



Segregation and Public Housing Development in Cherry Hill and Westport: Historical Background

Middle Branch Community Listening Session- April 17, 2008

Maryland State Commission on Environmental Justice and Sustainable Communities

Barbara Samuels, ACLU of Maryland

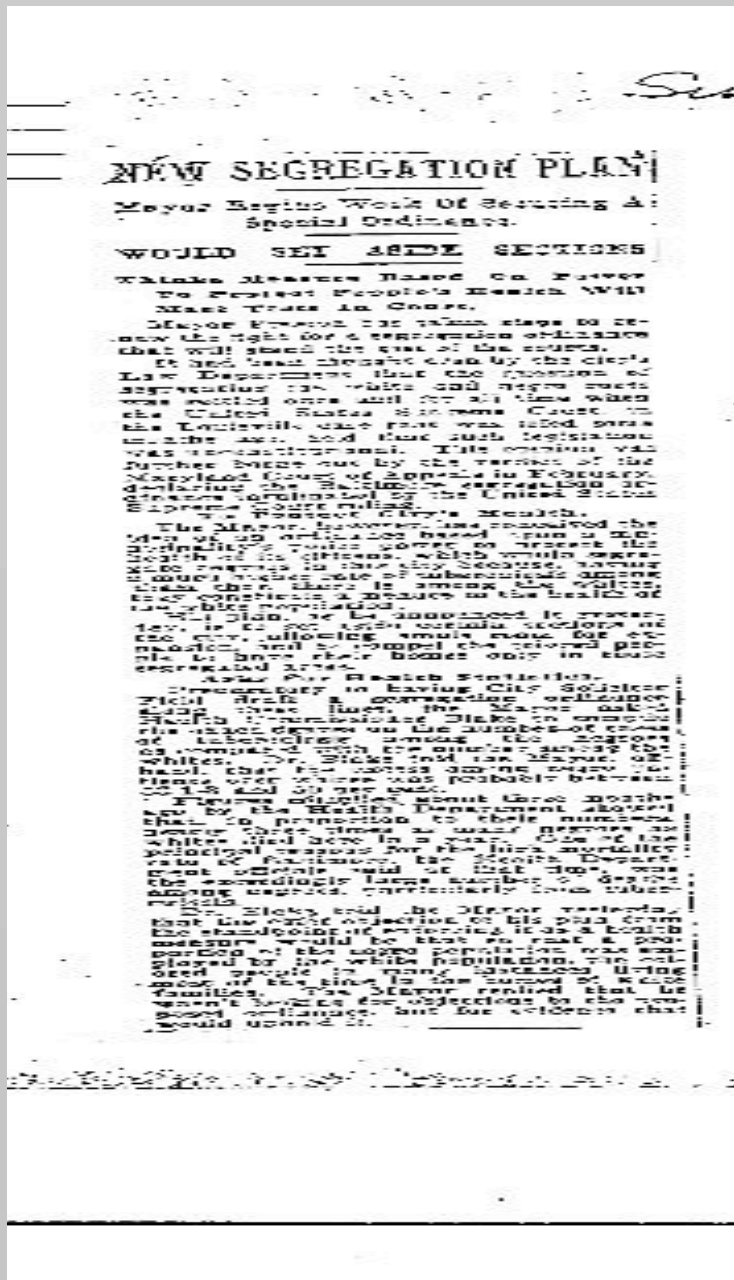


Cherry Hill is historically significant as the nation's first, largest (and likely the only) planned suburban-style community for African Americans.

The history of the development of public housing on the Middle Branch is one of the most striking examples of deliberate residential racial segregation in any city. It is also a story of a minority community knowingly exposed to adverse environmental conditions.

The strengths and spirit that you see in this community have been created and sustained despite these public policies.

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
- 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 few the new plan is simply the embodiment in a clause of a clause 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."

