted in the police officers arresting five Black students for trespassing. NAG continued pickets at the main entrance, where Rockwell and members of the American Nazi Party taunted and spat on them. White and Jewish residents in the nearby Bannockburn community joined the NAG pickets, which continued for 11 consecutive weeks. Pickets occurred for five hours each weekday evening and all day over the weekends (Figure 10–Figure 11). On July 8, the protesters filed an injunction in federal court at Baltimore to stop off-duty police officers from enforcing segregation. Over the summer, police officers arrested 38 protestors. Entertainer Sammy Davis Jr. (1925–1990) held a fundraiser for their legal defense fund.[73]

Due to the protests, on July 12 elected officials formed the Montgomery County Commission on Human Relations, which on September 8 recommended that the owners of the park close the Crystal Pool and not spend any county funds at the segregated facility. Arrests continued through September, forcing the owners to close early for the season. Over the winter, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy threatened to revoke the lease that permitted streetcars from Washington, DC to run passenger service to the park. Abram and Samuel Baker, the owners of the Glen Echo Amusement Park, finally capitulated and desegregated the entire amusement park, including the swimming pools, on the first day of the spring season—March 31, 1961.[74]

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[71] Gary Scott and Bill Brabham, "Glen Echo Park Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984)*;* "Park Drops Racial Bars: Glen Echo Announces End Of Ban On Negroes." *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), March 15, 1961: 9.

[72] Scott and Brabham, "Glen Echo," 1984; Walston, "Protests," 2018; Afro-American, "Racial Bars," 1961, 9; The Crystal Pool was dismantled in 1981.

[73] Walston, "Protests," 2018; Triggs and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011; "Anti-Segregation Cases Will Be Tried in Circuit Court," *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), August 25, 1960, 1; Daniel Hardin, "Contradictions in the Cause: Glen Echo Maryland 1960," *Washington Area Spark*, June 26, 2013. https://washingtonareaspark.com/tag/laurence-henry/. The legal case against the off-duty police officers advanced to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled the action was unconstitutional in 1964.

[74] *Afro-American*, "Racial Bars," 1961: 9; Triggs and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011; "Interracial Unit To Study Dispute," *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), July 14, 1960: 1. The Glen Echo Amusement Park closed in 1968 and was subsequently acquired by the National Park Service, which reopened the park in 1971.

Figure 10. Photograph of a daytime protest at Glen Echo, July 8, 1960
(Source: Hardin, "Contradictions," 2013).

Figure 11. Photograph of a Dion Diamond (right) at a nighttime protest at Glen Echo, July 11, 1960
(Source: Hardin, "Contradictions," 2013).

Hiser Theater Picket, Bethesda, July 1960

On July 24, 1960, a small group of young men held a protest to desegregate the Hiser Theater in Bethesda. Located at Wisconsin Avenue, the downtown movie theater was the last remaining in Montgomery County that barred admission to Black patrons. The owner, John H. Hiser (1897–1976), and his employees blocked the students from entering the theater and a standoff ensued. Hiser called the police. Officers arrested four students—two Black and two white—for trespassing.[75]

Three days later, on July 27, students with NAG, including Laurence Henry, traveled from Howard University in Washington, DC, to Bethesda to join activists in a second protest at the Hiser Theater. The students formed a picket line along the grassy median along Wisconsin Avenue, carrying signs reading, "Drive Out Segregation, Don't Drive In!". Although it was raining, the students were determined to maintain the picket line for 100 consecutive hours. Rockwell and his Neo-Nazi followers also picketed and carried signs reading, "Free Enterprise, Not Socialism" (Figure 12).[76]

Figure 12. Photograph of protesters at Hiser Theater, July 27, 1960
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "MD Civil Rights: 1948–1968," 2013).

[75] Walston, "Protests," 2018; "Bethesda Movie Has 4 Arrested," *Baltimore Sun*, July 25, 1960: 19.
[76] Walston, "Protests," 2018; Triggs and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011; "Extend Demonstrations," *The News* (Frederick, Maryland), July 16, 1960: 8; "MD Civil Rights, 1948–1968," *Washington Area Spark*, March 17, 2013. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/8567470400/in/album-72157648461790981.

On July 29, protesters picketed Hiser's home and attempted to negotiate with them, but Hiser refused. Protesters resumed picketing the theater on August 12 and again on August 23, when police arrested several protesters. Rather than desegregate, Hiser sold the Hiser Theater on September 19 to the K-B local movie theater chain. K-B renovated and the theater and reopened it in October 1960 as the Baronet Theater and sold admission tickets to everyone, regardless of race.[77]

Hi-Boy Restaurant Sit-Ins and Pickets, Rockville, July 1960

On July 9, 1960, students with NAG held a sit-in demonstration at the Hi-Boy Drive-In Restaurant and Donut Shop in Rockville. Mary B. Williams, president of the Montgomery County chapter of the NAACP, had initiated a boycott against the restaurant since December 26, 1959, soon after it opened. According to Williams, Hi-Boy was the last remaining whites-only restaurant in Montgomery County. Located on North Washington Street (MD 355) adjacent to a drive-in movie theater at the intersection with Frederick Avenue, the owner of the restaurant allowed Black customers to eat in their cars but refused to serve Black customers inside. Rev. Cecil Bishop led a group of Rockville residents in joining the dining room protests. When white residents led counterprotests and a confrontation ensued on July 10, police officers arrested 25 protesters (Figure 13). Rockville mayor Alexander J. Greene (1923–2010) issued a statement condemning segregation and the Rockville City Council subsequently passed a unanimous resolution calling for desegregation of public accommodations. After two weeks of sit-ins and pickets, on July 25, the owner relented and desegregated the restaurant. "We should have done it long ago," stated Eli F. Abdow, owner of the chain of Hi-Boy restaurants. "But we have served in the District [of Columbia] on an integrated basis, and we are glad to serve here also." Abdow asked the Maryland Attorney General's office to drop the charges against the 25 students.[78]

Fair Lanes Bowling Alley Protest, Adelphi, September 1960

On September 7, 1960, members of NAG protested segregation at the Fair Lanes Bowling Alley in Hyattsville in Prince George's County, Maryland. The Fair Lanes chain was founded in Baltimore in 1923 with facilities in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Washington, DC. Led by Laurence Henry, the protesters returned on October 24. At this demonstration, police officers arrested 24 protesters, including Henry and Paul Dietrich, for disorderly conduct. At a court hearing in November

[77] Walston, "Protests," 2018; "Hiser Theater To Integrate Under New Management," *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), September 22, 1960: 1; Triggs and Dietrick, "NAG," 2011. The theater closed in 1977 and was later demolished.

[78] Walston, "Protests," 2018; "'Should've Done It Long Ago,' Says Hi-Boy Owner," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), August 6, 1960: 8; Triggs and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011; "Council Endorses Mayor's Statement," *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), July 14, 1960: 1; "Hi-Boy Restaurant Listens to City and Desegregates," *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), July 28, 1969: 1; "NAACP Starts Drive Against Restaurants That 'Discriminate,'" *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), January 7, 1960: 9; "Negro Ban of Eatery 'Intensified,'" *Montgomery County Sentinel* (Rockville, Maryland), March 17, 1960: 24. The Hi-Boy Drive-In Restaurant and adjacent drive-in movie theater were demolished in the 1980s.

1960, Henry requested that city officials establish a human rights commission to work on desegregation of public accommodations.[79]

Figure 13. Photograph of a police officer and protesters at the Hi-Boy Restaurant, July 10, 1960 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "MD Civil Rights: 1948–1968," 2013).

1.1.2.3 Freedom Ride, Newark to Little Rock, July 1961

During the spring of 1961, student activists devised a plan for riding buses through the segregated South in a series of political protests dubbed "Freedom Rides." In March 1961, SNCC announced that CORE would lead the 1961 Freedom Rides and would subsidize the costs of any students that wished to participate. The rides were scheduled to begin on May 1 in Washington, DC. The objective was to challenge the non-enforcement of the US Supreme Court decisions *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946) and *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), which ruled that segregated public buses were unconstitutional. The southern states had ignored the rulings, and the federal government had not enforced them. Led by CORE director James Farmer (1920–1999), a Trailways bus and a Greyhound bus left Washington,

[79] Trigg and Dietrich, "NAG," 2011; "Desegregation Commission is Sought," *Cumberland Evening Times* (Cumberland, Maryland), November 8, 1960, 7; "At Upper Marlboro." *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 3, 1960: 2.

DC, on May 4 bound for a scheduled arrival in New Orleans on May 17. The Freedom Ride buses contained 13 young riders—7 Black and 6 white—determined to test local laws and customs that enforced segregated seating. The Freedom Rides brought national attention to the disregard of federal law and local violence used to enforce segregation in the South. Police officers arrested riders for trumped up charges of trespassing, unlawful assembly, violating local and state Jim Crow laws, and other alleged offenses. At many bus stations, police allowed white mobs to attack the riders without intervention.[80]

The plan was to ride through Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana where a civil rights rally was planned in New Orleans. One rider on each bus would abide by the segregation rules to avoid arrest and contact CORE and arrange for bail for those that were arrested. The rest disobeyed segregation rules. The riders encountered only minor trouble in Virginia and North Carolina, although a white mob beat riders at a bus station in Rock Hill, South Carolina.[81]

After successfully completing their trip through Georgia, the Freedom Rides encountered violence in Alabama. On Sunday, May 14 (Mother's Day), a white mob including many members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), attacked and burned the Greyhound bus at the bus station in Anniston, Alabama. Later in the day, the mob also attacked the Trailways bus at Anniston. The group made it to Birmingham, but the bus drivers would take them no further. US Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968) sent his administrative assistant John Seigenthaler (1927–2014) of Nashville to Birmingham to try to calm the situation. Kennedy arranged for an escort to Montgomery, but Greyhound drivers refused to take the Freedom Riders anywhere. The riders then decided to abandon the Freedom Ride at Birmingham and fly to New Orleans to attend the rally.[82]

John Lewis and Diane Nash—SNCC leaders in Nashville—decided Nashville students would help resurrect the Freedom Rides and ensure they continued from Birmingham. After being informed of the plan, Kennedy asked Seigenthaler to call Nash and convince her not to continue the Freedom Rides. He made the request, but she refused. On May 17, a biracial group of students boarded a bus in downtown Nashville for Birmingham. Upon arrival, the local police commissioner arrested the students. On May 20, the Freedom Rides continued from Birmingham to Montgomery, Alabama, under police escort. Upon arrival at Montgomery, the riders were violently attacked by a white mob of 200 to 300 people include members of the KKK. The mob used baseball bats and iron pipes to

[80] SNCC, *Student Voice*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1961), 7; David Halberstam. *The Children*. Ballentine Books, New York, 1998; Raymond Arsenault. *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*. Oxford University Press, New York, 2006; NHL Public Accommodations Theme Study 2009, 48–49; Robbie D. Jones and Carolyn Brackett. "The Civil Rights Movement in Nashville, Tennessee, 1942–1969." Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 2024, E:107–108.
[81] Halberstam, *The Children*, 1998; Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 2006; Jones and Brackett, "Nashville," 2024, E107–108.
[82] Halberstam, *The Children*, 1998; Jones and Brackett, "Nashville," 2024, E108–109.

beat the riders, while the police did nothing. The attacks on Freedom Riders in Anniston and Montgomery, Alabama, made national news.[83]

On May 22, more Freedom Riders from Nashville and elsewhere arrived in Montgomery to replace those injured during the attack. Attorney General Robert Kennedy struck a deal with the governors of Alabama and Mississippi to arrange for the riders to be protected by state troopers and National Guard members along their motorcade route to Jackson. In return, the federal government would not intervene if local police decided to arrest the riders for violating local segregation laws. As anticipated, local police in Jackson, Mississippi, arrested the Freedom Riders as soon as they arrived at the whites-only Trailways bus station in Jackson. The civil rights leaders decided to keep sending buses to Jackson to fill the jails with Freedom Riders. Once the city and county jails were filled, the state transferred the riders to the infamous Parchman State Penitentiary, where they were placed in maximum security units and subjected to physical violence. At one point, Parchman contained more than 300 Freedom Riders.[84]

President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy called for a cooling off period over the summer; however, CORE, SNCC, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) rejected the idea and kept the Freedom Rides rolling through September. As a result, between May and August, Nashville became a crucial hub and rally point for sending hundreds of Freedom Riders—Black and white—to Alabama and Mississippi. Supporters traveled to Nashville from around the country, where they took buses from the two downtown bus terminals destined for Birmingham, Montgomery, and Jackson. Participants in the Freedom Rides left Nashville almost daily from the end of May through August. On May 24, thirteen protesters from CORE-Baltimore picketed and marched at the Greyhound Bus Terminal in downtown Baltimore. Although this terminal was integrated, the biracial group wished to show support from the Freedom Riders in the Deep South.[85]

The first Freedom Rider from Maryland was Joel E. Greenberg, a 21-year-old Jewish metal worker from Baltimore and student at St. Johns College in Annapolis. Greenberg had participated in protest demonstrations in Baltimore. CORE-Baltimore sponsored Greenberg's expenses. On July 18, 1961, Greenberg boarded a Greyhound bus at the Greyhound Bus Terminal (B-1953; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) in downtown Baltimore (Figure 14) and traveled to Nashville, Tennessee, where he met with members of the SCLC. Rikki Rosenthal, vice chairman of the local CORE group, saw him off. Rosenthal intended to send another 18 local students to Nashville for Freedom Ride training. "I consider the sit-ins and the Freedom Riders the most effective public action that has taken place in this country in the past 30 years," Greenberg told a reporter. "I'm sorta scared, but I'm not

[83] Halberstam, The Children, 1998; Arsenault, Freedom Riders, 2006; NHL Public Accommodations Theme Study, 2009, 62; Jones and Brackett, "Nashville," 2024, E108–109.
[84] Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 2006; Jones and Brackett, "Nashville," 2024, E109–110.
[85] Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 2006; Jones and Brackett, "Nashville," 2024, E109–110; *The Baltimore Sun*, "Pickets Support 'Freedom Riders,'" May 25, 1961, 8.

frightened."[86] After a week of training in Tennessee, Greenberg participated in a Freedom Ride from Nashville to Jackson, Mississippi, where he was arrested at the Greyhound Bus Terminal (NRHP, 1980). Greenberg was sentenced to four months in jail and a hefty $200 fine.[87]


JOEL GREENBERG
Freedom Rider leaves for Nashville, Tenn.

City's First Freedom Rider To Begin Nashville Training

Figure 14. Photograph of Joel Greenberg at the Greyhound Bus Terminal
(Source: *Baltimore Sun*, "Freedom Rider," July 19, 1961, 23).

Over the summer of 1961, members of CORE led Freedom Rides into the South took place throughout the country, such as the Interfaith Freedom Ride from Washington, DC, to Tallahassee, Florida; the Los Angeles to Houston Freedom Ride, and the Missouri to Louisiana Freedom Ride.

[86] *The Afro-American*, "Balto. Freedom Rider," July 29, 1961, 8.
[87] *The Afro-American*, "'Mission to Mississippi,' Clerics Jailed: Total 273," July 29, 1961, 3; *The Baltimore Sun*, "City's First Freedom Rider To Begin Nashville Training," July 19, 1961, 23. Greenberg lived at 7103 Boxford Road, a duplex in northwest Baltimore (extant).

From July 13–24, the New Jersey to Arkansas Freedom Ride took place. CORE riders boarded Greyhound buses at Newark, New Jersey, on July 13 with the destination of Little Rock, Arkansas, via Chattanooga, Tennessee. The motorcade route followed US 1 through Maryland with a stop at the Greyhound Bus Terminal in downtown Baltimore (Figure 15). In Maryland, the motorcade route passed through Rising Sun, Harrisville, Bel Air, Baltimore, Elkridge, Laurel, College Park, Hyattsville, and Mount Ranier.[88]

Participants included John C. Harvard, a graduate of Howard University, of Elizabeth, New Jersey; Sidney Shanken, a Jewish rabbi and seminary student from Cranford, New Jersey; Woollcott Smith, a student at Michigan State University from Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts; Herman Stern, a Jewish rabbi and Hebrew instructor from River Edge, New Jersey; and Henry Thomas, a student at Howard University and CORE staff member from Elton, Florida.[89]

Figure 15. Photograph of Baltimore's Greyhound Bus Terminal, 1942
(Source: Maryland Center for History and Culture).

[88] Arsenault, *Freedom Rides*, 2006, 567–568.
[89] Arsenault, *Freedom Rides*, 2006, 567–568.

1.1.2.4 Eastern Shore, 1961–1962

The Freedom Rides inspired student activists to turn their attention to segregated communities in Maryland's Eastern Shore, which more closely resembled areas in the lower South. Demonstrations were held in Crisfield in December 1961, Cambridge in January 1962, and Chestertown in February 1962. Led by Baltimore's CIG, student activism culminated in the summer of 1962 with the formation of the Eastern Shore Project (ESP) by CIG and the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC). Both groups were affiliated with SNCC.

Crisfield Protests, Crisfield, December 1961

On a snowy Christmas Eve in 1961, a group of 20 students with CIG traveled to Crisfield to stage a demonstration against racial inequality on the Eastern Shore. Located in Somerset County, the group targeted Crisfield since several businesses in the town had not desegregated and because it was the home of Gov. J. Millard Tawes. The activists held a sit-in at the City Restaurant, owned by Hilda C. Marshall, which refused to serve them. Police officers arrested 10 protesters for trespassing and jailed them in Princess Anne, Maryland (Figure 14). Students from Maryland State College (now the University of Maryland Eastern Shore) serenaded them with Christmas carols. The students chose to remain in jail rather than pay the $103 bond.[90]

A preliminary hearing was held on December 26. The students were represented by NAACP-Baltimore attorneys Juanita Jackson Mitchell and Paul J. Cockrell. Four students were released on bail paid by the NAACP. Six students remained in jail and began a hunger strike. Newspapers reported that the Christmas Eve sit-in was a forerunner of a large-scale anti-segregation campaign to be held in January 1962 on the Eastern Shore with demonstrations slated along US 50 from Annapolis to Ocean City. A group of 250–300 students with CIG and CORE led a caravan of 50 cars and a bus on a "Freedom Ride" from Baltimore to Crisfield, where they held a protest march on December 29. Joined by 90 Black residents, the march coincided with the release of the six protesters from jail in Princess Anne. White residents threw eggs at the protesters, but no arrests occurred. As a result, six whites-only restaurants and lunch counters, including Peyton's Drugstore and Gordon's Confectionary, desegregated. After the demonstrations, around 200 protesters attended a rally at the Shiloh Methodist Church (S-127; NRHP, 1990) where speakers urged the passage of public accommodations legislation in Maryland. The protests were reported in newspapers nationwide.[91]

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[90] Clara L. Small, "Crisfield, Maryland Civil Rights Protests, 1961," *Beaches, Bays & Water Ways*, May 25, 2022, https://www.beachesbayswaterways.org/storyways/crisfield-maryland-civil-rights-protests-1961; Beach to Bay Heritage Area. "The Crisfield Protests of 1961: African-American History on the Shore." *The Historical Marker Database*, October 13, 2024, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=258529; John Woodfield. "Two Racial Protests Set at Crisfield." *Cumberland Evening Times*, December 28, 1961: 21; Gordon Beard. "Tawes' Home Town Lifts Race Barrier." *Cumberland Evening News*, December 29, 1961: 2.

[91] Small, "Crisfield," 2022; Beach to Bay Heritage Area, "Crisfield," 2024; "Crisfield MD sit-in report." Field Report, CIG, December 1961. https://www.crmvet.org/lets/letshome.htm#61. Shiloh Methodist Church at 109 North 4th Street is adjacent to Maryland Avenue (MD 413).

Figure 14. Photograph of sit-in protesters at Crisfield, 1961
(Source: Beaches, Bays & Water Ways, "Crisfield, 2022).

Soon after the demonstrations, the students published a final report that concluded:

> A wonderful and significant change had come to Crisfield. It dramatized a point that has been made clear again and again throughout the South. The courage and understanding smiles, the voices devoid of sarcasm and cynicism, the looks of sincerity had been so impressive that a long and accepted practice was cast aside. During the past week the people of Crisfield had evidently looked hard at themselves and each other. At the end of the week they were different and the town of Crisfield would never be the same.[92]

Cambridge Protests, January 1962

On January 6, 1962, Reggie Robinson (b.1939) and Bill Hansen (b.1939) traveled to Cambridge, a heavily segregated industrial town in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore. Robinson, who was Black, and Hansen, who was white, were both field secretaries with SNCC and veterans of the

[92] CIG, "Crisfield MD sit-in report," 1961.

southern Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961. At the time, Cambridge was recovering economically from high unemployment rates due to the closure of manufacturing plants. Nearly 30 percent of the town's Black residents were unemployed since two defense contractors would not employee Black people. The town's white and Black neighborhoods were separated by Race Street. After meeting with town leaders to discuss racial inequality, Robinson and Hansen decided Cambridge was ripe for civil rights activism. They rallied around 100 students with CIG and SNCC to travel from Baltimore to Cambridge. On January 13, 1962, the students attended a rally at Waugh Methodist Episcopal Church (D-605; NRHP, 2012) before leading a march and sit-in demonstrations in the downtown business district. The students protested racial inequality, segregated schools, and whites-only businesses. The students carried signs reading "This place is segregated. We are hungry for civil rights." At Cambridge, violence ensued when white residents attacked the protesters (Figure 15). Police officers arrested several demonstrators, including Hansen, for disorderly conduct. "Probably the most rabid Negro-haters in Maryland reside in the Eastern Shore," said Walter Dean from Morgan State. Cliff Durand, a student at Johns Hopkins said that Cambridge was like a "different world" and like a "little Georgia."[93]

The next day, January 14, Robinson and some 300 Black residents met at Waugh Church and formed the CNAC. Frederick Crutcher St. Clair (1937–1994) and Enez Stafford Grubb (1943–2018) were elected co-chairs of CNAC. On January 20, members of CIG held a second and larger protest march in Cambridge. This protest included members of CORE and Black students from Morgan State, Lincoln University, and Maryland State College as well as white students from three colleges near Philadelphia: Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr. Many of the students were members of the Northern Student Movement (NSM).[94]

During the second march, the students were met with fierce resistance. Police officers did not intervene when an angry, white mob attacked protesters at the Choptank Inn. Instead, the white officers arrested several of the protesters, including Hansen—for a second time. While the student demonstrations at Cambridge did not result in the desegregation of any businesses, the nonviolent, direct-action protests had a considerable impact on the town's Black residents, who revived the local chapter of the NAACP.[95]

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[93] Rebecca Contreras, "Cambridge, Maryland, activists campaign for desegregation, USA, 1962–1963," *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, January 30, 2011. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/cambridge-maryland-activists-campaign-desegregation-usa-1962-1963; Bruce Hartford, "Civil Rights Movement History, 1962: Cambridge, MD–1962," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, 2024, https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis62.htm#1962cnac; Peter B. Levy, *Civil War on Race Street: The Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland* (University Press of Florida, 2003) 34–41.

[94] Contreras, "Cambridge, 2011; Hartford, "Cambridge, 1962," 2024; Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 41–43. Frederick St. Clair, a bail bondsman, had bailed students out of jail at Crisfield a few weeks before. St. Clair also suggested that Robinson and Hansen should investigate the situation at Cambridge.

[95] Contreras, "Cambridge," 2011.

Figure 15. Photograph of sit-in protesters at Cambridge, Jan. 29, 1962
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "MD Civil Rights," 2019).

Chestertown Freedom Rider Demonstrations, February 1962

In February 1962, CIG turned its attention to Chestertown, a small town in Kent County on the Eastern Shore. On February 3, some 150 "Freedom Riders" arrived at Chestertown in two Greyhound buses and about ten cars. They mobilized at the Bethel AME Church at 237 North College Avenue at 11:00 a.m. Rev. Frederick W. Jones Sr. was then pastor of the church and had been instrumental in organizing the visit. The church served as a staging ground for the demonstrations with stations for food and training exercises and a first-aid station. The protesters—Black and white—included

students and leaders with CORE, CIG, NAACP, and nearby church congregations. Student protesters traveled from Baltimore, New York City, Swarthmore College in Philadelphia, and Washington College on the Eastern Shore. Several Black residents in Chestertown joined the march. Vanderlip Conway, a student at Washington College, made a home movie of the protests.[96]

The protesters marched down High Street to the riverfront and targeted several local eating establishments, including Bud's Restaurant, Riverside Restaurant, Tally-Ho, and Home Restaurant as well as Queen Anne's Bowling Center. The protesters carried signs reading "Let's End Segregation," "I can go to War, why can't I go to Eat," and "Let's Have Dinner Together." The Maryland State Police, along with four canines, observed the protest march. The marchers were met by white men with baseball bats outside Gus's Pool Hall on High Street. Bud Hubbard, owner of Gus's, invited some 300 white segregationists to the bar that day. Violence broke out between the protesters and patrons at Gus's. Police officers arrested two Black men and one white man. At the end of the march, the protesters returned to Bethel AME Church.[97]

CIG and SNCC activists held a follow-up demonstration at Chestertown on February 10 but had no success in desegregating any restaurants. On February 7, Phillip H. Savage, the NAACP field director in Baltimore, and Rev. Jones founded the Kent County chapter of the NAACP, which led voter registration drives and a march along Cannon Street in the mid-1960s (Figure 16). Rev. Jones was also instrumental in desegregating Kent County schools. By 1963, several businesses had desegregated, including the Prince Theater at 210 High Street, bowling alley, and skating rink. However, rather than desegregate, the owners of Stam's Drugstore at 215 High Street and Chestertown Pharmacy (K-54; NHL 1970; NRHP,1984) at 329 High Street removed stools to their soda fountains.[98]

[96] Peter Heck, "Freedom Riders led fight against segregation," *Kent County News* (Easton, Maryland), February 20, 2011. https://www.myeasternshoremd.com/news/kent_county/freedom-riders-led-fight-against-segregation/article_3c385ea0-966c-53a9-b136-8e027788df74.html; Emily Homer, "1962 Freedom Rider Protest Sparks Civil Rights Organizing in Chestertown, MD," *Chesapeake Hartland*, 2024, https://chesapeakeheartland.org/blog/1962-freedom-rider-protest; "Cambridge To Get Riders' Reprieve," *The Daily Times* (Salisbury, Maryland), February 12, 1962, 1; Shelia West Austrian, "The Freedom Riders Come to Chestertown," in *Here on Chester: Washington College Remembers Old Chestertown*, by John Lang. Chestertown, MD: Literary Press of Washington College, 2006. 167–174.

[97] Heck, "Freedom Riders," 2011.

[98] Heck, "Freedom Riders," 2011; The Historical Society of Kent County, "Community, Prosperity, & Resilience: African Americans in Chestertown, Maryland, 1700s to the Present," Pamphlet, n.d., 18–19, 29; Kent County, Maryland, "African American History Tour in Chestertown, MD," 2015. https://www.kentcounty.com/tours/african-american-history-tour.

Figure 16. Photograph of an NAACP march in Chestertown, circa 1963
(Source: Heck, "Freedom Riders," 2011).

1.1.2.5 Roadside Sit-Ins, 1960–1962

The attention that the student activists with NAG and CIG received in the summer of 1960 led to protests and demonstrations held in other cities throughout Maryland between 1960 and 1962. During this period, demonstrators turned their attention to roadside diners and restaurants serving the motoring public. The Freedom Rides during the summer of 1961 inspired the Route 40 Project in the fall of 1961.

Howard Johnson Restaurant, Hagerstown, 1960–1961

On August 3, 1960, a Black couple traveling from St. Louis, Missouri, along US 40 on vacation stopped to eat at the restaurant inside the Howard Johnson motel just south of Hagerstown. The restaurant manager denied them service. The couple—F. Weldon Young, an engineer, and his wife—wrote a letter to Carl Murphy, editor of the *Afro-American* in Baltimore. The year prior the Howard Johnson motel had gained notoriety when the restaurant manager refused service to a group of Black schoolteachers traveling along US 40. Gov. J. Millard Tawes and the Maryland Commission on

Interracial Problems and Relations pressured the owner of the Howard Johnson motel to desegregate its restaurant. In early January 1961, the owner decided to desegregate the restaurant.[99]

Just a few weeks later, on March 9, 1961, a waitress at the restaurant refused service to two Black travelers, causing an international incident. Dr. William H. Fitzjohn (1915–1989), a U.S. diplomat representing Africa's Sierra Leone, and his driver were traveling from Washington, DC, to give a lecture in Pittsburgh when they stopped at the Howard Johnson motel to eat. Dr. Fitzjohn referred the incident to the U.S. State Department, resulting in President John F. Kennedy issuing a personal apology to him at the White House. "As of now, we have changed policy," stated restaurant manager Harry Robertson. "It was inevitable anyway, so we decided this morning to go ahead and do it." In June 1961, Hagerstown mayor Winslow F. Burhans issued a public apology as well and hosted Dr. Fitzjohn at a red-carpet dinner with city leaders. A State Department official stated, "Our job is to assure that foreign policy is carried out by the President and State Department and not impaired by the actions of a barber on Connecticut Avenue or a restaurant owner in Maryland."[100]

Greyhound Bus Terminal Restaurant Sit-In, Annapolis, November 1960

On November 25, 1960, police officers arrested five Black residents at the restaurant inside the Greyhound bus terminal at Annapolis. Located at 126 West Street, the terminal served the Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis bus lines. Police officers arrested the sit-in protesters for trespassing. Those arrested included two schoolteachers, a dentist, a government employee, and a saleswoman. After two days of picketing, the bus terminal desegregated its restaurant. The protesters became known as the "Annapolis Five."[101]

Bonnie Brae Diner, Edgewood, June 1961

On June 26, 1961, Adam Malick Sow, an African ambassador from the Republic of Chad, was traveling along US 40 from the United Nations in New York City to the embassy in Washington, DC. He stopped at the Bonnie Brae Diner in Edgewood for a meal, but the restaurant owner, Leroy Merritt, denied him service. Ambassador Sow spoke out against the discrimination, leading to news of the incident spread throughout the world. In November 1961, *Life* magazine published an article about the incident. President Kennedy apologized to Ambassador Sow for the incident. During the height of the Cold War, the Soviet Union mentioned the Bonnie Brae Diner incident in anti-American propaganda. The visibility of the embarrassing incidents in Maryland involving non-white diplomats

[99] "Hagerstown Timetable." *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), April 22, 1961: 2.
[100] *Afro-American*, "Hagerstown," 1961: 2; "Nation: Most Embarrassing," *Time*, April 21, 1961. https://time.com/archive/6830274/nation-most-embarrassing/; "Color Bar Dropped by Restaurant: Action Taken in Hagerstown After Diplomat Incident," *Cumberland Evening Times* (Cumberland, Maryland), April 11, 1961: 17. The Howard Johnson motel was demolished in the 1980s.
[101] "In Maryland," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 3, 1960: 2; Visit Annapolis, "Civil Rights Guide: Annapolis and Ann Arundel County," Online brochure, 2024. https://www.visitannapolis.org/black-history-365/civil-rights-guide/#. The Greyhound bus terminal was demolished and is currently the site of the Graduate Hotel.

led to the Kennedy administration creating the Special Protocol Service Section (SPSS), spearheaded by Pedro A. Sanjuan (1930–2012), a Cuban-born staffer. The SPSS focused its efforts on finding housing for foreign visitors in Washington and assistance on traveling US 40. In 1961, Sanjuan launched a campaign to pressure roadside businesses in Maryland to desegregate. He met with restaurant owners along US 40, representatives of CORE, and testified before the Maryland legislature on behalf of civil rights legislation.[102]

Double T Diner Sit-In, Catonsville, August 1961

On August 11, 1961, fifteen young Black demonstrators with the Catonsville Civic League staged a sit-in at the Double T Diner (BA-3359) along US 40 in Catonsville, west of Baltimore. Police officers arrested three protesters for trespassing. On August 21, police officers arrested another seven protesters—five Black and two white—during a sit-in at the Double T Diner. Two had been arrested during the sit-in on August 11; their bail was set at $1,000. In October, police officers arrested another five protesters, including four high-ranking NAACP officials and a reporter for a Black newspaper, from New York.[103]

Varsity Drive-In Restaurant Sit-In, Catonsville—August 1961

On August 23, 1961, police officers arrested three protesters—two Black and one white—during a sit-in at the Varsity Drive-In Restaurant along US 40 near Ingleside Drive in Catonsville.[104]

Bar H Chuck House Sit-In, North East, September 1961

On September 6, 1961, police officers arrested four protesters for trespassing after they refused to leave the Bar H Chuck House on US 40 in North East after they were refused service. Owned by Edward Henderson, the restaurant was associated with the Bar H Sky Park, a private airfield. The protesters included Wallace Nelson (1909–2002) and his wife Juanita Nelson (1923–2015), CORE activists from Philadelphia who had participated in the first Freedom Ride in 1947. Three of the protesters—led by the Nelsons—remained in jail in Elkton where they went on a 12-day hunger strike while awaiting a hearing. Cecil County sheriff Edgar Startt transferred them to the Crownsville State Hospital, a segregated hospital for "mentally ill Negroes," for "physical and mental observation." The

[102] Harford Community College, "The Bonnie Brae Diner," *Harford Civil Rights Project*, 2022https://harfordcivilrights.org/items/show/15; Francine Uenuma, "The African Diplomats Who Protested Segregation in the U.S.," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 24, 2023. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-african-diplomats-who-protested-segregation-in-the-us-180981682/; Douglas Martin, "Pedro A. Sanjuan Dies at 82; Cleared U.S. Path for African Envoys," *New York Times*, October 5, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/06/us/pedro-a-sanjuan-dies-at-82-cleared-us-path-for-african-envoys.html. The Bonnie Brae Diner was demolished and is currently the site of the Harford County Sheriff's Southern Precinct.
[103] "2 Negro Youths Seized At Restaurant Sit-In," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), August 12, 1961, 18; "7 Are Arrested During Sit-In," *Baltimore Sun*, August 22, 1961: 32; "5 Negroes Arrested In Diner On Route 40," *Baltimore Sun*, October 28, 1961: 30.
[104] "Route 40 Sit-In Brings 3 Arrests," *Baltimore Sun*, August 24, 1961: 26.

