



The 1968 Riots and the History of Public Housing Segregation in Baltimore

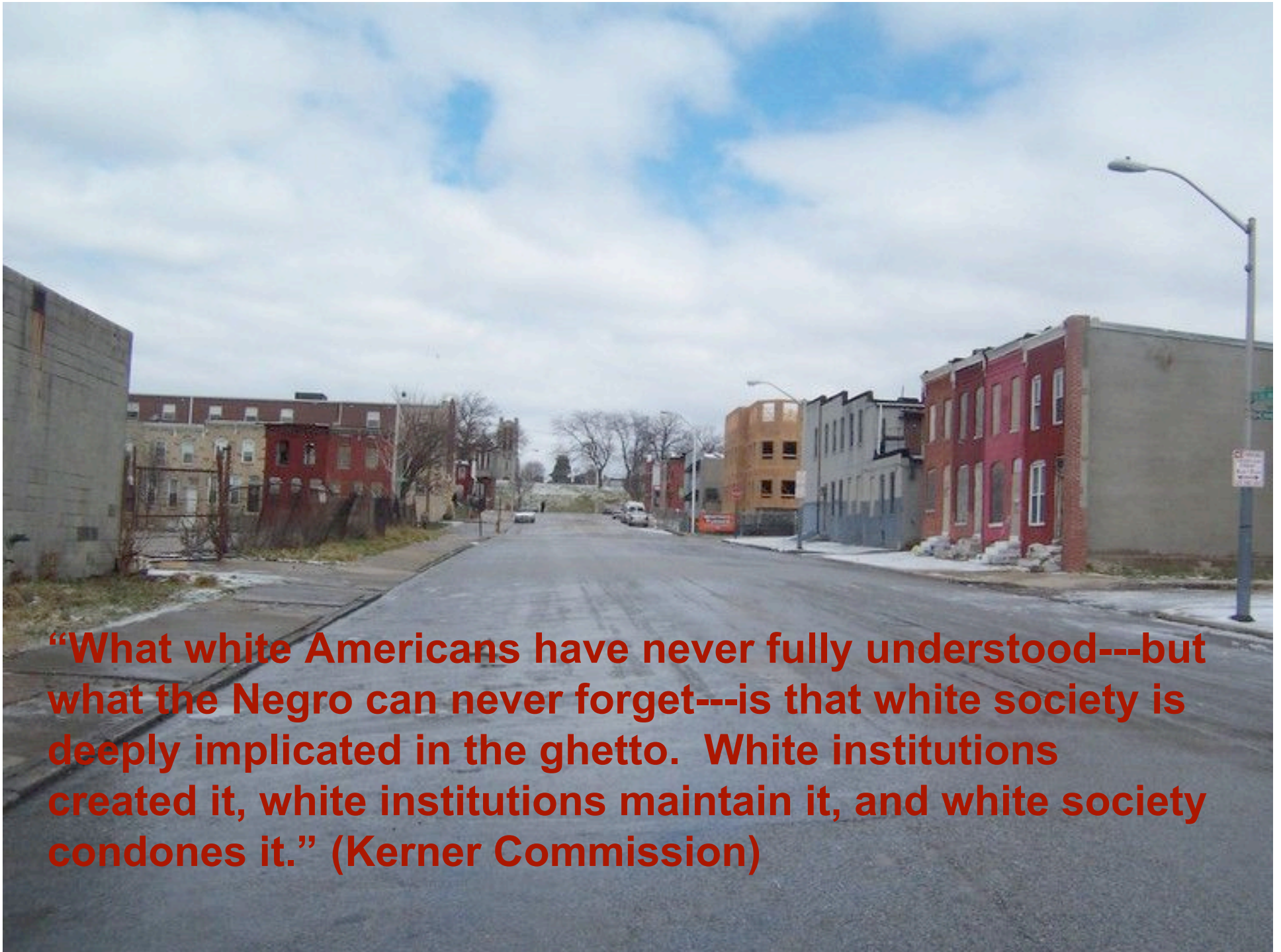
Baltimore 68: Riots and Rebirth - April 4, 2008
Barbara Samuels, ACLU of Maryland

“What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?”



- **July 1967 President Johnson appoints National Advisory Comm'n on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) to explain the 1967 riots.**
- **“This is our basic conclusion: Our Nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white---separate and unequal.”**

President Johnson signing the executive order that created the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) on 29 July 1967. Photo: Yaichi R. Okamoto, Lyndon Baynes Johnson Library Collections.



“What white Americans have never fully understood---but what the Negro can never forget---is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.” (Kerner Commission)

The Roots Of Baltimore's Ghetto



- Prior to 1900, Baltimore did not have a geographic racial “ghetto.”
- Public policies played a major role in creating a segregated housing market and spatial separation.
- Enacted first “racial zoning” ordinance in US in 1910
- In 1918 Mayor Preston appointed a Commission on Segregation to
- City promoted use of racially restrictive covenants.
- Used public projects to clear black “slum” areas and harden boundaries

After the Supreme Court struck down racial zoning, the City promoted the use of racial covenants to protect white neighborhoods.

TO PROTECT WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS

Real Estate Dealers Would Incorporate Clause in All Contracts.

Real estate dealers here under consideration means whereby they can prevent colored persons from moving into white neighborhoods, despite the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States and the Court of Appeals of this State have declared segregation laws unconstitutional. If the new plan is adopted generally it is believed that it will be just as effective as a statutory law and will protect white neighborhoods from being invaded by colored people.

In a way the new plan is simply the embodiment in a clause of a blanket preventing the buyer of property from selling to colored people. This clause will be in effect similar to the clauses which are now provided in deeds as drawn up by many suburban companies and which prevent the buyer of the property from opening saloons, grocery stores or other places of business.

A member of one of the largest construction companies in this city, a concern that annually erects and sells hundreds of homes, stated today that the idea was a capital one and that his company would in all probability put such a clause in its contracts in the future.

This builder, in speaking of the situation brought about by the action of the Supreme Court in declaring the segregation law of Louisville, Ky., unconstitutional and the action of the Court of Appeals in this State in repealing the bill which applied to Baltimore, said:

"Such a covenant, to my mind, would make it absolutely impossible for colored persons to move into a white neighborhood. Surely if the buyer of a house can be prevented from hanging out the family wash or of having chickens running loose to the annoyance of his neighbors he certainly can be prevented from selling or renting the property to colored people if he signs his name to a deed containing such prohibitory clauses. The idea as suggested by The News is a capital one, and I am confident that it can be successfully carried out."

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WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

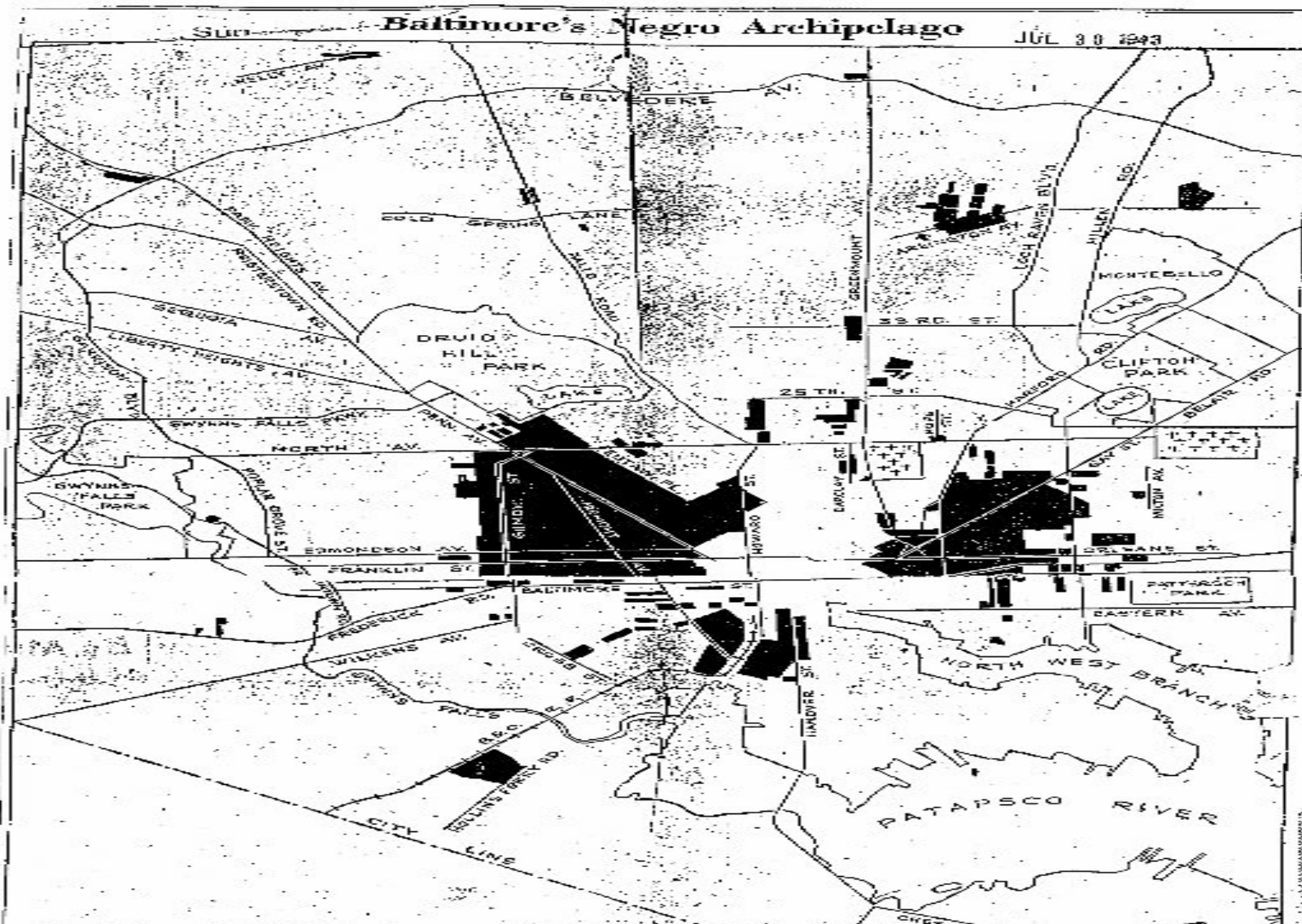
Now that segregation legislation has been put finally out of count, it is in the highest degree important to the interest of the whole community and to the friendly relations of the white and colored people of the city that a wiser course should receive the sanction of both, which will prevent wrongs by either and which will promote general harmony. It would be a great misfortune for the city, and a greater misfortune for the colored people, if Baltimore should now be regarded as a wide open town. The result would be a greater bitterness which it might require many years to allay. Unfortunately, there are a few real estate men or property owners who might lead themselves in the future to white residential sections by colored families, with the deliberate intention of an alienating adjacent property that they could buy it up cheap and then sell to colored people. They are prone to colored tenants at a profit. And there are also, unfortunately, colored people so bent on asserting their equality that in order to do so they would not hesitate to jeopardize friendly relations with the more numerous and more powerful body of white citizens.

Under this program a fair and permanent policy, which would have the force of government law, should be agreed upon by the representatives of the white and colored residents of Baltimore. As a matter of sanitation and cooperation, our municipal authorities had determined, long before the decision of the Supreme Court, to improve the housing conditions of congested colored districts, and to inaugurate a system that would afford opportunities for our colored population to expand and render healthier and more attractive our buildings. Even the segregation ordinance, which has been declared unconstitutional, did not prevent this expanded and betterment of environment, as is shown by what has taken place in other sections. What is needed now is cooperation on the part of the white people of the importance of cooperating in the effort to provide this "place to live and" for their and respectable colored families, and respect on the part of the colored people for the sensibilities and prejudices of the white people.

"This is a big problem, but it can be solved on principles of justice and good will if it is approached in the proper spirit. It is not the kind of problem that is to be solved by war on either side. The situation here is very different from the situation in cities of the North or West where the negro is a negligible quantity, and where there is no demand for the separation of races in residential sections. There is such a demand here and it amounts to a strong public sentiment, a sentiment that cannot be defied by the minority without ultimate loss to themselves. The good will of the majority is an asset worth a great deal to the minority, and the good will of the latter is an asset worth a great deal to the majority. It seems to us that the nullification of the segregation law would be a peculiarly bad mistake to fall all for its abolition and to prevent further discussion."

“What Should Be Done?”

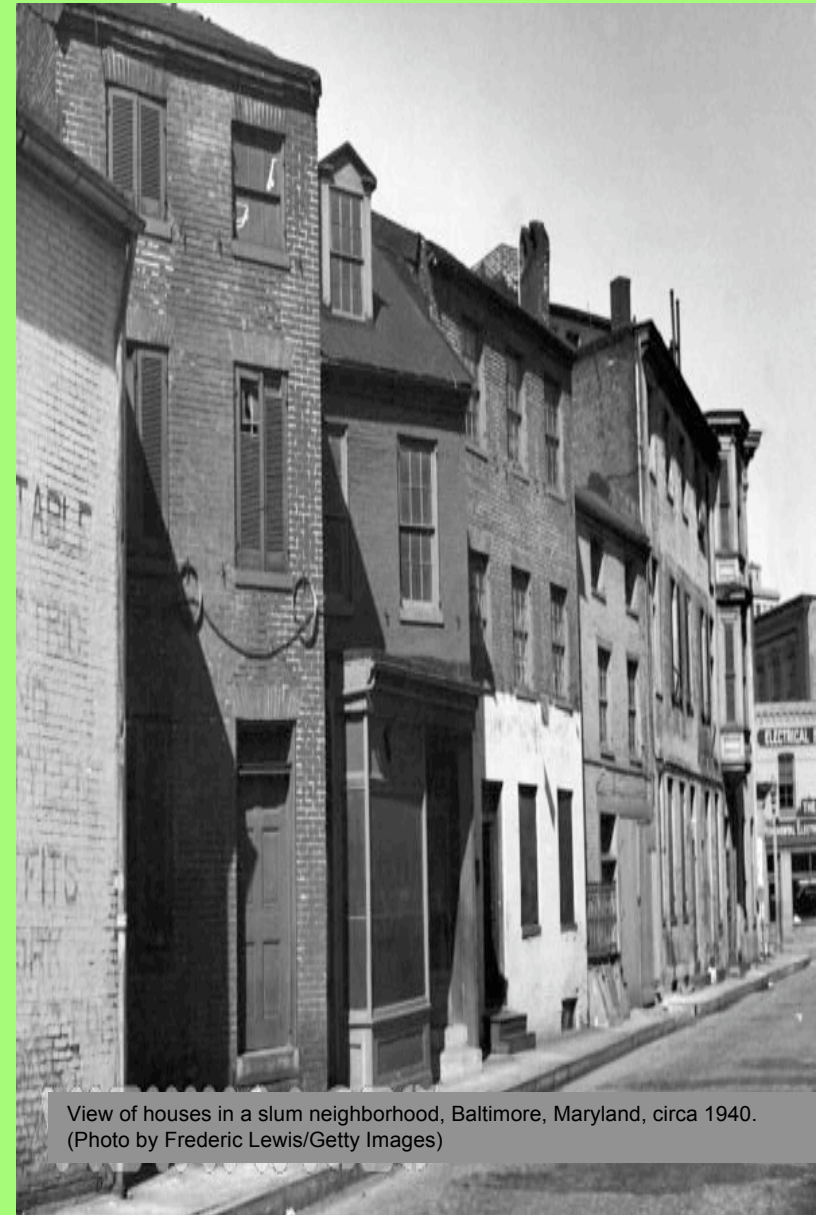
Reflecting white opinion in 1918 the Baltimore Sun endorsed a “fair and permanent [segregation] policy” under which conditions in “colored” areas would be improved, while blacks would “respect... the sensibilities and prejudices of the white people.”



By the 1930's distinct "ghetto" neighborhoods had emerged west and east of downtown with small enclaves in other parts of the City. African Americans comprised 20% of the population but were confined to 2% of the City's land area.