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

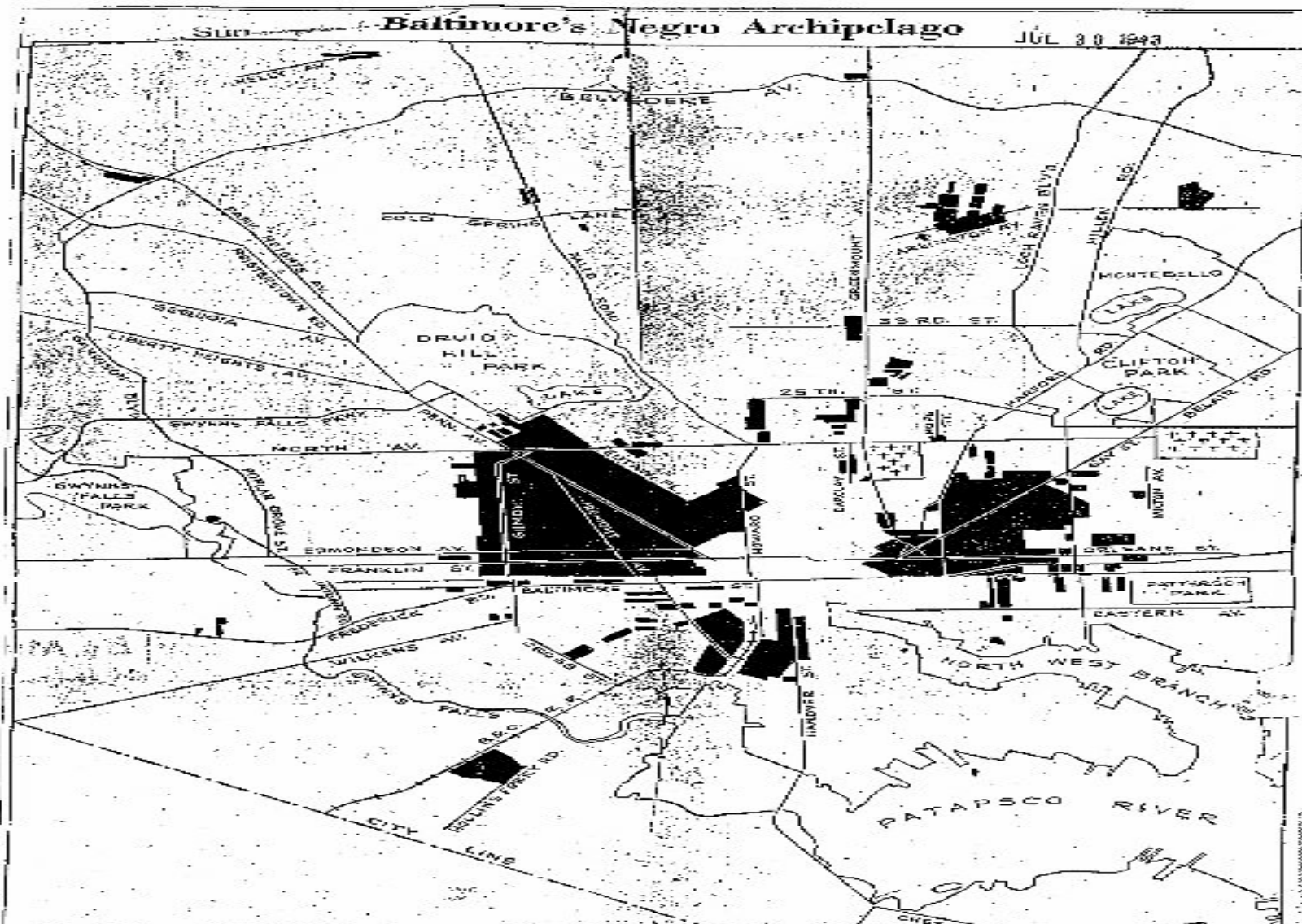
Now that segregation legislation has been put finally out of count, it is in the highest degree important to the interest of the whole community and to the friendly relations of the white and colored people of the city that a wiser course should receive the sanction of both, which will prevent wrongs 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 discriminating 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 segregation, 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 secure healthful and more attractive surroundings. 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 in the sun" 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?”

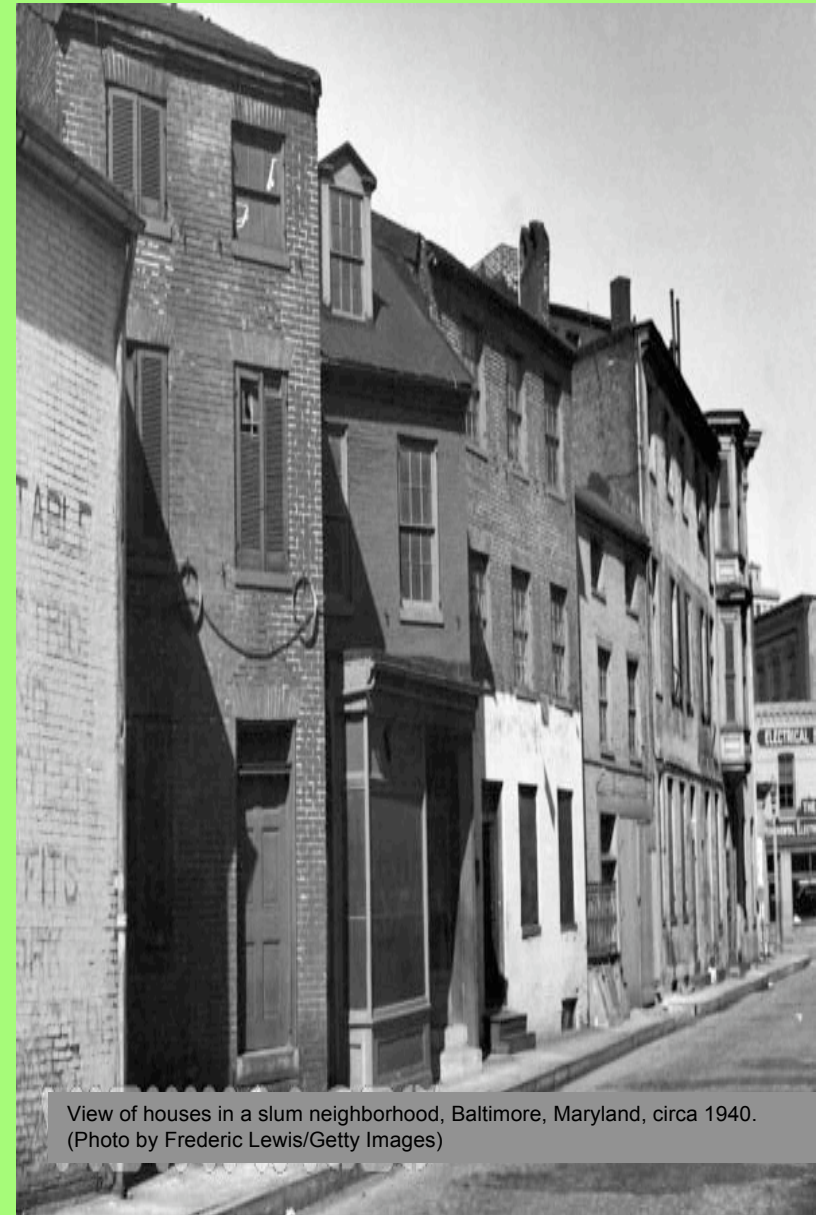
Reflecting white opinion in 1918 the Baltimore Sun endorsed a “fair and permanent [segregation] policy” under which conditions in “colored” areas would be improved, while blacks would “respect... the sensibilities and prejudices of the white people.”