NAACP-Baltimore issued a statement pleading for Gov. John M. Tawes (1894–1979) to intervene. "The Maryland State Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. is outraged at this latest action taken by our State against Philadelphia visitors who sought food service when they were hungry in a restaurant on a highway," read their statement. "Their only crime was being colored." Physicians at Crownsville found no mental health problems and returned the protesters to Elkton where they continued their hunger strike. On the seventeenth day, Judge J. DeWeese Carter released the protesters.[105]

Antoinette's Diner Sit-In, Annapolis, November 1961

On November 18, 1961, police officers arrested 13 NAACP activists for trespassing and disorderly conduct at Antoinette's diner (AA-705) at 40 West Street (MD 450) in Annapolis. Officers were forced to carry 12 of the protesters from Antoinette's because they refused to walk out. Three had to be dragged out. The restaurant was owned by Antoinette D'Anna. The sit-in was part of a larger CIG-led demonstration with 400 students protesting segregated businesses in Baltimore. The protests included students from Morgan State, Johns Hopkins, Goucher, Baltimore Institute, City College, Baltimore Junior College, and Forest Park High School as well as Howard University, George Washington University, Harvard Divinity School, New York University, and Wellesley College in Massachusetts. Police officers arrested two white protesters at the James House restaurant at 2035 North Broadway. About 150 protesters traveled from Baltimore to demonstrate in front of the Anne Arundel County jail in Annapolis.[106]

Route 40 Project, Wilmington to Baltimore, Fall 1961

In the fall of 1961, the national organization of CORE recruited students from CIG and members of other activist organizations to launch the "Route 40 Project," which would challenge segregated public accommodations along a 62-mile-long stretch of US 40 between the Delaware Memorial Bridge in Wilmington, Delaware, and Baltimore. Many of the businesses targeted had been the site of sit-in demonstrations earlier in the year. CORE had been inspired to undertake the Route 40 Project by the national Freedom Rides that had occurred in the summer of 1961. Thus, the Route 40 Project was framed as a "Freedom Motorcade," although most people referred to it as a Freedom Ride. The campaign was also a response to the refusal of restaurants along Route 40, also known as the Pulaski Highway, to serve African diplomats, which received international media coverage. Incidents involving diplomats—from Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Togo, and Sierre Leon—in Delaware and Maryland while traveling US 40 from the United Nations in New York City to their embassies in

[105] "Restaurant Row Nets $51 Fine," *Baltimore Sun*, September 8, 1961: 30; "3 On 12-Day Hunger Strike Are Moved To Crownsville," *Baltimore Sun*, September 19, 1961: 20, 32. Sponsored by CORE, the 1947 Freedom Ride from Washington, DC to North Carolina challenged segregation laws on buses in the South.
[106] "400 Try New Sit-In Drive; 15 Arrested," *Baltimore Sun*, November 19, 1961: 30, 40.

Washington, DC. CORE announced the Route 40 Freedom Motorcade with 1,400 demonstrators would take place on November 11, 1961.[107]

"I developed a deep hatred—one shared by many—for Route 40," wrote Stokely Carmichael, a famed civil rights activist who attended Howard University in Washington, DC. Carmichael had been refused meals at restaurants along US 40 as a college student. "Can't you tell those African ambassadors not to drive on Route 40. It's a hell of a road," complained President Kennedy. "I wouldn't think of driving from New York to Washington. Tell them to fly." (Kennedy later apologized.) *Life* magazine dubbed US 40 in Maryland as the "highway of shame." US 40 developed a notorious reputation for Black travelers throughout the eastern seaboard (Figure 17).[108]

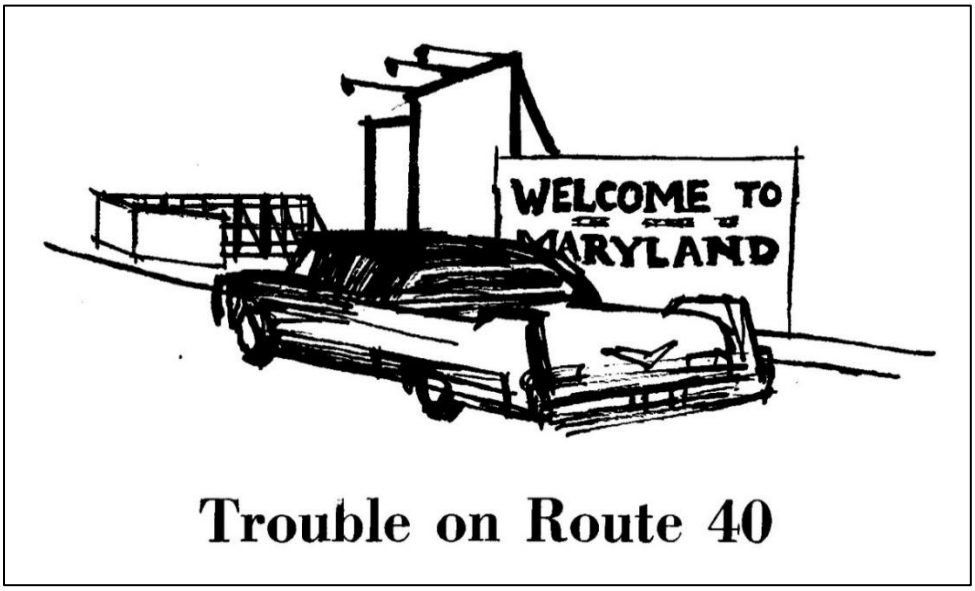

Figure 17. Illustration for Route 40 from *The Reporter*, 1961
(Source: Lukas, "Trouble," 1961, 41).

A few days before the Freedom Motorcade was to take place, 47 restaurants along Route 40 agreed to desegregate due to the potential adverse publicity of the demonstrations and from pressure by Pedro Sanjuan with the SPSS as well as Gov. Tawe's Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations. Sanjuan had personally visited dozens of restaurants between Baltimore and Aberdeen in October and convinced many to desegregate, although some were "violently opposed." CORE ultimately called the Freedom Motorcade off and instead sent 300 protesters to downtown Baltimore

[107] Baltimore Heritage, "Civil Rights, 1930–1965," 2024; Larry Bleiberg, "The US highway that helped break segregation," *BBC*, March 7, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20220306-the-us-highway-that-helped-break-segregation. US 40 was also the route of a 110-mile-long Anti-Nuclear Testing Protest March from Wilmington, Delaware, to Washington, DC, in May 1958.
[108] Bleiberg, "US Highway," 2022; J. Anthony Lukas, "Trouble on Route 40," *The Reporter*, October 26, 1941: 41–44.

to picket 50 segregated restaurants. The protesters included students from Goucher, Johns Hopkins, Morgan State, Coppin State, and Howard University. Julius Hobson (1922–1977), a CORE leader in Washington, addressed students at the Walbrook Trinity Presbyterian Church at 3200 Walbrook Avenue and Ellamont Street in Baltimore prior to the demonstrations. Protesters carried signs reading "Route 40, Only the Beginning" and "Not Token Desegregation, Complete Desegregation."[109]

The only group to demonstrate on US 40 that day were members of the Maryland Petition Committee, a pro segregation group. Led by Robert L. Wiseman of Jessup, about 20 demonstrators led a 10-car motorcade along US 40 to Elkton with an oversize sign attached to the roof of Wiseman's car that read "Defend States' Rights, Preserve Private Property Rights." Individual members met at the intersection of US 40 and Martin Boulevard opposite the Baltimore Raceway carrying signs reading "Maryland Deplores Outside Agitators" and "Keep NAACP Out of Private Business" (Figure). [110]

FOR SEGREGATION—Members of the Maryland Petition Committee, prosegregation group, meet on Martin boulevard near Route 40, before beginning demonstration, by car, along Route 40, for segregation. Turnout was smaller than expected.

Figure 20. Photograph of States' Rights protestors along US 40, 1962
(Source: *The Evening Sun*, "Segregation and Anti-Segregation," November 11, 1961, 2).

[109] Baltimore Heritage, "Civil Rights, 1930–1965," 2024; "300 Picket Restaurants Here In Move To End Segregation," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), November 11, 1961: 1–2; "U.S. 40 Toured by Sanjuan," *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1961: 26; James S. Keat, "C.O.R.E. Offers To Drop U.S. 40 Ride In Return For Some Integration," *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 4, 1961: 19, 30; James S. Keat. "U.S. 40 'Freedom Ride' Cancelled; 47 Places Plan to Desegregate," *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 9, 1961: 33, 46.

[110] *The Evening Sun*, "300 Picket," 1961: 1; "Segregation and Anti-Segregation," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), November 11, 1961: 2.

Within a couple of weeks, CORE volunteers discovered that 10 restaurants had reneged on their promise to desegregate. As a result, CORE reactivated the Freedom Ride campaign on December 16, 1961. The freedom riders traveled the 60-mile-long stretch of US 40 between Wilmington to Baltimore to see if the 47 restaurants followed their previous agreement to desegregate. The freedom riders determined that almost all had and that several others—52 in all—had also desegregated. However, the volunteers discovered that 38 restaurants along the route were still holding out. Of the 38 whites-only restaurants, 36 were in Maryland. Members of CORE were able to desegregate 10 of these restaurants (as well as another in Delaware). Between 600 and 700 volunteers participated in the Freedom Ride, which consisted of two caravans, one starting in Wilmington and one in Baltimore. Demonstrators wore signs reading "Civil Rights Over States Rights" and "Does the U.S. Constitution Apply in Maryland?" Police officers arrested 14 of them, including James Peck (1914–1993), a CORE leader in New York, who was arrested at the Double T Diner in Catonsville. Some restaurants closed in anticipation of the demonstrations and others implemented temporary "reservations only" policies, charged cover fees, or charged for parking. Marvin Rich with CORE told reporters that sit-ins would continue along US 40 until all restaurants had desegregated. Protesters simultaneously marched through the streets of Baltimore, and 200 demonstrators picketed the State Office Building.[111]

In Aberdeen, members of CORE targeted the Aberdeen Diner, Musical Inn, Mayflower Restaurant, Skyway Diner, Suburban Inn, Bayou Restaurant, Aberdeen Restaurant, Ideal Restaurant, and the A&P Restaurant. An unidentified person sitting on the roof of a restaurant in Aberdeen, Maryland, doused protesters with water, but there were no reports of violence. That evening several protesters were arrested at the Aberdeen Diner and the New Bridge Diner at Havre De Grace.[112]

After the Freedom Ride, CORE published a brochure that listed the restaurants that had desegregated and those that were still segregated (Figure). The CORE brochure encouraged readers to boycott the whites-only restaurants or to challenge their policies by sitting in and only leaving if threatened with arrest. If any demonstrators were arrested, CORE clarified that the organization could not provide bail.[113]

The CORE volunteers also targeted national motel chains, including Howard Johnson and Holiday Inn, to see if their facilities were desegregated as they held interstate franchises and were subject to

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111 "Freedom Ride Called Success By C.O.R.E.," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 18, 1960: 30; "10 Freedom Riders Remain in Custody After Mass Protest: Over 600 Test Restaurant Policies," *The Cumberland News* (Cumberland, Maryland), December 18, 1961: 2; "7 Arrested In 'Freedom' Ride Thru County," *The Aegis* (Bel Air Maryland), December 21, 1961: 1, 6; Mary Stanton, *Freedom Walk: Mississippi or Bust* (Oxford, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2003) 46–47; "600 'Riders' Demonstrate On Route 40," *Baltimore Sun*, December 17, 1961: 23, 31; George W. Collins, "1000 Riders To Hit Rt. 40," *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), December 2, 1961: 1, 7; "500 Riders Hit Route 40 Diners," *Afro-American*(Baltimore, Maryland), December 23, 1961: 1–2.

112 "7 Arrested," *The Aegis* (Bel Air Maryland), 1961, 6; Harford Community College, "Freedom Ride on Route 40," *Harford Civil Rights Project*, 2022. https://harfordcivilrights.org/tours/show/3.

113 "Help Complete the Job: End Racial Discrimination Along US 40." Congress of Racial Equality, circa 1963. Civil Rights Movement Archive.

the federal Interstate Commerce Commission regulations. William Lewis Moore (1927–1963), a white CORE activist and mailman from New York, discovered that some restaurants at Howard Johnson motels discriminated against Black customers by providing only take-out service, offering special seating areas, and refusing the use of bathrooms. Others simply refused to serve Black customers.[114]

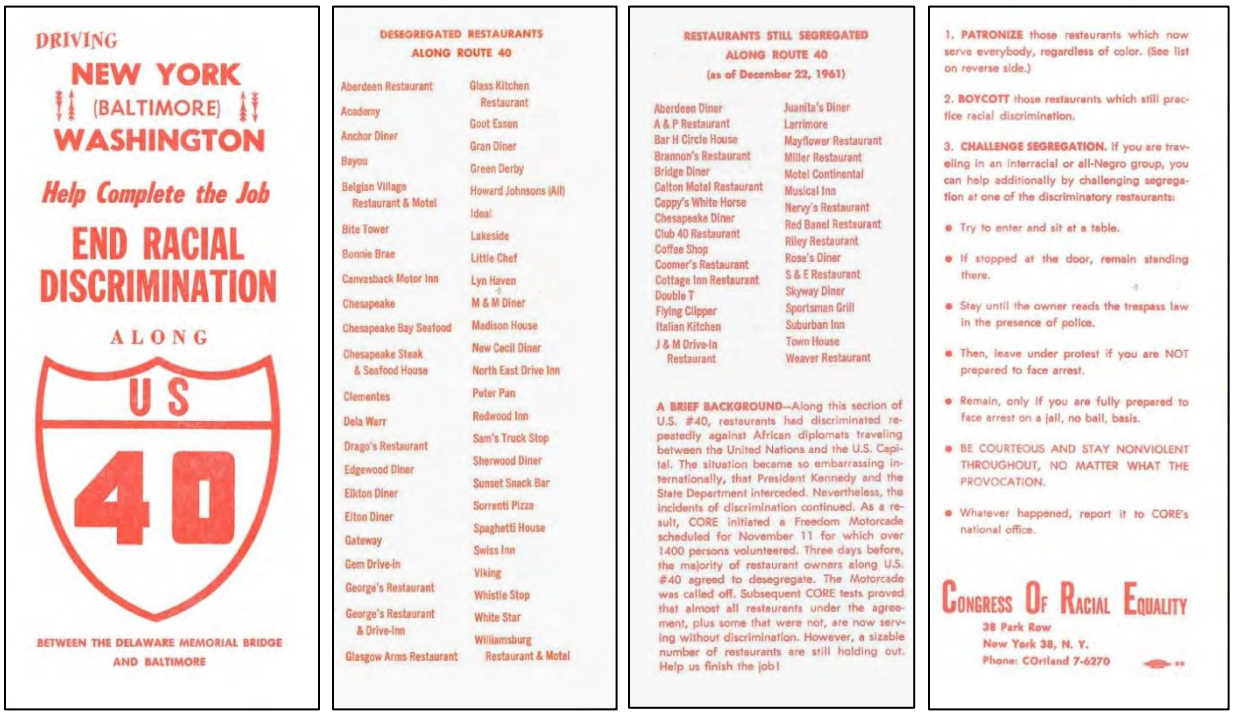

Figure 21. CORE brochure for the Route 40 Project, circa 1962
(Source: Civil Rights Movement Archive).

Activists continued demonstrations at restaurants along US 40 until March 1962 when Gov. Tawes signed the Maryland public accommodations law which desegregated hotels, motels, and restaurants in much of the state. On June 9, 1962, a group of 80 students from New York attempted to be served at 30 segregated restaurants. Police officers arrested six of them at the A&P Restaurant in Aberdeen and Rose's Diner in Elkton. By January 1964, all restaurants along this 60-mile-long stretch of US 40 had desegregated, including the Double T Diner in Catonsville. "I have no regrets since I integrated," said owner John Fangikis. "Everybody is welcome." Other restaurants near Baltimore that had desegregated included the Brooks' Williamsburg Inn, S&E Truck Stop Restaurant, Curb Restaurant, and Riley's Restaurant. Besides the desegregation protests, another reason that spurred restaurant and motel owners to lower the color bar was the loss of business caused by the opening of the

[114] Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 2003, 47.

Northeastern Expressway (which became part of I-95) in November 1963. The new highway resulted in 50 to 75 percent fewer tourists traveling along US 40 in Maryland.[115]

As a result of the Route 40 Project in Maryland, CORE implemented Freedom Motorcades along US 1 from Virginia to Florida.[116]

US 1 Sit-Ins, Prince George's County, February 1962

On February 10, 1962, a group of 32 students—Black and white—protested segregated restaurants along US 1 between Riverdale and Laurel in Prince George's County. Police officers arrested Pamela O. Long, a student from Chestertown attending the University of Maryland, at a sit-in demonstration at an eating place in Riverdale. This sit-in may have been part of CORE's expansion of the Freedom Motorcade campaign that expanded down U.S 1 from Maryland to Florida.[117]

Westminster Protests, December 1962

On December 8, 1962, a group of over 100 students from New York, New Jersey, and Washington, DC, led a demonstration at Westminster, a small town in Carroll County near the border with Pennsylvania. John C. Roemer with CORE-Baltimore led the protesters, who tested segregation at every restaurant in town. The protesters also attempted to purchase tickets at the Carroll Theater but were denied admission. The protests at Westminster were "the largest demonstrations to date in western Maryland," stated Roemer.[118]

1.1.3 A Flash Point, 1963–1964

In January 1962, elected officials in Montgomery County passed a public accommodations ordinance—the first in Maryland—that resulted in desegregation of businesses that accommodated the public, such as lunch counters, restaurants, bowling alleys, skating rinks, and motels. In May 1962, a national Civil Rights Conference was held in Baltimore. The following month, after five years of advocacy, the city council in Baltimore passed a municipal public accommodations ordinance. Members of CORE-Baltimore and CIG had lobbied tirelessly for the legislation. Like Montgomery County, the Baltimore ordinance exempted businesses where revenue from the sales of alcoholic beverages exceeded food, such as bars and taverns. On March 29, 1963, the Maryland General Assembly passed a statewide public accommodations law that desegregated hotels, motels, and restaurants in the city of Baltimore and 12 of the state's 23 counties. Subtitled "Discrimination in

[115] "6 Are Arrested On Freedom Ride," *Baltimore Sun*, June 10, 1962: 31, 45; "Everyone Welcome On Route 40 Now," *Afro-American* (Baltimore Maryland), January 18, 1964: 1–2.
[116] Bruce Hartford. "Civil Rights Movement History, 1961: Desegregate Route 40 Project (Aug-Dec)," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, 2024, https://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis61.htm#1961rt40.
[117] *The Daily Times*, "Riders' Reprieve," 1962:1.
[118] "Groups Hold State Sit-Ins," *Baltimore Sun*, December 9, 1962: 34.

Public Accommodations," Gov. J. Millard Tawes signed the hard-won bill, which went into effect on June 1, 1963.[119]

Maryland's public accommodations law, however, exempted Calvert, Caroline, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, St. Mary's Somerset, Talbot, Wicomico, and Worcester counties in the eastern part of the state and Garrett County at the western border with West Virginia. It also did not apply to private facilities. Therefore, desegregation efforts continued in 1963 and 1964 with demonstrations held across Maryland where whites-only facilities refused to desegregate.

High profile demonstrations led to Maryland becoming a flash point in the civil rights movement: a Baltimore civil rights activist made national headlines during a solo Freedom Walk that turned tragic in the Deep South; Maryland civil rights activists joined CORE demonstrators traveling along US 40 from Brooklyn, New York, for the March on Washington held on the National Mall; and in the summer of 1963, the eyes of the nation turned to Maryland's Eastern Shore, where violent clashes between civil rights activists and segregationists led to disastrous consequences.

1.1.3.1 Freedom Walks by William Moore, Feb-April 1963

William Lewis "Bill" Moore (1927–1963), a 35-year-old white Baltimore mailman, was one of the 151 protesters arrested on February 15, 1963, during the demonstrations at the Northwood Theater near Morgan State. A member of CORE, he was the only white person arrested. A native of Binghamton, New York, Moore was raised by his grandparents in Russell, Mississippi. In 1936, he returned to Binghamton where he married Mary F. Hamilton (1926–2008) and helped raise her three daughters. He served as a Marine during World War II. From 1950–1953, Moore studied in England and France before returning to the U.S. to study at Harpur College and Johns Hopkins University. While living in Baltimore in 1952 he found work as a part time mail carrier. He returned to Binghamton in 1953 where he lived on a farm and became involved with CORE. Moore returned to Baltimore in November 1962 to be closer to the civil rights action. On February 23, the day after the theater was desegregated, Moore completed a 27-mile-long Freedom Walk from Baltimore to Annapolis where he delivered a letter to the secretary of the State Senate protesting the student arrests. During the walk, he wore a sandwich-board sign reading: "*End Segregation in America ("Black or White Eat at Joe's)*" and "*Equal Rights For All Men*" (Figure 18). The route he took on his solo Freedom Walk is unknown, but he most likely followed the Gov. Ritchie Highway (MD 2), same as the protesters during the March-on-Annapolis in 1942. Representative Joe O'Connell took him to dinner and drove him back to Baltimore.[120]

[119] Pousson and Diehlmann, "Civil Rights," 2023, 113, 117.

[120]"41-Mile 'Freedom Walk' Ends At White House." *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), April 6, 1963: 11; Stanton, *Freedom Walk,* 4–5, 10–20, 42–48, 53; William Moore, "Desegregation of a Theater—And My First Walk." *CORE–Lator Newsletter Supplement*, 1963, 1–2. Digitized by Civil Rights Movement Veterans, 2024. https://www.crmvet.org/docs/core/corehome.htm; Scott Martelle, "A Stain in Alabama," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 2002. https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-oct-27-tm-south43-story.html; Zinn Education Project,

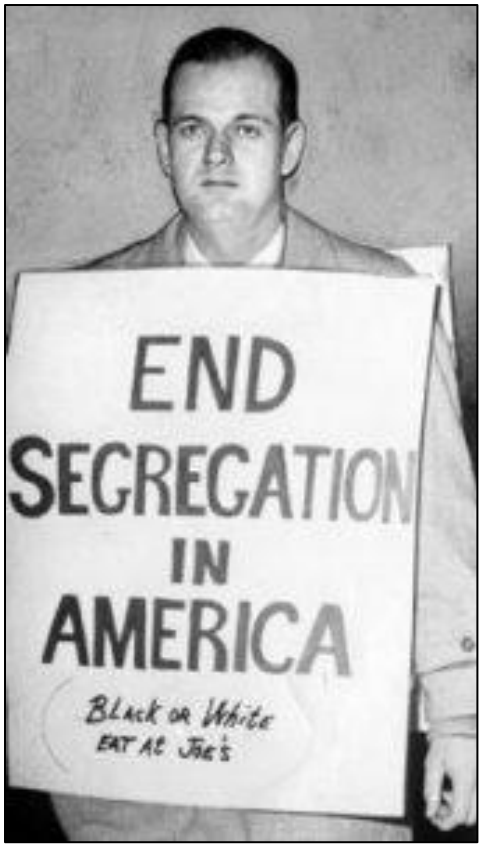

Figure 18. Photograph of William Moore at Annapolis, February 23, 1963
(Source: Zinn Education Project, "Civil Rights Activist," 2024).

"Perhaps it was this walk which gave me the idea for my forthcoming walk in the south," stated Moore. "I felt that a white mailman, born in the south, delivering a letter…would have a certain impact." The following month, on March 29, 1963, Moore completed a 41-mile-long Freedom Walk from the 3000 block of Washington Boulevard (US 1) in west Baltimore to the White House in the nation's capital wearing a sign reading: "*End Segregation*." Along the way he received mixed reactions from passersby. He was twice called a "n---r lover" which he accepted, "not in the spirit intended, but as the compliment I considered it to be." A white woman commented, "You are on the wrong side." On the other hand, a Black man commented, "You're wearing the right sign" and another Black man stopped and gave him money for sandwiches. On the way, Moore spent the night at a motel in Laurel—the same small town along US 1 in northern Prince George's County where women protestors stopped to spend the night during the 230-mile-long 1913 Suffrage Hike between New

"April 23, 1963: White Civil Rights Activist Murdered on Racial Justice Walk in Alabama," 2024. https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/postal-worker-shot-killed-on-march. Moore's family stayed in Binghamton so his stepchildren could finish out the school year before relocating to Baltimore.

York City and Washington, DC. His solo Freedom Walk along US 1 took place during the height of the violent protests occurring in Birmingham, Alabama.[121]

Upon arriving at the White House, security guards would not allow him to hand deliver his letter to President John F. Kennedy detailing his plans to complete a 1,000-mile-long Freedom Walk from the White House to Jackson, Mississippi. Instead, he delivered it to Chester A. Bowles (1901–1986), the Under Secretary of State. Moore tried to meet with the two U.S. Senators representing Mississippi to discuss race relations, but they were unavailable. He returned to Baltimore by bus and started planning his solo Freedom Walk to the Deep South.[122]

On April 20, 1963, Moore rode a Greyhound bus from Baltimore to Chattanooga, Tennessee, and initiated a 400-mile-long Freedom Walk along U.S. 11 to Jackson, Mississippi. Rev. Irving Murray, pastor at the First Unitarian Church (B-56; NRHP, 1972) in Baltimore, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had endorsed his trip. He pulled a grocery cart serving as his suitcase along the side of the highway while wearing sandwich-board signs reading: "*Equal Rights for All (Mississippi or Bust)*" and "*End Segregation in America, Eat at Joe's—Both Black and White*." Moore carried mimeographed copies of his letters to President Kennedy and Gov. Barnett to hand out to passersby. He planned to hand deliver a letter to Gov. Ross Barnett (1898–1987), a white supremacist, urging him to end segregation. "Do not go down in infamy as one who fought the democracy for all which you have not the power to prevent," read the letter. "Be gracious. Give more than is immediately demanded of you." Moore never delivered the letter to Gov. Barnett.[123]

On April 23, Moore was shot twice in the head at point-blank range by a rifle and killed near Attalla, Alabama, roughly 300 miles from Jackson. His body was left tangled in his sandwich-board sign on the side of the road. Floyd L. Simpson (1922–1998), a member of the Ku Klux Klan, owned the gun and was arrested for the murder but a local grand jury refused to indict him. Alabama Gov. George Wallace and President Kennedy denounced the killing. Within a month, 29 young people representing CORE and SNCC and carrying signs reading "Mississippi or Bust" were beaten and arrested at Gadsden, Alabama, for trying to finish the walk that Moore had begun. Over the next few weeks, more students attempted to finish the walk. They, too, were arrested. "The slaying of the Baltimore postman became a cause célèbre among integrationists, and others took up the walk he left unfinished," reported the *New York Times*.[124]

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[121] *Afro-American*, "White House," 1963, 11; Moore, "Desegregation," 1963, 2; Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 2003, 53–54.
[122] *Afro-American*, "White House," 1963, 11.
[123] Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 2003, 3–7; Martelle, "Stain," 2002; Zinn Education Project, "Civil Rights Activist," 2024; Miles Johnson, "A Postman's 1963 Walk for Justice, Cut Short On An Alabama Road," *National Public Radio*, August 14, 2013. https://www.npr.org/2013/08/14/211711898/a-postmans-1963-walk-for-justice-cut-short-on-an-alabama-road. Moore kept a journal during his walk.
[124] Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 2003, 3–; "Alabama Jury Refuses To Indict In Murder of Hiking Postman," *New York Times*, September 14, 1963, 11; CORE-Lator, "Freedom Marchers Resume Moore's Walk," 1963, 2; Zinn Education Project, "Racial Justice," 2024; Johnson, "Walk for Justice," 2013; Mary Kunza, "William Lewis Moore (Memorial ID 86209561)." Find a Grave (online database), 2012. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/86209561/william_lewis-

According to a special issue of the CORE newsletter published in commemoration of William Lewis, he was the first member of CORE to die in nonviolent action.[125] CORE-Baltimore held a memorial service for Moore at the First Unitarian Church. Around 450 mourners, mostly Black, attended along with his widow Mary Moore who traveled from Binghamton, New York. She learned that Moore had worked at the CORE-Baltimore office on North Avenue and that he had many activist friends from the Route 40 Freedom Ride and the Northwood Movie Theater demonstrations.[126] Soon after his death, folk singer and civil rights activist Pete Seeger (1919–2014) recorded "William Moore, The Mailman" on his *Broadside Ballads* album with the lyrics:

> William Moore you were a mailman
> You never missed a day
> You always got your letter thru
> Nobody blocked your way
>
> One day you had a message
> You felt you had to shout
> It wasn't an ordinary message
> Took you beyond your route
>
> The message dealt with brotherhood
> And love and friendship too
> It wasn't a regular message
> So they wouldn't let you through
>
> They stopped you, William Moore, I know
> But your message did get through
> For they can kill a man for sure
> But not his message too[127]

1.1.3.2 Swimming Pool Protests, July–August 1963

In the summer of 1963, civil rights activists continued their multi-year effort to desegregate private swimming pools in Maryland. The statewide public accommodations law did not apply to privately owned and operated swimming pools or beaches. In Baltimore, members of CORE, CIG, NAACP-Baltimore, and the National Council of Churches (NCC) led the campaigns. On July 4, 1963, police

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moore. Lewis was buried at Croome Cemetery in Binghamton, New York. In 2008, admirers of Moore completed the march in his memory with copies of his letter in hand. In 2010, the City of Binghamton erected a memorial plaque in tribute of Lewis and in 2019 the Alabama Historical Society erected a historical marker at the site of Lewis's murder.