Selection of sites for slum clearance and housing projects used to reinforce residential segregation

- **McCulloh Homes:** First “Negro” housing project, was planned to “offer a splendid barrier against the encroachment of colored” into an adjacent “good white residential neighborhood.” (Bolton Hill)
- **Perkins Homes:** “This area...from a point of view of City wide balance of racial areas should be occupied by white families, probably largely foreign born. It is not naturally a negro area but has...been partly repopulated with Negroes...The Negro inhabitants which would be evacuated from this area should form part of a similar development in a more desirable location.”
- **Cherry Hill Homes:** After white opposition to every proposed site, the isolated Cherry Hill peninsula was deemed the only site outside the ghetto that was “politically acceptable” for the introduction of permanent Negro war housing.



View of houses in a slum neighborhood, Baltimore, Maryland, circa 1940.
(Photo by Frederic Lewis/Getty Images)

Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1940

Project Racial Designation, 1945

Family Projects

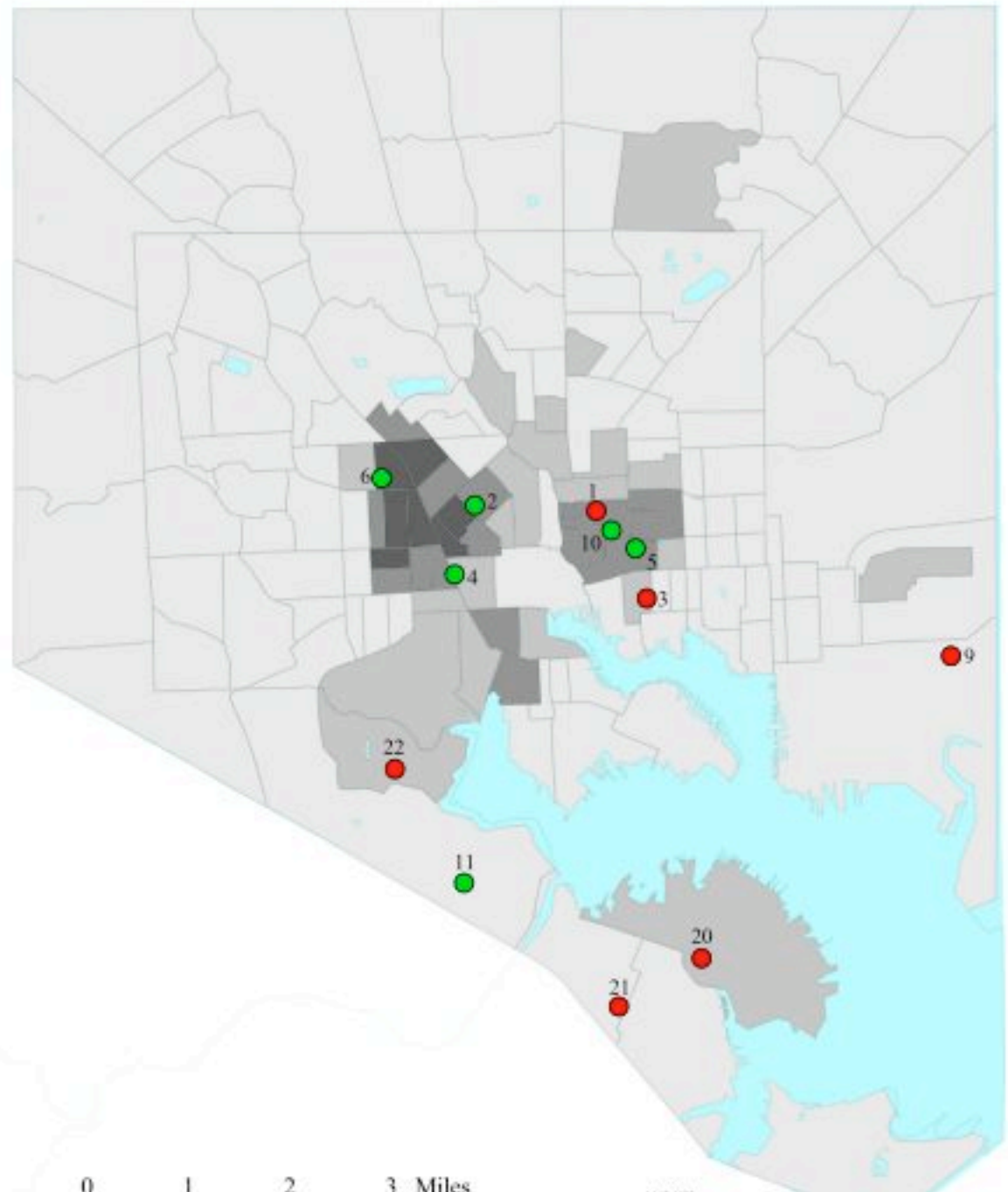
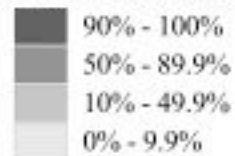
● Negro Projects

- 2 McCulloh
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill

● White Projects

- 1 Latrobe
- 3 Perkins
- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 20 Fairfield
- 21 Brooklyn
- 22 Westport

Census Tract % Negro, 1940



Crowd of 800 Boos Mayor for Favoring Colored War Homes

Catholic Priests, City Councilmen, Jewish Rabbi, Methodist Minister, Lead Protest Delegation

—EULIPTIN—
Protestants against Herring Run site for a Federal housing project for colored war workers will be heard by the City Plan Commission in the board room on the first floor of the City Hall Thursday at 2 p.m. The protesting the site will be heard in the same room Friday at 2 p.m.

A delinquent delegation of white Northeast Baltimore residents, including two Catholic priests and a Jewish rabbi, was protesting today Mayor McKeldin that the proposed site for housing project for colored war workers east of Herring Run Park will not be decided upon and they are given a hearing.

At a demonstration in the War Memorial Building, the crowd of 800—three-fourths of them women, demanded to know why the responsibility for choice of the Herring Run-Philadelphia road site.

They accused the mayor, his interracial commission, the City Plan Commission and the Federal Housing Authority of "passing the buck" to each other.

"To Hell with Government!"
The mayor emphasized that choice of the site was up to the Federal Government and all that his interracial commission did was to recommend a site.

At this point, one member of the delegation yelled, "To Hell with the Federal Government!"

The mayor was visibly annoyed when he arose to speak after listening for an hour to the various complaints. He was greeted by a chorus of boos from the crowd, which quieted when he said:

"I have been courteous and listened to you and I expect you to be equally as courteous to me. Everyone has a right to his opinion. This is America."

"If I had made the selection of this site, I would have the courage to stand up here and say so."

Opposed to Interracial Workers
Although saying that he was not opposed to interracial workers, McKeldin said that the colored citizens faced a serious problem and that something had to be done about it. He was interrupted several times by boos about seven in the audience.

"When I assumed the job of mayor there was a colored housing problem, but I am not responsible for it. You are not responsible for it. But whether we live it or not, it's here."

"I tried to get the various bodies to agree on one site but they would not agree. I pointed an interracial commission of time."

"That is all I can say for the colored people in the city. I am sure that you will be able to get the various bodies to agree on one site but they would not agree. I pointed an interracial commission of time."

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Secretary Almar's
31st Year, No. 48
Baltimore, Md.

BALTIMORE

Army OK's

Air Corps Will Train, Employ Bombardiers

Decision Announced by Acting Secretary Robert P. Patterson
MEN WILL STUDY IN MIXED SCHOOLS Not Being Trained "to Cut Paper Dolls or Play Warbles"

WASHINGTON—The Army air corps will train colored personnel as bombardiers and navigators in mixed schools, Acting Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson told his press conference Tuesday morning.
Asked the colored soldiers who are sent to these schools will be used in combat.
"Everybody who goes to bombardier and navigation schools will be used as bombardiers and navigators. They are not going to cut paper dolls or play warbles."
(Continued on Page 3, Col. 5)

U.S. Indicts 13 in Ill Lynching

WASHINGTON—The indictment by a Federal grand jury in East St. Louis, Ill., of 13-teen persons, including a former Indiana senator and three of his deputies, in the lynching of James R. Rayson, colored, December 12 last, was announced by



The Rev. John J. Donnan (above), priest at St. Thelma Catholic Church, who told Mayor McKeldin at protest meeting Tuesday that he had seen at table with a colored school, but was opposed to housing project for colored people near Herring Run Park. He said all Maryland colored people "know their place." Counter with back to camera is the Rev. T. Vincent Fitzgerald, priest at St. Anthony of Padua Church, who said project was "an unwelcome intrusion" in white area. Map on inside page shows these two Catholic churches are over a mile away from the proposed site. Other clerics who carried the ball for the protesters were Rabbi Henry Eisenbach, pastor of B'nai Talmud Torah Hebrew Center, 1225 E. Baltimore Street, miles away from the project, and the Rev. Alice Gillis, pastor of Parkside Methodist Church, ten blocks away.

Was Curtiss-Wright to for Crashes of Our Fly

Housing Foes Tell Why They Oppose Homes

4 Councilmen, Four Clerics, React in Uproily White Group

Three ministers, two of them Catholic priests, four city councilmen and a real estate dealer were among the 400 mainly white citizens who gathered at the McKeldin Center for opposing a housing project for colored war workers and urged that sites be located elsewhere.

The idea of "God's Speaks" Here's what they said at the mass protest meeting in the War Memorial Building Tuesday.

THE REV. MILDRED EISENBERG, pastor of Parkside Methodist Church, said:

"I could be the first to protest against a housing project for colored people. I am a white man, but I am a Christian. I believe that all men are created equal and that we should live together in peace and harmony. I am sure that you will be able to get the various bodies to agree on one site but they would not agree. I pointed an interracial commission of time."

THE REV. ALICE GILLIS, pastor of Parkside Methodist Church, said:

"I am a white woman, but I am a Christian. I believe that all men are created equal and that we should live together in peace and harmony. I am sure that you will be able to get the various bodies to agree on one site but they would not agree. I pointed an interracial commission of time."

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YW Now

Camp: \$9,000

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

Approved and partial through

McKeldin Stance



In 1943, clergy and elected officials led opposition to construction of housing for "colored" war workers in the Herring Run area of NE Baltimore, claiming it was a white community. Protesters recommended alternate sites in Cherry Hill and Turners Station. The Negro war housing was built there over objections by the NAACP, Urban League and CPHA.

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT NO. 129
CASE NO. MIG 95-309
IDENTIFICATION: _____
ADMITTED: _____

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT ON THE CURRENT HOUSING SITUATION
IN THE BALTIMORE HOUSING MARKET

as of January 10, 1950

J. Hugh Ross
Housing Analyst

Post-War Housing Boom

- 1950's: FHA fueled a boom in rental housing and homeownership...for whites.
- FHA market reports note a plentiful supply of land in Baltimore and its suburbs for development of housing for white occupancy.
- But "a very definite shortage of land for non-white occupancy..."
- "Opposition to changing land use...makes it difficult to secure sufficient land to meet the needs of the rapidly growing non-white population."

Controversy erupts in 1950 over plans to build public housing on three vacant land sites:

- * Little controversy over plans to build another "Negro" project in Cherry Hill (Cherry Hill Extension I).
- * Virulent opposition to sites for white projects in Violetville and Belair-Edison.
- * Those locations are quickly abandoned in favor of sites next to existing white projects, Westport Homes (Westport Extension) and Armistead Gardens (Claremont Homes).

HOUSING - BALTIMORE
1950

Sun 2/18/50

CROWD FLOCKS TO HEARING ON HOUSING BILL

Police Called As 2,000 Jam Corridors, Shout To Hear Speakers

When the 2,000 spectators jammed the City Council chamber and overflowed into the corridors last night during the second public hearing on proposed low-rent housing projects.

Because the chamber would accommodate only 250 persons and because those in the halls were unable to hear, the proceedings were interrupted frequently by shouts from those outside the room.

Right patrolmen and a sergeant were sent to maintain order.

Speaks Delay Hearing

When Robert G. Mearns, member of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, rose as the first speaker, the meeting was delayed for several minutes.

"War Memorial" apostrophe in the corridor shouted, "War Memorial. Come on Maryland City, take us to the War Memorial."

After police temporarily quieted the disturbance, Mr. Mearns continued to explain why he was in favor of the bill, which would authorize the city to go ahead with construction of the first three projects of a program which is expected to cost \$80,000,000 and six years to complete.

The Housing Authority, he explained, plans to build all but the first three projects on vacant sites. Ten public buildings will be built on vacant lots because of the shortage of low-income housing.

"We want to see something about the zoning," Mr. Mearns said, "and not next month, not next year, but now."

Defended By Kruger

"The cost of public housing is big but the cost of slums is bigger," Magistrate Henry S. Kruger, in defending the bill, declared that Baltimore "is considered the worst slum city in our nation."

An opponent of the bill, Dr. Otto Lutz, former professor at Towson College, said he was in favor of providing second housing, but added that "you have to balance the good against the evil."

Every single individual style in the last half century started with public housing," he said.

Warning that America must wake up to the dangers of socialism, she said: "You sleep at your peril."

The meeting, one of the longest in the history of councilmen, continued until shortly after midnight, when it ended, most of those in the corridors had left, but the Central chamber still was packed.

THIS IS RIDICULOUS

Yes, it is tragically absurd that, in the year 1950, a group of private citizens are forced to spend their own money to support **DECENT PUBLIC HOUSING**

Look around your city. See the horrible conditions in which thousands of your fellow citizens live . . . blighted, filthy, disease-breeding slums. Know, as you do, that throughout the world, slow but steady progress is being made to eliminate slums. Know, too, that the unfortunate people who live in

slums can't afford to tear them down and build beautiful, modern housing.

Then—as a Baltimorean—aren't you ashamed to learn that a small noisy group is moving heaven and earth to torpedo our city's public housing program.

1346

What is the situation?

On August 18 the City Council unanimously approved the expansion of the public housing program of Baltimore by a maximum of 10,000 low-rent dwellings. At the same time the Council stated its intention of approving the agreement between the Housing Authority of Baltimore and the Federal Government, by which Baltimore would receive a preliminary loan of \$653,000 for public housing. The Housing Authority made the necessary arrangements, and on January 16 submitted Ordinance 1773, which the Council must vote to make the loan legal. Then came the fireworks!

Opponents of public housing flooded the town with pamphlets. They have taken full pages in the newspapers. They do not attack the Ordinance being considered; but they are going hammer and tongs after the whole Public Housing Program itself. (Yes, attacking as it is in this day and age, there are some few people who are actually against public housing programs!)

The City Council is now considering the Ordinance. **THIS PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM FOR BALTIMORE IS IN VERY GREAT DANGER!**

How are they attacking Public Housing—and what are the facts?

The small group of Public Housing opponents says—
"Public Housing produces an increase in real estate taxes."

This is ridiculous!

Using the simplest kind of arithmetic, 1000 new public low-rent dwellings will cost the city a maximum total of \$11,000 a year in reduced tax payments. This is equal to exactly one cent a year for each \$100 of real estate taxes collected in this city. One good fire costs the city this much and more. A survey of a number of low-rent public housing projects in Baltimore showed that fire calls were reduced by 50%. And this is not to mention the huge savings to the city in the proved reduction of juvenile delinquency, crime and disease. When all the facts are known, it is probable that new public housing projects actually produce a definite cash profit to the city.

The small group of public housing opponents says—
"Public Housing does not serve low-income families."

This is ridiculous!

At the end of 1949 the average total income of tenant families in public low-rent projects was \$1,724 per family. The families admitted to the projects in 1949 had an average income of \$1,528 for the whole family to live on! If these aren't low incomes, what are? The small group of public housing opponents says—
"Public Housing has been generally rejected elsewhere."

This is ridiculous!

Within the past six months, 329 communities in the United States have approved new public housing programs. The list includes virtually every large city in the country.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

The City Council is about to vote on Ordinance 1773. Your City Councilman will vote for you. If you have pride in your city . . . If you want your fellow-citizens to have a clean, bright, decent place to live—**WRITE YOUR CITY COUNCILMAN TODAY.** Tomorrow may be too late.