By the 1930's distinct "ghetto" neighborhoods had emerged west and east of downtown with small African American enclaves in other parts of the City, including Mt. Winans. Blacks comprised 20% of the population but were confined to about 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)

WESTPORT SITE IS CHOSEN FOR BHA PROJECT

Committee Chairman Asked For Approval of \$1,400,000 Housing Development

Action Expected Thursday, East-Central Union, This Plans for Rebuilding

Proposed has been selected by the Building Housing Authority as the site for the first major housing project in the city. The project, which will consist of 100 units, is to be built on the site of the old Westport Hotel. The project is being financed by the city and the state.

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HA Proposes \$1,400,000 New Slum Clearance

Local Point Group Says Area Will Use Remaining Baltimore Funds For Additional Project—Asks City Exacted In Previous

The Housing Authority has proposed a \$1,400,000 project for the clearance of slums in the Westport area. The project is being financed by the city and the state. The city is contributing \$500,000 and the state is contributing \$900,000. The project is expected to be completed by next year.

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Westport Homes—Public Housing for Whites Only

From the inception of the public housing program sites were selected and projects were designed for "white housing" or "Negro housing."

The original Negro housing projects were all built on slum clearance sites in the central city where the black population had come to be concentrated. They destroyed more housing than they created. One result was that blacks paid higher rents than whites for housing that was often in worse condition.

Although almost all of those displaced by slum clearance were black, half of the new units were reserved for whites, resulting in a net gain in housing and land area for whites. Some white housing projects, including Westport Homes, were built on vacant land on the outskirts of the City, which was more economical than slum clearance.

ANOTHER HOUSING PROJECT PROPOSED

City, However, Must Waive Payments For Planning

The Housing Authority has proposed a new housing project in the Westport area. The project is being financed by the city and the state. The city is contributing \$500,000 and the state is contributing \$900,000. The project is expected to be completed by next year.

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Defense Housing Plans Overlook Our Workers.

By IED WATERS

A survey by the writer of housing conditions in Baltimore reveals that not only are colored residents faced with the question of rapidly rising rents, but that no provision is being made for the colored defense workers and their families. The Federal Housing Administration turned thumbs down on a proposed new home development in nearby Baltimore County.

The four-month campaign conducted by the AFFIDAVIT, C.A.B. to establish the steadily rising rents in various sections of the city.

Fair Rent Commission some late in the year was formed. Complaints were made by many others, but no action was taken. The Fair Rent Commission is now in session.

The local Fair Rent Commission has offices in Room 605, Union Trust Building, Charles and Fayette Streets. Tenants who have

Steel mills and in East Baltimore was taken.

The results revealed that more than half of the 250 families interviewed were not only willing, but able to make a 10 per cent cash down payment on a home ranging from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

Mr. Muller's opinion, however, is not at all in harmony with the results of this survey. We print a copy of his letter, herewith.

The rent situation has not only

Housing Co-ordination Committee in Washington, the mayor wrote:

"I have been approached by Mr. Charles E. Nealy, 1807 Mc-Gulloch Street, Baltimore, Md., who states that he represents a number of workers in the Bethlehem Steel Company plant at Sparrows Point in relation to the establishment of emergency defense housing for colored citizens in or near the Sparrows Point area? Housing facilities furnished to white work-

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War Time Housing Crisis for African American Defense Workers

• Severe war time housing shortage in Baltimore due to influx of workers to defense plants and shipyards

• Especially severe for African Americans due to segregation.

• Ever larger numbers of people forced into constrained space in the "black belt."

Are We Renters or Buyers?

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Office of State Director
Baltimore, Maryland
August 1941
North Point Estates, Inc.
604 Union Trust Building
Baltimore, Maryland

Attention: Senator Harry D. Levin

Gentlemen:

You are advised that the Federal Housing Administration has made a careful examination of your proposed development program of "North Point Gardens" as submitted under date of August 1, 1941, and finds it lacking in sufficient economic soundness to warrant further processing.

A primary major consideration in reaching the above decision is the fact that this proposed development for Negroes is to be situated in a location remotely isolated from the civic, social and commercial centers serving this race. We recognize the need for Negro housing in the Baltimore area, but for it to be economically sound, it must also be socially sound.

From our knowledge of the Negro market, we are of the opinion that it is predominantly a rental market, rather than a home-buying market.

In accordance with our position set forth above, it is suggested that you give serious thought to the possibilities of a large-scale rental project to be constructed in its entirety immediately, either as public housing, or through the use of facilities provided under Section 207 or Title VI of the National Housing Act.

Yours very truly,
E. LESTER MULLER
State Director

complaints are being made by Negroes who are being placed in the area with that body and an immediate investigation will be made.