[125] *CORE-Lator*, "Last Delivery," 1963, 1.

[126] Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 2003, 91–93. Mary Moore had never moved to Baltimore with her husband.

[127] Peter Seeger, "William Moore, The Mailman," *Broadside Ballads*, Vol. 2, Folkway Records, New York, 1963. In the 1960s, protest singer and civil rights activist Phil Ochs (1940–1976) recorded "William Moore," which was posthumously released on his *A Toast to Those Who Are Gone* album (1986). Moore's murder remains unsolved, and the FBI's case file remains open. While his unsolved murder in Alabama has received much national attention, his civil rights activism in Baltimore is little known.

officers arrested 283 male and female protesters at the Gwynn Oak Amusement Park in Woodlawn in Baltimore County. When protesters returned three days later, the demonstration turned violent, and police arrested even more protesters. In total, officers arrested nearly 400 protesters, including nearly two dozen Catholic and Protestant clergy and Jewish rabbis (Figure 19).[128]

Figure 19. Photograph of CORE protesters at Gwynn Oaks, July 1963
(Source: Studies in Feminist Activism, "Gwynn Oak," 2015).

Protests and picketing also took place in the city of Baltimore at Carlin's Park and Meadowbrook swimming pools and in Baltimore County at Beaver Springs Swimming Club in Cockeysville where police officers arrested six CORE protesters on August 10 and another 9 on August 17. In advance of the initial protest, Joshua Cockey, owner of Beavers Springs, erected a "chicken-wire enclosure" as a "stockade to pen demonstrators." Members of the pro-segregation Fighting American Nationalists attempted to disrupt the August 17 protest by members of CORE. Protests also took place at the Five Oaks Swimming Club on Frederick Road (MD 144) in Catonsville, where police officers arrested six

[128] Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2008, 190–19; Pousson and Diehlman, "Civil Rights," 2023, 89; "Gwynn Oak Park: A Civil Rights Movement in Baltimore," Studies in Feminist Activism, May 9, 2015, https://umbcactivism.wordpress.com/2015/05/09/gwynn-oak-park-a-civil-rights-movement-in-baltimore/. Gwynn Oak Park was destroyed by Hurricane Agnes in 1972.

protesters on August 11, and at the Rosedale Swimming Club on Luzerne Avenue in Fullerton, where two protesters were arrested on August 31. During a picket at Five Oaks, a protester carried a sign reading "Free State Isn't Free."[129]

In early August, representatives of CORE entered negotiations with the Baltimore County Human Relations Commission (BCHRM) about desegregating private swimming clubs. Baltimore County executive Spiro T. Agnew (1918–1996) was also involved in the talks. By mid-August owners of six whites-only swimming pools—Five Oaks, Milford Mill, Oregon, Glyndon, Beaver Springs, and Beaver Dam—agreed to desegregate under the stipulation that protestors did not issue threats or ultimatums of mass demonstrations and would limit picketing. However, CORE officials resumed demonstrations after no progress was made, and the talks fell apart. By August 31, the chairman of the BCHRM determined it was "hardly possible" for the pools to be desegregated by summer's end.[130]

1.1.3.3 Belair Fair Housing Protest, Bowie, August–September 1963

In 1960, William Levitt (1907-1994) broke ground on his fourth planned community, named "Belair at Bowie" (PG:71B-18). The community was near U.S. 50, MD 197, and MD 3. He designed single-family houses to be both customizable and affordable and by 1962 more than 2,000 families had purchased and reserved lots and more were on a lengthy waiting list. Levitt's policy at all four developments was that only white families could purchase properties.[131]

In December 1962, Belair salespeople refused to sell a home to Dr. Karl D. Gregory (b.1931), a Black economist for the federal government. In response, CORE organized a protest, staging pickets, marching, and sit-ins in August and September 1963. The largest protest consisted of 150 picketers, including white property owners at Belair, and targeted other developments where owners refused to

[129] Stuart S. Smith, "Agnew Sees C.O.R.E. Today on Pool Plea," *Baltimore Sun*, August 9, 1963: 38; "Six Pickets Arrested at Private Pool," *Baltimore Sun*, August 11, 1963: 46; "2 Swim Club Pickets Are Carried Off," *Baltimore Sun*, August 12, 1963: 30; "9 Arrested at Swim Pool as 30 Picket," *Baltimore Sun*, August 18, 1963: 46; "2 Arrested at Rosedale Swim Pool," *Baltimore Sun*, September 1, 1963: 18; "Integrationists Picket Pool in County," *Baltimore Sun*, August 10, 1963: 18; MHT "Levitt and Sons Belair Development (PG:71B-18") Medusa, 2004. https://apps.mht.maryland.gov/medusa/mapintermediate.aspx?ID=36768&ID1=36768&ID2=undefined&Section=archInv&PropertyID=47752&selRec=archInv. Beaver Springs Swimming Club, demolished in the 1980s, was located next to the extant Beaver Dam Swimming Club (BA-3107).

[130] "6 County Swimming Pool Owners Okay Integrations Talks," *The Evening Sun*, August 14, 1963:72; "Agnew, C.O.R.E. Set Pool Integration Talk," *The Evening Sun*, August 9, 1963:26; Robert A. Erlandson, "Pool Owner Walks Out of Meeting: Cockey Criticizes Member of County Human Relations Group," *The Baltimore Sun*, August 20, 1963:36; "Five Oaks Pool Is Picketed by Ten," *The Evening Sun*, August 31, 1963:18; "New 'Jail-In' Protests Expected at Pools," *The Evening Sun*, August 16, 1963:48. Private swimming pools were desegregated in October 1964 when the Baltimore County Council passed a civil rights ordinance that included desegregation of private recreational facilities, despite opposition from owners of the swimming clubs at Milford Mills, Orchard, and Beaver Springs (Stuart S. Smith. "Rights Bill Passes, 4 to 3: Baltimore County Council Discusses It Briefly." *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1964:8; Edwin Hirschmann, "Split On Rights Still Remain," *The Evening Sun*, September 18, 1964:28).

[131] Katherine Brodt, "'Belair at Bowie': Segregated Suburbia," Boundary Stones (blog) June 12, 2020. https://boundarystones.weta.org/2020/06/12/belair-bowie-segregated-suburbia

sell properties to Black people. Police officers arrested several protesters, and Levitt filed a restraining order (Figure 20). By October, the protests ended, and Belair remained a whites-only development.[132]

Figure 20. Photograph of CORE demonstrator arrested at a Belair protest, September 7, 1963 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Open Housing," 2020).

1.1.3.4 Cambridge Movement, Cambridge, March–July 1963

In the summer of 1963, civil rights activism erupted in violence at Cambridge on Maryland's Eastern Shore—simultaneously with violent Project C protest demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama. Like Birmingham, Cambridge's leaders—mayor Osvrey Pritchett and police chief Brice Kinnamon—presented ardent resistance to desegregation efforts. Cambridge's population of just over 12,000 people was approximately 30 percent Black, almost all of whom lived in the Second Ward, which was separated from the white neighborhoods by Race Street. From March 29–30, 1963, some 50 members of CNAC—formed with the help of SNCC in January 1962—led protest pickets of the Dorsett Theater, Collins Drugstore, Rescue and Fire Company (RFC) arena, and civic buildings. Soon, CNAC enlisted the aid of CIG to elevate the campaign to include all public accommodations, equal employment opportunities, and fair housing. When their demands went unmet, demonstrators led protest marches through the downtown business district (D-699; NRHP, 1990) and boycotts of whites-only businesses. They picketed the swimming pool and skating rink operated by the RFC,

[132] Brodt, "Belair at Bowie,"; "Civil Righters Again Picket Housing Firm," *Cumberland News* (Cumberland, Maryland), August 12, 1963: 2; Washington Area Spark, "Demand Open Housing: 1963-67," February 2, 2020. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/albums/72157648436740856/

which received public funding but remained a whites-only facility. The demonstrations continued through mid-May 1963, with a nighttime march held on May 14. Riots nearly erupted and police officers made regular arrests for trespassing and disorderly conduct.[133]

Gloria Richardson (1922–2021), a graduate of Howard University who worked in her family's drugstore, became the leader of CNAC, which consisted primarily of working-class Black residents, prominent business and church leaders, and high school students. Richardson was drawn to the CNAC by her cousin Frederick C. St. Clair, one of the organization's co-chairs. Richardson was a fearless, focused, and defiant leader with a strong personality. She was arrested many times during protests in Cambridge. The demonstrations in Cambridge were also assisted by students at nearby colleges such as Maryland State College, a historically Black college in Princess Anne.[134]

As a result of the protests in May, the city organized a Committee for Interracial Understanding (CIU), which was ineffectual. CNAC organized daily protest marches and pickets from June 11–13, which became increasingly militant and led to several arrests. The demonstrations drew upwards of 500 protesters and 400 counter protesters (Figure 21). On June 14, the protests turned violent when Black residents set white-owned businesses in the Second Ward on fire and exchanged gunfire with white residents. The gunfire resulted in casualties. As a result, Gov. J. Millard Tawes held an emergency meeting in Annapolis and requested that CNAC agree to cease organizing protest demonstrations for a year. When CNAC refused, Gov. Tawes deployed 500 members of the Maryland National Guard to Cambridge where they encamped on Race Street and instated martial law from June 14–July 8. [135]

On July 11, 1963, violence once again broke out when white patrons attacked six sit-in demonstrators at the Dizzyland Restaurant. That evening, some 250 Black protesters organized a Freedom Walk along Pine Street past the Waugh Church, where CNAC was formed the year before, and up High Street to the Dorchester County Courthouse (D-143; NRHP, 1982). They were met by a crowd of 700 white people who pelted them with rocks and eggs. The Maryland State Police eventually dispersed the two groups. That night, however, a shootout in the Second Ward resulted in two white men and a 12-year-old white boy being wounded by gunfire. Police brought eight Black men in for questioning.[136]

[133] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003: 57, 74–79.
[134] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003: 46–53; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2003, 197–201.
[135] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003: 82–84.
[136] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 85.

Figure 21. Photograph of a protester march at Cambridge, June 12, 1963
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2016).

In the early morning hours of July 12, two carloads of white men drove through the Second Ward and exchanged gunfire with Black residents. At least 12 people were shot, and more white-owned businesses were set afire. Order was restored around 2:00 a.m. Once the sun rose, Gov. Tawes reinstated martial law and redeployed the Maryland National Guard to Cambridge, where they stayed for the next year—the longest military occupation of a U.S. city during peacetime in American history (besides occupation of Confederate states during Reconstruction). Martial law consisted of a 9:00 p.m. curfew, a ban on demonstrations, and prohibitions of carrying firearms and selling liquor (Figure 22).[137]

[137] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 85–86; "Gloria Richardson: Civil Rights Leader," *Baltimore Sun*, February 20, 2020. https://www.baltimoresun.com/2020/02/20/gloria-richardson-civil-rights-leader-photos/.

Figure 22. Photograph of the Maryland National Guard at Cambridge, July 1963
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2016).

With intense protests subsiding in Birmingham and Jackson, Mississippi, the news of violence and racial turmoil in Cambridge made national news. On July 9, Gloria Richardson traveled to Washington, DC and met privately with members of the Kennedy administration. Four days later, President John F. Kennedy criticized the civil rights movement in Cambridge during a press conference. Two weeks later, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy met with Richardson, John Lewis (1940–2020) with SNCC, Gov. Tawes, and local and state officials. After nine hours of negotiations, the parties hammered out an agreement whereby CNAC would suspend protest demonstrations in exchange for "material and tangible" reforms associated with desegregation, housing, and employment. On July 23, 1963, Robert F. Kennedy, alongside Richardson, announced the agreement to end racial problems in Cambridge to the nation (Figure 23). The agreement became known as "The Treaty of Cambridge."[138]

[138] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 86–89; Smith, *Civil Rights*, 2003, 204–208.

Figure 23. Photograph of Gloria Richardson with Robert F. Kennedy, August 1963
(Source: "Gloria Richardson," *Baltimore Sun*, 2020).

1.1.3.5 Maryland State College March, Princess Anne, February 1964

Students at Maryland State College, a historically Black college in Princess Anne on the Eastern Shore, led a protest march along Main Street—currently Somerset Avenue (MD 675)—on February 22, 1964. Today the college is known as the University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES). Approximately 300 students demonstrated in the central business district (S-128; NRHP, 1980) along Main Street, protesting the segregation of public areas, particularly restaurants, in Princess Anne (Figure 24). The march was led by John A. Wilson (1943–1993), the leader of the Student Appeal for Equality (SAFE). A few days prior to the demonstration, Wilson attempted to enter Tull's Restaurant on Main Street when he was beaten up by a white patron. About 20 other students joined Wilson for a sit-in at Tull's. The group, consisting of members of the Maryland State College chapter of SNCC, organized the march on February 22 as a response to the Tull's restaurant incident.[139]

[139] "Negro Students Slugged at Princess Anne Restaurant," *Morning Herald* (Hagerstown, Maryland), Feb. 22, 1964: 2.

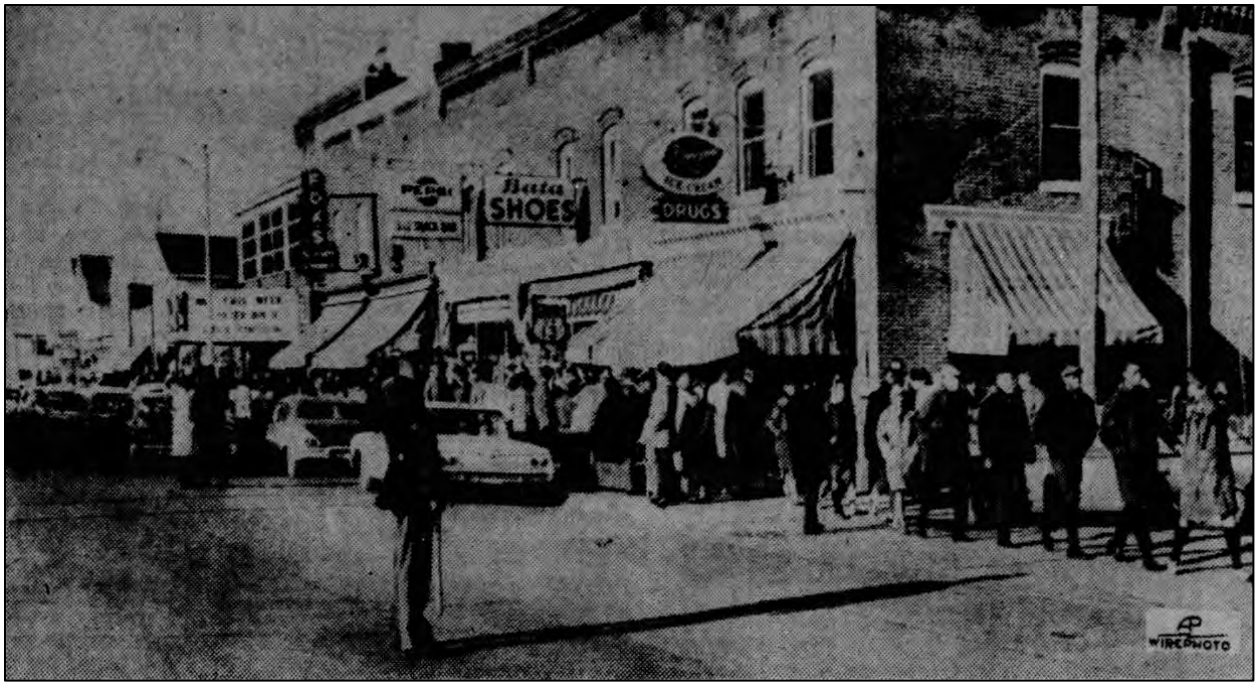

Figure 24. Photograph of protestors marching down Somerset Avenue
(Source: *Evening Sun*, "Princess Anne Students in 5th Protest," February 24, 1971: 17).

After marching and singing for 45 minutes, around 1 pm on February 22, demonstrators had sat down in circles in Main Street and refused to leave. Officers with the Maryland State Police dispersed the crowd using canine dogs, fire hoses, and trucks (Figure 25). Later, another 150 students began another protest march to the town, but were stopped by firemen with fire hoses only a few blocks from campus. About 20 students were arrested on charges of impeding traffic, disorderly conduct, and refusing to obey commands from police officers.[140]

The student demonstrations continued in Princess Anne in response to the continued segregation and the police brutality. Members of SAFE summoned SNCC chairman John Lewis and Cambridge SNCC leader Gloria Richardson to Princess Anne. Lewis reported the violence toward the demonstrators was not from the white residents and stated, "It's from the state police."[141] According to some reports, students resorted to violent tactics against police and threw acid at a state trooper. SNCC leader Reginald Robinson, however, claimed that students did not throw acid at officers.[142] During the

[140] The Associated Press, "Police Dogs Balk Maryland March," *New York* Times, February 27, 1964: 1.
[141] SNCC, "Dogs, Fire Hoses Quell Protests," *Student Voice* (Atlanta, Georgia), March 3, 1964: 1.
[142] SNCC, "Dogs, Fire Hoses Quell Protests," *Student Voice* (Atlanta, Georgia), March 3, 1964: 4.

confrontation, 62 students were injured including at least 14 with dog bites.[143] Because of the violent response by the state police, the *Washington Post* deemed Princess Anne a "Little Birmingham."[144]

Figure 25. Photograph of student protestors fleeing a police dog on Somerset Avenue, 1964 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Princess Anne: 1964," 2016).

1.1.3.6 George Wallace Rally Protest, Cambridge, May 1964

Soon after the Treaty of Cambridge agreement brokered between Gloria Richardson and the Kennedy administration was settled in August 1963, the RFC emerged as a powerful political force in Cambridge. One of the goals of the RFC was to repeal the part of the agreement that made racial discrimination in public accommodations illegal. In response to the CNAC-led protests in the summer of 1963, some 400 white business owners and community leaders, including members of the RFC, formed the Dorchester Business and Citizens Association (DBCA), which challenged the public accommodations ordinance and opposed federally funded public housing. The DBCA filed a petition to repeal the public accommodations ordinance, which passed on October 1 during a special election,

[143] "Maryland Will Shun Use of Dogs to Quell Negro Demonstrators," *New York Times*, March 5, 1964: 26

[144] Charles Rabb, "Use of Dogs is Aid to Rights Advocates," *Washington Post*, March 9, 1964: A6; *Washington Area Spark*, "Rights protesters flee police dogs in Princess Anne: 1964" May 4, 2016.

in part, because Richardson urged Black residents to boycott the election. The victory emboldened pro-segregationists in the white community who fought the statewide public accommodations law, even though it exempted Dorchester County.[145]

In May 1964, the DBCA invited Alabama governor George Wallace, a prominent segregationist, to deliver an address on May 11 at the RFC's arena in Cambridge. Wallace was campaigning for the Democratic primary for the 1964 presidential election. Around 1,200 people—all white—packed the arena to hear Wallace's 50-minute address, which emphasized his pro-constitutional views and warned that pending civil rights legislation endangered long-held American beliefs. The crowd cheered.[146]

Gloria Richardson and the CNAC organized an anti-Wallace protest march and counter-rally outside the arena. Activists from throughout the U.S. traveled to Cambridge to attend the demonstration. Prominent civil rights activists that participated included SNCC leaders Stokely Carmichael, John Lewis, Cleveland Sellers (1944–1973), and H. Rap Brown (b.1943) (Figure). Although Wallace left Cambridge immediately after delivering his segregationist address at the RFC rally, a confrontation ensued when 400 Black and white activists squared off against an equally large contingent from the Maryland National Guard. When Richardson attempted to pass through the Guard's blockade, they arrested her. As she was whisked away, other activists held a sit-in on the street in protest. The Guard responded by using bayonets, mace, and tear gas to disperse the crowd. Police officers arrested scores of protesters. The military-grade gas made residents sick for blocks; at least 65 people, including Carmichael, had to be rushed to the hospital or receive medical treatment. The deaths of an elderly man and an infant afterwards were attributed to the gas. The national media referred to the confrontation as a riot. A week later, Wallace handily won the Democratic primary in Dorchester County, although he lost the state.[147]

[145] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 90–101.
[146] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 107–108.
[147] Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 108–109; SNCC, "Wallace Sparks Cambridge Protests." *Student Voice*, May 19, 1964, 2–3. During the 1972 presidential campaign, Wallace was shot and paralyzed at a shopping center in Laurel, Maryland. The assailant, Arthur Bremer, was white.

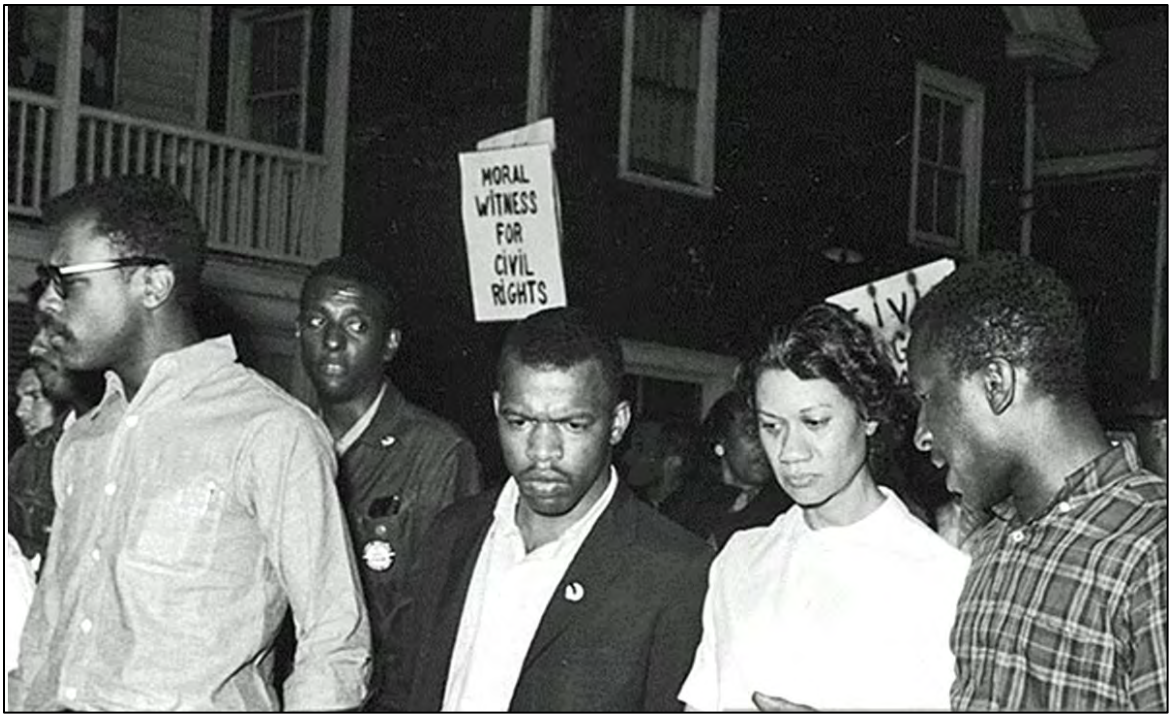

Figure 30. Photograph of Gloria Richardson with Cleveland Sellers (left), Stokely Carmichael (second from left), and John Lewis (center) at Cambridge, May 11, 1964
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Civil Rights MD," 2017).

1.1.4 Maryland After the Civil Rights Act, 1964–1972

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the most comprehensive civil rights legislation since the Civil Rights Act of 1875, mandated equality in access to public accommodations, provided for desegregation of schools and other public facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal. Passed into law in July 1964, this legislation was followed in 1965 with the Voting Rights Act which outlawed discriminatory voting practices adopted in southern states, including Maryland, after the Civil War.

During the 1960s the federal government enacted new programs to construct interstates and implement urban renewal programs that eventually obliterated many Black neighborhoods and business districts throughout Maryland. All this federal legislation, along with numerous court cases, directly impacted Black communities in Maryland. The effects were experienced in years-long battles over school desegregation and busing, employment opportunities, voting rights, anti-poverty, and better housing. And historically Black colleges and universities fought for equal funding.

As in the rest of the country, Maryland's Black communities responded to the evolving civil rights movement in the mid-1960s as the Black Power movement emerged. Simmering bitterness and anger detonated during violent and destructive riots in 1967 and 1968. The assassination of Rev. Martin

Luther King Jr. in Memphis on April 4, 1968, triggered riots in over 100 cities across the nation, including eight days of upheaval in Baltimore. Governor Spiro T. Agnew deployed 6,000 National Guard troops and 500 state police officers to quell the civil disturbance and President Lyndon B. Johnson deployed thousands of Army troops from military bases in North Carolina and Georgia. The riots in Baltimore left 6 dead, 600 injured residents, and hundreds of properties burned, shattered, and in ruins. Police arrested over 5,500 people, nearly all of them Black. The Baltimore riots were on par with those in Chicago and Washington, DC as the most destructive in the nation.

During this tumultuous period, the cities of Cambridge, Salisbury, and Baltimore became militarized battlegrounds, permanently scarred by violent altercations with police, injuries and deaths, and empty lots where buildings once stood. Urban renewal programs, interstate highways, and the growth of suburban communities exacerbated problems within urban Black communities throughout the state.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, interracial coalitions formed and Black representation at the local and state level increased significantly. Students protested Klan rallies in Cecil County and the Vietnam War in College Park. Former Peace Corps members operated a Freedom House for teenagers and runaways in Bethesda. By 1972, civil rights activism in Maryland expanded to include the rights of women, Native Americans, and the LGBT community.

1.1.4.1 Cambridge Riots, Cambridge, July 1967

During the "long, hot summer of 1967," more than 150 race riots erupted in major cities across the U.S. The riots were often triggered by disputes that escalated to violence between Black citizens and white police officers. In June, riots occurred in Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, and Tampa. In July, riots followed in Birmingham, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Newark, New York City, Rochester, and Toledo. The bloodiest riot that summer occurred in Detroit in July when a five-day uprising resulted in 43 deaths, 7,200 arrests, and more than $322 million in property damage.

On July 25, 1967, violence returned to Cambridge, Maryland, when a race riot resulted in the destruction of more than 20 buildings along Pine Street. Forty residents lost their homes. The fire destroyed several Black-owned businesses, a dance hall, and the Zion Baptist Church. Total property damage was estimated at $300,000. The devastation was caused by a fire that burned out of control after someone set the Pine Street Elementary School ablaze. The RFC refused to fight the blaze, which burned until dawn and engulfed two square blocks in the Second Ward (Figure 26). The fire had been preceded by a rash of fires at several white and Black-owned businesses. Caused by arsonists, the simmering racial tension had reached a boiling point along Race Street.[148]

[148] *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2015; Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 134–139.

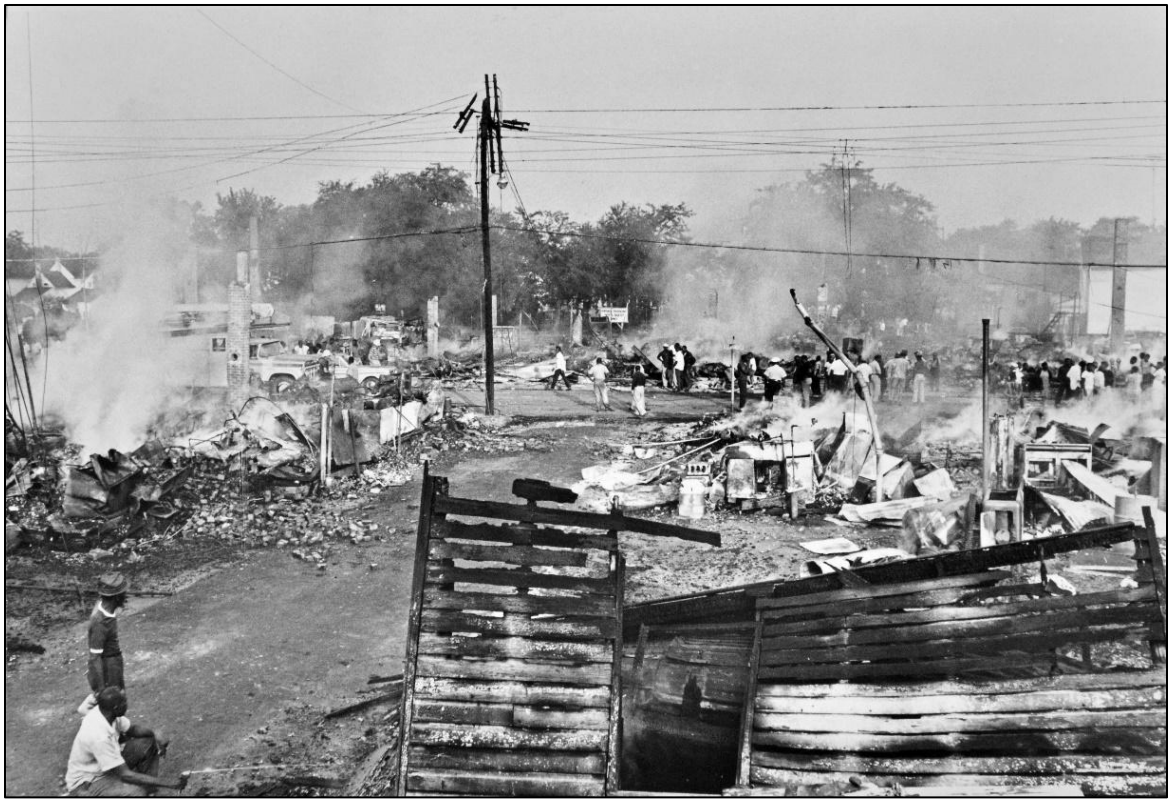

Figure 26. Photograph of burned buildings along Pine Street in Cambridge, July 25, 1967 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2015).