If you don't know the name of your City Councilman, phone Citizens Planning and Housing Association—LE-Sington 2443.

Fill out this coupon. Paste it on a Penny Postcard and mail it to your City Councilman.

I'm in favor of decent Public Housing. I hope you vote IN FAVOR OF Ordinance 1773.

Name

Address

This advertisement is being paid for by a group of citizens of Baltimore who want to continue to be proud to live in this city.

CITIZENS PLANNING & HOUSING ASSOCIATION, 319 N. CHARLES ST.

CPHA and other "housers" pushed for City Council adoption of the plan.

Here Is Why---

Many Improvement, Civic and Business Groups and Thousands of Taxpayers

OPPOSE Public Housing Ordinance 1772

At the urgent requests of numerous improvement, Civic and Business Associations as well as thousands of individual taxpayers the City Council of Baltimore will hold ANOTHER PUBLIC hearing on the proposed Ordinance No. 1772 which enables the Baltimore Housing Authority to build 10,000 SUBSIDIZED housing units in the city of Baltimore.

These organizations and taxpayers OPPOSE this ordinance:

*** Because it Means HIGHER TAXES!**
In metropolitan areas, mass public housing units will cost the taxpayers at least one **WIDOWS OR ORPHANS EXCISE!**

*** Because it DOES NOT provide Housing for People who Really NEED It!**
In its January, 1956 Report the U. S. A. reported that 11,000 of its lowest low income of \$2,000 a year, and that 20,5% of its lowest were able to pay \$40 to \$50 a month rent. Less than 4% of the cost of the Department of Public Welfare now receive these rents. Why should YOU be asked to pay for cost of rents you can't afford pay that way, why?

*** Because it will NOT Clear Slum Areas!**
Even if willing to Ordinance 1772 that enables the Housing Authority to build new low rent to build its projects for needs of additional groups. In fact, the first three housing projects are to be built on **WASTED LANDS.** Attention: Stop building projects that do NOT MEET **YOUR OWN NEEDS!**

*** Because it REDUCES the VALUE of the**

This time, opposition was framed in less racial terms. Opponents claimed public housing would lower property values and said it should be confined to "slum areas." CPHA and civil rights groups contended slum clearance projects destroyed more housing than were rebuilt and that access to undeveloped land was needed to make a dent in the post-war housing shortage, especially acute for African Americans.

1950

MID. V.
ENCLOSURE
PAGE 12110

2059

Sinclair Project Rumor Denied By Mayor

The Housing Authority of Baltimore today reiterated that the Sinclair lane, low-rent housing project will be occupied exclusively by white families.

The agency's statement followed reports that the project was to be occupied by Negro families. These reports, Mayor E. Alessandra said, were circulated by his political enemies.

In response to a request by the Mayor for a new statement on the matter, Oliver C. Winston, director of the housing authority, wrote him in part as follows:

"During the course of the discussions regarding the Annistead Gardens-Sinclair lane site for a low-rent public housing project several statements were made indicating a lack of understanding as to the type of development for this site."

Some 'Misled'

He wrote that some of those in sympathy with the public housing program were misled as to the H.A.B. purposes by those who were opposing the Sinclair lane site and by those opposing the public housing program in general.

"There has come to my attention quite a number of rumors about our plans for this site which have no basis, whatever," Mr. Winston continued. "In order to allay some of the fears which seemed to have been expressed by those who have apparently been victims of some of these rumors, I would like to describe again the type of development proposed at the Annistead Gardens-Sinclair lane site."

Depend On Surveys

He said the agency plans to build from 300 to 350 dwelling units on the location for white families of low income and added that the exact number of units to be constructed will depend on surveys to determine the extent of the area on that site serviced by sewers and suitable for building.

Mr. Winston said architects will be employed to design the project and added he felt confident that the project will be attractive. This is one of the three vacant sites on which the agency is authorized by a recent ordinance to provide up to a maximum of 1,550 low-rent dwelling units. The other locations are at Chesey Hill, where a project for Negroes is to be constructed, and in Westport, where houses for white families are to be built.

The racial nature of the controversy was made clear as rumors spread that Negroes would be allowed in to the Claremont Homes project on Sinclair Lane and Westport Extension.

The 1950 compromise

- λ With the Mayor's assurance that Claremont Homes would be open to whites only, the City Council approved an ordinance that allowed the three "vacant land" projects to proceed.
- λ But all future public housing would require City Council approval, giving the Council a veto over HABC site selection...
- λ And all future public housing would be limited to "slum sites."
- λ This ordinance remained in place in 1968 and is still in effect today.

Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1950

Project Racial Designation, 1954

Family Projects

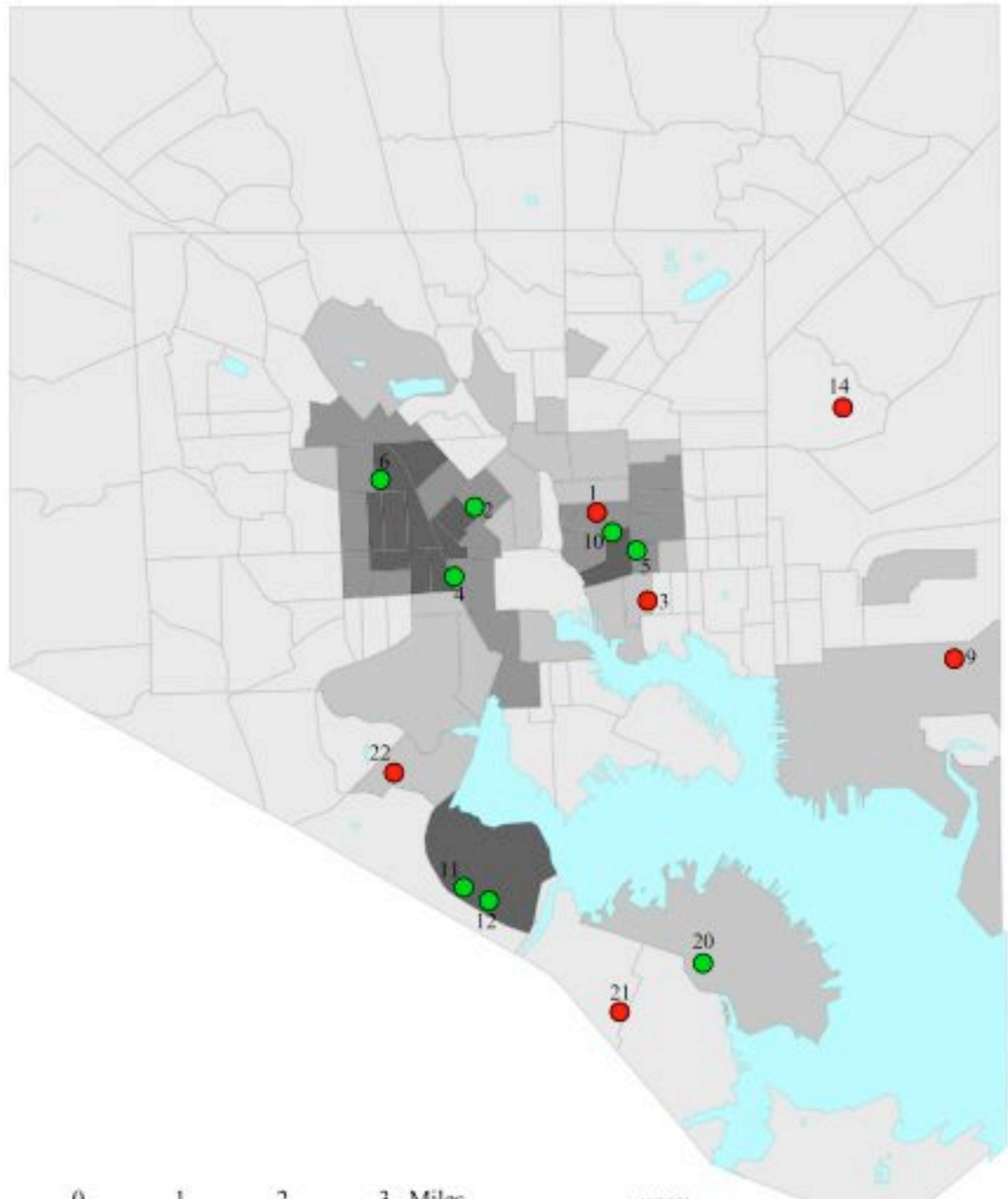
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Census Tract % Negro, 1950



1950: Baltimore City Council approves first urban renewal projects in the nation over African American objections

- ✓ **Urban League objects that Hopkins-Broadway and Waverly projects “...give official sanction to segregation in the name of redevelopment.”**
- ✓ **Federal Racial Relations Office warns the Baltimore urban renewal projects will effect a “triple threat:”**
 - 1) **Negro clearance,**
 - 2) **conversion of a racially flexible area to one of racial exclusion;**
 - 3) **reduction of land areas available to Negro residence.**

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

25 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Please direct reply to:

WASHINGTON BUREAU NAACP
100 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Telephone National 1794

1951 cont 6
box 267

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT NO. 127
CASE NO. M/G 95 - 309
IDENTIFICATION: _____
ADMITTED: _____

December 17, 1951

Mr. Nathaniel S. Keith
Director, Division of Slum Clearance
and Urban Redevelopment
Housing and Home Finance Agency
1625 "Eye" Str
Washington, D.

Dear Mr. Keith

The Baltimore,
colored people
Government has

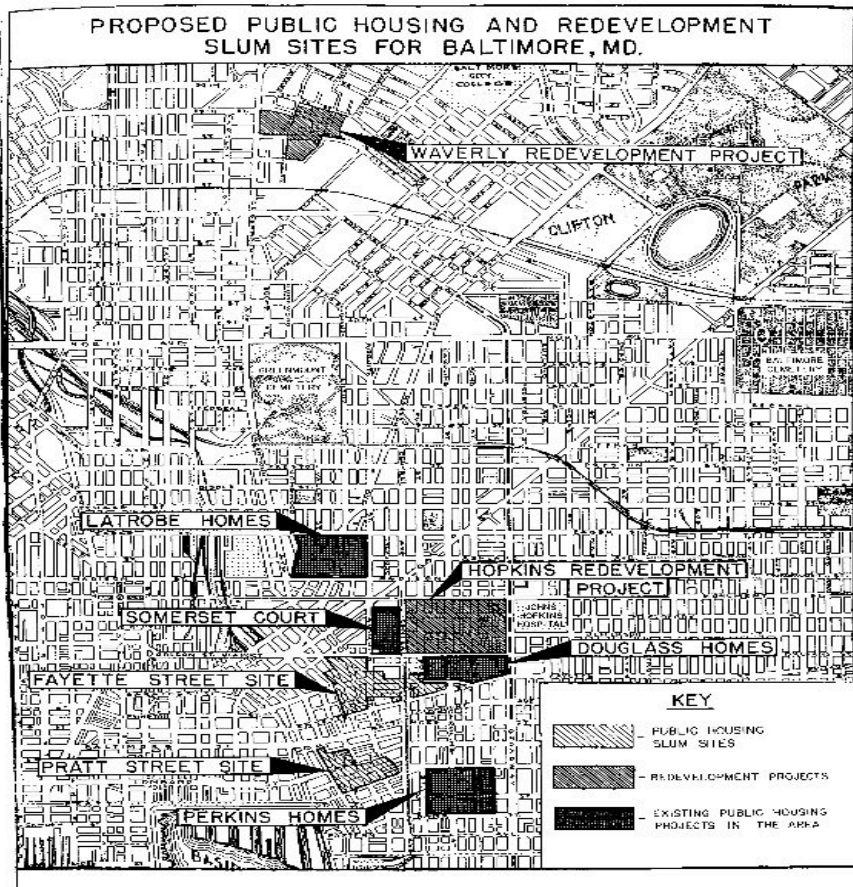
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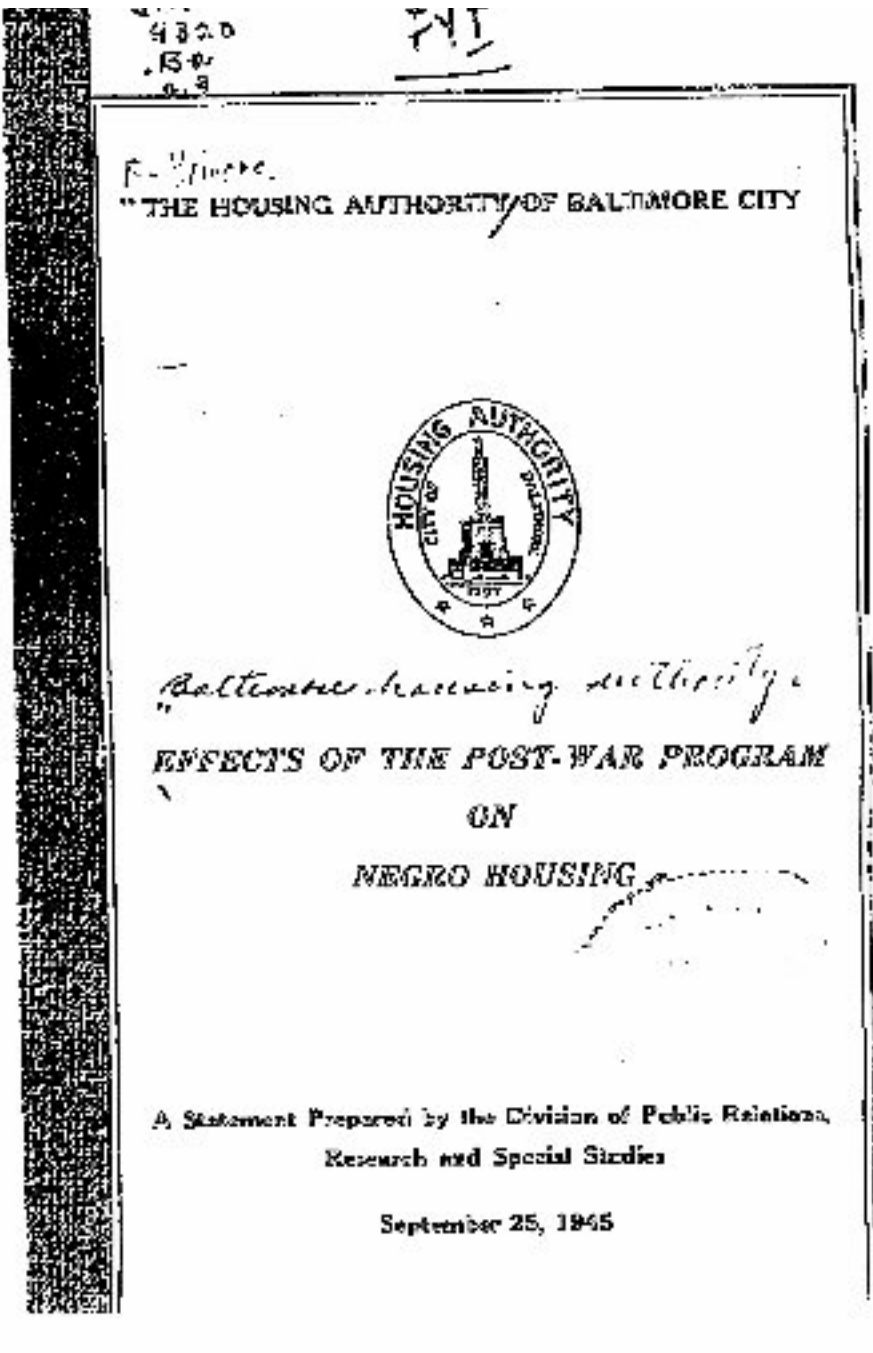
Clarence Mitchell and the national NAACP asked the federal urban renewal agency to withdraw federal funds from the City because the Baltimore "slum clearance and redevelopment program ... places the full strength of the Federal government behind a policy of rigid segregation in that city...."

Mrs. Lill
of NAACP
Baptist C
Church; R
Church; Reverend Eugene T. Grove, Pastor of the Grace Memorial
Baptist Church; Mr. Jentry W. McDonald, Baltimore NAACP; Reverend
Thomas W. Hodges, Pastor of the St. Mathew Methodist Church;
Reverend Edward T. Jordan, Pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church;
and Reverend Threadgill, Pastor of Waters A.M.E. Church.