Park Barracks EVEN SUN For Negroes OCT 2 1942 Suggested

Investigators Report Conditions Here "Serious"

Housing facilities for the war-
induced Negro population of Balti-
more were found today by a State
investigative commission to be so
straitened that the construction of
temporary dormitories in the pub-
lic parks was recommended as an
emergency measure until perm-
nent shelter can be found available.

The report was the third in a
series by the commission appointed
last summer by Gov. Herbert H.
O'Connor to study problems affect-
ing the city's Negro population.

All signs indicated that housing
problems are most responsible
problem the commission found
and that the first time the com-
mission was divided in its findings.
Minority reports, dissenting from
the recommendations of the ma-
jority were filed by three members.

One Recommendation Stricken

One important recommendation
offered by a special sub-committee
which conducted the housing in-
quiry was stricken from the report
by the full commission.

Members of the sub-committee
were John H. Sears, architect,

The commission, who were not mem-
bers of the sub-committee, Albert
H. Fisher, department store head,
and Edward S. Lewis, executive
secretary of the Urban League.

Negro Rents "Rocket"

Unanimously, the commission
found that housing in Baltimore
had become an acute problem, as
it concerned both white and colored
residents. But that it is worse as
regards Negroes. The commission
agreed that the combined effects of
limited space and a booming popu-
lation has created rents in the
Negro neighborhoods until gains
in the slighted areas of the black
belt costs more than equivalent
space in the city's most fashionable
districts.

While the white population has
rents opportunistly in
new areas, the com-
mission found the Negro situation
the most excessive
this territory had
its victims, the em-
ploys. Negroes
to be disastrously
planning, and a com-
public health.

May Cpt. Let
A hearing on wa-
rented out by
which said that the
of dwelling units
available labor sup-
plants and engaged
and greater num-
bers.

Placing the prob-
lem of the city
population said the
and it added:

"Monthly, some
Negroes come into
homes are being
vacant homes
share. They must
dormitories with those
in these densely
segregated areas.

He filed a few
days three or four.

Two reports
of a survey
of the Sun in
eight persons
and Negro dwell-
ing. It contained

"The serious
problems serious
Health Department
payment and the
"It has often
per seat of Bal-
timore lives in
residential area,
one 11th of the
two one-tenth of
would be far and
was up to stand-
ards.

Homes Are
"When several
from the League
Negro housing. It
found that less
than 150 houses in
the whole of Bal-
timore has been
built for colored
people. The
were neglected and
obscure homes
of white people."

Just survey, it was
advised that

1942 new living units, a net loss
of 737.

The loss will be reduced to 869,
the commission said, if the Housing
Authority finds it possible to utilize
the project to be called "Park Barracks".

Committee's Suggestions

Seeking means of alleviating the
problem, the committee suggested:

1. The possible use of existing
large buildings, even churches, as
temporary dormitories for unem-
ployed persons, the conversion to be
either voluntary or by Government
order.
2. A temporary halt of or migra-
tion into the city, possibly by turn-
ing away any who come here with-
out having specified employment
arranged.

Government Housing Urged

Government housing is not only
the only recourse for when no
knowledge that the public policy
power of the community to create
conditions for proper housing have
failed to give city government
responsibility, but it will serve
as a viable and expedient alterna-
tive to what such housing is and
what it will accomplish.

"Does the commission have too
much paternalism in Government
and consequent undermining of the
effectiveness of individualism?"

"The inevitable tendency of our
policy is toward more bureaucrat-
ized. I should like to include public
policy as an accepted function of
Government in the same way that
public health is."

- Crisis deemed threat to war effort.
- State Commission appointed to look for solutions to crisis.
- Commission endorsed use of temporary barracks in public parks as an emergency measure.
- Director of Baltimore Urban League said restrictive racial covenants "played havoc with any orderly solution." He urged dissolution of covenants "in order to provide orderly and necessary expansion in critical areas adjacent to the Negro population." The Commission declined.

is a higher degree of which need
economic level, the need for a sub-
side would disappear. But we also
know that such a success is par-
tially slow.

By the commission, these groups
and the conditions of health

eliminate restrictive covenants
and suggesting that the
immediate dissolution in order to
provide orderly and necessary ex-
pansion in critical areas adjacent
to the Negro population.

The commission reported on the

GROUP TO PROTEST HOUSING PROPOSAL

To Go To Washington To Fight
Plan For Negro Unit In
Mount Winans

(Continued from Page 28)

discussion of proposed sites at 10:30 A. M. today at City Hall, the Mayor announced, final decision, he emphasized, rests with the FPIA.

Mayor McKeldin said that the site under consideration in Mount Winans lies south of the Mount Auburn Cemetery between the Hollins Ferry road and the old Annapolis road, extending to the Rittenhouse estate. The land is undeveloped.

To Accompany Group

Emmett Balson, chairman of the protest meeting, said he had been given the definite impression that the interracial commission prefers the Mount Winans location.

No representative of Mount Winans attended the meeting, but objectors came from adjoining Lakeland and from Rosemont, Morrell Park, Dorchester Heights, Westport, English Consul and Highland Park. They took the stand that the extension of the Negro community of Mount Winans would encroach upon Lakeland.

City Councilmen Paul W. Nutman, Mrs. Ella Bailey and Fruburger, who offered the protestants their cooperation last night, will accompany the delegation to Washington. The group voted to send with them photostatic copies of petitions against the site signed by 1,100 residents of the area.