The previous evening, SNCC chair H. Rap Brown gave a fiery "Black Power" speech atop a car at the Pine Street Elementary School. Although she had moved to New York City in 1964, Gloria Richardson still visited family in Cambridge. She had invited Brown to speak in Cambridge. He critiqued white American society and referenced the riots in other cities, concluding, "Detroit exploded, Newark exploded…It's time for Cambridge to explode." Following his vitriolic speech, a police officer fired a warning shot in the ground and the air. Buckshot ricocheted off the pavement and struck Brown, although he was only slightly wounded. Consequently, gunfire broke out between Black and white residents. Gov. Spiro T. Agnew deployed 700 members of the Maryland National Guard to reestablish their posts and secure the city (Figure 27) and traveled to Cambridge calling for the arrest of Brown. Gov. Agnew referred to Black residents in Cambridge as "thugs" and subsequently cut off federal aid to the city. After the race riot, Gov. Agnew evolved from a moderate Republican governor into the embodiment of the conservative far right and made a political career attacking "radical liberals" and calling for "law and order." (In 1968, he was elected vice president of the U.S., serving alongside President Richard Nixon; they were reelected in 1972.)[149]

[149] *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2015; Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 138–144. After released from the hospital, Brown was secreted away from Cambridge and eventually arrested in April 1968. He fled to Canada in March 1970 and

The race riots in the summer of 1967 reinforced the leftward drift of SNCC and advocation of a third world revolution. Images of smoke-filled streets and chaos in Cambridge made front-page news across America. Finally, the riot marked the end of a five-year civil rights movement in Cambridge that sought an end to segregation, economic opportunities, better schools, housing, and healthcare.[150]

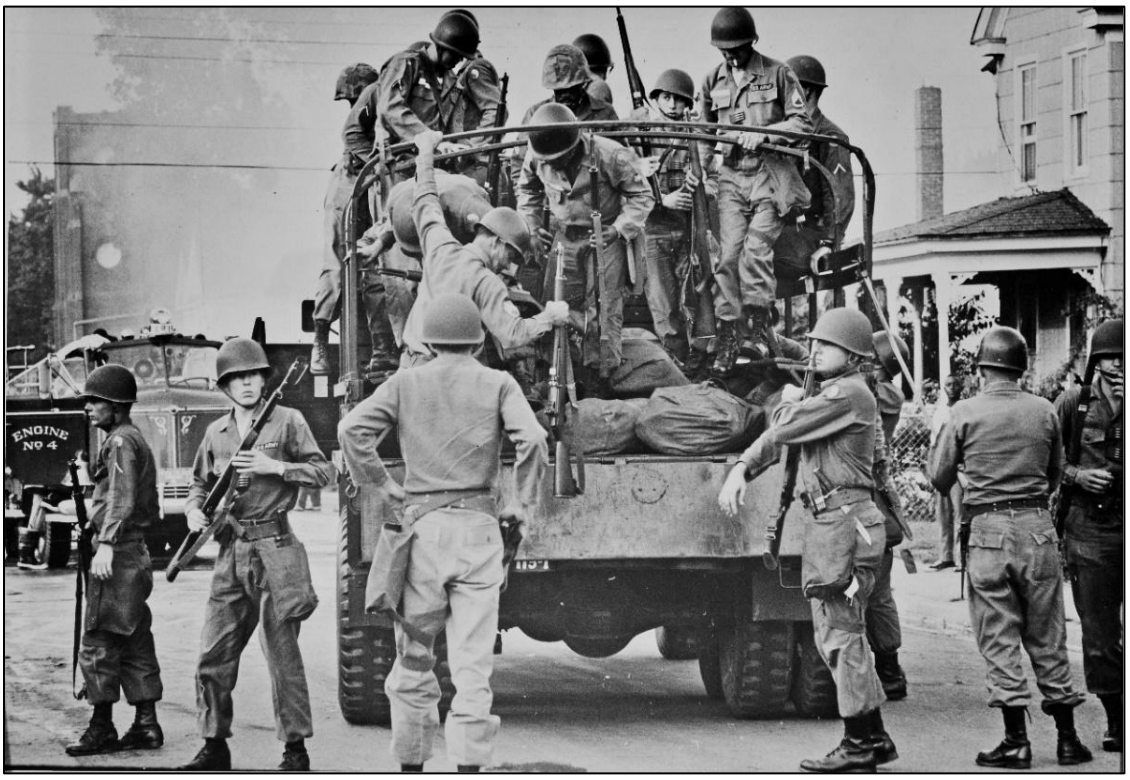

Figure 27. Photograph of the Maryland National Guard in Cambridge, July 25, 1967 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2015).

1.1.4.2 Bowie State College Protests, Bowie, March 1968

On March 27, 1968, students at Bowie State College began a four-day boycott of classes to protest poor conditions on campus. Bowie State College, now known as Bowie State University (PG:71A-21), a historically Black college, is in Prince George's County. The entrance to the 187-acre campus and the president's house (PG:71A-30; NRHP, 1988) are on Laurel Bowie Road (MD 197) and separated by the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad (PG:71A-54). The students conducted a passive boycott of the college facilities because they felt the state of Maryland stood "guilty of criminal neglect in all

arrested in New York City in October 1971. After serving several years in jail and converting to Islam, Brown changed his name to Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin and settled in Atlanta. In 1973, Agnew was investigated by the US Attorney for the District of Maryland on suspicion of a variety of criminal charges. He pled no contest to a felony charge of tax evasion and resigned from office.

[150] *Washington Area Spark*, "Cambridge MD Rights," 2015; Levy, *Race Street*, 2003, 138–144.

things concerning the welfare of Bowie State College."[151] The students demanded improvements to living conditions in the dormitories, quality of food in the dining hall, transportation provided by the college, resources at Pullen Library, and operations in administrative offices. Student protestors were led by Richard R. Smith, the student government president, and Cora Rice (1926–1991), a leader of the Prince George's County chapter of the NAACP. On March 30, 1968, the students barricaded the roads (Figure 28). About 200 students seized campus buildings causing Gov. Spiro T. Agnew to deploy the Maryland State Police riot unit.[152]

Figure 28. Photograph of Richard R. Smith and Cora Rice at a barricade of Bowie State College students, March 27, 1968 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Bowie State: 1968," 2015).

The dispute escalated on April 4 when 250 students travelled to the Maryland State House in Annapolis to stage a "study-in." This action was in response to the Gov. Agnew's refusal to meet with them. Gov. Agnew called for the arrest of 227 students as well as local civil rights leader Kenneth R. Brown, the mid-Atlantic NAACP youth director. Due to the demonstration in Annapolis, the Bowie State campus was shut down for two weeks. Eventually the state allocated $335,000 to improve the

[151] Bowie State University, "The Bowie Crisis," Pamphlet, 1968. On file at the Bowie State University Thurgood Marshall Library Archives and Special Collections.
[152] "Troopers Ordered to Bowie State by Governor," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), March 30, 1968: 1.

conditions at Bowie State.[153] The charges against the 227 students were dropped and the arrests were expunged from their records.[154]

1.1.4.3 Maryland State College March, Princess Anne, May 1968

On May 20, 1968, students at Maryland State College led a protest march along Main Street—current Somerset Avenue (MD 675). Several hundred students silently marched down Main Street in the commercial business district (S-128; NRHP, 1980) in protest of the continued discrimination and segregation they faced at local whites-only restaurants. After about an hour the students marched back to campus. During the return march, students stopped in the Somerset County Bank on Main Street to withdraw all their money in protest. According to the bank president, the amount was "not over $5,000." Rotan E. Lee (1948–2006)[155], a student at Maryland State College and chairman of combined student body organizations, stated the demonstration was the "first of a series of steps, all nonviolent, to show our serious demands." (Figure 29).[156]

Figure 29. Photograph of Maryland State College students marching on Somerset Avenue, May 20, 1968 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Princess Anne Civil Rights March: 1968," 2015).

[153] H-Joost Polak, "Myers Recommends April 16 as Reopening Day for Bowie State," *Baltimore Sun*, April 6, 1968: B22.
[154] "Bowie State in '68: Aftermath," *Bowie State University,* n.d. https://bowiestate.edu/library/about-the-library/departments/archives-and-special-collections/bowie-state-in-68/aftermath.php.
[155] "'Mr. Education' Rotan lee, Who Served as Philadelphia Schools President, Dies at 57," *Morning Call* (Allentown, Pennsylvania), April 27, 2006: B9.
[156] "College Students Hold Silent Demonstration," *Morning Herald* (Hagerstown, Maryland), May 21, 1968: 3.

On May 21, students held a mock funeral in the main intersection in Princess Anne. Rev. Richard N. Hicks, a part-time student at the college and the pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Church, spoke at the demonstration. He stated, "Injustice died long ago, but its spirit lives in Princess Anne and Somerset County. We are going to bury it deep."[157] Later that evening a burning cross was discovered near the campus. These events prompted a meeting between Maryland State College students and faculty and Gov. Spiro T. Agnew at the capital in Annapolis. In the meeting, the governor made promises to take action to eliminate restaurant discrimination and to increase funding to the college for improvements. The students, represented by Lee, promised to seize protests and demonstrations in Princess Anne.[158]

1.1.4.4 Salisbury Protests, Summer 1968

In May 1968, a police shooting led to three days of riots in Salisbury, the seat of Wicomico County and the largest city on the Eastern Shore. About one-third of the town's 18,000 people were Black. On the afternoon of May 18, during a scuffle outside the police station, Jerry C. Mason, a white police detective, shot and killed Daniel K. Henry, a 22-year-old Black man described as deaf-mute. Henry had been questioned for a house burglary. After receiving word of the shooting, around 200 Black residents gathered at the police station where they presented a list of demands, including hiring more Black police officers. At the time, the city had only two Black policemen. Later, some of the crowd smashed windows of businesses along Main Street (WI-145), set fire to McCready's Market and Forbe's Grocery—white-owned stores on Delaware Avenue—and threw stones at passing cars.[159]

In response, Gov. Agnew declared a state of emergency and deployed 800 troops with the Maryland National Guard troops to Salisbury. Working with local and state police, the troops used tear gas and canines to disperse the crowds and patrolled neighborhoods. The guard mobilized at the Armory. Mayor Dallas Truitt ordered a 7 p.m. curfew and banned the sale of liquor. During the lockdown at Salisbury, arsonists set fires in the neighboring town of Fruitland. Fires at the George T. Phipps & Sons and Pinelands Company lumberyards could be seen for miles. Officers also discovered crude firebombs at two stores on Lake Street and one in Westover Hills in Salisbury. Troops dispersed a group of 25 youth who had barricaded traffic along city streets. Troops also intervened to break up a protest march by 20 white men carrying signs reading "In support of law officers," "Wake up, white people," and "Stop burning." The three-day riot resulted in injuries to 20 people, 50 arrests, and more than $200,000 in property damage.[160]

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[157] "Agnew Vows Help to End Shore Bias," *Baltimore Sun*, May 22, 1968: C14.
[158] "Cross Burned Near College in Maryland," *Cumberland Evening Times* (Cumberland, Maryland), May 22, 1968: 1.
[159] Liz Holland, "1968 Riots," *The Daily Times* (Salisbury, Maryland), May 10, 2018; "Negroes Riot in Salisbury, Md.: Governor Declares Emergency," *New York Times*, May 19, 1968: 75; "State of Emergency Declared in Salisbury In Wake of Negro Riot," *Baltimore Sun*, May 19, 1968, 24; .
[160] Holland, "1968 Riots," 2018; Kirk Scharfenberg, "Guardsmen Keep Peace in Salisbury," *Baltimore Sun*, May 20, 1968, 12, 24; "Police Guard Firemen at Two Mill Blazes," *Baltimore Sun*, May 20, 1968, 24; Bruce Cutler, "Salisbury Under 3d Straight 12-Hour Curfew," *Baltimore Sun*, May 21, 1968, 26.

During the riots, James Leonard, chair of the local branch of the NAACP, and other leaders in the Black community held meetings at the First Baptist Church. The NAACP called for Mason, the detective who had been charged with manslaughter, to be fired.[161]

After the riots, mayor Truitt formed the National Taxpayers Coordination Committee, which consisted of 216 white citizens who served as "auxiliary" peacekeepers who were tasked with patrolling the commercial district and Black neighborhoods throughout the summer months, increasing racial tension in the city. On August 24, Black residents organized a protest march through downtown to the police station where Henry was killed as police officers with tear gas cannisters and riot guns looked on. Around 75 protesters carried signs reading "216—murderers on the loose." The protest march had been organized by various leaders with the NAACP. Kenneth R. Brown with the national office of the NAACP spoke at the demonstration and called for Gov. Agnew to travel to Salisbury to discuss the ongoing situation with town leaders.[162]

On September 7, a group of nearly 100 Black protesters demonstrated outside the Wicomico County Courthouse where Jerry Mason was scheduled to appear before a grand jury for manslaughter charges. The protesters held a memorial service for Daniel K. Henry while the jury was in session. Black residents had demonstrated for four consecutive Saturdays, calling for the dismissal of Mason. The demonstration closed with a protest march through the downtown business district that ended at the police station. Armed police officers in full riot gear walked alongside the protesters. The grand jury exonerated Mason, but he resigned on June 3. Upon receiving his resignation, the city council voted to pay Mason for 42 days of annual leave, overtime, and holidays.[163]

1.1.4.5 Resistance to Klan Rally, Rising Sun, June 1971

On June 20, 1971, some 2,000 members of the KKK participated in a Klan Rally on a rural farm in Rising Sun, a small town in Cecil County near the border with Pennsylvania. The area was a stronghold for the Klan. Located on a farm owned by George Baynard Boyle (1901–1989) along Sylmar Road between Telegraph Road (MD 273) and US 1, Boyle hosted Klan rallies throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Members of KKK units from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey traveled to the farm to honor fallen Klansmen. The rally consisted of a picnic in an open field and nighttime speeches from Robert Hudgins, the Grand Dragon of Virginia, and others. Robert M. Shelton, Jr. (1929–2003), the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, was scheduled to speak, but failed to appear. At the close of the rally, Klansmen gathered around a 40-foot, burlap-wrapped cross and set it on fire while chanting (Figure 30).[164]

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[161] Scharfenberg, "Salisbury," 1968, 24; Holland, "1968 Riots," 2018.
[162] Kirk Scharfenberg, "Police Auxiliary Plan Protested," *Baltimore Sun*, August 25, 1968, 22.
[163] Kirk Scharfenberg, "Protest Set During Shore Jury Hearing," *Baltimore Sun*, September 8, 1968, 26; "Policeman, Riot Figure, Quits Job," *Washington Post*, June 4, 1969, 11.
[164] Dennis McLellan, "Robert M. Shelton, Infamous Leader of Ku Klux Klan group, dies at 73," *Los Angeles Times,* March 22, 2003, B20; "Anti-KKK Rally Set Saturday," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, Delaware), June 17, 1971: 1;

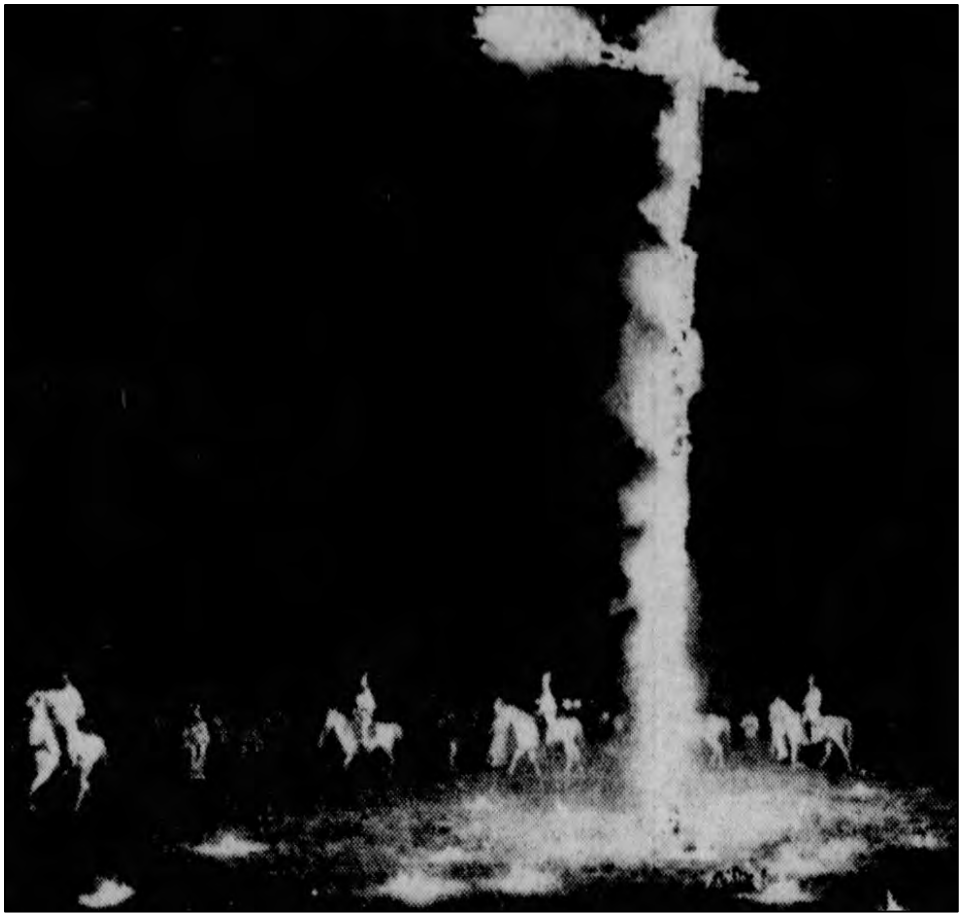

Figure 30. Photograph of Klansmen circling a burning cross at the Rising Sun rally (Source: *Baltimore Sun*, "Cecil County Klan Rally Draws Nearly 400," June 21, 1971, 40).

The Klan Rally on Boyle's farm at Rising Sun was met with 50–60 protestors from organizations Delaware and Maryland. Around 40 protestors from the Delaware Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the Delaware Center for United Labor Actions, and Mother Bloor Collective out of Prince George's County demonstrated at the rally site. The Delaware YAWF had released flyers prior to the rally that condemned the KKK as "racist, fascist, antiblack, antilabor, anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish" and stated, "The Klan is an illegal, criminal murderous organization. They must be stopped." [165] The protesters picketed the Klan Rally alongside the road next to the farm. Some 40 state policemen and 6 deputy sheriffs were present at the rally site and armed with riot gear. The protesters were at the site

Antero Pietila, "Cecil County Klan Rally Draws Nearly 400," *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1971: 40; "Klan Rally Draws 2,000 in Maryland," *New York Times*, November 7, 1965: 74; Mae Rankin, "Observations at a 1965 Md. Klan rally," Washington Area Spark, October 28, 2019. https://washingtonareaspark.com/2019/10/28/observations-at-a-1966-md-klan-rally/. The Klan continued to host rallies at Rising Sun and Cecil County through at least 2013.

[165] Delaware Youth Against War and Fascism, "Stop the Klan," Flyer, 1971. On file with Washington Area Spark, https://washingtonareaspark.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/1971-06-rising-sun-klan001.pdf.

for about an hour and left before the nighttime cross burning. Although the protesters were prepared for conflict with guns and axe handles stored in a car trunk, no violent confrontations were reported. On November 6, 1965, the Klan held another rally at Boyle's farm to honor fallen Klansmen.[166]

1.2. Women's Rights

After the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified and women won the right to vote in 1920, women's activism turned to the fight for equality in all other areas of public life, including the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1972. First introduced in Congress in 1923, the yet-to-be ratified ERA would guarantee equal opportunity in issues like property rights, employment, and divorce. Unlike the unifying issue of the right to vote, the more nebulous access to "civil rights" divided activist organizations. The League of Women Voters focused on the political system, getting women to run for office, campaigning for candidates and advocating for issues in their communities, such as improving schools and social services. Other organizations, such as the Women's Trade Union League, focused on labor organization and the workplace.[167]

Feminist books such as *The Second Sex* by French activist Simone de Beauvior (1908–1986), first published in the U.S. in 1953, and *The Feminine Mistique* by Betty Friedan (1921–2006) in 1963 helped give voice to the dissatisfaction many women felt with their roles as housewives. A cofounder of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Frieden highlighted the "malaise" felt by middle-class white women who were attempting to live the suburban ideal sold by advertising and popular culture.[168]

In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act, which President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) signed the into law on June 10, 1963. Amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, this law stipulated that employers could no longer discriminate between employees based on sex by for doing substantially equal work on jobs. Congress had first introduced acts that prohibited sex discrimination in payment of wages by employers in 1944; however, the issue languished until 1963. These acts were in response to the belief that men should be paid more than women. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 was amended with the Education Amendments of 1972—nicknamed Title IX—signed into law on by

[166] Robert Simpson, "Standing Against the Maryland Klan 1971: A Personal Memory," *Washington Area Spark*, January 2, 2013. https://washingtonareaspark.com/2013/01/02/standing-against-the-maryland-klan-1971-a-personal-memory/; "Klan Rally Clashless; New-Left Protest Brief," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, Delaware), June 21, 1971, 3. According to Robert Simpson, George B. Boyle's farm was located on the west side of Sylmar Road just south of the intersection with Little New York Road and subsequently developed with residential dwellings at 225-229 Sylmar Road.
[167] Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 220.
[168] National Women's History Museum, "Feminism: The Second Wave," Updated, June 18, 2020. https://www.womenshistory.org/exhibits/feminism-second-wave.

President Richard Nixon (1913–1994). Title IX expanded the coverage of the Equal Pay Act to executives, administrators, outside salespeople, and professionals.[169]

The 1964 Civil Rights Act prevented employers from discriminating against employees based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. This law further strengthened women's rights in the workplace. In 1965, the U.S. Supreme Court made ruled in the *Griswold v. Connecticut* legal case that no limits could be placed on a woman's access to contraception or birth control. This ruling was used as precedent in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973.

1.2.1 Women's Equality Movement

In 1963, Betty Frieden and 48 others founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) to fight for the equal rights of women. Their declared focus was to fight for the enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, maternity leave, Social Security benefits, tax deduction for home and childcare expenses, child daycare centers, equal education, equal job opportunities, and reproductive rights. To achieve these ends, their primary focus was the passage of the ERA. The Maryland chapter of NOW was composed "mostly of white female suburbanites" who "focused on economic and educational equality, and established daycare centers, abortion centers, and battered women's shelters in Anne Arundel County and Baltimore." In 1968, three white women in Baltimore launched *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, a publication that reflected the growth of the women's liberation movement, which had taken on an "antisexist, antiracist, antiwar rhetorical stance."[170]

In February 1970, NOW disrupted meetings of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments and lobbied Congress to pass the ERA. In 1972, Congress passed the act and sent it to the state for ratification, where it would need 75 percent of states, a total of 38, to become an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Congress added that the states had until 1979 to pass the act, though scholars have argued that the arbitrary date has no basis in the Constitution. NOW organized lobbying efforts and demonstrations throughout the country and by 1977, 35 states had ratified the ERA, including Maryland in 1972. [171]

On July 9, 1978, NOW led a march in Washington DC to support extending the deadline for the ratification of the ERA. More than 100,000 protestors joined this March for Equality, the largest pro-feminist demonstration in history. Congress extended the deadline to 1982. NOW continued to organize marches and demonstrations in support of the ERA through the country, including the 1980 protest at the Republican National Convention in Detroit in response to withdrawing their support

[169] Federal Employment and Labor Laws/Equal Pay Act of 1963—1963—29 U.S. Code 8 § 206(d); Federal Employment and Labor Laws/Education Amendments of 1972. Public Law No. 92-318, Stat. 235.
[170] T. Information Architects of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "National Organization for Women," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, November 25, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Organization-for-Women; Martin and Sullivan, *Civil Rights*, 2000, 457.
[171] NOW, "The Intertwining History of NOW and the ERA," 2024. https://now.org/the-intertwining-history-of-now-and-the-era/.

of the act. Despite organizing, fundraising, and a national ad campaign, no additional states ratified the ERA before the 1982 deadline. [172]

Women's rights demonstrations waned after the failure of the ERA and a general feeling existed in the country that the movement's goals had been achieved. NOW continued to fight for abortion rights, sexual harassment laws, full equality in the military and to secure greater federal funding for child care and for programs to prevent violence against women. NOW has continued to organize support for the amendment which is regularly reintroduced in Congress. Since 2017, the three necessary additional states have ratified the amendment, but it has not yet been brought to the floor in Congress.[173]

1.2.1.1 Salisbury State College NOW Rally, Salisbury, October 1979

On Friday October 19, 1979, Carol Klemm (1947–2018), the president of the Maryland chapter of NOW, held a rally on the campus of Salisbury State College (SSC)—now known as Salisbury University—in response to an alleged sexual assault. The case was widely publicized after accounts in the local media accused some 100 male SSC students, including athletes, of raping and molesting a female student, known as "Miss X," at off-campus houses over a three-day period from September 18–20. Subsequent reports claimed that the female student involved was a willing participant, but her apparent history of mental illness further clouded the issue of her ability to consent. Allegedly, several male students informed a nurse at the SSC Health Center, which resulted in her admittance to a local hospital. On October 10, the campus newspaper published a letter by Joseph and Michelle Mohler who claimed the college failed to contact law enforcement and accused the campus administration of covering up the assault. According to subsequent newspaper reports, students and members of the administration were angry at what they felt was the disproportionate publicity of the assault and that they had "suffered unfairly…as a result of the immoral acts of a few," according to college president Norman C. Crawford Jr. (1931–2016).[174]

At the rally held in front of Holloway Hall (WI-135), the original SCC administration building, Klemm gave a speech criticizing the administration's response to the incident as "callous" and said they should be more aware of safety and "morality" issues on campus (Figure 36).[175] After the speech, a large group of students loudly accused her of using the notoriety of their campus to further the interests of her

[172] NOW, "The Intertwining History of NOW and the ERA," 2024.
[173] Elinor Burkett, "Women's Rights Movement" *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, n.d. https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Organization-for-Women; NOW, "The Intertwining History of NOW and the ERA," 2024; Randy Barnhart. "Salisbury Sex Controversy Brought Into Focus." *The Flyer* [Salisbury State College], October 24, 1979, 6. Klemm graduated from SSC in 1968.
[174] "Rethinking Sexual Ethics: SSC Classroom Debate Spurred," *Daily Times* (Salisbury, Maryland), October 25, 1979: 3; Joseph and Michelle Mohler. "Letter to the Editor." *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), October 10, 1979, 8.
[175] "M. Carol Klemm Obituary," *Baltimore Sun*, April 28, 2018. https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/baltimoresun/name/m-carol-klemm-obituary?id=11983283; Bill Robinson, "NOW President Criticizes SSC Administration," *Daily Times* (Salisbury, Maryland). October 20, 1979: 1. The Salisbury University campus is bisected by South Salisbury Boulevard/Ocean Highway (US 13).

organization, citing the presence of news cameras. They also said that Klemm did not speak for the entire student body before "at least 25 students literally chased her" and her supporters into the Women's Center.[176] Klemm and her supporters created a proposal for the campus requesting "more and better security, more secure parking, establishment of a consciousness raising program on campus and a goal of affecting changes in attitudes and values of the entire campus community."[177]

Figure 36. Photograph of the NOW rally at Salisbury State College with Carol Klemm addressing student protestors (Source: *The Flyer*, October 24, 1979, 6).

A week after the NOW rally, the college newspaper published a full-page article and letters to the editor about the incident. The author of the article, Randy Barnhart, discounted the rape charges, while female students who authored the letters were supportive of Miss X. "I am appalled by the opinions of some students and faculty concerning the alleged sexual misconduct of some of the men on campus," wrote Patrica Hartye. "The incident is and should be investigated and those suspected of violating the law should be prosecuted." "I feel an outrageous anger and very nauseating sense of

[176] *Daily Times,* "Rethinking Sexual Ethics:"
[177] Bill Robinson, "NOW President Criticizes SSC Administration," *Daily Times* (Salisbury, Maryland), October 20, 1979: 1. Whether the rally resulted in a resolution to the requests made by NOW is unknown.

pity," wrote R. Ryan. "I find it hard to believe that all of those males involved have no conscious feelings of remorse for their actions."[178]

On October 29, the Maryland State Board of Trustees forced Norman C. Crawford to retire as president of SSC. Crawford had been under fire due to the financial debt accumulated under his administration and management issues, apparently associated with off-campus parties and the controversial accusations of sexual assault of Miss X. Soon after his dismissal, around 500 students and staff rallied in his support on the steps of Holloway Hall.[179]

1.2.2 Abortion-Rights Movement

Reproductive rights were a key aspect of the women's rights movement. Women activists considered reproductive autonomy as essential to participate fully in society and the economy. In the early years of the twentieth century, birth control was considered immoral and Congress passed laws that prevented sharing information about contraception through the mail. In 1916, Margaret Sanger (1879–1966) opened the nation's first birth control clinic, in New York. In 1921, Sanger founded the American Birth Control League which evolved into the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, better known as Planned Parenthood. The movement grew and in 1926, the Committee on Contraceptive Advice was formally organized in Baltimore. That same year, Bessie Moses (1893–1965), a physician in Baltimore, traveled to New York to consult with Sanger. Over the next several decades, Sanger and Moses worked together to spread knowledge and access to birth control, to repeal laws, and publish studies on the topic. Moses served as the medical director of Planned Parenthood until 1956.[180]

In the mid-twentieth century, Planned Parenthood continued to advocate for access to contraception. In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that women had the constitutional right to an abortion. This ruling galvanized anti-abortion groups to pass laws limiting abortion access. In 1976, Congress passed the Hyde Amendment, which prevented federal funds, such as Medicaid, from funding abortions. In response, advocates for abortion access became increasingly professionalized and argued that access was a matter of personal liberty and the right to privacy. Connecting abortion rights to liberty led to a partnership between the abortion-rights movement and the Democratic Party from the 1980s to the present.[181]

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[178] Randy Barnhart, "Salisbury Sex Controversy," *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), October 24, 1979, 6; Patrica Hartye. "Letter to the Editor," *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), October 24, 1979, 4; R. Ryan. "Letter to the Editor." *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), October 24, 1979, 4.

[179] Julie Coffren. "Deficit Not Only Reason." *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), November 7, 1979, 8; "We're On Our Own Now." *The Flyer* (Salisbury State College), November 7, 1979, 4.

[180] Planned Parenthood of Maryland, "Organization History," Pamphlet, n.d. On file in the Planned Parenthood of Maryland, Inc. Flat Files at the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.

[181] Rebecca M. Kulik, "pro-choice movement," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 3, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/pro-choice-movement.