Displacement and Loss of Housing



- 1950-1964: 25,000 Baltimoreans are displaced by urban renewal, public-housing construction and school construction.
- 90% of those displaced are African-American.
- Officials contend that displaced households moved to better housing but admit that their housing costs increased.
- Officials also admit that fewer housing units open to black occupancy are built than are torn down.



The plan to clear slums and build high density public housing to contain “slum dwellers” was first announced in HABC’s 1945 report “Effects of the Post-war program on Negro housing.”

In the 1950’s, public housing became a major source of relocation housing for the poorest of those displaced by urban renewal.

High rise public housing

- » Part of HABC's "Post-war Negro Housing Plan"
- » Plan intended to arrest "racial and group movements within the city" and to prevent "very violent neighborhood resistance to any in-migration of Negroes."
- » Called for razing black areas and building higher density public housing
- » Sites chosen pre-1954 were adjacent to existing de jure segregated projects
- » Projects opened after "desegregation" but with same occupancy as planned pre-Brown.

HUD urged higher densities in projects such as Murphy Homes:

- To lower the cost per unit of building on slum clearance sites, more expensive than building on vacant land;
- To answer criticisms that federal programs were destroying more housing than they created in the midst of a housing crisis, while still avoiding the need to build public housing on vacant land in white residential areas.

ENGLISH FREE LIB

AGENCY APPROVES HOME-PLAN SHIFT

George Street Project May Be Last Public Housing

By HENRY W. SMITH

The Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency approved revised plans yesterday for what is expected to be the city's last large public-housing project.

The broader urban-renewal program, with its emphasis on private redevelopment with public assistance and the conservation and rehabilitation of existing neighborhoods, will replace the program of public housing.

This George Street Project, the seventeenth for the city, will give the city more than 10,000 public-housing dwelling units.

Has Area of 13 Acres

The site comprises about thirteen acres, bounded roughly by George street, Franklin street, Myrtle avenue, Middle street, Argyle avenue, Hoffman street and Perkins avenue.

The estimated cost for the 750-dwelling-unit project, including site acquisition, is \$12,721,385.

Officer C. Winston, director of the agency, said he expects the Public Housing Administration to approve the revision within an hour.

Immediately thereafter, the agency will begin acquiring land and hiring architects for the work.

Need Is Great, Is Claim

While this is scheduled to be the last of the big public-housing projects, it is greatly needed, agency officials said, for the relocation of families whose homes will be demolished in the construction of the East West expressway and the Eastern Park renewal project.

The revision came about as a culmination of a long dispute between the city and Federal housing officials over the question of density.

As originally planned the project was to contain 648 dwelling units. But the Federal Government insisted that this be scaled upward to 750 units.

The George Street site lies within the Mount Royal-Pennant urban renewal area and, as one agency spokesman put it, eventually will "blend into" that area as it is redeveloped.

There will be 250 dwelling units in four high-rise buildings, 12 to 14 stories in height. There will be 180 units in nineteen two-and three-story buildings.

Units will range from one to

five bedrooms with 163 one bed room units, 306 two-bedroom units, 244 three-bedroom units, 24 four-bedroom units and four five-bedroom units.

Administration Provided

Buildings will be of brick masonry and reinforced concrete construction. Administration quarters will be provided in the basement of the high-rise building south of Perkins street.

OCT 4 1958

Estimated cost of the area now to be sold to the city is \$8 per sq. ft. standard. They are small and medium-sized townhouses 50 to 100 years old.

There are 534 families in the George street site in 425 one-unit houses.

The sixteen-story project in the city, Lexington Terrace is now under construction. It is expected to be completed in December.

Urban Renewal

APR 24 1966

Spreading Or Ending Slums? To Make Room For Rich, Foes Charge

By JAMES D. BALDWIN

WHILE there is little question of the effectiveness of the Federal urban renewal program in reviving the fading commercial centers of cities, one has only to look at Baltimore's Charles Center or the downtown of Philadelphia, Lincoln or Boston, to find proof there has been a continuing and very inconclusive discussion over whether it eliminates slums or just moves them from one place to another.

The argument has been going on as much heat as light for several years. Opposing the renewalists, who say their program is capable of eliminating the slums, is been a peculiar alliance of conservatives and liberals. The former claim that urban renewal perpetuates slums, mainly because, as conservatives, they dislike all aspects of renewal; it interferes with "individual freedom" and "property rights."

That answer is given in enterprise and our championed is Martin Anderson who, out a year ago published "The Federal Urban Renewal Program," the first full-scale evaluation of the urban renewal program. Anderson, an assistant professor at Columbia, based a case largely on statistics collected for the Urban Renewal Agency itself. Although he sharply defined renewal's main problems, and even provided the best needed revisions, he seemed more interested in destroying the program than in directing its shortcomings. Including illegals, Anderson drew some delightful pictures from his data, namely that the urban renewal program has "increas-

ed the number and size of slums" and he "cannot simply not enough" of the evidence in a convincing case can be made either for or against the pros and cons. He also noted that last year Herbert Gold, a sociologist and planner, managed to put his finger on the issue that is really at the heart of the urban renewal controversy in an article in Commentary titled "The Failure of Urban Renewal," he charged that the program was "a ruse for eliminating the slums in order to 'renew' the city, unless there a program for properly rehusing slum dwellers."

Origin Of Program

The "slum clearance and urban redevelopment" program that has since come to be known as urban renewal had its beginnings in Title I of the 1949 Housing Act. The Act represented, according to Baltimore urban renewal director Richard L. Brown, the first attempt of Congress to formulate a national housing policy. It stated as its goal the provision of a "decent home and a sound living environment for every American family. It also called for relocation in standard housing."

In their early enthusiasm, some of the planners in new programs (1950-55) in ten years' time, in some cities, used by quickly and with insufficient thought, where the people were being moved, they had to move, or else was to take the place of the houses that were knocked down. One case in point was Boston's West End, a desirable area where one study showed that 41 per cent of the housing was good. Its residents were in a neighborhood they preferred with the people and places they knew. The West End was nevertheless torn down at an early date for extensive redevelopment which happened only recently.

There were, of course, successes as well, and they became more obvious as slum clearance housing acts broadened the scope of urban renewal. In particular, significance was the 1954 Act which, besides giving emphasis in commercial clearance, provided

for Act, in 1954, in obtaining Federal financing in Baltimore for the Charles Center project which had gone along up to that point, with private funds, gradually what had begun originally as a housing program ten years before had evolved in a number of revitalizing slum areas with revelling and more-out parts of the city—slums, for the most part, mainly for the sake of widening institutions of luxury apartments. And they, in fact, had been urban renewal's great success.

Political Programs

Then, where did the program fail? Mainly, say the critics, with the poor, in the slums, where it started. They say the kind of renewed falls instead of poor families who can't afford, financially and socially, to be improved. They say that insufficient housing has been built; as many displaced families can afford, in places that torn down and they ask, simply, where do the people go?

In their housing program, the Federal Government's report, in 1955, 60 per cent of the nation's slum families relocated from urban renewal sites had moved to standard housing: decent, safe, sanitary. The housing renewal agencies are under political pressure to give a good accounting of themselves. They may be tempted to quote the figures look better than they do. In Boston, for example, the local renewal agency claimed that over 20 per cent of their "renewals" had found standard "housing"; the Center for Community Studies, a private group, said it was under 20 per cent.

Better housing, of course, costs more money. The monthly rent of Boston's West End rose from an average of \$41 before to \$71 after they moved. Urban renewal's answer to this is that many people do not pay the full 100th of their monthly income, regarded as standard, for rent anyway and can afford an increase.

James Baldwin coined the term "Negro removal" to describe urban renewal. The Sun examined the benefits of urban renewal as balanced against the hardships imposed on low income displacees, almost always African Americans.

HOUSES FOR RENT—CITY (48)

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HOUSES FOR RENT—CITY (48)

LONG QUARTER
 Dulaney Valley Road
 at Pot Spring Road

LESS THAN A MILE FROM TOWSON

A few choice streets left in this distinguished development close to town. Some with superb landscaping. View over Long Quarter. For details and additional information, phone Mr. Roland Park, 4-3400. Mr. Roland Park, RE. 3-3400.

THE ROLAND PARK REALTY COMPANY
 Realtor TU. 3-3400

135 ACRES

THOMAS DEVELOPMENT CO.
 135 ACRES, 1000 FEET FRONTAGE, ADJACENT TO HAVENHURST, BALTIMORE. 100 ACRES AVAILABLE IN THIS STRIP. OPEN TO CONSTRUCTION. BALTIMORE, MD. 21204. VA. 5-2154. G. M. BAKER & CO., REALTORS

THE ROLAND PARK REALTY COMPANY
 Realtor TU. 3-3400

HOUSES RENT—SUBURBAN (47)

All the Comforts of Home Because They ARE Homes!

RANCH & SPLIT LEVEL HOMES
 Ready For Occupation

Three bedrooms with deluxe kitchen and second floor. Attached garage. Full basement. The split level design is a real beauty. Located in a quiet neighborhood near Baltimore Pike. Call Mr. Roland Park, 4-3400. Mr. Roland Park, RE. 3-3400.

Immediate Occupancy!
 Call Ridgeway 7-3125
 Between 1 & 7 Today!
 Other Times—Call ED. 3-2081

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Colored, oil heat
 105 St. Catherine St. \$21
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RANCH HOME IN TOWSON AREA
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 Other Times—Call ED. 3-0036

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ATTENTION RENTERS

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RANCH HOME IN TOWSON AREA
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TWO-BEDROOM HOME
 with Full Basement

82.50 month

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Displaced families were forced into a highly segregated housing market. In 1963, rental ads designated housing as "colored" or "white."

From the Baltimore Sun, 1961

Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1960

Project % Negro, 1964

Family Projects

● 90% - 100%

- 2 McCulloh
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill
- 12 Cherry Hill Ext. 1
- 13 Westport Ext.
- 15 Lafayette Cts.
- 17 Cherry Hill Ext. 2
- 18 Murphy
- 19 Lexington Terr.
- 20 Fairfield
- 22 Westport

● 50% - 89.9%

- 1 Latrobe
- 3 Perkins
- 16 Flag House Cts.

● 10% - 49.9%

● 0% - 9.9%

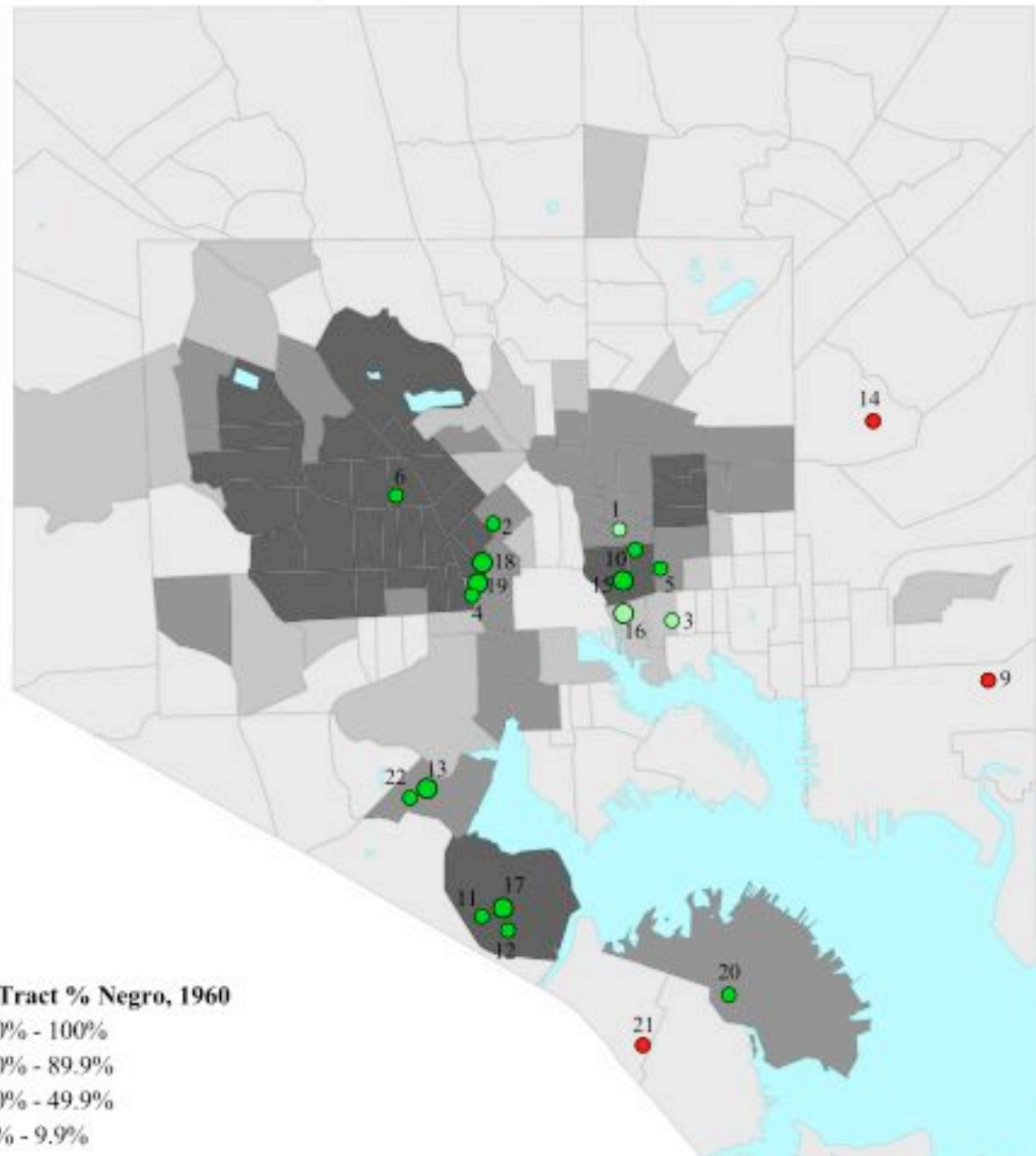
- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 14 Claremont
- 21 Brooklyn

Project Type

- Family, Opened 1940 - 1954
- Family, Opened 1955 - 1964

Census Tract % Negro, 1960

- 90% - 100%
- 50% - 89.9%
- 10% - 49.9%
- 0% - 9.9%



Protest and Persuasion



Mural at 1904 McCulloh Street, by Lyle Kissack (2001)

- ✓ During the 1960's, African American leaders and civil rights groups put increasing pressure on Baltimore officials to end segregation and discriminatory housing policies and practices.
-

New Civil Rights Demands Puzzle School Officials

6-7-63

By ROBERT LISTON

Baltimore public school officials indicated bewilderment today as how to comply with the latest "demands" of a civil rights group for thorough integration of schools.

Some felt the educators' dilemma was created because the demands are not really striking at school segregation but are pecking to use this issue to strike at housing segregation.

THE School Board, meanwhile, has published all school district lines and created a virtually free choice situation in which any pupil can attend any school in the city as long as there is room in that school for him and as long as he has

the energy and wherewithal to get there.

Yesterday representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeared before the school board. They were Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, attorney Melvin J. Sykes, and Miss June Shandoff of New York, a specialist in education for the national NAACP office.

Miss Shandoff, backed by Mrs. Jackson, called on the board "to eliminate segregation" and presented a list of "respectful but urgent demands" not recommendations but demands.

The problems, as explained yesterday, is this: Baltimore has desegregated its schools and allows any child free choice of what school he wishes to attend.

The only limitations upon the choice are that neighborhood children must be accommodated first; no transfer student shall make a class exceed 25 students; and certain education requirements at four high schools, Eastern, Western, City College and Poly.

But because of Baltimore's housing patterns certain schools contain more than 90 percent Negro or 90 percent white.

IT IS THIS situation the Negro leaders indicated they wanted corrected. They also made it very clear they are using the schools to attack housing segregation. Mr. Sykes urged the school board to "take the lead" in solving the "racial racial problem."