Protesting Delegation

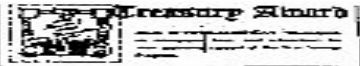
The three City Councilmen, together with State Senator George W. Della led a protesting delegation which met with Mayor McKeldin yesterday morning. The Mayor told them that he had no actual authority in the matter and advised them to submit a written statement of their views to the Interracial Commission.

The objections were that the project would lower property values and overtax present transportation facilities.

At City Hall it was understood

- Sites proposed for construction of housing for Negro war workers all met with white community opposition.
- Whites in Lakeland, Morrell Park and English Consul threatened to go to Washington to fight a plan to build Negro war housing in Mt. Winans.
- Sites in Southeast Baltimore and Eastern Baltimore County were also abandoned after meeting strident opposition from whites.
- Each time federal and city officials yielded to opposition.

Crowd of 800 Boos Mayor for Favoring Colored War Homes



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

31st Year, No. 48

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 Marbles"

Priests Protest Housing Site



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 protestants will be limited to 25. A mixed group of those favoring the site will be heard in the same room Friday at 2 p.m.

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

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

They accuse the mayor, his inter-racial commission, the City Plan Commission and the Federal Housing Authority of "passing the buck" to each other.

"To Hell with Government!" was one of the slogans that first supporters of the site was up to the Federal Government and all that its inter-racial commission did was to recommend a site.

At this point, one man "To Hell with the Federal Go."

The mayor was visibly an after listening for an hour in a quieted when he said:

"I have been courteous to you to be equally as courteous to his opinion. This is Army. If I had made the astute course to stand up here and

Housing Foes Tell Why They Oppose Homes

4 Councilmen, Four Clerics, Reactor in Upruly 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 demonstrated against the proposed site for housing project for colored war workers and urged that they be located elsewhere.

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

THE REV. MILDRED BRIDGEMAN, Rector, Avenue Catholic Church

"I could be the first to protest against a site where colored people have to live. I'm opposed. However, that this is a matter of government decision in an area where there are no colored people living as it would be to locate in Herring Run Park grounds or elsewhere."

THE REV. JOHN J. HENRY, Rector, St. Ignace Church

"I am opposed to the proposed site for housing project for colored war workers. It is a matter of government decision in an area where there are no colored people living as it would be to locate in Herring Run Park grounds or elsewhere."

THE REV. ANTHONY PATEL, Rector, St. Ignace Church

"I am opposed to the proposed site for housing project for colored war workers. It is a matter of government decision in an area where there are no colored people living as it would be to locate in Herring Run Park grounds or elsewhere."

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 15)

✓ In 1943, federal and city officials finally settled on a site for Negro war housing on farm land in the Herring Run area of NE Baltimore.

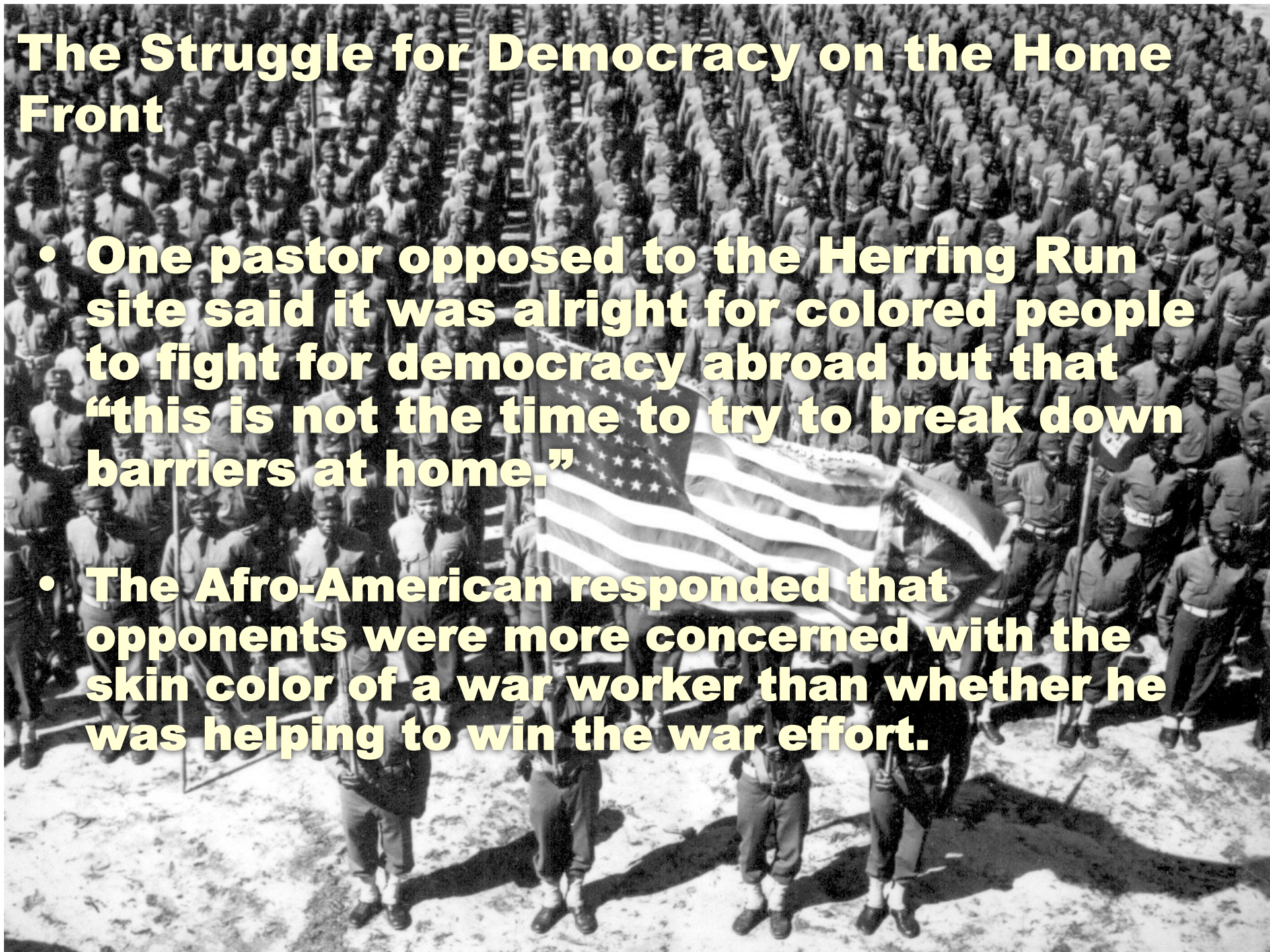
✓ A firestorm of opposition resulted, lead by clergy and elected officials.