1.2.2.1 Towson Motel Pro-Choice Rally, Towson, October 1982

On Friday, October 15, 1982, members of several pro-choice groups gathered at the Quality Inn at 1015 York Road (MD 45) in Towson in opposition to the annual Right to Life convention held here. The protest rally was attended by about 40 members of the Baltimore Abortion Rights organization as well as representatives from the Students for Choice, Reproductive Rights Alliance, Federation for Progress, Planned Parenthood, Democratic Socialist Alliance, Maryland chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, and Catholics for a Free Choice. The organizers hosted the demonstration to commemorate the death of Rosie Jimenez (1950–1977), the first woman known to have died in the U.S. from an illegal abortion after the Hyde Amendment was passed and Medicaid stopped funding the procedure. Unable to afford a safe and legal abortion at a clinic, Jimenez died from an infection after she had an unsafe abortion in McAllen, Texas. At the time, she was a single mother of a four-year-old daughter.[182]

Those gathered at the rally held umbrellas and candles and sang. Speakers included Rev. Bill L. Bearden (b.1937) of the First & Franklin Street Presbyterian Church (B-12; NRHP, 1973) in Baltimore. "None of us know when life begins," said Rev. Bearden. "What we know is that life is sacred."[183]

Rev. John A. Dekker (1932–2012) was the master of ceremonies for the "pro-life reception" at the motel where 230 attendees had registered. Pastor of the Cub Hill Presbyterian Church in Parkville, Rev. Dekker told newspapers that the protesters had lost their connection with religion and "set themselves up as the ones who judge who should have a life and who shouldn't have a life."[184]

1.2.2.2 St. Anne's Episcopal Church Rally, Annapolis, January 1985

On Tuesday, January 22, 1985, Marylanders for the Right to Choose held a rally at St. Anne's Episcopal Church (AA-399; NRHP, 1984) in Annapolis. The church is on Church Circle along College Avenue (MD 450). Nearly 400 people, mostly women, attended the rally held in honor of the twelfth anniversary of the *Roe v Wade* decision, which legalized abortions. Speakers included Daniel E. Pellegrom (b.1945), the executive director of Planned Parenthood of Maryland, a woman who told her own story of illegal abortions and, Patricia R. Sher (1931–2001), a member of the Maryland legislature from Montgomery County. Sher was a leader in the fight to allow Medicaid to fund abortions.[185]

Anti-abortion picketers stood outside the church and attempted to argue with attendants as they arrived at the church. The picketers also created a trail of red dye in the snow. One counter-protester

[182] Frank P. L. Somerville, "2 Sides on Abortion Keep a Wary Distance," *Baltimore Sun*, October 16, 1982: 24. The circa 1960 Quality Inn motel was demolished circa 1990 and replaced with big-box store, currently a Safeway grocery.
[183] Somerville, "2 Sides," 24.
[184] Somerville, "2 Sides," 24.
[185] Frank P. L. Somerville, "2 Sites Face Each Other at Tense Annapolis Rally," *Baltimore Sun*, January 23, 1985. 8.

attempted to disrupt the speeches but was escorted out by police while his statements were drowned out by attendants who booed, stomped their feet, and clapped.[186]

After the speakers concluded, rally-goers marched from St. Anne's Episcopal Church to the Maryland State House. They wore yellow "Choice" buttons and held candles with paper cups to protect the flames from the wind. By the time they left, only one anti-choice picketer remained.[187]

1.3. Native American Rights

The landscape of the U.S. after World War II fueled the Native American civil rights movement with the ideas of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Native American tribes within in the U.S. each have independent territories and government but the need for a unified voice of advocacy necessitates the creation of an intertribal coalition. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), founded in 1944, began advocating tribal interests to the public and to Congress.[188]

During the 1960s and 1970s, Native American activism, known as the Red Power movement, grew alongside other civil rights movements of the time. Organizations involved in the movement included the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). These organizations often took a confrontational and civil disobedience approach in their efforts to advocate for their communities to the U.S. government.[189]

Landmark legislation for the rights of Native Americans was passed in 1968. The Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA), Title II–VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, granted Native Americans full access to the U.S. Bill of Rights. The Act allowed for a balance between tribal sovereignty and federal protection of individual civil liberties. Although the ICRA extended certain provisions of the U.S. Bill of Rights to Native Americans within tribal jurisdictions, it did not provide the full range of protections guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.[190] For instance, the Act did not extend the right to vote to Native Americans nor did it extend economic and social government benefits such as healthcare, and education. These issues continued to be the focus of Native American activism in the years to follow.

[186] Somerville, "Annapolis Rally."
[187] Somerville, "Annapolis Rally."
[188] National Parks Service, "The Trail of Broken Treaties, 1972," *National Parks Service*, June 26, 2024. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/trail-of-broken-treaties.htm.
[189] Alvin M. Josephy. Jr., Joane Nagel, and Troy Johnson, *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) 1–3.
[190] Civil Rights Act of 1968. Public Law No. 90–284, 82 Stat. 73.

1.3.1 American Indian Movement

In 1968, Dennis Banks (1937–2017) and Clyde Bellecourt (1936–2022)—both from the Ojibwe tribe—formed the American Indian Movement (AIM).[191] This grassroots movement initially formed in response to police brutality and racial profiling in Minneapolis, Minnesota, but grew to be the driving force behind the Native American civil rights movement by the 1970s.[192] This growth, in part, can be attributed to the addition of Russell Means (1936–2022) to the group in 1969. Means, a Native American rights activist of Oglala Lakota Sioux descent, became the national director and a prominent spokesperson for AIM.[193]

Early AIM protests and demonstrations focused on issues related to tribal sovereignty and self-determination seeking to define their statehood and relationship between the U.S. government. In 1969, AIM members joined a group called the Indians of All Tribes in an 18-month occupation of Alcatraz Island, off the coast of San Francisco, California.[194] AIM achieved national recognition for their seizure of a replica of the *Mayflower* in Boston Harbor in 1970. This demonstration was a direct commentary of the loss of Native American lives because of the arrival of European settlers in the Americas. The occupation of Mount Rushmore in 1971 highlighted the theme of broken promises between the U.S. government and Native Tribes. The Mount Rushmore occupation demanded the recognition of the Treaty of Fort Laramie which had granted the land to the Lakota Tribe.

In November 1972, these smaller protests culminated in what became known as the Trail of Broken Treaties. This demonstration brought around 500 Native American activists from the West Coast to the nation's capital to make demands for redress of failed policies and treaties. AIM's objectives and demands for the U.S. government were outlined in a "Twenty-Point Position Paper," which they intended to present to President Nixon. The Twenty Points list included the re-recognition of Native tribes, abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the implementation of federal protections for Indigenous cultures and religions.[195] After the cross-country car caravan arrived in Washington, DC, AIM members learned previously scheduled meetings with officials at the Department of the Interior, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Commerce were cancelled without notice. The AIM members went on to occupy the Bureau of Indian Affairs building for nearly a week, defending their

[191] Deepa Shivaram and Doualy Xaykaothao, "Clyde Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, dies of cancer at 85," *NPR*, January 12, 2022. https://www.npr.org/2022/01/12/1072435745/clyde-bellecourt-american-indian-movement-dies-obituary.
[192] T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Dennis Banks." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, October 25, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Dennis-Banks.
[193] T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Russell Means." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 6, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Russell-Means.
[194] Josephy et al, *Red Power*, 1999, 39.
[195] "Trail of Broken Treaties 20-Point Position Paper." *AIM Archives,* n.d. https://www.aimovement.org/archives/.

position with Molotov cocktails and weapons made from broken furniture.[196] Ultimately, President Richard Nixon dismissed the demands of the Twenty Points.[197]

On February 27, 1973, approximately 200 AIM members launched a 71-day protest at Wounded Knee, a town on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The Reservation was the site of the Wounded Knee Massacre where the U.S. military killed nearly 300 Lakota Sioux on December 29, 1890, near Wounded Knee Creek. Known as the Wounded Knee Occupation, the protest was intended to call attention to local corruption on the Reservation, poor living conditions, and continued violations of treaties by the U.S. government.[198] The seizure and occupation of Wounded Knee was met with a heavy response from the FBI and the U.S. Marshals Service. During the standoff, two Native American activists were killed by gunfire and one federal marshal was injured. The Wounded Knee Occupation became a symbol of the Native American civil rights movement and their continued resilience and resistance.[199]

1.3.1.1 The Longest Walk, 1978

In February 1978, 24 Native American members of AIM began a 5-month pilgrimage from San Francisco, California, to Washington, DC. Known as The Longest Walk, the demonstration specifically protested 11 pieces of legislation put forth by Congress. The legislation would violate various previously established treaty rights of Native peoples by restricting tribal sovereignty, limiting hunting and fishing rights, and closing many Native schools and hospitals. The over 3,200-mile walk was a symbolic response to the forced migration westward over the years of European settlement. Along the cross-country walk, members of AIM took opportunities to educate non-Natives about Native culture and struggles. Various organizations in cities along the route worked with AIM to host educational workshops, religious ceremonies, and demonstrations.[200]

On July 10, 1978, participants in The Longest Walk were welcomed to Maryland with a rally at the Inner Harbor in Baltimore after marching south on I-83 from York, Pennsylvania the previous day. The group marched from their temporary boarding location in Brooklandville down Falls Road, turning east on Cold Spring Lane, then south down University Parkway and St. Paul Street to the Inner Harbor for the rally. The rally was organized by The Longest Walk Welcoming Committee that had been operating out of the American Indian Center on South Broadway. The Center is primarily concerned with the education, advocacy, and aid to the Lumbee Tribe, a Native American ethnic

[196] National Parks Service, "The Trail of Broken Treaties, 1972." Updated June 26, 2024. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/trail-of-broken-treaties.htm.
[197] Josephy et al, *Red Power,* 1999, 44–45.
[198] Josephy et al, *Red Power,* 1999, 48.
[199] T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Dennis Banks."
[200] Josephy et al, *Red Power,* 1999, 52; "Longest Walk (1978)," *Washington Area Spark*, August 30, 2019. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/albums/72157710606241532/.

group prominent in the Baltimore area.[201] Five days of events were planned for participants of The Longest Walk to engage with the local community before they continued their march to the nation's capital.[202]

The Longest Walk had a campsite set up at the McKeldin Area of Patapsco State Park (CARR-1662) outside of Marriottsville. Approximately 600 Native Americans protest participants camped at the site (Figure 3137).[203] The food at the campsite was provided by the Ministerial Alliance, Urban Services, the Department of Social Services, and various local religious organizations. In her letter to the editor in the *Baltimore Sun,* Ann Miller states, "The Indians report that this is the only camp in their long trek eastward where everyone was satisfied."[204]

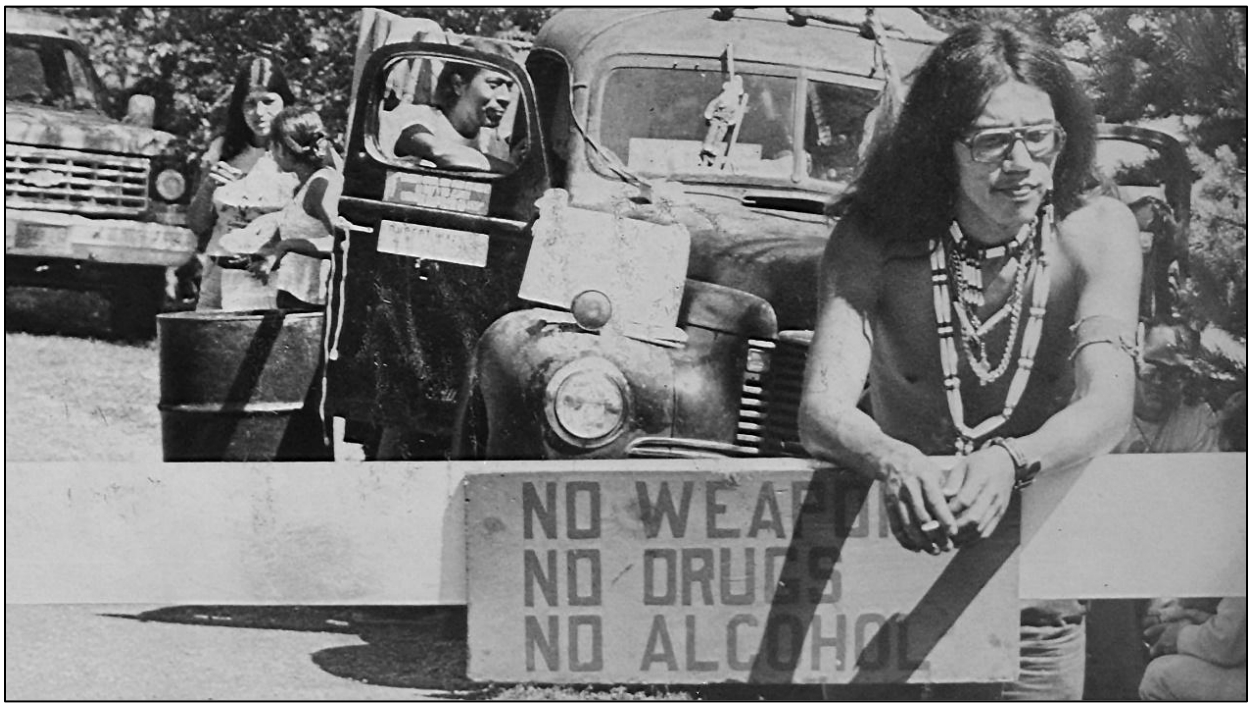

Figure 31. Photograph of The Longest Walk participants at Patapsco Park, July 14, 1978 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "Longest Walk [1978]," 2019).

A rally was held on July 12 at the Hopkins Plaza at the corner of Charles and Baltimore streets. The Welcoming Committee and AIM hosted workshops the next day at Druid Hill Park (B-56; NRHP,

[201] Randy Dabney, "The American Indian Study Center," Report, Morgan State University, 1977, 1–3. On file at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland.
[202] The Longest Walk Welcoming Committee. "The Longest Walk: Agenda of Activities in Baltimore". American Indian Center, Baltimore, Maryland, 1978. On file at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland; "Indians on March for Rights Due in Md. Sunday," *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland), July 7, 1978, C24.
[203] Associated Press, "Indians Spend Night In Baltimore County Park." *Daily Times* (Salisbury Maryland). July 10, 1978: 6.
[204] Ann Miller, "Baltimore Aids the Indians," *Baltimore Sun*, July 25, 1978: 14.

1973). At the workshop, Clyde Bellecourt, cofounder of AIM and the national coordinator of The Longest Walk, directed a pow-wow at the park. On July 14, participants in The Longest Walk left the campsite at Patapsco State Park, marching west on Baltimore National Pike (US 40) and south on Columbia Pike (US 29) to Greenbelt Park (PG:67-69) in Prince George's County. On July 15, 1978, participants followed Greenbelt Road/University Boulevard East (MD 193) and Riggs Road (MD 212) on the way to a rally at American University in nation's capital (Figure Figure 3838).[205]

Figure 38. Photograph of The Longest Walk participants arriving in Silver Spring, July 15, 1978 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "The Longest Walk," 2019).

1.4. LGBT Rights

With the growth and expansion of Baltimore in the nineteenth century, the city became increasingly diverse. Neighborhoods, particularly those close to the harbor, became known for their urban nightlife including illegal activities such as prostitution, same-sex and interracial sexual activity, gambling, and drugs. One such neighborhood was Fells Point (B-3714, B-5123) located at the north shore of the harbor. Waterfront neighborhoods and the jobs available within them appealed to the LGBT community and fostered LGBT urban culture. Other counties in Maryland with sizeable LGBT communities include Prince George's County and Montgomery County.[206]

[205] Isaac Rehert, "Indians Present: They Haven't Forgotten 'The Trail of Tears,'" *Baltimore Sun,* July 10, 1978: 18.
[206] Susan Ferentinos and Benjamin Egerman, "Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study," *Preservation Maryland and Maryland Historical Society*, 2020, 2.

The 1970s and 1980s, the U.S. experienced the rise of the Gay Liberation movement. The movement differed from previous LGBT movements in its desire to celebrate deviations from societal norms through increased rights rather than a movement for the right to simply exist in the shadows. The Gay Liberation movement was catalyzed by the Stonewall Uprising that occurred on June 28, 1969, in New York City. The police raid on the Stonewall Inn (NRHP, 1999; NHL, 2000), a gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, lead to five days of protests and demonstrations. The Stonewall Uprising marked a new beginning for the gay rights movement in the U.S. On June 28, 1970, members of the gay liberation movement held the Christopher Street parade to mark the one-year anniversary of the Stonewall Uprising. Held in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles, the Christopher Street parades where the forerunner of annual Gay Pride parades around the world.[207]

In the 1970s and 1980s, Maryland's LGBT movement became more visible, especially with the rise of the AIDS crisis. The LGBT community began to demand better healthcare, advocacy, and education. Many local organizations for the cause were established during this time including the Baltimore Gay Liberation Front, the Gay Student Alliance at University of Maryland in College Park, and the Baltimore Gay Alliance. The Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore was also established in the 1970s to serve as a site of community, education, and advocacy.[208] These organizations would play key roles in advocating for the community in the AIDS crisis.

In the 1980s, the AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) epidemic became a global health emergency that disproportionately affected marginalized groups including gay men. The lack of public awareness and the stigma surrounding the disease fueled its rapid spread. There was a distinct absence of efficient government response leading to the reliance on local community groups. One such group was the Health Education Resource Organization (HERO) that formed in Baltimore in the early 1980s.[209] The feeling of disregard and inaction by the U.S. government during the AIDS epidemic led to protests and demonstrations by LGBT organizations throughout the country.

1.4.1 Seize Control of the FDA Rally, Rockville, October 1988

The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was founded in March 1987 in New York City as a nonpartisan, direct-action organization dedicated to ending the AIDS epidemic through advocacy and activism. In 1988, ACT UP targeted President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) and the FDA for their role in perpetuating the AIDS epidemic. The organization produced the "FDA Action Handbook," which detailed the history of the FDA.[210]

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[207] David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Ferentinos et al, "Maryland LGBTQ," 92.
[208] Ferentinos et al, "Maryland LGBTQ," 93.
[209] Ferentinos et al, "Maryland LGBTQ," 102.
[210] Jim Eigo, Mark Harrington, Margaret McCarthy, Stephen Spinella, and Rick Sugden. "FDA Action Handbook." *ACT UP*, 1988. https://actupny.org/documents/FDAhandbook1.html.

On the afternoon of October 10, 1988, members of ACT UP from around the US held a demonstration in front of the Health and Human Services building in Washington, DC. Surrounded by riot police, the demonstration consisted of a mock trial of people who had failed to approve medications to fight AIDS, which had already killed at least 45,000 Americans. At the protest, noted LGBT activist Vito Russo (1946–1990) delivered his "Why We Fight" speech.[211] Russo proclaimed:

> Someday, the AIDS crisis will be over. Remember that. And when that day comes—when that day has come and gone, there'll be people alive on this earth—gay people and straight people, men and women, black and white, who will hear this story that once there was a terrible disease in this country and all over the world, and that a brave group of people stood up and fought and, in some cases, gave their lives, so that other people might live and be free.[212]

The following morning, October 11, the ACT UP activists traveled to Rockville, Maryland, where they participated in a "Seize Control of the FDA" protest at the FDA headquarters off Rockville Pike (MD 355).[213] (FDA headquarters are now located in Silver Spring.) Around 1,500 protesters arrived in the FDA parking lot at 7:00 a.m. and began picketing shortly after.[214] The crowd circled the parking lot and blocked the building's four entrances to shut the building down for the day. The protesters chanted "Act up! Fight Back! Fight AIDS!" and "Test drugs, not people." Protesters sang "Hey, hey, FDA, how many people have you killed today?" as they laid on the ground with cardboard tombstones in front of the main entrance. Placards read "We Died and They Do Nothing," "The Government Has Blood On Its Hands: One AIDS Death Every Half Hour," and "75,000 People With AIDS Fight Back" (Figure 39–40). Montgomery County police officers stopped allowing FDA workers into the building at 7:30 a.m. and ultimately arrested around 50 protestors (Figure 33).[215]

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211 "ACT UP Oral History Project" Act UP Oral History Project, n.d. https://www.actuporalhistory.org/; Nora Neus. "'The start of the national Aids movement': Act Up's defining moment in queer protest history." *The Guardian*, October 11, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2023/oct/11/act-up-hiv-aids-1988-fda-protest. In 1985, Russo cofounded the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), a media watchdog organization. Russo died of AIDS-related complications in 1990.

212 Vito Russo. "Why We Fight." ACT UP. Video transcript of speech at the ACT UP Demonstration at the Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC, October 10, 1988. https://actupny.org/documents/whfight.html.

213 "ACT UP Oral History Project" Act UP Oral History Project, n.d. https://www.actuporalhistory.org/.

214 "Demonstrators Protest Federal AIDS Policies," *Star-Democrat* (Easton, Maryland), October 12, 1988: 3.

215 AIDS Protesters Shut FDA Offices." *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), October 11, 1988, 4;

Figure 39. Photograph of ACT UP protestors at FDA headquarters in Rockville
(Source: "AIDS Protesters Shut FDA Offices," *Evening Sun* [Baltimore Maryland], Oct. 11, 1988, 4).

Figure 32. Photograph of the Silence=Death banner on the FDA headquarters
(Source: "Demonstrators Protest Federal AIDS Policies." *Star-Democrat,* October 12, 1988, 3).

Figure 33. Photograph of police officers arresting demonstrators
(Source: "AIDS Protesters Shut FDA Offices." *Evening Sun* (Baltimore Maryland), Oct. 11, 1988, 1).

One of the protestors was Peter Staley, a 27-year-old AIDS patient and activist who hung a black banner proclaiming "Silence=Death" over the FDA's main entrance. Photographs of Staley and the banner at the FDA became an iconic image and watershed moment in the LGBT rights movement. "It is worth noting that the FDA caved to almost all of our demands within nine months…after that demonstration," said Staley. Many historians consider this ACT UP demonstration at the FDA headquarters the start of the national AIDS movement.[216]

1.5. Other Demonstrations

In the 1960s and 1970s, activists throughout Maryland were inspired by the nonviolent civil rights demonstrations associated with the African American civil rights movement. As a result, these activists held protest demonstrations for other causes, including the Fair Housing Act. Three examples that are closely aligned with civil rights are described below.

1.5.1 Anti-Bias March Around the Beltway, Silver Spring, June 1966

On June 8, 1966, fair housing activists began a march around the Capital Beltway (I-495). The protestors were members of ACCESS, a group that advocated for the Fair Housing Act, which would prohibit discrimination in housing based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. The group hoped to

[216] "Neus, "The start of the national Aids movement," 2023.

bring attention to fair housing and demanded that several apartment complexes in the Washington, DC, suburbs open their doors to African Americans. The activists started their four-day demonstration at the Georgia Avenue (MD 97) exit outside Silver Spring. The march was led by J. Charles Jones (1937–2019), a seasoned veteran of the civil rights movement who participated in demonstrations in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Albany, Georgia (Figure 42). Completed two years prior, in 1964, the Capital Beltway consisted of two lanes in each direction flanked by shoulders. The marchers walked along the shoulder in the opposite direction of traffic, garnering attention—both positive and negative—from passersby.[217]

The Fair Housing Act, part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, expanded upon the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which focused on broader civil rights issues but did not specifically address racial discrimination in housing. After the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4, 1968, and subsequent civil unrest across the US, President Lyndon B. Johnson urged Congress to pass the Fair Housing Act. Once it passed on April 10, 1968, President Johnson signed the bill into law on April 11, 1968.

Figure 42. Photograph of J. Charles Jones leading protestors down the shoulder of the Capital Beltway (Source: Kelly, "Long Haul," 2016).

[217] John Kelly, "'I Feel as if I Own this Road': A Civil Rights Figure Who was in it for the Long Haul," *Washington Post*, October 11, 2016.

1.5.2 Morris Goldseker Company Protest, Baltimore, July 1969

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 did not protect against discriminatory loans and financing. The law only prevented discrimination in the case of occupancy and sale of homes. Beginning on May 9, 1969, members of Northwood Civic Forum, a housing investment group, and Activists, Inc., a civil rights group, picketed every Friday and Saturday outside the Morris Goldseker Company (B-1974; NRHP, 2000) at 218-220 West Franklin Street (US 40) in Baltimore. They accused the company of purchasing housing at a low price from white sellers and selling the property at a mark-up of nearly 70 percent to Black buyers. The protestors demanded restitution, stating that excess profits be used to reduce all rents by 37.5 percent, renegotiate leases, and provide interest-free mortgages to the poor. The company denied the charges and would not accede to the activists' demands. On June 20, activists began the second phase of their campaign by entering the Goldseker offices and disrupting their business. As a result of the protests, a member of the city council announced plans to introduce legislation requiring contracts to include appraisals and recent sales prices.[218]

On July 9, 1969, Sheldon Goldseker, a manager at the firm, attended a meeting held by the Montebello Community Association at the Third English Lutheran Church at Hillen Road and 30th Street. At the meeting, he attempted to explain that the company profits were reasonable based on the cost of doing business, but the approximately 100 community members who attended the meeting yelled over him and the meeting ended early due to the noise.[219]

1.5.3 UMD Anti-Vietnam War Protests, College Park, 1970–1972

During the 1970s, students organized anti-Vietnam War protests on college campuses throughout the nation. Students conducted large-scale demonstrations to demand an end to the federal government's military involvement in Southeast Asia. Campuses such as Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State University in Mississippi became sites of violent confrontations between law enforcement and student protestors. These campus movements were part of the broader counterculture that embodied ideals of peace, social justice, and civil rights and influenced the US government's eventual withdrawal from Vietnam.

Although students at the University of Maryland (UMD) at College Park remained relatively silent during the increased activism movements of the 1960s, in the spring of 1970 a series of large-scale protests were held on the campus. The first of the protests occurred when two professors, Peter Goldstone and Richard Roeloff, were denied a renewal of their contracts. On March 23, 1970, students

[218] Baltimore Heritage, "1966–1976: After the Unrest 1966–1976: After the Unrest," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, 2024. https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1966-1976/; "Overcharging of Negroes Denied by Goldseker Firm," *Baltimore Sun*, May 14, 1969: 27; "Goldseker Files Injunction Suit: 2 Civil Rights Groups Told To Show Cause In Picketing Case," *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1969: 38. Located within the Market Center Historic District, the Morris Goldseker Co. office building was demolished in the 1990s.

[219] "Shouting Prevents Goldseker Talk: Real Estate Man Tried to Refute Charges Of Overpricing," *Baltimore Sun*, July 10, 1969: 34. Baltimore Heritage, "1966–1976."

occupied Skinner Hall and campus police arrested 87 student protesters. This demonstration led to the formation of the first official student-faculty activist group on the campus.[220]

On May 1, 1970, students at UMD organized Anti-Vietnam War protests sparked by the order of President Richard Nixon (1913–1994) to invade Cambodia. Students held a rally at McKeldin Mall and eventually occupied US 1 east of campus (Figure 43). Police dispersed the crowd with billy clubs and tear gas. The campus protests escalated as a nationwide student strike was called in the wake of the shooting of four students by the Ohio National Guard at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. Throughout 30 consecutive days of protests students occupied the UMD Administration Building, boycotted classes, attended demonstrations in Washington, DC, and continued demonstrations on US 1. The unrest resulted in the Maryland National Guard occupying the campus. The last major rally on the UMD campus was held on May 22, 1970. Over 3,000 students attended the rally and heard speeches from actress Jane Fonda (b.1937) and activist Mark Lane (1927–2016).[221]

Figure 43. Photograph of UMD students occupying US 1, May 1, 1970
(Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "UMD Antiwar Protests 1972," 2015).

[220] "30 Days in May: U of MD 1970," *Washington Area Spark,* May 29, 2013, https://washingtonareaspark.com/2013/05/29/30-days-in-may-u-of-md-1970/; Sala Levin, "A Defining Moment," *Maryland Today*, May 4, 2013, https://today.umd.edu/a-defining-moment.
[221] DRUM, "Radical Guide to the University of Maryland," August 1970. On file at Washington Area Spark. https://washingtonareaspark.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/radical-guide-to-the-u-of-md-1970.pdf.

The movement in May 1970 radicalized many students at UMD, resulting in an occupation of the campus by the Maryland National Guard again in 1971 and 1972. The Democratic Radical Union of Maryland (DRUM), a coalition of activists at UMD, grew out of the Strike Committee which had coordinated the demonstrations during the movement in 1970.[222]

The protests in May of 1971—still anti-war in cause—specifically called for the removal of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) from the UMD campus. On May 5, over 3,000 students occupied the Administration Building and blockaded US 1. The police confronted the students on US 1 and, again, the Maryland National Guard was mobilized for occupation of the campus. Demonstrations continued for the next two weeks. On May 12, Charles Bishop, the UMD chancellor, attempted to give an address on the steps of the Administration Building; however, students interrupted him with chants of "ROTC must go" and by throwing eggs at him. The anti-war movement at UMD was ultimately unsuccessful in its attempt to remove ROTC from campus because the U.S. Air Force stated the removal violated their existing policies.[223]

The pattern of spring protests at UMD continued in 1972 when a group of 500 students marched through campus on April 17. Protesters broke windows in the ROTC building and threw rocks at the residence of the UMD president. For three days students continued holding protest marches and demonstrations in front of these buildings. They also occupied US 1. Once again, the Maryland National Guard was called, and some 300 students were arrested during the week. On May 4, students organized another march through campus to commemorate the anniversary of the deaths of the four Kent State University students. Later that fall on October 24, about 150 UMD students, in protest of the Vietnam War, marched from the campus in College Park to the offices of the Republican Party in Hyattsville, Maryland (Figure 44).[224]

[222] DRUM, "Radical Guide to the University of Maryland," August 1970. On file at Washington Area Spark. https://washingtonareaspark.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/radical-guide-to-the-u-of-md-1970.pdf.
[223] Washington Area Spark, "ROTC Off Campus: U MD 1971," August 21, 2019. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/albums/72157631197585476/.
[224] *Washington Area Spark*, "U MD Antiwar Protests 1972," April 28, 2015. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/albums/72157631211676536/with/17116154938/.

Figure 44. Photograph of students marching down US 1 to Hyattsville, October 24, 1972 (Source: *Washington Area Spark*, "U of MD Ignites: 1970,").