One Board member explained the problem this way: "The question seems to be whether our policy of free choice is sufficient, legally, to comply with the report requirements, or whether affirmative steps must be taken to end even de facto segregation."

The problem is how to end the de facto segregation. One

board member gave these alternatives: "We could re-zone the schools—or ignore them by the districts—in such a way so that the funds attending each school were about equal. Or we could provide free transportation from one school to another, or we could simply compel a child to attend a school other than in his neighborhood."

Dr. George B. Brain, school superintendent, described New York City's attempt to provide free transportation.

"THE NEW YORK public schools announced they would supply transportation to a predominantly white school for the purpose of mixing it with Negroes. It would be done with out cost."

It was found that at first it was capitalized on by many Negroes, but as such complications developed as popularity lessened.

Troubles arose in their homes for lunch, calling them in emergencies, and in returning to the school for evening events. The plan last its appeal and has not worked as satisfactorily as was hoped.

DR. BRAIN SAID that he had heard but understood from everything it had been told that to compel a child to attend school voided the rights of an individual.

Dr. Brain told Mr. Sykes he taken a situation in a New Jersey school and sought to get its solution to Baltimore.

In Orange, N. J., one predominantly Negro school was located near a predominantly white school. The court order the grades rearranged so that the grades through three went

Turn to Page 2A, Column 1

Today's Chuckle

"Stand behind your love, you false woman," the Scots husband yelled in anger. "I'm going to shoot you both."

- In 1963 most Baltimore schools remained either 90% black or 90% white.
- Juanita Jackson Mitchell and the NAACP, along with attorney Melvin Sykes, called for effective integration of the schools.
- Because of segregated housing patterns, they said, Baltimore's desegregation plan, based on "freedom of choice" and preference for neighborhood residents, was not legally sufficient to comply with Brown.

Security?

London, and when I that they were also based in Washington."

As some months ago, it the official refused reports seriously.

press reports said ordered his security make a complete he case, which he even from

could case yesterday aspects were in.

by James London, 2-

an Negro girl. He venous

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- ✓ The Afro-American newspaper published claims that BURHA:
 - ✓ Was still operating all black and all white public housing 12 years after it declared a policy of desegregation;
 - ✓ Employed few African Americans except in laborer positions;
 - ✓ Refused to assign black managers to any project with more than 1% white residents.

D.C. Won't Give Data On Bias Report

By Thomas Edsall

The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has refused to release an evaluation of charges of discrimination in the Baltimore Urban Renewal program made by a local civil rights group.

The six-week evaluation was made last year after the Activists for Fair Housing complained about discrimination practices in public housing and demanded that Baltimore be cut off from Federal funds.

The housing investigation was made in secrecy by a team from Philadelphia. At the time, the members of the team were unwilling to identify themselves and refused to discuss the accusations of the rights group.

High-Income Housing

The Activist group charged that public housing projects are segregated and that the renewal agency has concentrated on moderate and high income housing rather than housing for the poor.

Jerry Proctor, a HUD spokesman, said the evaluation of the charges is an "internal working document" and is not "to be released to the public."

He described the report as "an analysis of proposals and commitments" made by the Activists for Fair Housing. He refused to say whether the report confirmed or denied the discrimination charges.

"Good Working Order"

HUD spokesmen did not explain why the department refuses to release the evaluation even though they have gone unrebated saying that the Baltimore Urban Renewal program is in "good working order."

HUD is in the process of "tuning up" its anti-discrimination efforts, according to Jack Bryan, press director.

This will include requiring private developers who are receiving Federal loans to submit periodic reports on the integration of their developments.

In addition, HUD is expected to be assisting in Baltimore some

of the compliance inspections" of projects receiving assistance from the Federal Housing Administration.

The sample inspections represent a more active enforcement of President Kennedy's anti-discrimination order, for now the department will investigate on its own initiative rather than simply replying to complaints as it did in the past.

Another rights group, the Relocation Action Movement, attacked Baltimore's renewal agency Wednesday for failing to provide adequate services to residents about to be relocated by the proposed Westway expressway.

Pattern Repeats

Representatives of the group charged that the expressway has lagged in the "promised stage" for fifteen years.

Although the expressway plans have not been completely approved, people in the corridor running between Franklin and Mulberry streets from Myrtle Avenue to Pulaski Street have been given warnings that they will be relocated, according to ISLHIAQUD 7 15 1967.

The following reasons have been given for the decline of the area:

1. Landlords will not make repairs, for they find improvements are a waste because the area will be condemned.

2. The Bureau of Building Inspection will not grant permits for improvements, allegedly because the city does not want to pay more when they take over the property.

Further charges were that the fifteen-year lag and consequent decline in the neighborhood during the period has resulted in a drop in the assessed value of the houses and that residents are unable to plan for the future.

City officials admitted there are problems in all these areas and asked the group to prepare specific documents at a meeting sometime in the future.

3-11-67

In 1966 The Activists for Fair Housing, lead by Walter P. Carter, filed a scathing complaint with HUD alleging that Baltimore was operating a segregated and discriminatory housing program.

The Activists for Fair Housing

- ✓ “BURHA must recognize that ghetto housing is in-adequate housing, ghetto environments are inadequate environments, and a ghetto housing market is a drastically limited housing market.” They called on local and federal housing officials :
- ✓ To integrate 3 outer-city public housing projects that remained all-white 12 years after desegregation had been announced;
- ✓ To locate future housing programs to promote integration and to end Baltimore’s policy of limiting the operation of housing programs to urban renewal areas;
- ✓ To operate housing programs on a metropolitan-wide, non-discriminatory basis;
- ✓ To pass fair housing legislation to combat discrimination in the private market.

RELOCATION FAULT FOUND

Renewal Agency Criticized
On Moving Of Tenants

By Frank R. L. Scarborough

A family whose home is in the path of a Baltimore public housing project yesterday accused the urban renewal agency of faulty record-keeping and of relocating a neighbor into a substandard apartment costing more than she could afford.

The charges were contained in affidavits filed with Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, by New York and Baltimore lawyers representing the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which is an arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Weaver Hearing Sought

These lawyers have asked the city's Superior Court to halt condemnation proceedings initiated by the renewal agency because the case is still pending as an administrative matter before Secretary Weaver.

Although the Legal Defense Fund had sought "a prompt hearing" before Secretary Weaver last November on behalf of a group of homeowners facing eviction and condemnation threats, the city so far has brought suit against the owners of only one of the properties.

They are Jesse and Mary Reed. Their home is in the 320 block of West Hoffman street, which is within the area marked by the city for an extension of the McCulloch Homes project.

\$1,300 Income Claimed

The hearing before the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development was requested again last January 12. But "to date, no hearing has been set," the court was told.

In a reply to the original administrative complaint of November 10, Mr. Weaver wrote on December 8 that his inquiry had led to the conclusion that "the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency is endeavoring to carry out its relocation responsibilities at the McCulloch Homes Extension project in a satisfactory and competent manner."

In that same letter, Mr. Weaver disclosed that BURHA records claimed an annual income of \$7,300 for the Reeds.

Reeds Reports \$48 Per Week

—all one of the affidavits filed by the Legal Defense Fund lawyers, Mr. Reed, who is blind in one eye, said.

"I am employed and take home \$48 per week. I have never in my life had an annual income of \$7,300, or anywhere near that figure."

In another affidavit, Mrs. Reed said that although she used to take in laundry, she has now no time to work.

The Reeds said the city offered them \$3,257 for their home before the condemnation suit was brought against them.

Secretary Weaver's December 10 letter also said that, according to renewal agency records, a 70-year-old woman who filed one of the original protests against condemnation and eviction received an annual income of \$12,070.

Reeds Reports \$8,418 Per Year

This woman, who is a retired school teacher, claimed in an affidavit that her total income from a pension and social security is \$8,400 a year.

The Legal Defense Fund lawyers submitted the affidavit of still another woman who said that, after renewal agency officials persuaded her to sell her home, she was directed by them to "substandard relocation housing" which cost her approximately 65 per cent of her monthly income.

The lawyers contended that Mr. and Mrs. Reed were never shown listings of adequate homes for rent and sale at terms within their ability to pay, as claimed by Secretary Weaver and the renewal agency.

According to the Reeds' affidavit, a representative of the renewal agency told them that the agency's relocation office was "handicapped in obtaining rental relocation housing because landlords charge excessive rentals to the families leaving the McCulloch Homes Extension area."

Conditions Of Sale Offered

The affidavit also claimed the couple was told by this renewal representative that "if there was sale or rental housing available for inspection, we could see it through his office and we signed an option for the sale of our present home."

This BURHA official was quoted as saying "his office has a policy of refusing to recommend or direct families to housing which exceeds (in cost) one fifth of the family's monthly income."

In the original complaint, the whole group of homeowners said they had "regularly applied to the relocation office of BURHA without satisfaction, despite BURHA report to the Federal Government claiming "an adequate number of vacancies in low-income private housing" to accommodate them.

In 1967, African American homeowners displaced by construction of the McCulloch Extension housing project fought against condemnation of their homes.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a complaint with HUD alleging that Baltimore relocation officials were referring the displaced families to housing units in the "Negro listings" that were neither affordable nor in standard condition.

1967: Baltimore Sun reports that prospects for fair housing laws look bleak...

- ✓ By 1967, state fair housing law defeated by referendum and replaced by a weak law.
- ✓ Attempts to pass a Baltimore City fair housing law met with vehement opposition.
- ✓ Among Maryland counties, only Montgomery County has a fair housing law.
- ✓ “Meanwhile, Negroes living in Baltimore’s ghettos are eyeing Baltimore County more and more strongly. They want to follow the path to the suburbs that has been worn bare by whites in the last 20 years.”

Metropolitan Area Counties Shun Away From Open Housing

AUG 6 1967

Montgomery's Strong Law Seen Unlikely

The following article is a county-by-county look at the status of open housing in the five metropolitan Baltimore counties as reported by staff members David Rankel, Sue Miller, Susan Haggman, David Colley and Len Baylin.

Annapolis is the only place in the metropolitan area where a governmental effort is under way to pass a local open housing law, an Evening Star survey shows. **APR 21 1967**

And the Maryland proposal in its present form is weak. It would cover only apartment developments of more than six apartments. **JUL 29 1967**

The state law that went into effect June 1 applies to the sale or rental of houses by owners of five or more new houses and owners of new apartments containing twelve or more units. **LAW COUNCIL**

Civil rights activists have attacked this law as being of little value in efforts to find adequate housing for the 15,000 Negroes who live in the five metropolitan counties and the 250,000 Negroes living in Baltimore city. **APR 21 1967**

Montgomery county, with 17,000 metropolitan-area Negroes, however, has recently passed a law that applies to all houses and apartment units, both new and existing. **JUL 29 1967**

No other exemptions from this law remain but a request on city streets for rooming houses with one or two rooms for rent and certain religious institutions. **APR 21 1967**

Situations Covered
David L. Cannon, attorney for Montgomery county, which is scheduled next to Washington, said that any houses listed for sale with an agent, on which a for-sale sign has been posted by the owner or which in any manner has been offered for sale to the general public are covered by the new law. **AUG 6 1967**
An owner who refused to sell to a Negro because of the race

would be in violation of the law, he said.

No activity to enact such an all-encompassing law is being considered by the governments of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford and Howard counties. **APR 21 1967**

Meadeville Proposals
In Baltimore, Mayor Meadeville proposed a strong open-housing law in January. No action was taken on the proposal, however, by the City Council. **APR 21 1967**

The mayor's plan would have exempted rental properties with two or more apartment units and certain rooming houses.

The passage of broad comprehensive bills has been proposed by Human Relations Commissions in two counties—Anne Arundel and Baltimore.

Just Beginning
In two other counties, Harford and Howard, human relations groups are just beginning consideration of local open housing legislation.

In Carroll county, the Human Relations Commission is working on getting a housing and building code enacted and believes that open housing legislation is secondary at this time to these measures.

Volunteer efforts to ease integration troubles are being conducted in most areas by groups such as Baltimore's Neighbors, Inc., and the West Baltimore Interfaith-Inter-racial Council. **APR 21 1967**

Support Local Laws
George T. James, director of the State Inter-racial Council, said, supports local legislation.

"Any human relations legislation enacted on a local level providing there is sufficient enforcement machinery, can be more effective, or certainly as effective as, state laws."

He predicts that counties in the Baltimore metropolitan region will support local open housing laws as soon as a number of myths are disproved.

Popular Belief
These myths, he said, include the belief that property values decrease when Negro families move into white neighborhoods and that Negroes do not maintain their property.

But many officials would admit that dispelling what Dr. James considers myths may take some time. They would ad-

mit that the Baltimore area is not Montgomery county.

Anne Arundel County
Annapolis, the State's capital and only incorporated city in Anne Arundel county, is drafting open-housing legislation that could cover at least all apartment developments of more than six units. **APR 21 1967**

The city's first civil rights message will be aired fully August 4 by the City Council. A public hearing is planned.

The county is moving cautiously in the same direction. County Executive Joseph W. Allen, Jr. is still studying the possibility of asking the County Council to consider the issue.

Specialty Homes Held Back

Joseph G. Samuel, director of the Annapolis and Anne Arundel County chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, warns, "Now is the time for action—no further studies are needed."

Mr. Samuel makes it clear that his group is "not interested in violence" but feels the county must move immediately on a matter that is "haunting" him.

Anderson T. Barrow Brown (D., Seventh), who has pressed for legislation and who is one of the city's two Negro aldermen, has promised to fight for "meaningful and enforceable" legislation. **APR 21 1967**

He'd like to include new sections on existing home developments.

He'd like nothing better than a "mild ordinance" like Montgomery county recently adopted, but admits there may be a problem getting five of the nine City Council votes needed by passing it.

Mayor Mayor's Stand

Mayor Roger W. Meyer says every person who professionally builds, rents or sells housing should not be allowed to discriminate because of race, creed or color.

He predicts that an apartment house ordinance may get unanimous City Council endorsement.

Other Officials

Mr. Allen feels that a county law drafted at a apartment-house "single just looks like" but admits that a law covering pri-

vate homes would meet with "massive resistance."

The County Council may indicate it will wait for Mr. Allen to initiate action.

But Mr. Allen is faced with a few more problems than Annapolis, a government jobs and home of the United States Naval Academy which already has a special city apartment house contract to build about 1,000 units against Negro workmen.

Mr. Allen, who has previously called a heavy Negro vote a "conservative county" which two years ago at a Glen Burnie rally wildly welcomed former Governor George Wallace and last year drew Governor Earl Warren in a process of "at least a heavy support in the gubernatorial campaign." **APR 21 1967**

Baltimore County

It can't be said the impossible to get an open housing bill passed in this county. Dale Anderson, Baltimore county executive says.

To support the bill related to the collection by county voters of the urban renewal bond issue in 1966 and the county public accommodations and privacy bills last year.

Baltimore county voters have also on record as being strongly drawn by George Wallace's presidential primary bid in 1964 and George Wallace's "A Man's Home is His Castle" a year ago. **APR 21 1967**

A number of the authors of petitions asking a referendum on the State open housing bill were Baltimore capitalists.

ghetto To Suburbs

Montgomery, Negroes living in Baltimore's ghetto are eyeing Baltimore county more and more strongly. They want to follow the path to the suburbs that has been worn here by whites in the last 20 years.

Only last a year ago, the county Human Relations Commission released a report calling for an all-encompassing open housing law in the county.

Edward L. Feingold, executive director of the commission, said this report was given to Anne T. Allen, then county executive, and the Executive County Council.

The recommendations were never translated into legislation. **Feingold's View**

On the present situation in the county, Mr. Feingold says

BALTIMORE

MODEL CITIES

NEIGHBORHOOD

APPLICATION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT FOR
A GRANT TO PLAN A COMPREHENSIVE
CITY DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM
BY
THE CITY OF BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

AUG 21 1969

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

CITY OF BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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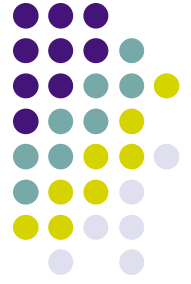
508

Baltimore's Model Cities Application - April 1967: A window on the city before the riots...