✓ Opponents framed arguments in overtly racial terms, claiming that the area was nearly 100% white and that "traditionally people in Maryland have known their places."



The Struggle for Democracy on the Home Front

- **One pastor opposed to the Herring Run site said it was alright for colored people to fight for democracy abroad but that “this is not the time to try to break down barriers at home.”**
- **The Afro-American responded that opponents were more concerned with the skin color of a war worker than whether he was helping to win the war effort.**



FPHA APPROVES 4 SITES RECOMMENDED BY HAB IN HOUSING OF NEGROES

Work Will Be Publicly Financed—Federal Agency Drops Suit For Condemnation Of Moore's Run, Philadelphia Road Location

Developments Stated In Cherry Hill Section, Near Brooklyn; Sparrows Point, Turner's Station And Along Holabird Avenue

The prolonged dispute over the selection of sites for publicly financed Negro housing here was terminated yesterday when the Federal Public Housing Authority approved four locations recommended by the Housing Authority of Baltimore.

Simultaneously, the FPFA announced that its suit for the condemnation of the Moore's Run-Philadelphia road site originally sought by the Federal agency, now pending in Federal Court, has been withdrawn.

The four sites recommended by the HAB and approved by the FPFA, are located in the Cherry Hill section, near Brooklyn; and at Sparrows Point, Turner's Station and along Holabird avenue, in the eastern section of the city and adjoining Baltimore county.

One of the four developments that to be located at Cherry Hill will become a permanent low-cost housing project after the war.

Will Total 1,750 Units
The responsibility for the development and management of the four housing projects was assigned by the FPFA to the HAB, which was directed to expedite the preparation of plans and the awarding of contracts so that construction can be initiated within sixty days.

The remaining projects, which will total 1,350 units, are to be supervised by Oliver C. Winston, director of the third region of the National Housing Agency.

In announcing the approval of the four sites, Herbert Emmerich, FPFA Commissioner, declared that regarding them there now is "complete agreement on the part of the

CRANE UNION VOTES RETURN CONDITIONALLY

Back-To-Work Decision Follows Word That Dis- pute Was Certified

Meantime, Capital Indi- cates Dismissal Of West- ern Electric Case

NLRB dismisses number of complaints against so-called company unions as new policy is set forth..... Page 19

Jacob Blum, attorney for the International Union of Operating Engineers, AFL, announced last night following a membership meeting of the union that idle crane operators at the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard will return to work provided the company accepts three conditions. The back-to-work decision, ac-

Mystery Of



NO... WE MUST ENJOYING SUDDEN PROSPERITY WHY?



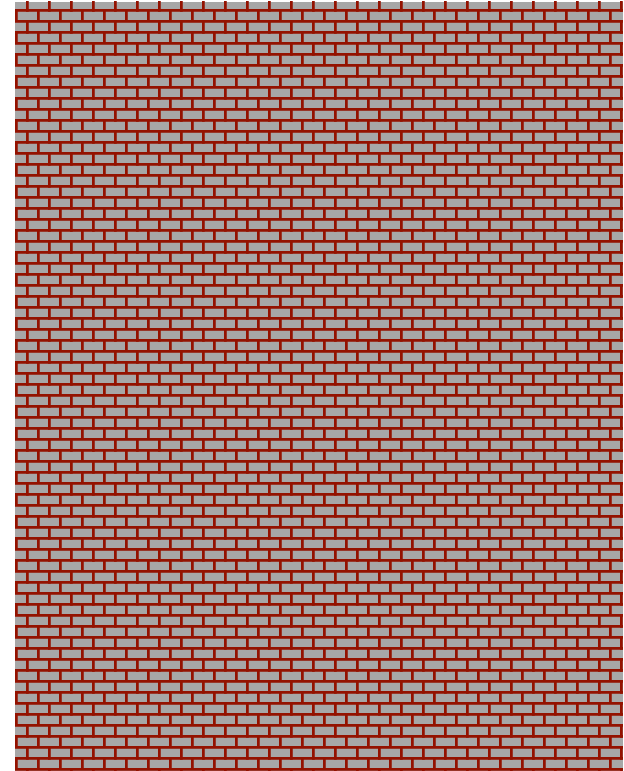
SEABOARD'S

NEGROES CAN FOR REGISTRATION

Association Tries Many As Post Courthouse

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is conducting an intensive campaign to get new Negro registration books locally "to reward friends and punish enemies." Leslie P. Washington, head of the association, said he mentioned Sen. and Radcliffe and Baldwin, and "is remembered" for the Baltimore Negro who recently opposed a Ring-Bun area on the road for development Negro housing. The Federal Government recently abandoned the Local Com-

Federal and city officials dropped the Herring Run site and agreed on the Cherry Hill and Turners' Station sites as a "compromise." Temporary sites for Negro war workers were also approved for Fairfield and Holabird Avenue.



Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1940

Project Racial Designation, 1945

Family Projects

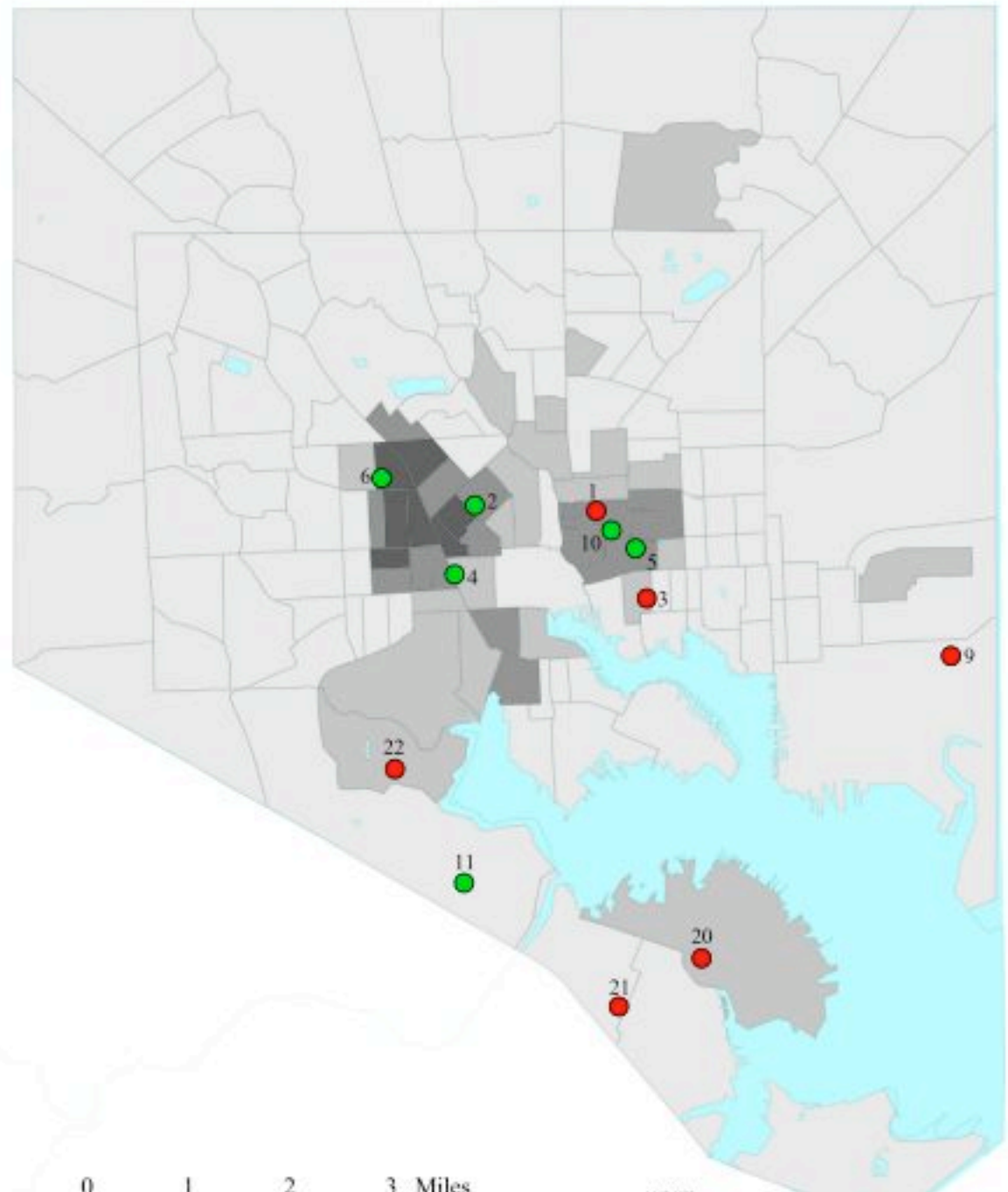
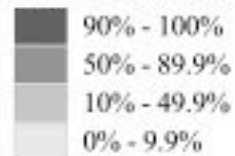
● Negro Projects

- 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



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

- Strong 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).
- Little controversy over plans to build another "Negro" project in Cherry Hill (Cherry Hill Extension I).

HOUSING - BALTIMORE
1950
Sum 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 200 persons and because noise in the halls was trouble to hear, the proceedings were interrupted frequently by shouts from those outside the room.

Eight policemen and a sergeant were sent to maintain order.

Shouts Delay Hearing

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

"War Memorial" spectators in the corridors shouted, "War Memorial. Come on Myrland Kelly, take us to the War Memorial."