1.6. Conclusion

Maryland played an important role in civil rights movements for several groups of marginalized people, particularly African Americans. Statues and memorials of Black civil rights leaders have been erected throughout Maryland, such as the statue of Thurgood Marshall and the Kunta Kinte–Alex Haley Memorial, both in Baltimore. Likewise, the state boasts several museums dedicated to interpreting the stories of Maryland's civil rights leaders. Examples include Lillie C. Jackson Civil Rights Museum and the Reginal F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African America History & Culture,

both in Baltimore, the Banneker-Douglas Museum in Annapolis, and the Harriet Tubman Museum and Educational Center in Cambridge.[225]

Since the late 1980s, activists have continued to hold nonviolent, direct-action campaigns. For instance, for six continuous days in March 1990, over 1,200 Black students at Morgan State University in Baltimore led a protest to express frustration with the university's administration, poor living conditions, dilapidated dormitories, and underfunding. The students demanded improved campus security, financial aid, and dining hall services. Four students marched 34 miles from the campus to the Maryland State House in Annapolis and demanded a meeting with Governor William Donald Schaefer. At the capital, the students were harassed by members of hate groups. The student march was reminiscent of civil rights marches from Baltimore to Annapolis in 1942 and 1963. The student protests led to immediate campus improvements.[226]

Residents of Maryland have also continued to respond to national civil rights movements In April 2015, residents of Baltimore protested the death of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old Black man, while he was in police custody. Part of the national Black Lives Matter Movement, the protests were nonviolent, but some rioting, arson, and vandalism also occurred. Two years later, in August 2017, hundreds of protestors gathered in Baltimore in response to the murder of Heather Heyer by a white supremacist in Charlottesville, Virginia. The protestors held a march and mass rally, where they demanded the removal of Confederate monuments in Baltimore. Subsequently, the city council voted to remove four Confederate monuments in the city's public parks.

Although Maryland's Black civil rights history is well documented and interpreted, research conducted for this context revealed that several civil rights movements in Maryland have not been adequately documented, likely because many may not consider them "historic" or worthy of study at this time. Although some work has been initiated, such as the 2020 Maryland LGBTQ+ Historic Context Study and the 2024 MPDF for Asian American Communities in Maryland, opportunities for future research include civil rights movements and places associated with women and the LGBT, Latino, and Asian American communities.

[225] Jim Carrier, *Civil Rights Movement*, 2004, 340–344.
[226] Elijah Pittman. "Largest Morgan student protest 33 years ago, where are we now?" *The Spokesman* (Morgan State University), April 23, 2023, https://themsuspokesman.com/14754/special-coverage/largest-morgan-student-protest-33-years-ago-where-are-we-now/.

Part 2: Resource Typology

A careful review of the historical record, completed as Part I of this context, along with review and analysis of previous studies documenting civil rights resources in Maryland and elsewhere, revealed a variety of terminology, definitions, categories, and occasional contradictions among existing methods for the identification of civil rights resource types. Civil rights activities typically occur as one-time events at a variety of familiar resource types. Understanding the type of event that takes place, and the activities associated with that event is critical to identifying the physical aspects important to that resource type in the context of civil rights.

By establishing a common vocabulary to aid in categorizing events and locations associated with the civil rights movement, this section will provide the tools necessary to clearly and consistently identify and define civil rights resources not just along Maryland's highways, but across the entire state.

Civil rights movements are a form of political activism in which the goal is to ensure that the rights of all people are equally protected under the law. More generally, activism involves engaging in various types of reform to change society and make progress toward a perceived common good. Activism primarily takes one of two forms:

- Indirect Action, in which people exert pressure through various societal channels; and
- Direct Action, in which people use their own power to directly achieve goals.

Indirect actions include activities such as voting, letter writing campaigns, political campaign contributions, business patronage and boycotts, and strikes. In contrast, direct actions involve more active tactics which may be categorized as nonviolent or violent:

- Nonviolent direct action:
    - Rally—a gathering in which people listen to speakers or performers
    - March—a procession of activists traveling on a set route
    - Picket—a gathering of people surrounding or disrupting access to a specific location
    - Sit-in—occupation of an area or location
    - Civil disobedience—intentional breaking or disobeying of laws, commands, or orders
- Violent direct action: assault, arson, sabotage, property destruction

Unlike indirect actions, direct actions will be associated with specific locations at which people actively demonstrated. Direct action may also take the form of meetings or strategy sessions involving discussions, plans, and preparation leading to a proposed demonstration. These active locations are the focus of the resource types identified in this context. Based on these precedents and the historic context research for Maryland's state roads, the civil rights resources documented for this project fall within three distinct resource types:

1) Demonstration Center
2) Strategy Center
3) Demonstration Corridor

The three resource types are described in depth below with tables containing an inventory of documented examples of each resource type (Appendices A–C). The tables contain data for the resource, including its name, location, MIHP survey number, NRHP status, and the associated civil rights event. The tables also indicate which state and federal highways are associated with the resources. The inventoried resources focus on a study period from 1942 to the present day with an emphasis on demonstrations that occurred 30 or more years ago.

Civil rights resources are often associated with targeted campaigns: organized and coordinated efforts to achieve a specific shared goal. A campaign can involve the same activity at multiple locations simultaneously or involve multiple activities staged over time at a single location. Campaigns encompass all aspects of a civil rights initiative, from planning and strategy to physical demonstrations, and can involve indirect and direct actions. Although campaigns are not physical resources themselves, they are the organizing principle for many civil rights demonstrations and play an important role in identifying civil rights activities in Maryland.

Most of Maryland's civil rights resources identified as part of research for this context are in Baltimore. Other towns and cities with multiple civil rights resources include Annapolis, Aberdeen, Cambridge, Crisfield, Elkton, Harve de Grace, Hyattsville, Salisbury, and Princess Anne. It should be noted that this research is not all-inclusive and that there are undoubtedly many other civil rights resources throughout Maryland. Many of the civil rights resources are scattered along the US 40 corridor between Baltimore and Elkton in the northeast corner of the state and the US 1 corridor between Baltimore and Hyattsville in the southwest corner of the state. There are also several civil rights resources in the small towns of the Eastern Shore and the suburbs of Washington, DC. The western section of the state contains very few civil rights resources (Figure 45).

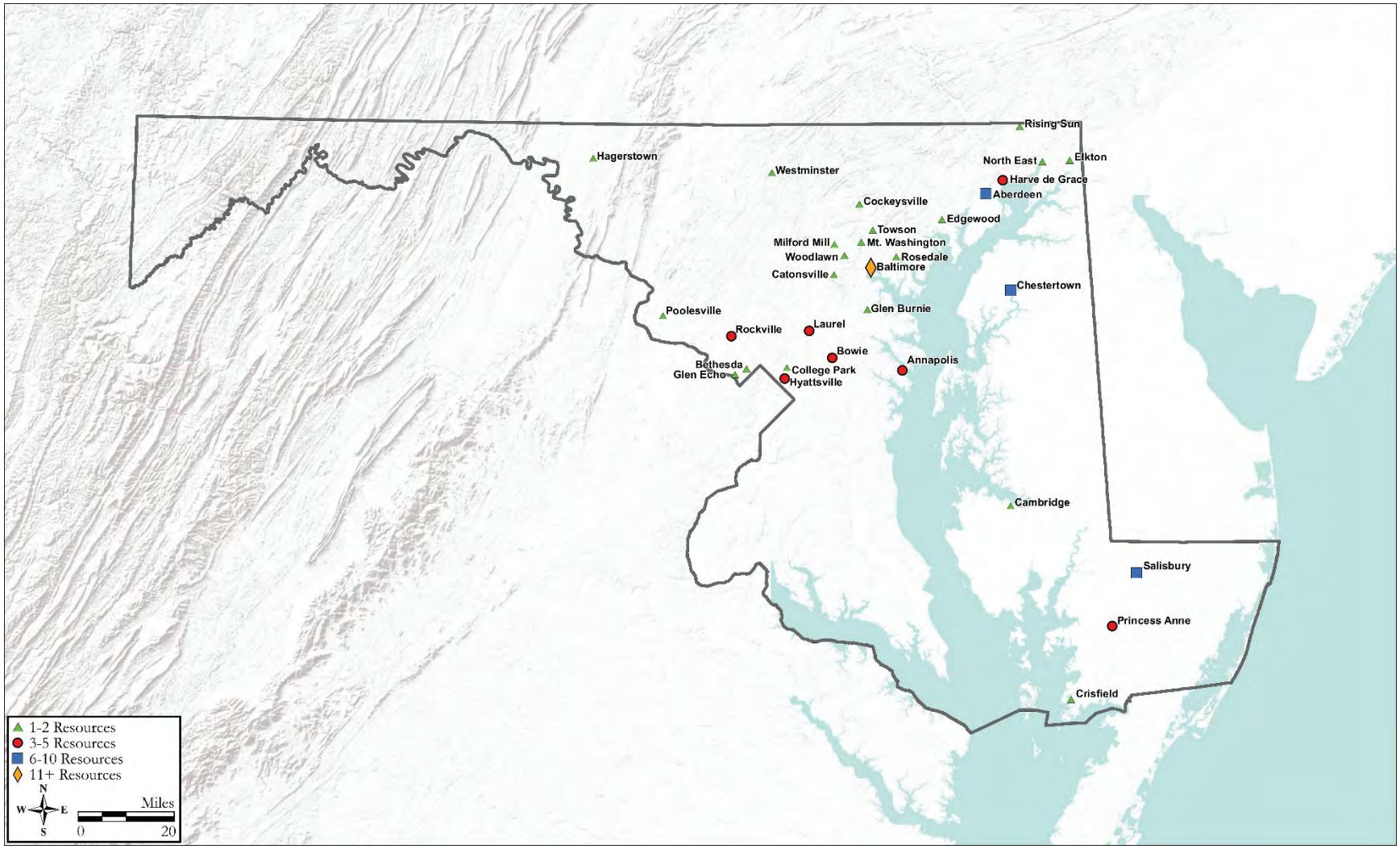

Figure 45. Map showing the distribution of identified civil rights resources.

2.1. Demonstration Centers

A Demonstration Center is a resource associated with conflict or confrontation and consists of a physical location (commercial buildings, office buildings, public buildings, churches, educational facilities, recreational facilities, or private dwellings) and an associated direct action—either in support of, or opposition to, the civil rights movement. In Maryland, demonstrations took many forms, including sit-ins, stand-ins, lie-ins, study-ins, picket lines, march routes, and motorcade routes. A Demonstration Center could also be a resource that was damaged by arson, vandalization, the target of a bombing, or other types of violent intimidation. A Demonstration Center can be either an individual resource or multiple resources associated with a campaign or specific demonstration. When multiple resources are involved, it may be appropriate to consider those resources as part of a district. Discontiguous resources identified as part of a coordinated campaign are best assessed as individual sites with a shared association or as part of a Demonstration Corridor.

Research for this project identified 65 individual Demonstration Centers throughout Maryland. The largest number of individual Demonstration Centers were in Baltimore City (22) and Prince George's County (10). A significant number of individual Demonstration Centers were in Baltimore County (7), Wicomico County (7), Montgomery County (6), and Anne Arundel County (5). Cecil, Dorchester, Harford, Somerset, Washington, and Wicomico counties each contained 1–3 individual Demonstration Centers. Of the 65 individual Demonstration Centers, 46 are extant and 19 have been demolished. The demonstrations took place from 1947–1988 with nearly 50 percent occurring during the height of the civil rights movement from 1960–1964. Appendix A contains an inventory of these 65 Demonstration Centers.

Demonstration Centers include the Poolesville High School (M:17-68) in Montgomery County, where school anti-desegregation protests occurred in 1956 (Figure 46). Here, the physical location was the exterior of the school and the grounds adjoining the front entrance; the direct action consisted of picketing by white parents and students to block the school entrance. Demonstration Centers also include recreational facilities such as parks, tennis courts, and swimming pools. The 1963 Maryland public accommodations law did not apply to privately owned and operated swimming pools or beaches. Therefore, in the summer of 1963 the whites-only swimming pools became the focus of protests and pickets led by members of civil rights organizations. Protests were held at swimming clubs throughout Baltimore and Baltimore County, including the Five Oaks Swimming Club in Catonsville (Figure 47). (Refer to page 61, Swimming Pool Protests, July-August 1963, for more information.) This type of coordinated campaign, in which multiple discontiguous sites are associated with a shared event, are best assessed individually, although the campaign itself may be a shared source of significance.

Figure 46. Photograph of white protesters at the Poolesville High School, 1956
(Source: Washington Area Spark, "MD school segregationists: 1954-74," 2020).

Figure 47. Photograph of a protest at the Five Oaks Swimming Club, 1963
(Source: University of Maryland Special Collections in Hornbrake Library: *Baltimore News American* Photograph Collection, Box 524, Folder 1).

Multiple Demonstration Centers associated with a single campaign or event and located within a concise geographic area can be evaluated as a district. Examples include the Salisbury commercial business district, where protests took place in the summer of 1968 (Figure 48), and the drugstore lunch counters in downtown Baltimore associated with protests held from 1953–1954. In Salisbury, a three-day riot resulted in injuries to 20 people, 50 arrests, and significant property damage within the commercial district.

Figure 48. Photograph of Main Street in Salisbury, 1981
(Source: Smith and Kimlin, "Salisbury Historic District," 1983).

In downtown Baltimore in early 1953, several activist groups launched a nonviolent, direct-action campaign protesting segregated lunch counters at several commercial businesses along the 100 and 200 blocks of West Lexington Street (Figures 49–50). From 2020–2023, the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) and the National Park Service (NPS) documented these resources within a historic district NRHP nomination and an MPDF, both focused on civil rights resources.[227]

[227] Fred B. Shoken, Betty Bird, and Heather Ewing. "Market Center Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 1999; Charles Belfoure. "Market Center Historic District (Boundary Increase)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 2023; Eli Pousson and Nicole Diehlman. "Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland, 1831-1976." Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 2023.

Figure 49. Photograph of the S. S. Kresge Department Store, 2020
(Source: Belfoure, "Market Center Historic District," 2023).

Figure 50. Photograph of the McCrory's Department Store, 2020
(Source: Belfoure, "Market Center Historic District," 2023).

2.2. Strategy Centers

A Strategy Center is a resource where leaders, instructors, and activists held mass meetings, training workshops, public addresses, or strategy sessions in support of, or in opposition to, the Civil Rights Movement. Strategy centers were likened to command centers where operational tactics, strategies, maneuvers, and conflict targets were discussed, and plans of action were formulated. Participants represented local, state, or national organizations and institutions. Strategy Centers can range from the headquarters of a civil rights organization to school buildings and churches as well as the houses of individual participants.

In Maryland, strategy centers include sites where training workshops, mass meetings, public speeches, media events, fundraisers, and legal strategies took place. Like other states, such as Alabama or Tennessee, activist churches are of particular importance since they served as safe havens for community discussions, negotiations, and mass meetings. The church pastors and congregation leaders often played important roles as civil rights activists. Numerous churches in Maryland held strategy sessions for their congregation members and residents on civil rights topics. Strategy centers are also associated with institutions and organizations advocating for the rights of women, American Indians, or the LGBT community.

Likewise, Maryland's multiple universities and colleges hosted strategy meetings, public speeches, classes, workshops, and large-scale public gatherings. Strategy centers may be associated with institutions and organizations that were historically Black, segregated white, or interracial.

Research for this project identified 21 Strategy Centers from the study period. Strategy centers include religious facilities and churches, university and college buildings, government facilities, and commercial/office facilities. This list includes resources identified in previous studies such as the MPDF created for the Baltimore Civil Rights Movement. Of the 21 identified Strategy Centers, 19 are extant and 2 have been demolished. It is important to note that this list is a sample of Strategy Centers in Maryland and is not comprehensive. Appendix B contains an inventory of these 21 Strategy Centers.

An example of a Strategy Center is Baltimore's Sharp Street Memorial United Methodist Church (B-2963; NRHP, 1982), a Gothic Revival-style landmark completed in 1898 (Figure 51). The church held regular mass meetings, including in preparation for the 1942 March-on-Annapolis, for which it also served as an assembly point. The church congregation played a pivotal role in the civil rights movement from the 1930s through the 1960s. The congregation included prominent civil rights leaders such as Lillie C. Jackson, president of the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP from 1935–1970 and known as the mother of the civil rights movement in Maryland.

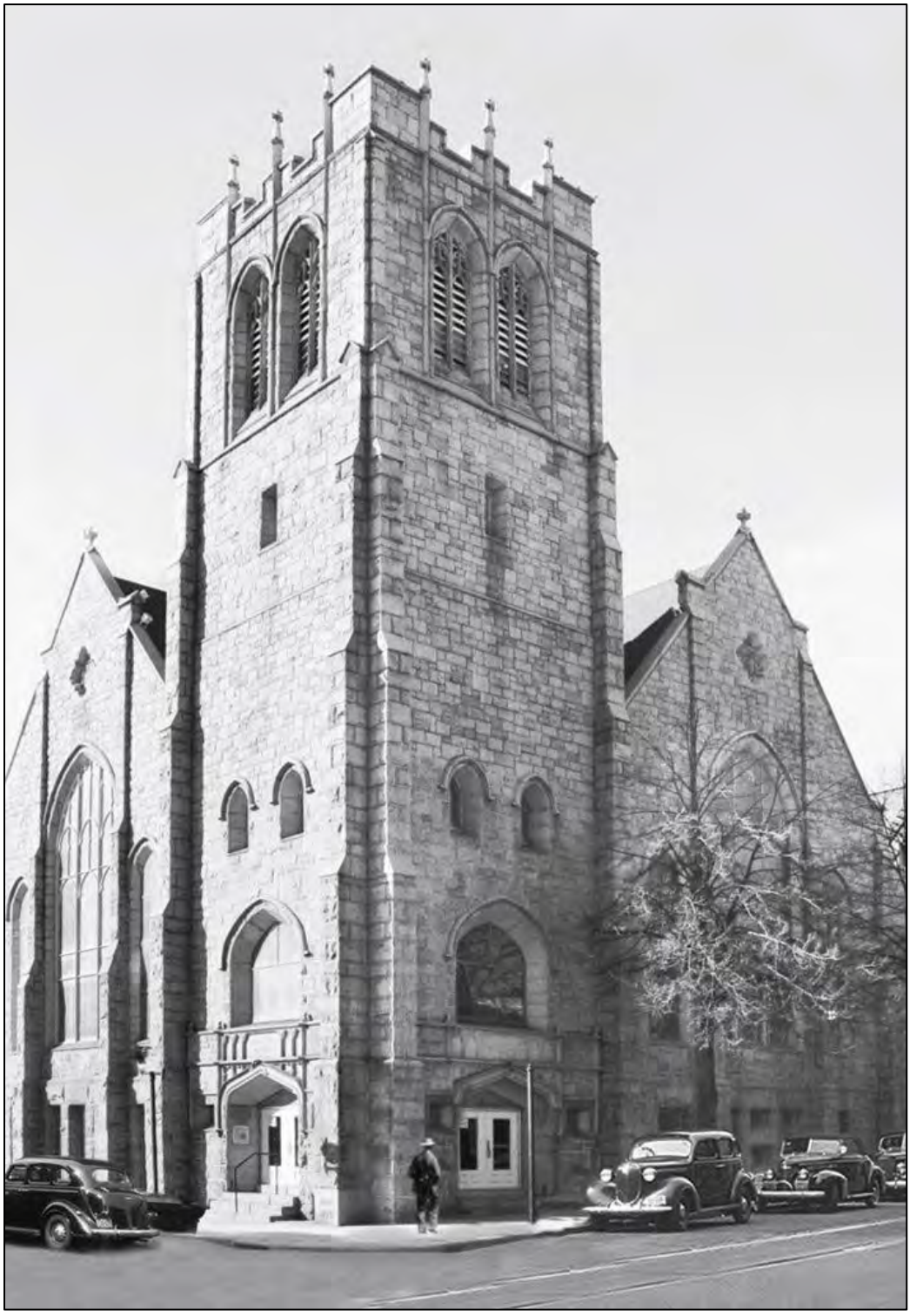

Figure 51. Photograph of the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church, circa 1940 (Source: Explore Baltimore).

2.3. Demonstration Corridors

Demonstration Corridors are linear resources encompassing the routes of demonstrations, particularly marches and motorcades. These resources may include Demonstration Centers as part of the corridor but are distinct from districts that might encompass multiple related Demonstration Centers. An entire demonstration route may be evaluated as a single corridor with set termini.

As a specific resource type, a corridor is typically a linear resource with stops or focal points along the route, which can be categorized as follows:

1) Assembly Point: the starting location of the demonstration; secondary assembly points may be present where additional participants joined at later stages; may be a Strategy Center
2) Route: the path followed by participants
3) Waypoint: a stop along the route, typically for rest or food, where no direct action occurred
4) Action Point: a location involving direct action by participants or opposition; often a Demonstration or Strategy Center
5) Safe Haven: predetermined locations along the route where participants could presume acceptance; participants might not stop at all identified locations

These categories are meant to capture most elements that might comprise a march or motorcade, but with the variety of demonstrations undertaken as part of civil rights movements, they cannot encompass every component of every corridor. Additionally, some components may fit multiple categories. These standardized categories are included to provide a consistent method to identify, describe, and compare similar resources to come to a better understanding of civil rights resources.

As linear resources, corridors consist of the components identified above, along with physical features of the route, such as paved roadbeds, flanking pedestrian sidewalks, bridges, curbing, crosswalks, streetlights, signage, and landscaping. Unless such features can be individually and specifically identified as integral to the demonstration, these aspects of the corridor are most appropriately addressed as part of its setting. The context identified two types of corridors: marches and motorcades.

Marches are focused on human actions, where participants physically walked in protest, faced those in opposition, or encountered peacekeepers such as the police or military troops. Marches were mostly peaceful demonstrations; however, protesters were sometimes provoked by counter protesters and defied by peacekeepers who used tear gas, canines, batons, tanks, and guns to control or stop the protest march. Marches occur at the scale and pace of pedestrian participants. This means that the setting of a march route would include aspects of the environment that are identifiable on the human scale. This may include sidewalks, landscaping, or adjacent building facades.

Motorcades are focused on transportation corridors, where participants traveled between individual demonstration sites. Motorcade routes were mostly peaceful demonstrations; however, protesters were sometimes provoked by counter protesters and defied by peacekeepers who attempted to quell the protest. Motorcades occur at the scale and pace of vehicular traffic. The speed at which vehicles travel and the role of the vehicle as a barrier between human occupants and the environment mean that elements of the motorcade setting are different than they would be for pedestrian marches. This may include the presence of sidewalks rather than specific types or materials, the general type of landscaping bordering the route, or the general character of commercial or residential development along the highway. At specific points on the route where participants are interacting with the environment outside their vehicle, it follows the aspects of setting would change to those identifiable at a pedestrian scale.

Research for this project documented 10 Demonstration Corridors in Maryland, including 7 march routes (Figure 52) and 3 motorcade routes (Figure 53) within the study period. Of these, 4 march routes were within single cities and towns and 3 involved multiple counties. The demonstrations took place from 1954–1978 with nearly 43 percent occurring during the height of the civil rights movement from 1960–1964. All 3 of the motorcade routes involved multiple counties. The motorcade demonstrations took place from 1942–1961 with nearly 70 percent occurring during the height of the civil rights movement from 1960–1964. Appendix C contains an inventory of these 10 Demonstration Corridors.

Figure 52. Photograph of the protesters at Patapsco State Park, 1978
(Source: Washington Area Spark, "Longest Walk: 1978," 2019).

The Longest Walk is an example of a multi-county march route in Maryland. In 1978, hundreds of Native American members of AIM completed The Longest Walk, a five-month pilgrimage from San Francisco, California, to Washington, DC. The route of The Longest Walk included several roadways and sites in Maryland. Around 600 protesters camped at the McKeldin Area of Patapsco State Park (CARR-1662) outside Marriottsville (Figures 54–55). Components of The Longest Walk within Maryland include Inner Harbor at Baltimore as an Assembly Point. Routes include I-83, I-695, US 1, US 29, US 40, MD 25, and MD 193. Other components include Patapsco State Park, Greenbelt Park in Prince George's County, and a boarding location in Brooklandville as Waypoints. In Baltimore, Hopkins Plaza, where the group held a rally, and Druid Hill Park, the site of educational workshops to engage with the local community, served as Action Points.

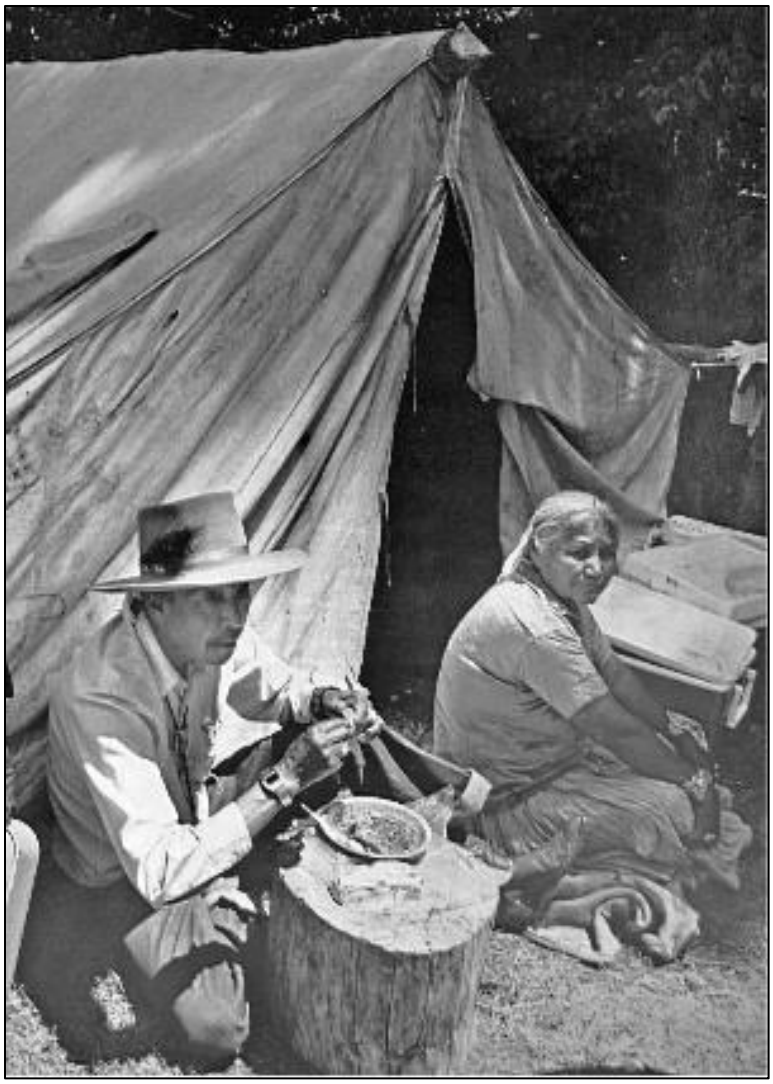

Figure 53. Photograph of the protesters at Patapsco State Park, 1978
(Source: Washington Area Spark, "Longest Walk: 1978," 2019).

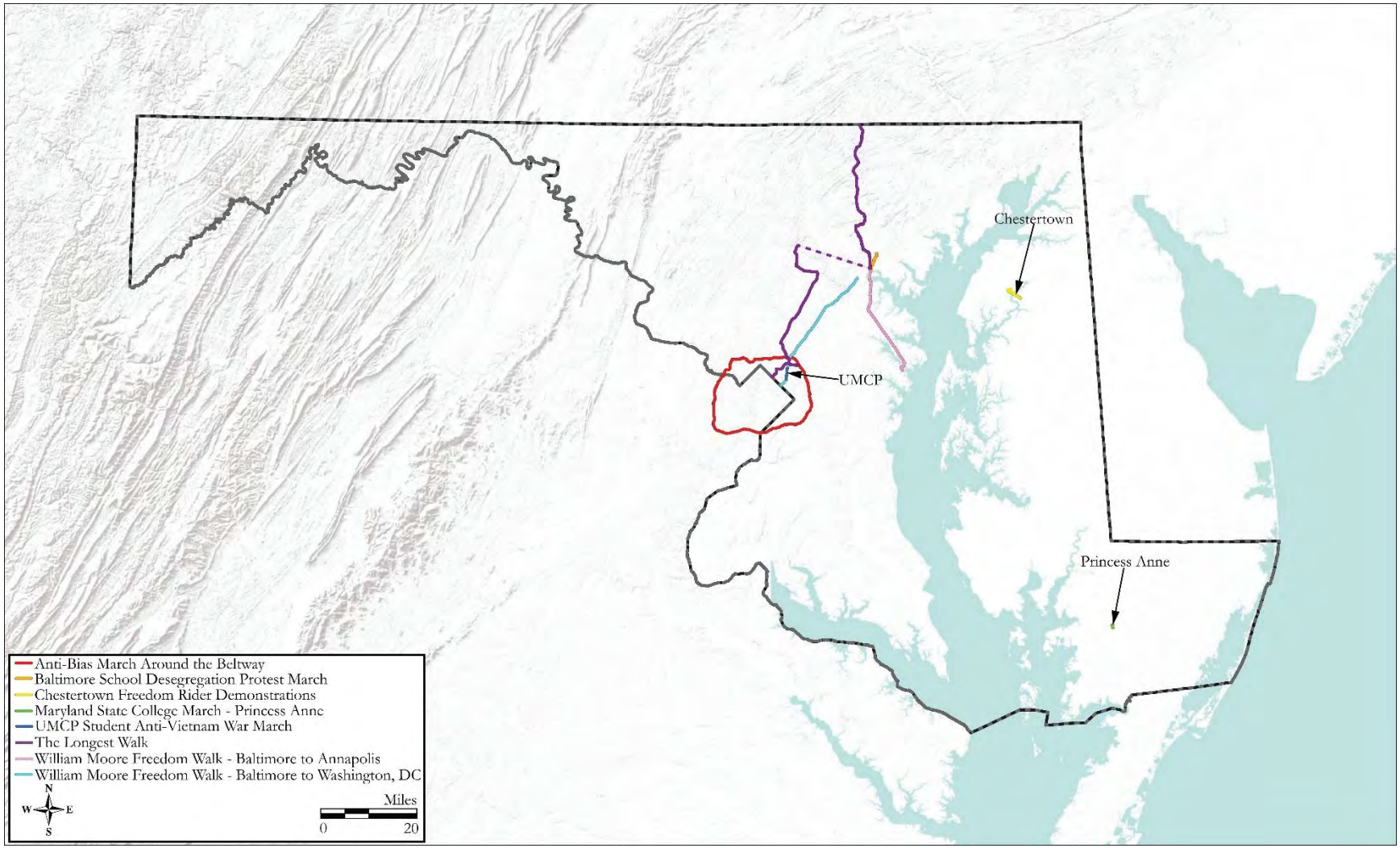

Figure 54. Map showing the distribution of march routes in Maryland.