- ✓ De-centralization of jobs and white population to the suburbs already well underway...
- ✓ While the black population of Baltimore County has actually decreased.
- ✓ Within inner-city Model Cities neighborhoods: High poverty, high unemployment, high infant mortality, 70% of the labor force is unskilled and under-educated, crime is twice the city average...
- ✓ Describes increasing concentration of blacks living in substandard housing and in public housing projects.
- ✓ "Neighborhood residents are forced to choose from an obsolescent and deteriorating supply of housing within and at the fringes of the ghetto. Segregated housing patterns cause segregated school patterns."



- λ “Without relieving the intense pressure on Inner City housing by increasing the supply of housing available on a open occupancy basis, the problem of spreading slums...will continue to be beyond the capabilities of housing improvement programs.”
- λ “Making the slum more habitable for Negroes does not solve slum problems.”
- λ “Housing choice in the metropolitan area is the key to determining whether the City becomes virtually a homogenous Negro and largely lower class ghetto.”



Then as now, resignation to the path of least resistance...

- √ “Efforts to bring white middle class families back to the city are not matched by efforts to enable Negro families to move outside of the Inner City or outside of the City itself.”
- √ “For the foreseeable future, the opportunities to improve housing opportunities in the Neighborhood Areas and surrounding areas will be much greater than opportunities to expand housing opportunities outside of the Inner City.”

City Appeals To Suburban Counties For Help On Slums

D'Alesandro, Mitchell Ask Regional Approach

In its massive report this month to the American people on the causes of last summer's urban riots, President Johnson's advisory commission said: "The crisis confronting city government today cannot be met without regional cooperation. . . . It must be a principal goal . . . to fashion a lasting and mutually productive relationship between city and suburban areas." In preparing the articles below, Evening Sun staff reporters talked to politicians, business men, civic leaders and educators in Baltimore city and the five metropolitan area counties. They asked these leaders what Baltimore city expects from its suburbs, and what the suburbs are willing—and unwilling—to give Baltimore city. Here are their reports.

By David Dunkel EPH. SUN

Baltimore city officials, claiming that past and continuing actions of the county governments have contributed to the city's ills, see a number of avenues open for the metropolitan counties to aid the city.

Mayor D'Alesandro believes, however, that before any of these avenues can be used there has to be a change in attitudes of county residents and administrations.

"I find a real change in the mind of people who move out of the city to the county. They feel like people who have escaped and want no part of the city," he said.

"Disproportionate Share" EPH. SUN

"This has got to change. People must assume a regional attitude.

"There has got to be an immediate, better and broader realization that the city has been and is the heart of the Baltimore region and that the city needs help now because it has a disproportionate share of the poor people, while the counties have the affluent," the Mayor said.

On the specific areas of housing, jobs and schools—the three major problems facing the city ghetto—the Mayor says the key is housing.

"We definitely have to open up the boundaries to all people to spread the population and end the polarization that is now apparent," he said.

This will take a strong State-wide or Federal open-housing law, he stated, noting that the Negro population of Baltimore county has actually declined since 1950.

Benefits Seen Accruing EPH. SUN

Once the housing market is opened up, the education and employment problems will be eased, the Mayor said.

The other avenue Mayor D'Alesandro sees for the counties is in supporting greater financial aid to the city from the State and Federal governments. Through tax equalization, the city can get more money to solve its problems, he said.

This admittedly is a long-range view, but the Mayor does not think it is politically realistic to expect this time more direct help, such as the opening of county schools to inner-city students.

Parren J. Mitchell, Community Action Agency director, is a more aggressive and incensed at the counties for "failing to help the Negroes living there."

Mitchell's Views EPH. SUN

Mr. Mitchell sees a need for immediate open-housing legislation, calls the exchange of students between city and county schools "imperative," and wants a bond-lease program between suburban and city schools.

He regrets that acres of green in the county which black children could play on this summer are undeveloped and laments the move of industry to the county for taking away city jobs.

He also contends that a change in attitude is needed.

"The counties have failed to act properly and because they failed to act, the counties' colored population has moved into the city.

"This city already has a dramatic housing shortage and this movement has only increased the problem.

"Low Education, Unskilled"

And, for the most part, because of the poor quality of the segregated schools for Negroes, these people moving in have a low education, little ground and are largely unskilled. This increased the unemployment problem.

"They also usually have school-age children that add to already overcrowded schools." Because of this, the counties should now come to the aid of the city, Mr. Mitchell said.

This trend, he said, started years ago and has not diminished.

The movement is caused by the Phoenix attitudes of people in what are becoming city-white counties. "The prevailing attitudes in the counties, he said, are 'discrimination and segregation.'"

On the eve of the riots, in March 1968, the Mayor and City leaders called for regional action on housing, schools and jobs.

3-13-68

Baltimore County

Officials Sympathetic But Offer Little Help

By Dean Mills
Baltimore County Executive

Baltimore county officials are full of sympathy and good wishes for the city to solve its problems, but show little concrete evidence of willingness to help. John Bacon, executive director of the Community Action Agency, thinks "we're just kidding ourselves if we feel that by doing nothing now, we'll save ourselves money."

"It's going to cost a lot more to finance a divided society than to do some problem-solving and paying money now to find solutions to root problems."

But he concedes it'll be hard to sell.

"If this requires cash contributions," he said, "I'd be in favor, but I understand that's not politically popular, and may not even be feasible."

Dale Anderson, county executive, has repeatedly said all the counties have an "obligation" to Baltimore city—but the obligation, he said recently, "should be handled through the State's qualification program and should be limited to health, education, welfare and police protection, and never as a direct money grant."

The county, he added, is already making "a considerable contribution" through taxes diverted to Baltimore city.

Little Promise Of Help—Leaders questioned could provide—except for their sympathy—little promise of help for the city's biggest problems.

SCHOOLS—Nobody thinks busing inner city students to the suburbs would be of long-range help, assuming that the Board of Education and the city would stand for it, which they won't.

T. Bayard Williams, Jr., president of the School Board, feels strongly that education is the main avenue out of the ghetto—but he doesn't see any role for the county in opening that avenue.

Go To City Schools—"Any rehabilitation," he said, "has to be done within the city schools themselves."

Robert M. Thomas, chairman of the county Human Relations Commission, thinks the county has a responsibility to "explore the possibility" of "cooperative programs."

But he's not sure what the cooperative programs might be.

HOUSING—The county so far has found no way out of its own shortage of low-cost housing.

And predominantly conservative county voters can be expected to bring to referendum and kill any program that hints of public Federal regulation.

Top Priority—Mr. Bacon thinks low-cost housing is the "number one priority" for the county and would help end pressures on the city.

Continued at low-income, and heavily Negro residents to the city, is "a rubber band which is just throttling the inner city," he says.

His hope: that Dale Anderson will make good on his effort to find ways cheap housing can be built by private interests.

JOBS—The county isn't likely to offer public jobs to city-dwellers on a large scale, although, as Mr. Anderson notes, "several" county positions are now filled by city residents.

And new jobs in county industries demand skills—and transportation—that most ghetto residents don't have.

But the real problem, the leaders indicate, is not a financial one, but a psychological one—the problem, as Mr. Bacon describes it, of the suburbanite who "turns his back on city problems once he passes the city line on his way home at night."

Mr. Anderson says: "Something should and must be done to solve these potentially explosive problems—and as soon as the majority of the people of this country are convinced that this is true and understand the problem, the problem will then be solved."



T. BAYARD WILLIAMS
Any rehabilitation has to be done within city schools

- **Parren Mitchell: Describes the attitudes in the counties as “discrimination and segregation” and says “...because they failed to act, the counties’ colored population has moved into the city. The city already has a dramatic housing shortage and this movement has only increased the problem.”**
- **Mitchell calls exchange between city and county schools “imperative.”**
- **But Mayor D’Alesandro says it is not politically realistic to expect direct help such as opening county schools to inner-city residents. Once the housing market is opened up, the education and employment problems will be eased.**
- **Mayor D’Alesandro: “We definitely have to open up the boundaries to all people to spread the population and end the polarization that is now apparent.”**

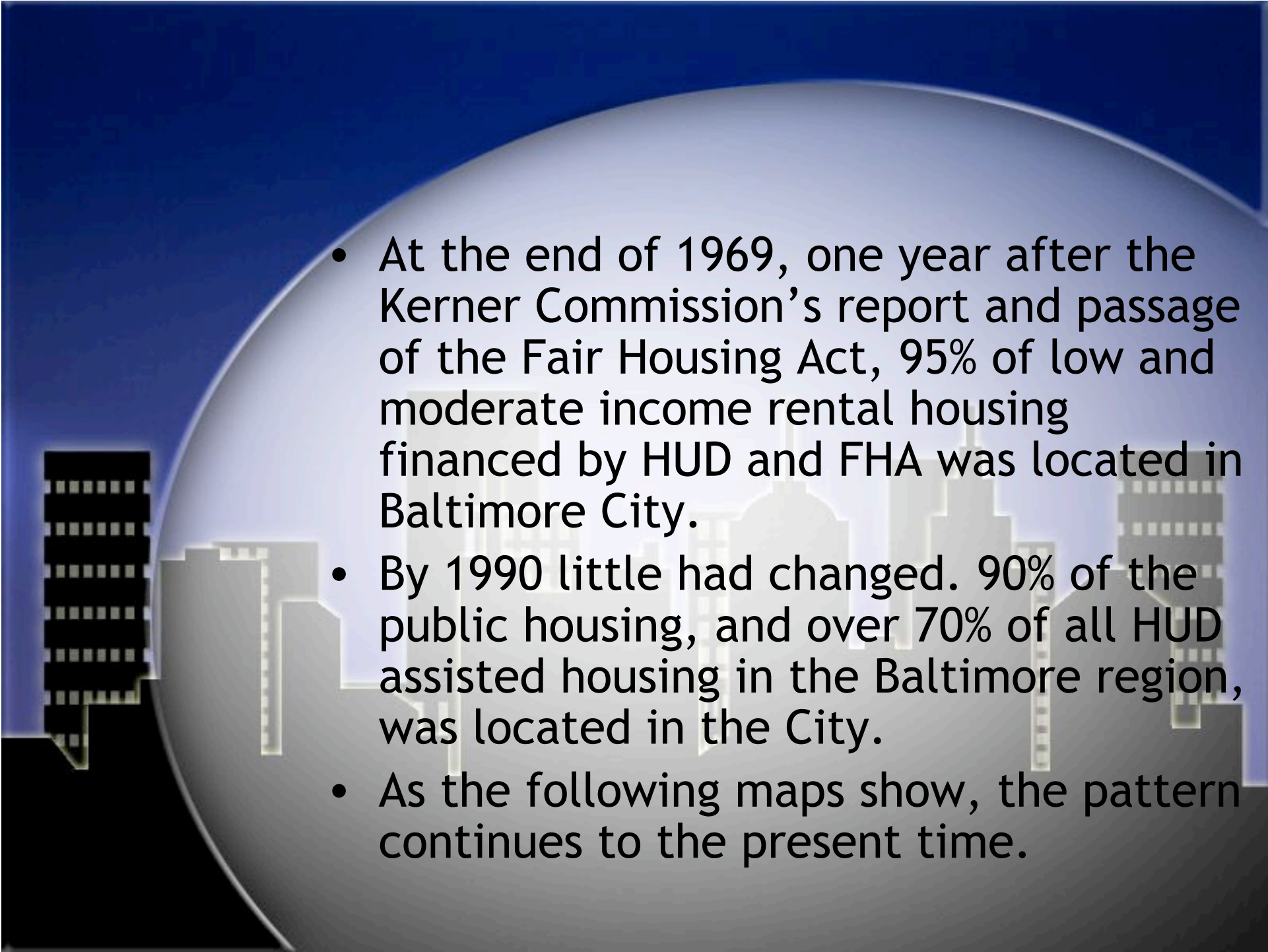
Kerner Commission --- Recommendations and Warnings Unheeded

- Recommends a large scale low and moderate income building program while warning....
- “... If the effort is not to be counterproductive, its main thrust must be in in non-ghetto areas, particularly those outside the central city.”
- “Non-ghetto areas, particularly suburbs, have ...have restricted the use of these programs outside the ghetto.”
- “Enactment of a national fair housing law will eliminate the most obvious barrier...but it will not deal with an equally impenetrable barrier, the unavailability of low and moderate income housing in non-ghetto areas.”



President Johnson signing the Civil Rights Act of 1968

- The Fair Housing Act was passed on April 11, 1968, just days after Dr. King's assassination touched off riots in Baltimore and other cities.
- The Act goes beyond a mere prohibition of discrimination.
- Echoing the Kerner Commission report, it requires HUD --- and all federal agencies --- to administer their programs and activities related to housing and urban development in a manner that ***affirmatively*** furthers fair housing. 42 U.S.C. 3608(d) and (e).

- 
- At the end of 1969, one year after the Kerner Commission's report and passage of the Fair Housing Act, 95% of low and moderate income rental housing financed by HUD and FHA was located in Baltimore City.
 - By 1990 little had changed. 90% of the public housing, and over 70% of all HUD assisted housing in the Baltimore region, was located in the City.
 - As the following maps show, the pattern continues to the present time.

Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1970

Project % Negro, 1970

Family Projects

● 90% - 100%

- 1 Latrobe
- 2 McCulloh
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill
- 12 Cherry Hill Ext. 1
- 13 Westport Ext.
- 15 Lafayette Cts.
- 16 Flag House Cts.
- 17 Cherry Hill Ext. 2
- 18 Murphy
- 19 Lexington Terr.
- 20 Fairfield
- 22 Westport
- 29 Mt. Winans
- 34 Oswego Mall

● 50% - 89.9%

- 3 Perkins

● 10% - 49.9%

- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 14 Claremont

● 0% - 9.9%

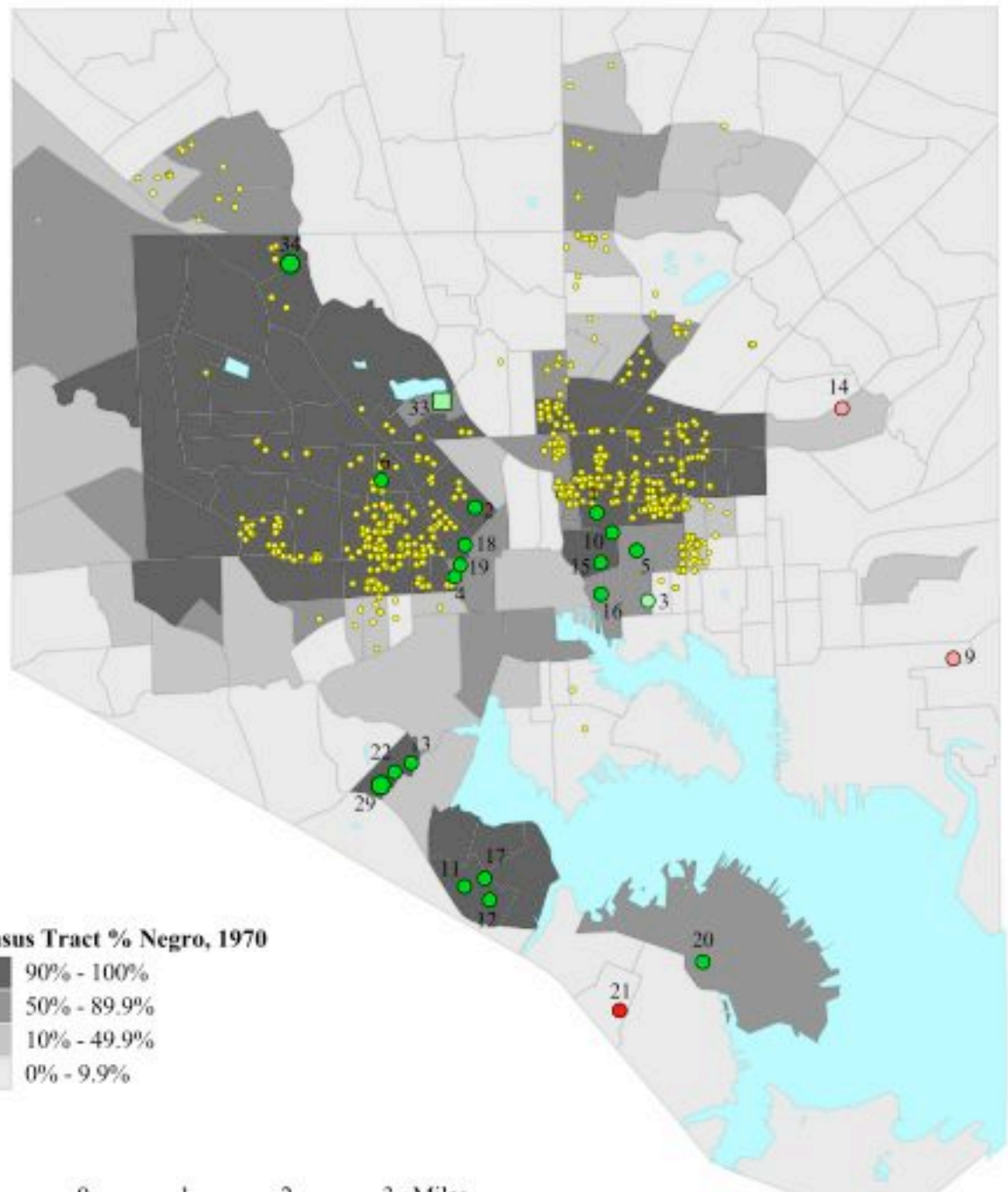
- 21 Brooklyn

Project Type

- Family, Opened 1940 - 1964
- Family, Opened 1965 - 1970
- Elderly, Opened 1970
- Scattered Site, Opened 1967-1974