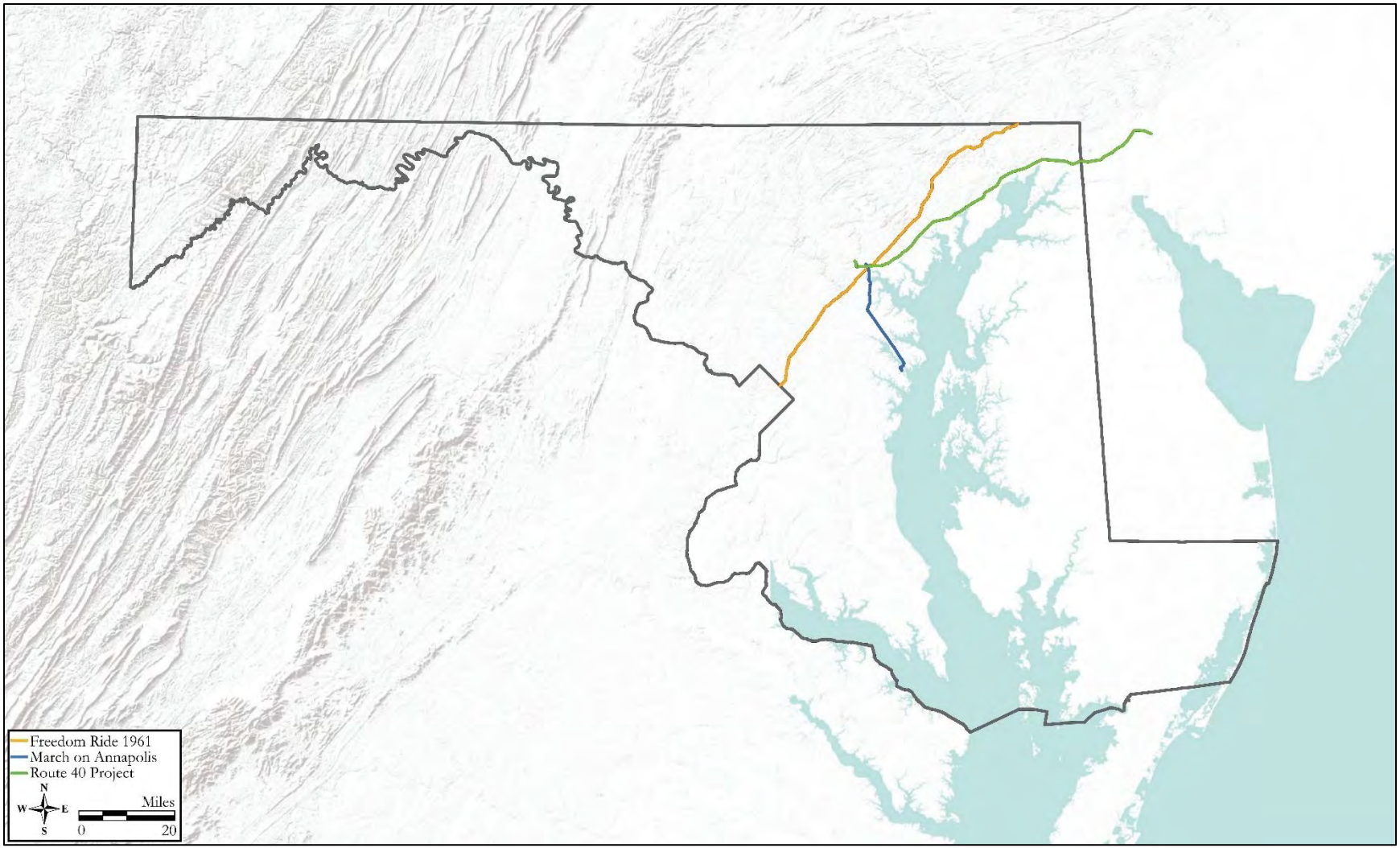

Figure 55. Map showing the distribution of motorcade routes in Maryland.

Part 3: Survey Methodology

Places associated with the struggle for civil rights in Maryland represent a particularly fragile class of resource. Since the 1950s, numerous important buildings and landmarks have been lost because of large-scale urban renewal projects, commercial redevelopment, economic hardship, neglect, and gentrification. The resource inventory (Appendices A–C) for this context report documents many resources associated with civil rights activities along state roads in Maryland that have been destroyed over time. As Maryland's inventory of civil rights resources is diminished, the cultural legacy and story that the remaining historic resources portray rise in importance. The rarity of a place associated with civil rights activities in Maryland is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements for listing resources in the NRHP.

This part of the context report provides a process for evaluating resources that may be associated with civil rights activities along state roads in Maryland. A range of resource types have been identified, and the different types are referenced throughout the context. Resources associated with Maryland's civil rights are eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criteria A, B, C, or D, although most resources identified in this context will be eligible under Criteria A or B for their association with important people or events associated with Maryland's civil rights. When evaluating sites associated with this context, associations with individual people or organizations under Criteria A and B should be closely examined. Eligible properties may meet one or more criteria.

This context does not discuss the architectural significance of these property types, but some sites, such as churches or public buildings, may also be eligible under Criterion C for their architectural significance. In some cases, these architectural significant buildings may have already been listing in the NRHP, but the nomination forms do not discuss the resource's significance as related to Maryland's civil rights.

Finally, it is possible that civil rights resources may be locations defined by participants as important to their civil rights heritage and maintaining their continued cultural identity. Some may be identified as physical places with intangible historical significance that continues to the current day. Such resources can retain an intangible spirit of place, which together with the tangible spatial arrangement can evoke a distinct space that connects the past to the present. When a resource is confirmed or suspected to have connections to civil rights activities, it is important to involve participants and local community members to provide insight, context, and perspective to the spaces being surveyed.

3.1. Process for Evaluating Civil Rights Resources

The process for evaluating civil rights resources along Maryland's state roads for eligibility for listing in the NRHP includes the following steps:

1) Identify the resource type as established in Part 2 of this context report.
2) Establish the preliminary resource boundary, to be verified upon research and assessment.
3) Determine the resource's area(s) of significance as established in Part 1 of this context report.

4) Determine if the resource meets one or more of the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation. If so, complete steps 5 and 6 below.
5) Determine the resource's period of significance.
6) Assess the resource's integrity.

Note that if a resource appears to have significant associations with historical values other than those described in Part 1 of this context report, the context will not apply, and the resource should be evaluated independently.

Common situations that arise when investigating civil rights resources along Maryland's state roads are described below.

3.1.1 Evaluating Multiple Resources as a District

Districts include multiple resource types tied together by location and a common theme. Demonstration Corridors are one type of civil rights district. Other, more traditional, districts may include areas within towns or cities at which multiple distinct or unrelated demonstrations occurred over time.

Districts may also reflect coordinated civil rights campaigns. Campaigns are ongoing organized efforts targeting specific types of businesses or activities. Campaigns may be geographically widespread or concentrated in a specific area. Campaigns are not a distinct resource type but are useful for identifying and categorizing related demonstration activities across the state. When campaigns are geographically linked, they may be evaluated as a district. Multiple discontiguous resource types associated with a single campaign are most appropriately evaluated individually, with a shared association and significance. Important civil rights campaigns that are likely to have significance in Maryland are identified in Appendices A–C.

3.1.2 Evaluating a Resource within an Existing Historic District

Demonstrations frequently occurred within the public spaces of cities and towns; therefore, civil rights resources are often identified within existing NRHP-listed or eligible districts. Although the existing district and civil rights resources to be evaluated may be associated with different contexts and themes, it is preferable to amend the existing district when the same physical settings are integral to the civil rights associations and those associations can be captured by expanding areas of significance, periods of significance, and narratives. In cases of a civil rights resource that is spatially or thematically distinct or when the existing district documentation is too outdated, such resources may be evaluated independently, whether individually or collectively as a separate district, rather than amending the existing documentation.

3.1.3 Evaluating Demonstration Corridors by Segment

This document identifies many civil rights resources that may be found along Maryland's state highway system, including those corridors and campaigns that are likely to have significance under the NRHP

Criteria (Appendix C). When survey efforts identify resources associated with an identified corridor that extends beyond the study area, it may be appropriate to evaluate those resources as part of a segment of the corridor. The segment should include logical termini, such as major intersections, and the segment will be assessed as either contributing or noncontributing to the overall corridor. Noncontributing segments with intact focal points will be unusual. In rare cases, isolated focal points may need to be evaluated individually. See Identifying Resource Types (Section 3.2) and Assessing Integrity (Section 3.7) for more information.

3.2. Identifying Resource Types

The following resource types are described in detail in Part 2 of this document. A summary of each resource type is provided below. These types are specific to resources associated with civil rights demonstrations in Maryland, with an emphasis on resources commonly found along Maryland's state highways. For other situations not addressed by this context, see the 2024 MPDF for Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland (1831-1976).

3.2.1 Demonstration Centers

A Demonstration Center is a resource associated with conflict or confrontation. These resources consist of a physical location (commercial buildings, office buildings, public buildings, churches, educational facilities, recreational facilities, or private dwellings) and an associated direct action—either in support of, or opposition to, the civil rights movement. In Maryland, demonstrations took many forms, including sit-ins, stand-ins, lie-ins, study-ins, picket lines, march routes, and motorcade routes. A Demonstration Center could also be a resource that was damaged by arson, vandalization, the target of a bombing, or other types of violent intimidation.

Multiple demonstration centers associated with the same event and in proximity should be evaluated as a district. If they are also tied to a march or motorcade, it may be appropriate to evaluate them as a Demonstration Corridor, a specific type of district.

3.2.2 Strategy Centers

A Strategy Center is a resource where leaders, instructors, and activists held mass meetings, training workshops, public addresses, or strategy sessions in support of, or in opposition to, Maryland's Civil Rights Movement. Participants represented local, state, or national organizations and institutions. Strategy Centers can range from the headquarters of a civil rights organization to school buildings and churches as well as the dwellings of important individual persons.

3.2.3 Demonstration Corridors

Demonstration Corridors are linear resources encompassing the routes of demonstrations, particularly marches and motorcades. These are likely to be the resources most frequently encountered on state highways as these routes were often the pathway for participants from one location to another. Participants in a march or motorcade gathered at a pre-determined location. They then traveled along a planned route that ended at a specific location for the culmination of the demonstration. Demonstration Corridors may be likened to a district in that they will include multiple individual

resources united by an association with a specific type of action. At minimum, a Demonstration Corridor should retain at least two focal points and a connecting route. Those lacking a connecting route or consisting of only one remaining focal point will not be identifiable as a corridor. In such cases, extant resources associated with the corridor may be evaluated individually.

3.3. Determining Resource Boundaries

Boundaries for civil rights demonstration sites will encompass the physical locations within which a given event occurred. Depending on the type of activity associated with a resource, boundaries will range from single buildings or space to larger areas encompassing routes taken as part of a march or motorcade. Note that boundaries may need to be adjusted later in the process as research reveals additional information about a demonstration location.

The boundary of a Demonstration Center will typically include the building and parcel, along with adjoining spaces where a civil rights activity occurred, including site-specific demonstrations such as picket lines, sit-ins, or physical altercations. Because such activities often occur outside private property, the boundary may include outdoor spaces surrounding the building that are not necessarily part of the same parcel, such as portions of the public sidewalk or street where activities occurred.

The boundary of a Strategy Center will typically include the building and parcel where a civil rights activity occurred. The boundary will include the location of site-specific activities such as mass meetings, rallies, or media events that took place. Because these types of activities generally occurred inside the buildings or within spaces that were part of the buildings themselves, the boundary will generally be defined as the associated parcel.

Where a Demonstration Center or Strategy Center is part of a larger complex or campus, such as a university, the boundary may include an area around the building sufficient to convey its character.

For example, the boundary for civil rights organizational activities and meetings held on a university campus would include the building(s) where the activities occurred and would encompass sufficient setting surrounding the building to establish the feeling and association that the building had during the period of significance.

The boundary of a Demonstration Corridor resource will typically include the spaces where civil rights activities occurred, and the motorcade or march routes used to reach those spaces. The boundary will include the location of site-specific demonstrations such as sit-ins and picket lines as well as relevant roadways, streets, and/or sidewalks used for travel.

For example, the boundary for a freedom ride, might include the buildings and city streets where the demonstrations took place, including assembly points, businesses that were targeted for demonstrations, and portions of streets where marches and demonstrations occurred. The boundary would be large enough to encompass these individual buildings, which served as action points, and the associated transportation infrastructure.

When multiple resource types are in proximity, whether part of a related campaign or with a more general shared association, they may be included in single boundary as a district. For example, the boundary for citywide protests might include business and civic facilities involved in the protest within the commercial business district, portions of city streets within the business district where marches or demonstrations occurred, and connecting roadways. The boundary would be large enough to encompass individual buildings, civic facilities, and transportation infrastructure.

3.4. Applying the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation

When assessing resources associated with Maryland's civil rights history for eligibility for listing in the NRHP, the investigator shall apply the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation. The NRHP Criteria for Evaluation is codified in CFR Title 36, Part 60, and outlined and defined in the *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Bulletin 15), published by the National Park Service (NPS). There are additional things to consider when evaluating resources that may be associated with civil rights activities in Maryland, which are presented below.

3.4.1 Areas of Significance

Area of significance describes the category in which a resource attained its importance. All three resource types—Demonstration Centers, Strategy Centers, and Demonstration Corridors—may be important in the area of Social History. Civil rights resources associated with African American history may also be eligible under Black Ethnic Heritage. Likewise, Civil Rights resources associated with American Indian history may also be eligible under Native American Ethnic Heritage. All three resource types may have significance at the local, state, or national levels.

3.4.1.1 Criterion A

Civil rights resources along Maryland state roads will most often be significant under Criterion A for association with important events. These may be a pattern of events related to civil rights activities tied to different groups or specific activities associated with a single important event or campaign. To meet NRHP eligibility under Criterion A, Demonstration Centers, Strategy Centers, and Demonstration Corridors must be directly associated with significant historical events and/or a pattern of events in the history of civil rights activities in Maryland and the resource must have been in existence at the time that the historical event took place. Resources must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic contexts, time periods, and themes outlined in Part 1 of this context report.

3.4.1.2 Criterion B

In addition to Criterion A, all three resource types may also be individually eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B for their association with the lives of historically significant people. Although the focus of this context is on resources related to civil rights activities along Maryland's state roads, it is possible that gathering spaces such as Strategy Centers or assembly points, waypoints, or safe havens along a Demonstration Corridor might also be associated with the lives of important persons in the context of civil rights.

In rare cases, a resource associated with a civil rights demonstration might be significant under Criterion B for illustrating an important achievement in the career of a civil rights leader. Such resources would also be significant under Criterion A for their associations with historical events.

An example of a Civil Rights resource listed in the NRHP under Criterion B is the Lillie Carroll Jackson House (B-853), a circa-1868 brick rowhouse at 1320 Eutaw Place in Baltimore. This resource was individually listed in the NRHP in 2023 for its association with Lillie C. Jackson (1889–1975), a prominent African American leader in the national Civil Rights Movement who organized the Baltimore branch of the NAACP in 1935 and served as its president until 1970. She lived in this rowhouse from 1953 until her death in 1975. The dwelling has been restored and is currently the home of the Lillie Carroll Jackson Civil Rights Museum.

3.4.1.3 Criterion C

Civil rights resources are unlikely to be eligible under Criterion C. Activities took place in existing physical spaces, not purpose-built spaces designed to accommodate demonstrations. Criterion C may apply under other areas of significance for architectural design or as part of a larger district.

As an example, the Lillie Carroll Jackson House identified under Criterion B above, a three-story Italianate-influenced rowhouse, is also listed in the NRHP as a contributing building within the Bolton Hill Historic District (B-64), which was listed in the NRHP in 1971 under Criterion C for architectural significance. This association is distinct from the civil rights themes which qualified the resource under Criterion B.

3.4.1.4 Criterion D

Resources associated with civil rights activities in Maryland are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D. Civil rights demonstrations occurred in shared public spaces and were brief events, leaving little physical traces. Physical evidence is unlikely to reveal additional information that cannot already be accessed via contemporary accounts documenting these events.

3.4.1.5 Criteria Considerations

Individual civil rights resources will need to meet additional criteria if they fall into one of the following categories: religious resources, moved resources, birthplaces and graves, cemeteries, reconstructed resources, commemorative resources, and resources achieving significance within the past fifty years. Additional information on how to address these special requirements may be found in NPS's *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

3.5. Determining Character-Defining Features

Because of the specific nature of resources associated with civil rights activities, where significance lies not in the physical spaces themselves, but in the events that took place there and in the people who occupied the space, character-defining features will vary by location and are not readily defined by resource type. In addition to traditional features such as the exterior character of the buildings

themselves, consideration should be given to elements of the physical setting that are important to understand the activity or demonstration.

3.5.1 Demonstration Centers

For Demonstration Centers, character-defining features will be dependent on the type of demonstration it represents. Elements with which activists would have interacted and which were key to the demonstration will be of primary importance. For example, the site of an outdoor picket line will be defined by building exteriors and elements of the setting, such as sidewalks, roadways, or plazas. For the site of a sit-in, however, emphasis may be on the interior features—such as the presence of the original lunch counter—while exterior features will be less critical.

Demonstration Centers that were sites damaged by arson, vandalization, or the target of a bombing were likely significantly damaged or even destroyed as part of significant events with which they are associated. Character-defining features may include evidence of cosmetic damage they sustained, such as scorch marks or broken masonry. However, many resources that sustained damage were repaired or rebuilt as a direct response to attempts at intimidation. In such instances, character-defining features may include materials or construction techniques designed to prevent further damage, such as bomb-proof walls or non-porous cladding.

3.5.2 Strategy Centers

Many strategy meetings, such as training classes or mass meetings, took place indoors. Where intact, the most notable character-defining features might be interior gathering spaces, including characteristic elements of a classroom or a church sanctuary, such as rows of pews.

3.5.3 Demonstration Corridors

Demonstration Corridors will include specific stopping points and travel routes as contributing resources. Although routes are included as contributing resources, they are chiefly important for understanding the progress of a demonstration as experienced by participants. Therefore, it is the alignment of these routes, not physical details or materials, that typically convey significance. Character-defining features will emphasize stopping points along the route and will be like those identified for individual resource types. They might include important elements of the setting, such as an urban environment or automobile-oriented commercial development along a highway.

Because of the high rate of speed and distances traveled, the general appearance of a highway will be more relevant to the character of a motorcade route than details observable at the pedestrian scale. Likewise, these pedestrian-level details may be relevant to slower-paced march routes, where participants had more direct interaction with their surroundings. Such features to consider will include physical elements of the route, such as the spatial relationship between roads, bridges, and surrounding landscape, and presence and nature of pedestrian sidewalks, curbing, crosswalks, streetlights, signage, and landscaping. When identifiable, evaluations must be specific about which aspects of the route are important. Unless such features can be individually and specifically identified as integral to the

experience of the demonstration, these aspects of the corridor are most appropriately addressed as part of its general setting.

3.6. Establishing a Period of Significance

As defined in the NPS's *National Register Bulletin 15*, the period of significance is the time that a resource was associated with important events, activities, or people, or when a resource attained the characteristics that qualify it for listing in the NRHP. The period of significance encompasses the dates when significant activities or events began and ended.

For Maryland's civil rights resources, the period of significance can be defined as the day(s) a demonstration took place or the period within which a demonstration campaign occurred. For example, the period of significance for resources associated with a single-day march would be defined as the day the demonstration occurred. If a resource was subject to sustained demonstrations, even up to several years, its period of significance would be for the duration of the protests.

3.7. Assessing Integrity

To be eligible for listing in the NRHP, a resource should be significant under the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation *and* have historic integrity. Integrity is the ability of the resource to convey its significance through physical features and context. The integrity assessment should be based on a thorough understanding of a resource's physical features and how they relate to its historical significance.

Civil rights resources in Maryland may retain all seven aspects of integrity, which include location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain historic integrity, a resource should possess most of the aspects; however, the feeling and association with the civil rights activities themselves will generally be more important than a building's architecture or design, and integrity of materials and workmanship are least critical for maintaining overall integrity.

As explained in a recent best practices guidance document issued by the NPS, "Historic places evolve, and these changes may be determined to be historic following National Register guidelines." The NPS document further states that the "historic context developed in the nomination is essential in evaluating historic changes."[228] This guidance conveys that traditional tests of architectural integrity such as retention of historic exteriors from the period of significance may be unsuitable. As documented in this context report, civil rights successes in Maryland oftentimes led to the transformation of the physical landscape, resulting in changes to resources as they became part of an integrated environment in towns and cities across the state. As noted in the MPDF for Baltimore civil rights resources, changes "made to existing sites upon their occupation by black activists or

[228] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," *Best Practices Review: A quarterly publication on National Register Bulletin guidance*, Issue 1, September 22, 2022, 1.

organizations to meet their needs should be considered a component of the building's association and historical evolution."[229]

As noted in the MPDF for civil rights movement resources in Selma, Alabama:

> To search out merely the properties that remained exactly as they were in 1965, for example, would deny the agency of African Americans as they gained political and economic power, and assumed a new legitimacy and visibility in southern culture, as they translated the immediate success of the Civil Rights Movement into new social, cultural, and political arrangements and environments in the mid–1960s to mid–1970s. However, if the property lacks the significant distinguishing features from its period of significance, no matter how just and well intentioned those renovations may be, the property no longer possesses integrity from that period of significance.[230]

Any alterations to the exterior or interior of these resources must be evaluated within the context of the building's overall ability to convey the association and feeling related to its significance within the historic contexts established in Part 1. As stated in the NPS's *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, "A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today."[231] Determining which of the aspects of integrity are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant. Historic properties either retain integrity—that is, convey their significance—or they do not. As the NPS notes, "The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."[232]

In summary, resources may meet registration requirements for listing in the NRHP if they possess historical significance and sufficient character and integrity to retain their sense of time and place from their period of significance. In the case of resources associated with civil rights activities along Maryland's state roads, consideration of the effect of racial, ethnic, gender, and social discrimination in local, state, and federal policies; in mortgage and lending programs and housing practices; in employment; in education; in access to healthcare; and other forms of discrimination must be considered when determining integrity. For example, African Americans in Maryland often found it financially unfeasible to construct new buildings and instead enlarged existing buildings or adapted older buildings for new uses.

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[229] Eli Pousson and Nicole Dielhmann, "Civil Rights in Baltimore, Maryland, 1831–1976," National Park Service, Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2023, 153.
[230] Carroll Van West, Amber Clawson, Jessica French, and Abigail Gautreau. "The Civil Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama, 1865-1972," National Park Service, Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2013, 57.
[231] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 1997, 48.
[232] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," 2022, 1.

Special consideration should be given to understanding the ongoing impacts of the associated social history when evaluating the integrity of civil rights resources. A greater degree of allowance for alterations to a resource outside of its period of significance may be necessary given these factors, as well as the overall loss and degree of alteration to civil rights resources in Maryland as a whole.

3.7.1 Demonstration and Strategy Centers

Demonstration Centers and Strategy Centers should retain sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, feeling, and association. Resources must retain their location from the period of significance. Integrity of association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting and the retention of direct links between the resource, its location, and the historical event(s) that occurred at the site. Although the design of buildings evolves over time with advances in technology and uses, for a Demonstration or Strategy Center to retain sufficient historic integrity for NRHP eligibility, it should retain intact and identifiable character-defining features from its period of significance. Different aspects of integrity will have different weight when determining level of integrity, depending on the type of Demonstration Center. Setting and exterior features will be more important for outdoor demonstrations, while interior finishes may weigh more heavily for indoor demonstrations.

3.7.2 Demonstration Corridors

The most important aspects of integrity for Demonstration Corridors are location, setting, feeling, and association. It should, in general, be recognizable in terms of the spatial organization of the site and major features present during the period, such as boundaries, circulation patterns, building clusters, topography, and views. March routes and motorcade routes took place along public streets, highways, and sidewalks that are considered common property. As with all public infrastructure, transportation corridors are subject to constant evolution and change. Common alterations such as sidewalk or street resurfacing and individual building demolition/replacement will not generally diminish the historic integrity of a route, while significant alterations to the setting and spatial organization as well as the intrusion of large-scale features such as buildings or structures may negatively impact integrity if they occurred after the period of significance. Ultimately, however, the integrity of the connecting routes between focal points (assembly points, waypoints, action points, and safe havens) is secondary to the integrity of the focal points themselves.

To have integrity for NRHP eligibility, a typical corridor will include, at a minimum, an assembly point, a route, and an action point. The assembly point, route, and action point must be extant and retain aspects of integrity sufficient to convey the historical significance of the civil rights events that occurred there during the period of significance. As the destination and purpose of the demonstration, greater emphasis will be on the integrity of action points than other focal points (assembly points, waypoints, safe havens) along the corridor. Motorcade routes are experienced at the speed of an automobile or bus, thus details along the route will be less important. At focal points, and for march routes, finer details may be emphasized, and integrity of design will be a greater factor. However, with multiple resources within each demonstration corridor, individual alterations will have less of an effect on overall integrity.

Because this context focuses on activities along state roads, which are highly evolving resources that have experienced in many cases significant changes (widening, new intersection/access points, surrounding development) in response to safety of transportation and other reasons, demonstration corridors may have more visual changes than other resource types.

Bibliography

Archival research for this project included both in-person repositories and a trove of digital collections. In-person research at the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore. Key online archives included the Civil Rights Movement Veterans, Bowie State University Thurgood Marshall Library Archives and Special Collections, and the Maryland State Archives. Digital archives available from the *Washington Area Spark* provided a broad range of primary documents and period photographs associated with topics throughout this study. This online archive proved indispensable for this report.

In addition to digital archives associated with traditional repositories, this study drew heavily on historic newspaper databases, accessed primarily via Newspapers.com. These online databases provided access to large newspapers such as the *Baltimore Sun* as well as several regional Maryland newspapers. While indispensable for reconstructing the broad story of Maryland's civil rights activities, these databases are necessarily supplemented by smaller newspapers, which fall outside these primary databases. Additionally, apart from the *Afro-American,* African American newspapers are not strongly represented in the large newspaper databases. Researchers exploring Black contributions to American history need to recognize that the topics, perspectives, and representations of African Americans in mainstream newspapers were often skewed by institutional racism. News coverage of events in Black communities is often better represented in Black-controlled newspapers. Many of these are only available on microfilm today, but digitization efforts are underway at Howard University, the Library of Congress, and other institutions.

The Internet Archive (https://archive.org/details/texts) was a valuable tool for this project. This resource represents a clearinghouse for historic texts which are no longer within copyright, many of which are also available online via GoogleBooks. Additionally, with the use of a digital library card, many more recent secondary sources on topics discussed throughout this study, were borrowed via ProQuest. The Internet Archive's "WayBack Machine" is also useful for researching past iterations of existing website (https://web.archive.org/). At times older versions of a website can provide access to information or documents no longer readily available on an institution's website.

The authors made use of subscription services such as Everand (formerly Scribd), Perlego, and JSTOR, which provide digital copies of scholarly books and journal articles, including hard to find and out-of-print volumes. Additionally, the primary author referred to his personal collection of books associated with the history of civil rights activities in Maryland and other states.

Information for specific civil rights resources included in the inventory tables utilized a variety of sources, including historic maps, aerial imagery, newspaper articles, websites, historic photographs, NRHP nominations, and survey and DOE forms on file with the MHT.

The development of resource types utilized previous studies associated with Civil Rights Movement resources, including MPDF and affiliated resource nominations listed in the NRHP. These NRHP-listed multiple resource nominations were prepared for Orangeburg, South Carolina (1996); Birmingham, Alabama (2004); Selma, Alabama (2013); the State of Ohio (2019); Detroit, Michigan (2020); the State of Idaho (2021); Baltimore, Maryland (2023); and Nashville, Tennessee (2024).

The development of resource types also utilized in previous studies undertaken by the National Park Service (NPS) through the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program, including *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, revised 2008), *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations* (2004, revised 2009), *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States* (2000, supplement 2004), *Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing* (2021), and *African American Outdoor Recreation* (2022).

The development of resource types for this project also utilized documentation from the Georgia State University (GSU) World Heritage Initiative, developed under guidance by the NPS's Office of International Affairs, "Identifying U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites." The GSU World Heritage Initiative identified over 300 sites associated with the Modern Civil Rights Movement in the U.S., including four Historically Black Colleges and University (HBCU) campuses in Maryland, for consideration for possible inclusion in the potential serial nomination.