Census Tract % Negro, 1970

- 90% - 100%
- 50% - 89.9%
- 10% - 49.9%
- 0% - 9.9%



Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1980

Project % Black, 1981

Family Projects

● 90% - 100%

- 1 Latrobe
- 2 McCulloh
- 3 Perkins
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill
- 12 Cherry Hill Ext. 1
- 13 Westport Ext.
- 15 Lafayette Cts.
- 16 Flag House Cts.
- 17 Cherry Hill Ext. 2
- 18 Murphy
- 19 Lexington Terr.
- 20 Fairfield
- 22 Westport
- 23 McCulloh Ext.
- 27a Spencer Gdns.
- 27b Julian Gdns.
- 29 Mt. Winans
- 31a Dukeland
- 31b Rosemont
- 34 Oswego Mall
- 42 Somerset Ext.
- 73 Anderson Village

● 50% - 89.9%

- 25 Broadway
- 45 Hollander Ridge

● 10% - 49.9%

- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 14 Claremont
- 21 Brooklyn

● 0% - 9.9%

Elderly Projects

■ 90% - 100%

- 33 Lakeview Tower
- 43 Monument East
- 51 Mason Apts.
- 52 Lakeview T. Ext.
- 54 Bel-Park Tower
- 56 Brentwood

■ 50% - 89.9%

- 41 West Twenty
- 44 Wyman House
- 53 Eilerslie Apts.

■ 10% - 49.9%

- 39 Claremont Ext.
- 46 Chase House
- 47 Govans Manor

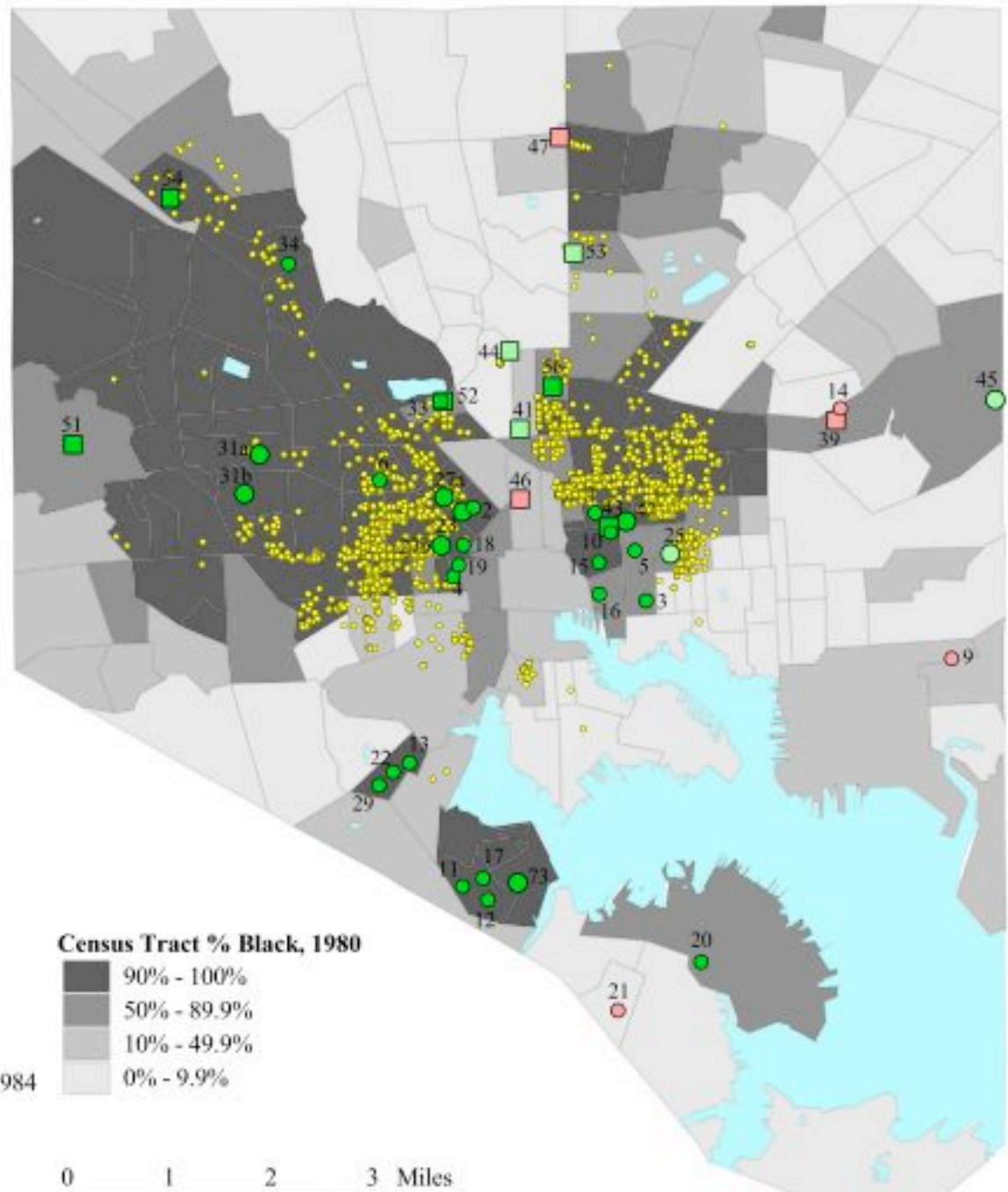
■ 0% - 9.9%

Project Type

- Family, Opened 1940-1970
- Family, Opened 1971-1980
- Elderly, Opened 1970
- Elderly, Opened 1971-1980
- Scattered Site, Opened 1967-1984

Census Tract % Black, 1980

- 90% - 100%
- 50% - 89.9%
- 10% - 49.9%
- 0% - 9.9%



Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1990

Project % Black, 1991

Family Projects

● 90% - 100%

- 1 Latrobe
- 2 McCulloh
- 3 Perkins
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill
- 12 Cherry Hill Ext. 1
- 13 Westport Ext.
- 15 Lafayette Cts.
- 16 Flag House Cts.
- 17 Cherry Hill Ext. 2
- 18 Murphy
- 19 Lexington Terr.
- 22 Westport
- 23 McCulloh Ext.
- 27a Spencer Gdns.
- 27b Julian Gdns.
- 29 Mt. Winans
- 31a Dukeland
- 31b Rosemont
- 34 Oswego Mall
- 42 Somerset Ext.
- 73 Anderson Village

○ 50% - 89.9%

- 14 Claremont
- 25 Broadway
- 45 Hollander Ridge

○ 10% - 49.9%

- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 21 Brooklyn

● 0% - 9.9%

Elderly Projects

■ 90% - 100%

- 33 Lakeview Tower
- 43 Monument East
- 51 Mason Apts.
- 52 Lakeview T. Ext.
- 54 Bel-Park Tower
- 56 Brentwood
- 70 Rosemont Tower
- 74 Hollins House
- 75 Allendale

■ 50% - 89.9%

- 39 Claremont Ext.
- 41 West Twenty
- 44 Wyman House
- 46 Chase House
- 47 Govans Manor
- 53 Ellerslie Apts.

■ 10% - 49.9%

- 71 Primrose Place

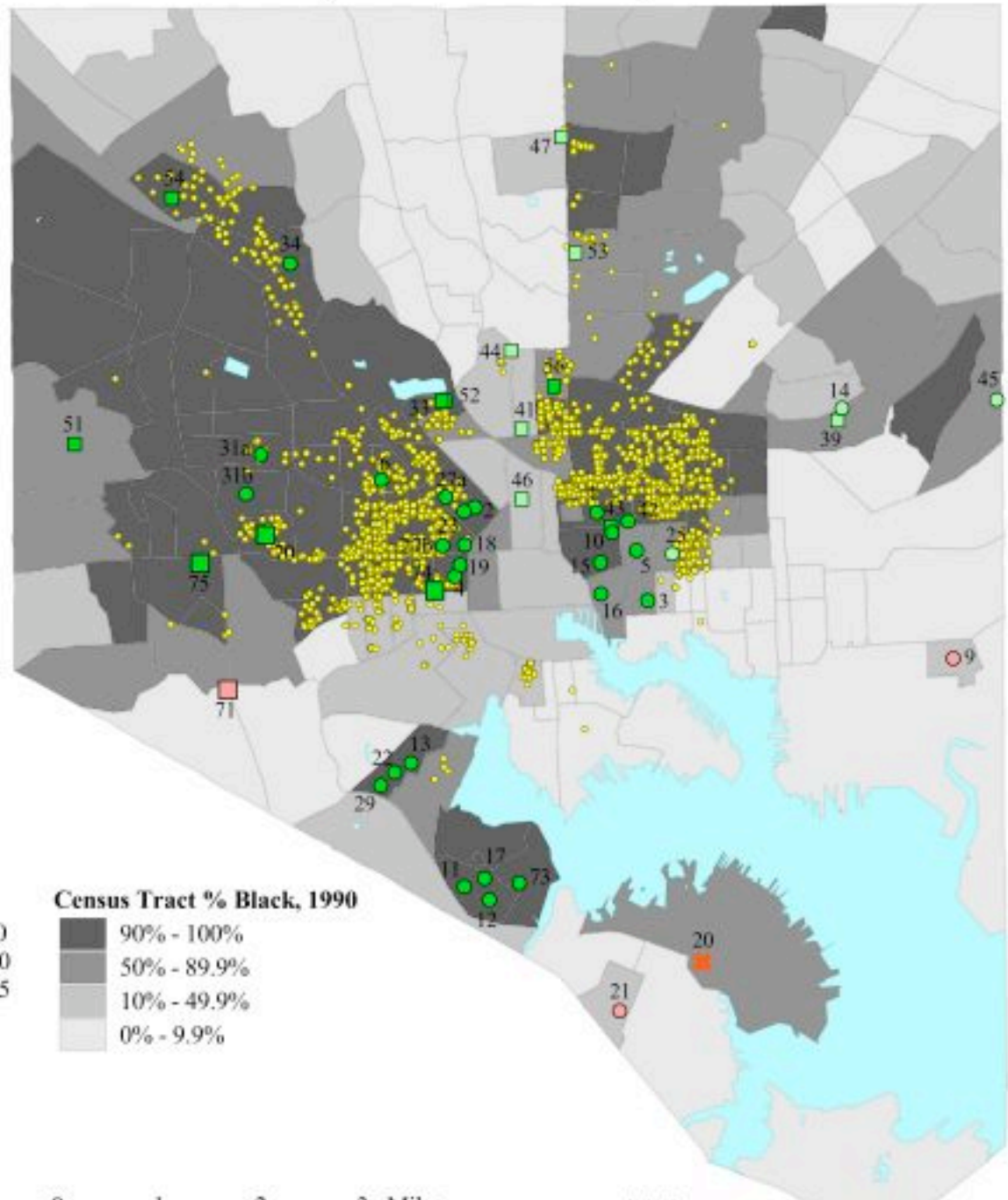
■ 0% - 9.9%

Project Type

- Family, Opened 1940-1980
- Elderly, Opened 1970-1980
- Elderly, Opened 1981-1985
- ✘ Project Closed, 1987
- Scattered Site, 1967-1995

Census Tract % Black, 1990

- 90% - 100%
- 50% - 89.9%
- 10% - 49.9%
- 0% - 9.9%



Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 2000

Project % Black, 2002

Family Projects

● 90% - 100%

- 1 Latrobe
- 2 McCulloh
- 3 Perkins
- 4 Poe
- 5 Douglass
- 6 Gilmor
- 10 Somerset
- 11 Cherry Hill
- 12 Cherry Hill Ext. 1
- 13 Westport Ext.
- 17 Cherry Hill Ext. 2
- 22 Westport
- 23 McCulloh Ext.
- 27a Spencer Gdns.
- 29 Mt. Winans
- 31a Dukeland
- 31b Rosemont
- 34 Oswego Mall
- 42 Somerset Ext.
- 73 Anderson Village

○ 50% - 89.9%

- 9 O'Donnell Hts.
- 14 Claremont
- 21 Brooklyn

○ 10% - 49.9%

● 0% - 9.9%

Elderly Projects

■ 90% - 100%

- 33 Lakeview Tower
- 43 Monument East
- 51 Mason Apts.
- 52 Lakeview T. Ext.
- 53 Ellerslie Apts.
- 54 Bel-Park Tower
- 70 Rosemont Tower
- 74 Hollins House
- 75 Allendale

■ 50% - 89.9%

- 39 Claremont Ext.
- 41 West Twenty
- 44 Wyman House
- 46 Chase House
- 47 Govans Manor
- 56 Brentwood