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Appendix A—Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Anne Arundel County

Anne Arundel County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Antoinette's Diner	40 West Street (**MD 450**)	Annapolis	AA-705	Within the Annapolis Historic District (AA-137; NHL, 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Antoinette's Diner Sit-In November 18, 1961
Maryland State House	State Circle	Annapolis	AA-685	Listed (NHL, 1960; NRHP, 1966) Civil Rights–No Within the Annapolis Historic District (NHL, 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984)—Contributing Civil Rights–No	March on Annapolis April 1942 Bowie State University Student "Study-In" April 4, 1968 Right to Choose Rally January 22, 1985
St. Anne's Episcopal Church	Church Circle	Annapolis	AA-399	Within the Annapolis Historic District (NHL, 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Right to Choose Rally January 22, 1985

Anne Arundel County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Demolished					
Greyhound Bus Terminal	126 West Street (**MD 450**)	Annapolis	N/A	N/A (demolished)	Greyhound Bus Terminal Restaurant Sit-In November 25, 1960
Ritchie Raceway	Intersection West Ordnance Road (**MD 710**) and Gov. Ritchie Highway (**MD 2**)	Glen Burnie	N/A	N/A (demolished 1964; replaced with Arundel Plaza)	NAAWP Rally October 4, 1954

Baltimore City

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Greater Hutzler's Building	220-228 North Howard Street	B-2278	Within the Market Street Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	Lexington and Howard Street Department Store ProtestsMarch 26–April 17, 1960

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Hecht-May Department Store	118 North Howard Street	B-3673	Within the Market Street Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	
Hutzler's Palace Building	210-218 North Howard Street	B-2279	Within the Market Street Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	
Stewart's Department Store	226-232 West Lexington Street	B-2290	Within the Market Street Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	
Hooper's Restaurant	22 East Fayette Street	N/A	Within the Business and Government Historic District (B-3935; NRHP, 1987) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Hooper's Restaurant Sit-In June 17, 1960

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
McCrory's	117-121 North Howard Street & 227-229 West Lexington Street	B-2320	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	Lunch Counter Protest Spring 1953
F. W. Woolworth & Company	221-225 West Lexington Street	N/A	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	
Schulte-United	215-221 West Lexington Street	B-2319	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	
S. S. Kresge Store No. 20	119-123 West Lexington Street & 116-120 North Liberty Street	B-2321	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Read's Drug Store	123-127 North Howard Street	N/A	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–Yes	Read Drug Store Sit-Ins January 20, 1955
Southern High School	201 Warren Avenue	B-3272	Within the Federal Hill Historic District (NRHP, 1970) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Southern High School Protest October 1, 1954
War Memorial Building	101 North Gay Street	B-3935	NRHP, 1987 Civil Rights–No	Herring Run Housing Site Protest July 20, 1943
Demolished				
Arundel Ice Cream Company	1534 Havenwood Road	N/A	N/A (demolished 2020)	Arundel Ice Cream Fountain Demonstration March 13 & 20, 1959

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Carlin's Park Swimming Pool	Reisterstown Road (**MD 140**) at Druid Park Drive	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 1960; current site of Dietz & Watson Inc.)	Carlin's Park Swimming Pool Protest July 1963
Druid Hill Park Tennis Courts	2700 Madison Avenue Bound by McCulloh Street **(MD 129)** to the west and Jones Falls Expressway **(I-83)** to the east	N/A	Within the Druid Hill Park Historic District (B-56; NRHP, 1973) Noncontributing (whites-only courts replaced with grassy lawn circa 1989)	Druid Hill Park Protest (Tennis Courts) July 11, 1948
Ford's Theater	320 West Fayette Street	N/A	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Noncontributing (demolished 1964; replaced with parking garage)	Ford's Theater Protest 1947—1953
Hecht's Rooftop Restaurant	Havenwood Road	N/A	N/A (demolished 2020)	Hect's Restaurant Sit-In March 15-21, 1960

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Hochschild, Kohn & Company Building	200-208 North Howard Street	B-2280	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Noncontributing (demolished in 1983)	Lexington and Howard Street Department Store Protests March 26–April 17, 1960
M. Goldseker Company	218-220 West Franklin Street (**US 40**)	B-1974	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Noncontributing (demolished circa 1985 replaced with surface parking lot)	Morris Goldseker Company Protest May–July 1969
Northwood Theater	1572 Havenwood Road	N/A	N/A (demolished 2020)	Northwood Theater Demonstrations April 1955 February 15, 1963
Read's Drug Store	1534 Havenwood Road	N/A	N/A (demolished 2020)	Read Drug Store Sit-Ins January 20, 1955
W. T. Grant's Department Store	216 West Lexington Street	N/A	Within the Market Center Historic District (B-1262; NRHP, 2000, revised 2023) Noncontributing (demolished circa 2010)	Lunch Counter Protest Spring 1954

Baltimore County

Baltimore County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Five Oaks Swim Club	1817 Frederick Road (**MD 144**)	Catonsville	N/A	Evaluation Underway	Five Oaks Swimming Club Protest August 11 and August 31, 1963
Gwynn Oaks Park Swimming Pool	5900 Gwynn Oak Avenue (**MD 126**)	Woodlawn	N/A	Not Evaluated	Gwynn Oaks Park Swimming Pool Protest July 4 and July 7, 1963
Meadowbrook Swimming Pool	5700 Cottonworth Avenue (Abuts Jones Falls Expressway (**I-83**) to east)	Mt. Washington	N/A	Not Evaluated	Meadowbrook Swimming Pool Protest July 1963
Milford Mill Swimming Pool	3900 Milford Road	Milford Mill	N/A	Not Evaluated	Milford Mill Swimming Pool Protest August 1963
Demolished					

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Baltimore County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Beaver Springs Swimming Club	10708-10710 Beaver Dam Road	Cockeysville	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 1985; replaced with apartment complex and medical center; quarry watering hole extant); located adjacent to Beaver Dam Swimming Club (BA-3107)	Beaver Springs Swimming Club Protest August 10 and 17, 1963
Orchard Swim Club	1500 block East Joppa Road	Towson	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 1985; replaced with strip shopping center)	Orchard Swim Club Protest August 1963
Quality Inn	1015 York Road (**MD 45**)	Towson	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 1992; replaced with Radcliffe Shopping Center)	Towson Motel Pro-Choice Rally October 15, 1982

Carroll County

Carroll County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Carroll Theater	91 West Main Street	Westminster	CARR-441	Within the Westminster Historic District (CARR-152; NRHP, 1980) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Westminster Protests December 8, 1962
Restaurants	Multiple	Westminster	N/A	Within the Westminster Historic District (CARR-152; NRHP, 1980) Civil Rights–No	

Montgomery County

Montgomery County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
FDA Headquarters	5600 Fishers Lane	Rockville	N/A	Not Evaluated	Seize Control of the FDA Rally October 11, 1988

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Montgomery County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Glen Echo Amusement Park	7300 MacArthur Boulevard	Glen Echo	M:35-41	Glen Echo Amusement Park (NRHP, 1984) Civil Rights–No	Glen Echo Amusement Park Protest June 30–September 1960
Montgomery County Courthouse	27 Courthouse Square	Rockville	M:26-11-1	Within Montgomery County Courthouse Historic District (M:26-11; NRHP, 1986) Civil Rights–No	Poolesville Desegregation Protest September 7, 1956
Poolesville High School	17501 West Willard Road	Poolesville	M:17-68	Not Eligible (DOE 10/20/2021) Civil Rights–No	Poolesville Desegregation Protest September 4, 1956
Demolished					
Hi-Boy Drive-In Restaurant and Donut Shop	800 Hungerford Drive (**MD 355**)–formerly North Washington Street	Rockville	N/A	N/A (demolished between 1981 and 1988; replaced with 800 Hungerford Strip Mall)	Hi-Boy Drive-In Restaurant and Donut Shop Sit-Ins and Pickets July 9 – July 25, 1960
Hiser Theater	7414 Wisconsin Avenue (**MD 355**)	Bethesda	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 1985; now Hyatt Regency Bethesda Hotel)	Hiser Theater Pickets July 27–August 23, 1960

Prince George's County

Prince George's County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Administration Building	1101 Main Administration Building	College Park	PG:66-35	Eligible University of Maryland, College Park (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	Anti-Vietnam War Protests May 1970 Chancellor Charles Bishop Address to Student Protests May 12, 1971
Belair Development	Bound by John Hanson Highway (**US 50**), Collington Road (**MD 197**), and Robert S. Crain Highway (**MD 3**) and transected by Annapolis Road **(MD 450)**	Bowie	PG:71B-18	Not Eligible (DOE 1/21/2000) Civil Rights–No	Belair Fair Housing Protest August–September 1963
Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	Bisects UMCP Campus to the East	College Park	N/A	Not Evaluated	Invasion of Cambodia Rally May 1, 1970 Removal of ROTC Protest May 5, 1971
Bowie State University Campus	14000 Jericho Park Road	Bowie	PG:71A-21	Not Eligible (DOE 1/2/1998) Civil Rights–No World Heritage Study List–U.S. Modern Civil Rights Movement Sites	Bowie State College Protests March 27, 1968, and March 30, 1968

Prince George's County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Don S. S. Goodloe House	13809 Jericho Park Road	Bowie	PG:71A-30	Listed (NRHP, 1988) Civil Rights–No	
Fair Lanes Bowling Alley	(a) 4601 Cooper Lane OR (b) 3321 East-West Highway (**MD 410**)	Hyattsville	N/A	(a) Not Evaluated (b) N/A (demolished)	Fair Lanes Bowling Alley Protest September 7 & October 23, 1960
McKeldin Mall	7998 Regents Drive	College Park	PG:66-35	Eligible University of Maryland, College Park (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	Invasion of Cambodia Rally May 1, 1970
President's Residence	8150 Presidential Drive	College Park	N/A	Not Evaluated	Anti-War Demonstrations April 17–20, 1972
Reckord Armory	4490 Rossborough Lane	College Park	PG:66-35	Eligible University of Maryland, College Park (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	

Prince George's County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Skinner Building	4300 Chapel Lane	College Park	PG:66-35	Eligible University of Maryland, College Park (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	Anti-Vietnam War Protest Occupation March 23, 1970

Somerset County

Somerset County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
City Restaurant	Unknown	Crisfield	N/A	N/A (demolished)	City Restaurant Sit-In December 24, 1961
Shiloh Methodist Church	109 North 4th Steet Main Street/Maryland Avenue/Richardson Avenue (**MD 413**)	Crisfield	S-127	Within the Crisfield Historic District (NRHP, 1990) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Crisfield Demonstrations and Rally December 30, 1961

Somerset County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Tull's Restaurant (in Morris Building)	11714-11728 Somerset Avenue (**MD 675**)	Princess Anne	N/A	Within Princess Anne Historic District (NRHP, 1980) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No	Tull's Restaurant Sit-In February 1964

Wicomico County

Wicomico County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Commercial Business District	Main Street	Salisbury	WI-145	Within the Salisbury Historic District—Eligible (DOE 6/2/1983) Civil Rights–No	Salisbury Protests Summer 1968
Forbe's Grocery	"Westover Hills" Address unknown	Salisbury	N/A	N/A (Status Unknown)	
McCready's Market	902 Delaware Avenue	Salisbury	N/A	Not Evaluated	

Inventory of Demonstration Centers

Wicomico County					
Resource Name	**Address**	**City**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Police Department	100 West Church Street	Salisbury	WI-74	Within the Salisbury Historic District—Eligible (DOE 6/2/1983) Contributing Civil Rights–No	
Wicomico County Courthouse	101 North Division Street	Salisbury	WI-12	Within the Salisbury Historic District—Eligible (DOE 6/2/1983) Contributing Civil Rights–No	
Holloway Hall, Salisbury University	1101 Camden Hall	Salisbury	WI-135	Eligible (DOE 9/20/1993) Civil Rights–No	Salisbury State College NOW Rally October 19, 1979

Other Counties

Resource Name	Address	City	County	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Name and Date
Boyle Farm	225-229 Sylmar Road	Rising Sun	Cecil	N/A	Not Evaluated	Resistance to the Klan Rally June 20, 1971
Demolished						
Bonnie Brae Diner	1305 Pulaski Highway (**US 40**)	Edgewood	Harford	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 2004; replaced with Harford County Sheriff's Office in 2012)	Bonnie Brae Diner International Incident June 26, 1961
Howard Johnson Restaurant	1700 Dual Highway (**US 40**)	Hagerstown	Washington	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 2012; replaced with PNC Bank)	Howard Johnson Restaurant Segregation August 3, 1960
RFC Arena	Virginia Avenue at Perimore Street	Cambridge	Dorchester	N/A	N/A (demolished and replaced with maintenance facility)	George Wallace Rally Protest May 11, 1964

Appendix B—Inventory of Strategy Centers

Baltimore City

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
ASCO Club	1125 Mount Street		Within Old West Baltimore Historic District (B-1373, NRHP 2004) and Sandtown-Winchester/Penn North Survey District (B-4434) Contributing Civil Rights–No	March on Annapolis April 1942
Baltimore Urban League	1841 Pennsylvania Avenue	N/A	Within the Old West Baltimore Historic District (B-1373, NRHP, 2004, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–No	March on Annapolis April 1942
CORE Office	Address Unknown	N/A	Status Unknown	William Moore's Freedom Walks February 23, 1963
Dr. John E. T. Camper House	639 North Carey Street	N/A	Within the Old West Baltimore Historic District (B-1373, NRHP, 2004, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–No	March on Annapolis April 1942

Inventory of Strategy Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Druid Hill Park	2700 Madison Avenue	B-56	Listed (NRHP, 1973) Civil Rights–No	The Longest Walk July 13, 1978
Hopkins Plaza	12 South Charles Street	N/A	Not Evaluated	The Longest Walk July 12, 1978
Inner Harbor	Baltimore	N/A	Not Evaluated	The Longest Walk July 12, 1978
Johns Hopkins University–Homewood Campus	Levering Hall 3400 North Charles Street	N/A	Not evaluated	Interracial organizing activities, 1950s and 1960s
Lillie C. Jackson House	1226 Druid Hill Park Avenue	N/A	Within the Old West Baltimore Historic District (B-1373; NRHP, 2004, revised 2023) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Offices for the Citizen's Committee for Justice 1942–19?? Jackson's home and primary office for NAACP-Baltimore 1942–1952

Inventory of Strategy Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
Lillie C. Jackson House/Museum	1320 Eutaw Place	B-853	Listed (NRHP, 2023) Civil Rights–Yes Within Bolton Hill Historic District (B-64; NRHP, 1971) Civil Rights–No	Jackson's home and de facto office for NAACP-Baltimore activities, 1953–1970
Morgan State University Memorial Chapel and Parsonage	4307 Hill Road	B-5250	Listed (NRHP, 2012) Civil Rights–No World Heritage Study List–U.S. Modern Civil Rights Movement Sites	Ford's Theater Protests 1947–1953 Sit-Ins, 1955–1961 Northwood Protests, 1955–1961 CIG, 1955–1965 Route 40 Protests, 1961–1962 Gwynn Oak Protests, 1963
Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church	508-516 Dolphin Street and 1206-1210 Etting Street	B-2963	Listed (NRHP, 1982) Civil Rights–No	March-on-Annapolis April 24, 1942

Inventory of Strategy Centers

Baltimore City				
Resource Name	**Address**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Name and Date**
SNCC Office	432 East North Avenue	N/A	Within Barclay/East Baltimore-Midway Historic District (B-5334; NRHP, 2024) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Organizing activities, 1960s
Walbrook Trinity Presbyterian Church	3200 Walbrook Avenue	N/A	Not Evaluated	Route 40 Project December 16, 1961
Demolished				
Cornerstone Baptist Church	1627 Bolton Street	N/A	Within Bolton Hill Historic District (B-64; NRHP, 1971) Noncontributing (Burned down 1969 and replaced with F. Scott Fitzgerald Park)	Route 40 Project November 11, 1961
NAACP-Baltimore Office (Freedom House)	1234 Druid Hill Avenue		Demolished, October 2015	NAACP-Baltimore HQ 1950s-1960s

Other Counties

Resource Name	Address	County	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Name and Date
Bethel AME Church	237 North College Avenue, Chestertown	Kent	N/A	Not Evaluated	Chestertown Freedom Ride Demonstration February 3, 1962
First Baptist Church	528 Booth Street, Salisbury	Wicomico	WI-139	Not Evaluated	Salisbury Protests Summer 1968
Patapsco State Park	Halethorpe Catons Ell City Gwynn Oak	Anne Arundel Baltimore Carroll Howard	CARR-1662	Not Evaluated	The Longest Walk July 1978
Poolesville Town Hall	19721 Beall Street, Poolesville	Montogomery	N/A	Within the Poolesville Historic District (M:17-15; NRHP, 1975) Contributing Civil Rights–No	Poolesville Desegregation Protest September 1956
University of Maryland Eastern Shore	11868 College Backbone Road, Princess Anne	Somerset	S-116/S-429	Listed (NRHP, 2005) Civil Rights–No World Heritage Study List–U.S. Modern Civil Rights Movement Sites	Maryland State College March February 22, 1964

Appendix C—Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

March on Annapolis
(MD 2, MD 450)

March on Annapolis: April 24, 1942					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church	508-516 Dolphin Street and 1206-1210 Etting Street, Baltimore	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	B-2963	Listed (NRHP, 1982) Civil Rights–No
March on Annapolis Route in Baltimore City	Hanover Street (**MD 2**)	Baltimore City	Route	N/A	Within Otterbein Survey District (B-3934) Within Federal Hill Historic District (B-3713; NRHP, 1970) Civil Rights–No Within Riverside Historic District (B-5139; NRHP, 2008, revised 2021) Civil Rights–No Within Brooklyn Survey District (B-5240; Not Eligible 2/4/2013) Civil Rights–No

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

March on Annapolis: April 24, 1942					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
March on Annapolis Route Between Baltimore City and Annapolis	Gov. Ritchie Hwy / Annapolis Boulevard (**MD 2**) Brooklyn Park, Glen Bernie, Pasadena, Severna Park, Arnold	Anne Arundel	Route	AA-4	Evaluation Underway
March on Annapolis Route in Annapolis	Baltimore Boulevard / King George Street / College Avenue (**MD 450**) King Street/College Street Annapolis	Anne Arundel	Route	N/A	Within Annapolis Historic District (AA-137; NHL 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Civil Rights–No
Maryland State House	State Circle	Anne Arundel	Action Point (Destination)	AA-685	Listed (NHL, 1960; NRHP, 1966) Civil Rights–No Within the Annapolis Historic District (NHL, 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Contributing Civil Rights–No

Baltimore School Desegregation Protests
(MD 41, MD 147)

Baltimore School Desegregation Protests: October 4, 1954					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
Merganthaler Vocational-Technical School	3500 Hillen Road (**MD 41**)	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	N/A	Not Evaluated
School Desegregation Protest Route	From 3500 Hillen Road (**MD 41**) to Harford Road (**MD 147**) From Hillen Road to Hillen Street From Harford Road (**MD 147**) to Holliday Street From Hillen Street to Commerce Street	Baltimore City	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated
Baltimore City Hall	100 North Holliday Street	Baltimore City	Action Point	B-60	Baltimore City Hall (NRHP, 1973)
Southern High School	201 Warren Avenue	Baltimore City	Action Point	B-3272	Contributing to the Federal Hill Historic District (NRHP, 1970) Civil Rights–No

Baltimore School Desegregation Protests: October 4, 1954					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
Cross Street Market	1065 South Charles Street	Baltimore City	Action Point	B-3471	Not Evaluated
Clifton Park Junior High School	2555 Harford Road	Baltimore City	Action Point (Destination)	B-5329	Eligible (DOE 12/1/2020) Civil Rights–No

Route 40 Project
(US 40/MD 281)

Route 40 Project: 1961-1962						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
US 40 (**MD 281**)	(limits of demonstration)	Multiple	Route	N/A	Evaluation Underway	1961–1962
Walbrook Trinity Presbyterian Church	3200 Walbrook Avenue, Baltimore	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway	December 16, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Route 40 Project: 1961-1962						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Delaware Memorial Bridge (eastbound)	Spanning Delaware River, Wilmington (DE)	New Castle (DE)	Assembly Point	N/A	Recommended Eligible (7/30/2016) DE-SHPO (CRS# N14637)	December 16, 1961
A&P Restaurant	16 South Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway (now Lisa Nails and Spa; Aberdeen Laundromat; Beacon Staffing)	December 16, 1961, and June 9, 1962
Aberdeen Diner	Intersection of Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**) and James Avenue, Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished; current Aberdeen Diner is former Shamrock Diner)	December 16, 1961
Bar H Chuck House	2240 Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), North East	Cecil	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway (now the North East Family Restaurant)	September 6, 1961
Bayou Restaurant	927 Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Havre de Grace	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway (Zellman Funeral Home; renovated 2024)	December 16, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Route 40 Project: 1961-1962						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Double T Diner - Catonsville	6300 Baltimore National Pike (**US 40/MD 281**), Catonsville	Baltimore County	Action Point	BA-3359	Eligible (DOE 10/29/2024) Civil Rights–Yes	August 11 and 21, 1961
Double T Diner - Rosedale	8302 Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Rosedale	Baltimore County	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 2018; replaced by Auto Point Used Cars)	August 11, 1961; August 22, 1961; October 27, 1961
Madison House	2360 Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), North East	Cecil	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway (Bomba's restaurant; abandoned since 2019)	August 22, 1961
Mayflower Restaurant	306 South Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 1982; now Domino's Pizza)	December 16, 1961
Musical Inn	310 South Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway (now Alina's Asian Cuisine)	December 16, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Route 40 Project: 1961-1962						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
New Bridge Diner	801 Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Havre de Grace	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 2013; replaced with Royal Farms Gas Station)	December 16, 1961
New Ideal Diner	104 South Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	HA-1560	Evaluation Underway	December 16, 1961
Redwood Inn	7 North Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 1982; now Exxon Gas Station)	August 29, 1961
Rose's Diner	728 East Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Elkton	Cecil	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished; now Rite Aid Pharmacy)	June 9, 1962
Skyway Diner	Lewis Lane and Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Havre de Grace	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 1981)	December 16, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Route 40 Project: 1961-1962						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Suburban Inn	Philadelphia Boulevard (**US 40/MD 281**) and Aberdeen Thruway (**MD 22**), Aberdeen	Harford	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 1970 for construction of a new bridge along MD 22)	December 16, 1961
Varsity Drive-In Restaurant	North side of Baltimore National Pike (**US 40/MD 281**) between Johnnycake Road and Ingleside Avenue, Catonsville	Baltimore County	Action Point	N/A	Not Eligible (demolished circa 1981)	August 23, 1961
Weaver's Bar and Restaurant	1747 West Pulaski Highway (**US 40/MD 281**), Elkton	Cecil	Action Point	N/A	Evaluation Underway	December 16, 1961

Freedom Ride 1961
(US 1)

Freedom Ride 1961						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
US 1	Rising Sun, Harrisville, Bel Air, Baltimore, Elkridge, College Park, Hyattsville, Mount Ranier	Cecil, Harford, Baltimore, Howard, Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961
US 1 in Hartford County	Darlington	Harford	Route	N/A	Within Lower Deer Creek Valley Historic District (HA-1551; NRHP, 1993) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No Within Gunpowder Falls State Park (HA-2037 / BA-3004) —Not Evaluated Civil Rights–No	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Freedom Ride 1961						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
US 1 in Baltimore County	Kingsville Overlea	Baltimore	Route	N/A	Within Kingsville Historic District (BA-3130)—Not Eligible (DOE 12/8/2003) Civil Rights–No Within Overlea Survey District (BA-3297)—Not Eligible (DOE 11/13/2014) Civil Rights–No	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961
US 1 in Baltimore City	Baltimore City	Baltimore	Route	N/A	Within Arcadia-Beverly Hills Historic District (B-1380; NRHP, 2004) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No Within Herring Run Park (B-374)—Eligible (DOE 3/4/2004) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No Within Baltimore East/South Clifton Park Historic District (B-5077; NRHP, 2002) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Freedom Ride 1961						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Greyhound Bus Terminal	601 North Howard Street and 200-230 West Centre Street, Baltimore	Baltimore	Action Point	B-1953	Within Market Center Historic District (B-1262, NRHP 2000, revised 2023) and individually Eligible (DOE 8/22/2019) Civil Rights–No	May 24, 1961 (CORE protest) July 13, 1961 July 18, 1961 (Greenberg leaves for Nashville) August 2, 1961
Eastern Main Street	Laurel	Prince George's	Route	PG:LAU-1 and PG:LAU-1-17	Within Laurel Historic District—Eligible (DOE 9/7/1999) Civil Rights–No Within Eastern Main Street Historic District—Not Evaluated	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Freedom Ride 1961						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
US 1 in Prince George's County	Beltsville College Park Hyattsville Brentwood Mount Rainier	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Within Beltsville Agricultural Research Center (PG:61-14)—Eligible (DOE 1/29/1999 and 1/21/2021) Civil Rights–No Within University of Maryland, College Park (PG:66-35)—Eligible (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No Within Hyattsville Historic District (PG:68-10; NRHP, 1982, revised 2004) Civil Rights–No Within Brentwood Survey District (PG:68-12)—Not Evaluated Within Mount Rainier Historic District (PG:68-74; NRHP, 1990) Civil Rights–No	July 13, 1961 August 2, 1961

Chestertown Freedom Rider Demonstrations
(MD 213)

Chestertown Freedom Rider Demonstrations: February 3, 1962					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
Chestertown Freedom Rider Demonstration Route	North College Avenue High Street Washington Avenue (**MD 213**) Church Hill Road (**MD 213**)	Kent Queen Anne	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated
Bethel AME Church	237 North College Avenue	Kent	Assembly Point	N/A	Not Evaluated
Bud's Restaurant	855 High Street	Kent	Action Point	N/A	N/A (demolished circa 2008; now the Bennie Smith Funeral Home)
Chestertown Pharmacy	329 High Street	Kent	Action Point	K-54	Within the Chestertown Historic District (K-602; NRHP, 1984) Contributing Civil Rights–No

Chestertown Freedom Rider Demonstrations: February 3, 1962					
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**
Gus's Pool Hall	855 High Street	Kent	Action Point	N/A	Within the Chestertown Historic District (K-602; NRHP, 1984) Noncontributing (demolished)
Prince Theater	210 High Street	Kent	Action Point	N/A	Within the Chestertown Historic District (K-602; NRHP, 1984) Civil Rights–No
Queen Anne's Bowling Center	6401 Church Hill Road (**MD 213**)	Queen Anne	Action Point	N/A	Not Evaluated
Riverside Restaurant	High Street	Kent	Action Point	N/A	Not Evaluated (status unknown)
Stam's Drugstore	215 High Street, Chestertown	Kent	Action Point	N/A	Within the Chestertown Historic District (K-602; NRHP, 1984) Civil Rights–No
Tally-Ho Restaurant	601 Washington Avenue (**MD 213**)	Kent	Action Point	N/A	N/A (demolished circa; now 601 Washington Shopping Center)

William Moore's Freedom Walks
(MD 2, MD 450, US 1)

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
Baltimore-to-Annapolis						
CORE Office	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	N/A	Not Located	February 23, 1963
Gov. Ritchie Hwy / Annapolis Boulevard (**MD 2**)	Brooklyn Park, Glen Bernie, Pasadena, Severna Park, Arnold	Anne Arundel	Route	AA-4	Evaluation Underway	
Baltimore Boulevard / King George Street / College Avenue (**MD 450**)	Annapolis	Anne Arundel	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
King Street/College Street	Annapolis	Anne Arundel	Route	N/A	Within Annapolis Historic District (AA-137; NHL 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Civil Rights–No	

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
Maryland State House	State Circle, Annapolis	Anne Arundel	Action Point (Destination)	AA-685	Listed (NHL, 1960; NRHP, 1966) Civil Rights–No Within the Annapolis Historic District (NHL, 1965; NRHP, 1966, expanded 1984) Contributing Civil Rights–No	
Baltimore-to-Washington, DC						
3000 Block of Washington Boulevard (**US 1**)	West Baltimore	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	N/A	Not Evaluated	March 29, 1963
Motel (name unknown)	Laurel	Prince George's	Waypoint	N/A	N/A (status unknown)	

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
Eastern Main Street	Laurel	Prince George's	Route	PG:LAU-1 and PG:LAU-1-17	Within Laurel Historic District—Eligible (DOE 9/7/1999) and Eastern Main Street Historic District—Not Evaluated	March 30, 1963
Washington Boulevard (**US 1**)	Beltsville	Prince George's	Route	PG:61-14	Within Beltsville Agricultural Research Center—Eligible (DOE 1/29/1999 and 1/21/2021) Civil Rights–No	
Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	College Park	Prince George's	Route	PG:66-35	Within University of Maryland, College Park—Eligible (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	
Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	Hyattsville	Prince George's	Route	PG:68-10	Within Hyattsville Historic District (NRHP, 1982, revised 2004) Civil Rights–No	
Rhode Island Avenue (**US 1**)	Brentwood	Prince George's	Route	PG:68-12	Within Brentwood Survey District—Not Evaluated	

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
Rhode Island Avenue (**US 1**)	Mount Rainier	Prince George's	Route	PG:68-74	Within Mount Rainier Historic District (NRHP, 1990) Civil Rights–No	
The White House	1600 Pennsylvania Avenue	Washington, DC	Action Point (Destination)	N/A	Listed (NHL, 1960) Civil Rights–No	
Baltimore-to-Chattanooga-to-Jackson						
Greyhound Bus Terminal	601 North Howard Street and 200-230 West Centre Street	Baltimore	Assembly Point	B-1953	Within Market Center Historic District (B-1262, NRHP 2000, revised 2023) and individually Eligible (DOE 8/22/2019) Civil Rights–No	April 20, 1963
Chattanooga Bus Terminal	900 Block of Market Street	Chattanooga, Tennessee	Action Point	N/A	Demolished 1971	Destination April 20, 1963
US 11	Attalla, Alabama	N/A	Action Point	N/A	N/A	Murder April 23, 1963

Maryland State College March–Princess Anne
(MD 675)

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
University of Maryland Eastern Shore	11868 College Backbone Road	Somerset	Assembly Point	S-116/S-429	Listed (NRHP, 2005) Civil Rights–No World Heritage Study List–U.S. Modern Civil Rights Movement Sites	February 22, 1964
Central Business District	Somerset Avenue (**MD 675**)	Somerset	Action Point	S-128	Within Princess Anne Historic District (NRHP, 1980) Civil Rights–No	
Tull's Restaurant (in Morris Building)	11714-11728 Somerset Avenue (**MD 675**)	Somerset	Action Point	N/A	Within Princess Anne Historic District (NRHP, 1980) Noncontributing Civil Rights–No	

Anti-Bias March Around the Beltway
(I-495)

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
Georgia Avenue Exit	Capital Beltway and Georgia Avenue (**MD 97**)	Montgomery	Assembly Point Action Point (Destination)	M:36-88	Not Eligible (DOE 6/6/2013) Civil Rights–No	June 8–11, 1966
I-495 Corridor	Washington, D.C. Metro Area	Prince George's Montogomery Fairfax County, VA Alexandria, VA	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	

The Longest Walk
(I-83, I-695, MD 25, MD 193, US 1, US 40, US 29)

The Longest Walk						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Alcatraz Island	San Fransico, California	N/A	Assembly Point	N/A	Listed (NRHP, 1976; NHL, 1986)	February 11, 1978

The Longest Walk						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
I-83	Maryland State Line to Brooklandville	Baltimore County	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	July 9, 1978
Boarding Location (Unknown)	Brooklandville	Baltimore County	Waypoint	N/A	N/A	
Falls Road (**MD 25**)	Brooklandville to Coldspring Lane	Baltimore County, Baltimore City	Route	N/A	N/A	July 10, 1978
Cold Spring Lane	Falls Road (**MD 25**) to University Parkway	Baltimore City	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Roland Park Historic District	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Route (District)	B-136	Listed (NRHP, 1974) Civil Rights–No	
University Parkway	Cold Spring Lane to St. Paul Street	Baltimore City	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
St. Paul Street	University Parkway to Inner Harbor	Baltimore City	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

The Longest Walk						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Inner Harbor	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Assembly Point	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Patapsco State Park	Halethorpe Catons Ell City Gwynn Oak	Anne Arundel Baltimore Carroll Howard	Waypoint	CARR-1662	Not Evaluated	
Hopkins Plaza	12 South Charles Street, Baltimore	Baltimore City	Action Point	N/A	Not Evaluated	July 12, 1978
Druid Hill Park	2700 Madison Avenue, Baltimore	Baltimore City	Action Point	B-56	Listed (NRHP, 1973) Civil Rights–No	July 13, 1978
Marriottsville Road	Patapsco State Park to Baltimore National Pike (**US 40**)	Howard	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	July 14, 1978
Baltimore National Pike (**US 40**)	Marriottsville Road to Columbia Pike (**US 29**)	Howard	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

The Longest Walk						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Columbia Park (**US 29**)	National Pike (**US 40**) to Cherry Hill Road	Howard Montgomery	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Cherry Hill Road	Columbia Pike (**US 29**) to Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	Cherry Hill Road to Greenbelt Road (**MD 193**)	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Greenbelt Road (**MD 193**)	Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**) to Greenbelt Park	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Greenbelt Park	6565 Greenbelt Road, Greenbelt	Prince George's	Waypoint	PG:67-69	Eligible (DOE 6/18/2019) Civil Rights–No	
Greenbelt Road/University Boulevard East (**MD 193**)	From Greenbelt Park to Riggs Road (**MD 212**)	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	July 15, 1978

Inventory of Demonstration Corridors

The Longest Walk						
Resource Name	**Address**	**County**	**Component**	**MIHP Number**	**NRHP Status**	**Event Date**
Riggs Road (**MD 212**)	From University Boulevard East (**MD 193**) to DC Boundary Line	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	

UMCP Student Anti-Vietnam War March
(US 1)

Resource Name	Address	County	Component	MIHP Number	NRHP Status	Event Date
University of Maryland College Park	8082 Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**), College Park	Prince George's	Assembly Point	PG:66-35	Eligible (DOE 4/16/2013) Civil Rights–No	October 24, 1972
Baltimore Avenue (**US 1**)	College Park to Hyattsville	Prince George's	Route	N/A	Not Evaluated	
Republican Party Office	Hyattsville (address unknown)	Prince George's	Action Point (Destination)	N/A	N/A (status unknown)	