■ 10% - 49.9%

- 71 Primrose Place

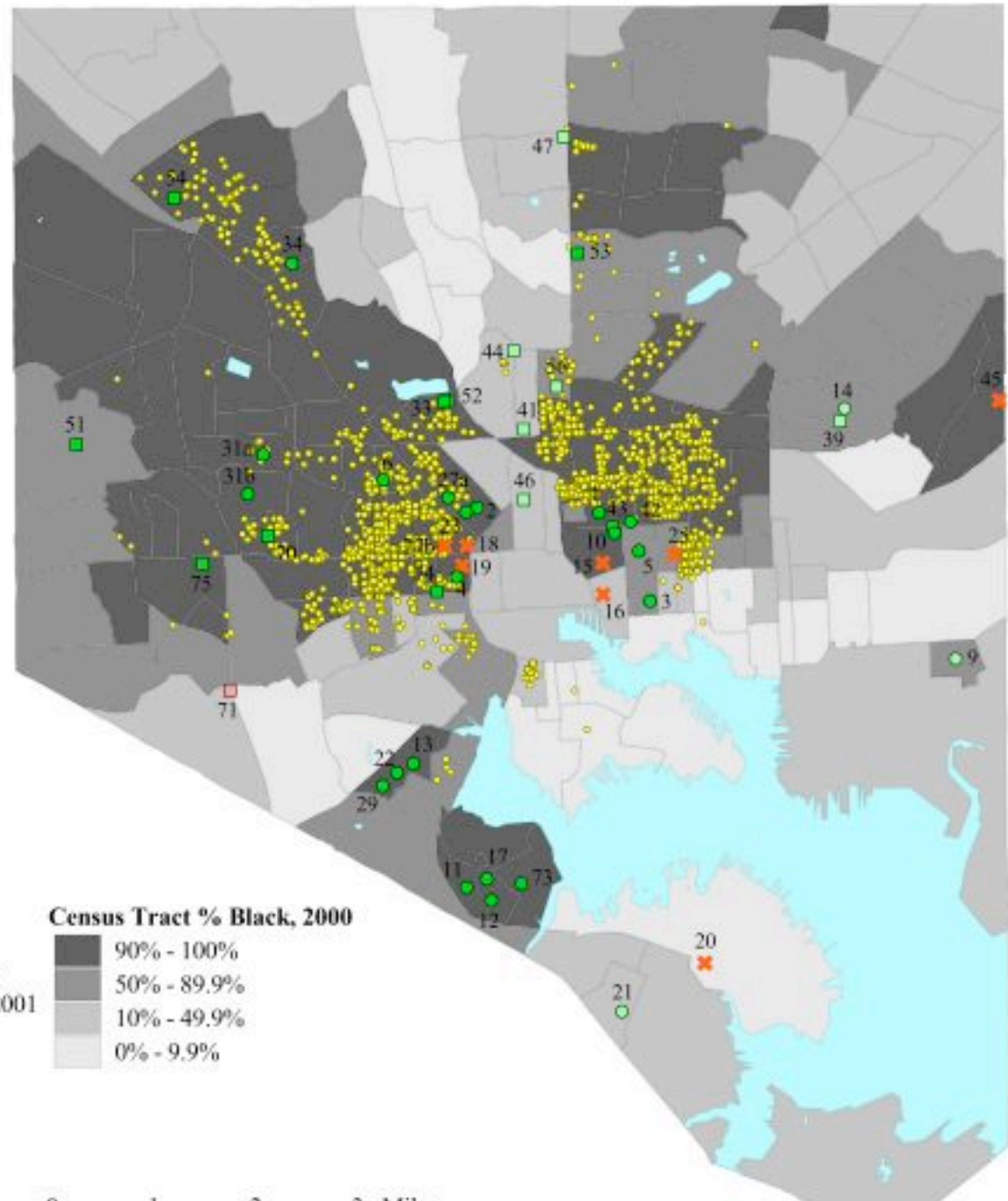
■ 0% - 9.9%

Project Type

- Family, Opened 1940-1980
- Elderly, Opened 1970-1985
- ✖ Project Demolished, 1995-2001
- Scattered Site, 1967-1995

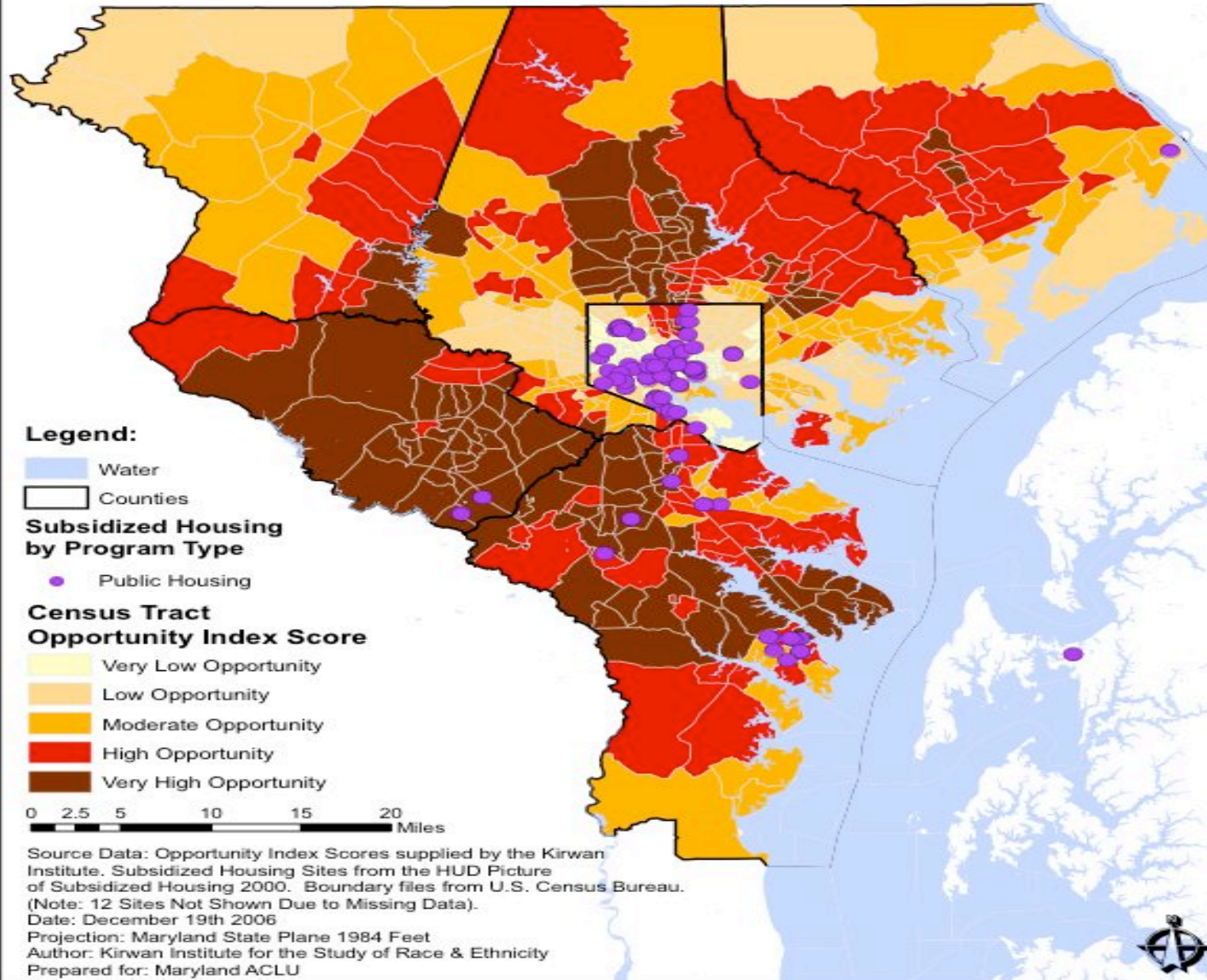
Census Tract % Black, 2000

- 90% - 100%
- 50% - 89.9%
- 10% - 49.9%
- 0% - 9.9%

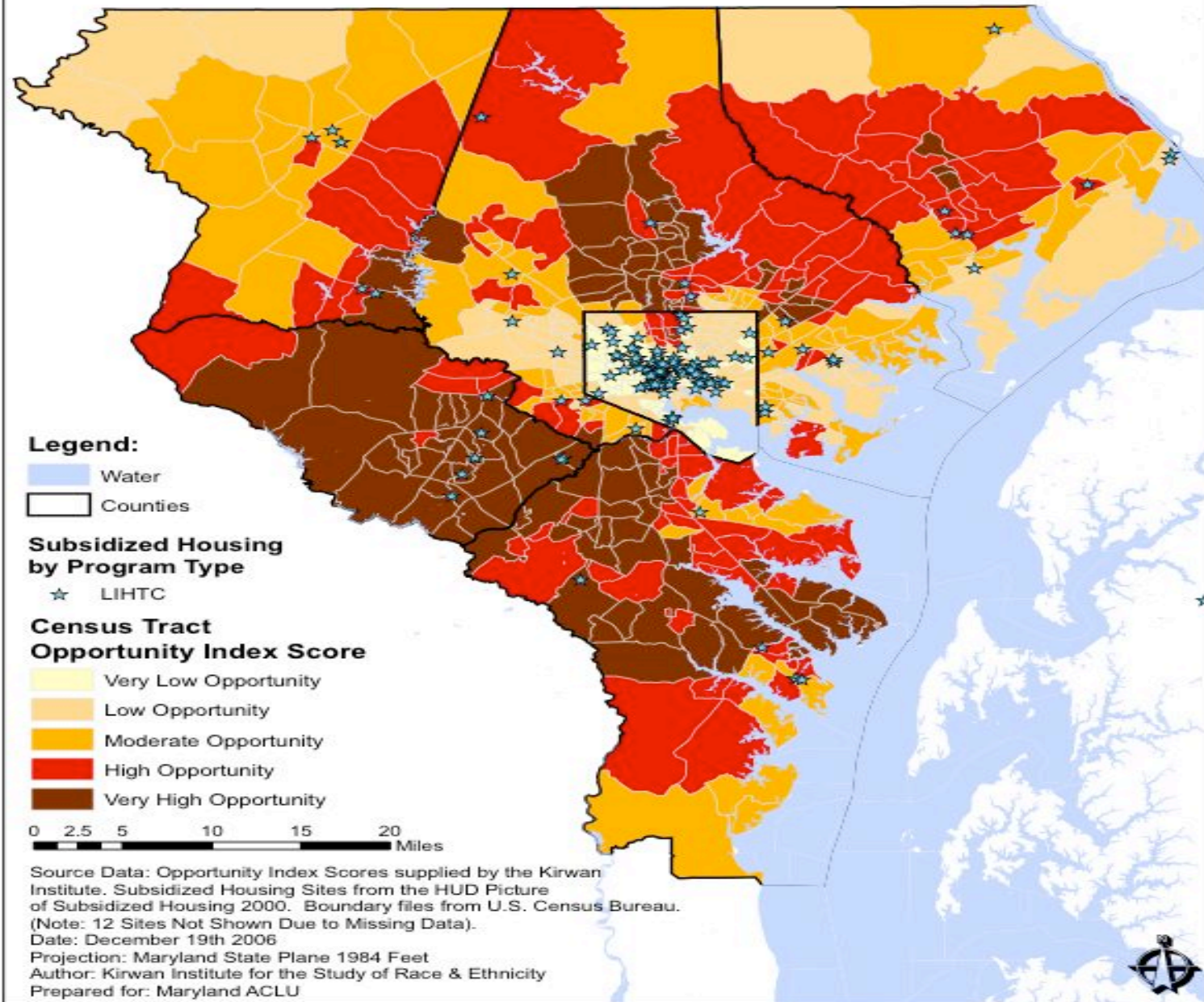


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 J. "Research Maps Volume 2: Selected Research Data Sets for 1998"
 C. "Development Maps", 2000
 census Bureau, "TIGER/Line", 2000
 census Bureau, "Summary File 1", 2000
 C. "Scattered-site datafile", (Provided to MD ACLU) 1995

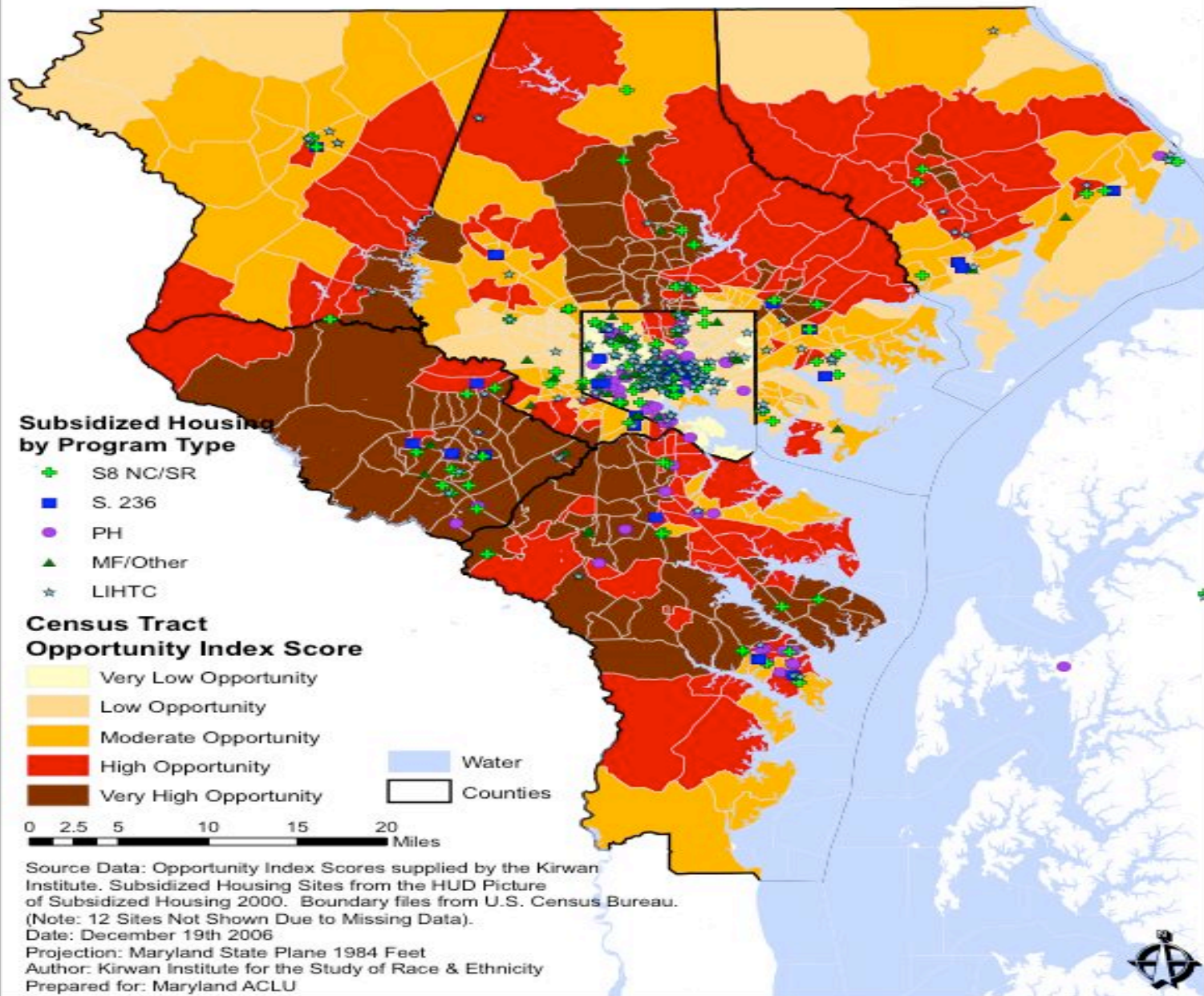
Subsidized Housing Sites (Public Housing) in the Baltimore Region and Neighborhood Opportunity Index (From HUD Picture of Subsidized Housing 2000)



**Subsidized Housing Sites (Low Income Housing Tax Credit)
in the Baltimore Region and Neighborhood Opportunity Index
(From HUD Picture of Subsidized Housing 2000)**



Subsidized Housing Sites by Program in the Baltimore Region and Neighborhood Opportunity Index (From HUD Picture of Subsidized Housing 2000)



“Baltimore City should not be viewed as an island reservation for use as a container for all of the poor of a contiguous region.”

- **In 2005, a federal court ruled that HUD failed to affirmatively further fair housing in the administration of its programs in the Baltimore region. *Thompson v. HUD***
- **“[T]he failure adequately to take a regional approach to the desegregation of public housing in the region that included Baltimore City violated the Fair Housing Act and requires consideration of appropriate remedial action by the Court.”**

“We have in effect held up a mirror to the Baltimore area. In it you have seen things of which perhaps you were not aware and which I am sure you are not all that proud.”

- The U.S. Civil Rights Commission held a three day hearing on suburban development in Baltimore County August 17-19, 1970. In his statement at the close of the hearing, Commission Chair Father Theodore Hesburg reflected on what he had seen and heard, and issued a prescient warning to the Baltimore region.
- “If we are to rely on the testimony we have heard for 3 long days no one is doing anything wrong. No one is deliberately attempting to keep housing, employment or education all-white or all-black depending on where it is. All I can say is that the situation would not be as it is today here or throughout the country if everyone were practicing virtue to the extent they profess they are.”
- “When we speak of open housing, we strike a particularly sensitive nerve but unless we do face up to problems such as these, unless we do make every effort to assure that equality of opportunity really does exist, we are creating a whirlwind that succeeding generations, if not our own, will reap.”