After police temporarily quieted the disturbance, Mr. Merrick 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. The first buildings will be built on vacant lots because of the shortage of low-income housing.

"We want to do something about the slums," Mr. Merrick 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 Harry S. Kruger, in defending the bill, declared that Baltimore "is considered the worst slum city in our nation."

An opponent of the bill, Dr. G. W. Lewis, 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 alcoholic bottle in the last half century started with public housing," she 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. Before it ended, most of those in the corridors had left, but the Council 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 say:—
"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 say:—
"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 say:—
"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-5ington 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 numerous cases, these public housing units will cost the taxpayers of Baltimore WIDERS OF BREADS EACH YEAR.

*** 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 rent of people who can not afford any other way?

*** Because it will NOT Clear Slum Areas!**
Even if willing to Ordinance 1772 that enables the Housing Authority to draw over five years to build its projects for tens of additional groups. In fact, the first three housing projects are to be built on 240,000 SQ. FT. of land. How many more housing projects can be built RIGHT IN YOUR OWN NEIGHBORHOODS?

*** 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 L. Winston, director of the housing authority, wrote him in part as follows:

"During the course of the discussions regarding the Annapolis 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 Annapolis 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 After assurances from the Mayor that Claremont and Westport Extension 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 place today.

Public Housing and Areas of Minority Concentration, 1950

Project Racial Designation, 1954

Family Projects

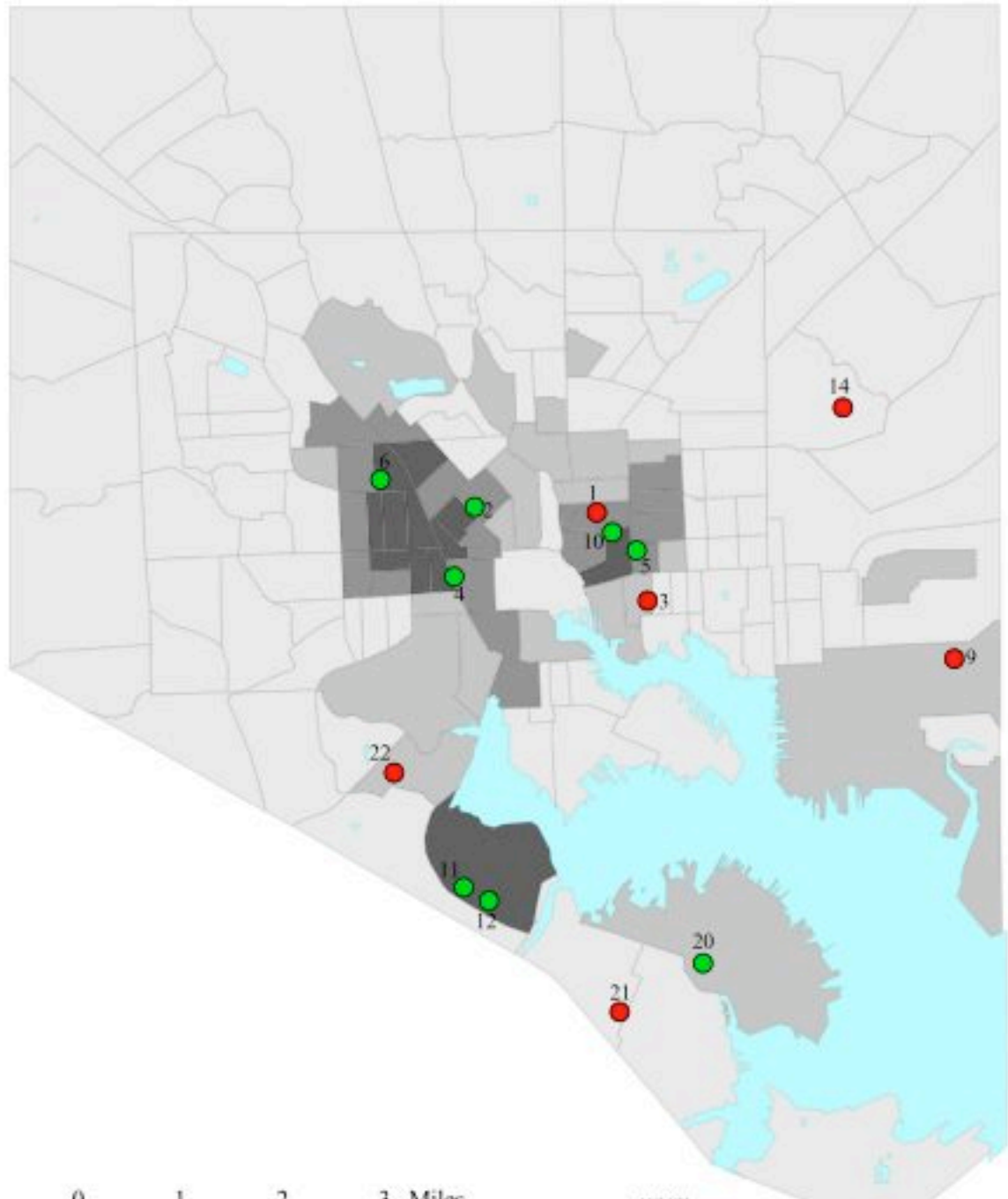
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- 3 Perkins
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- 14 Claremont
- 21 Brooklyn
- 22 Westport

Census Tract % Negro, 1950



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

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

CONFIDENTIAL

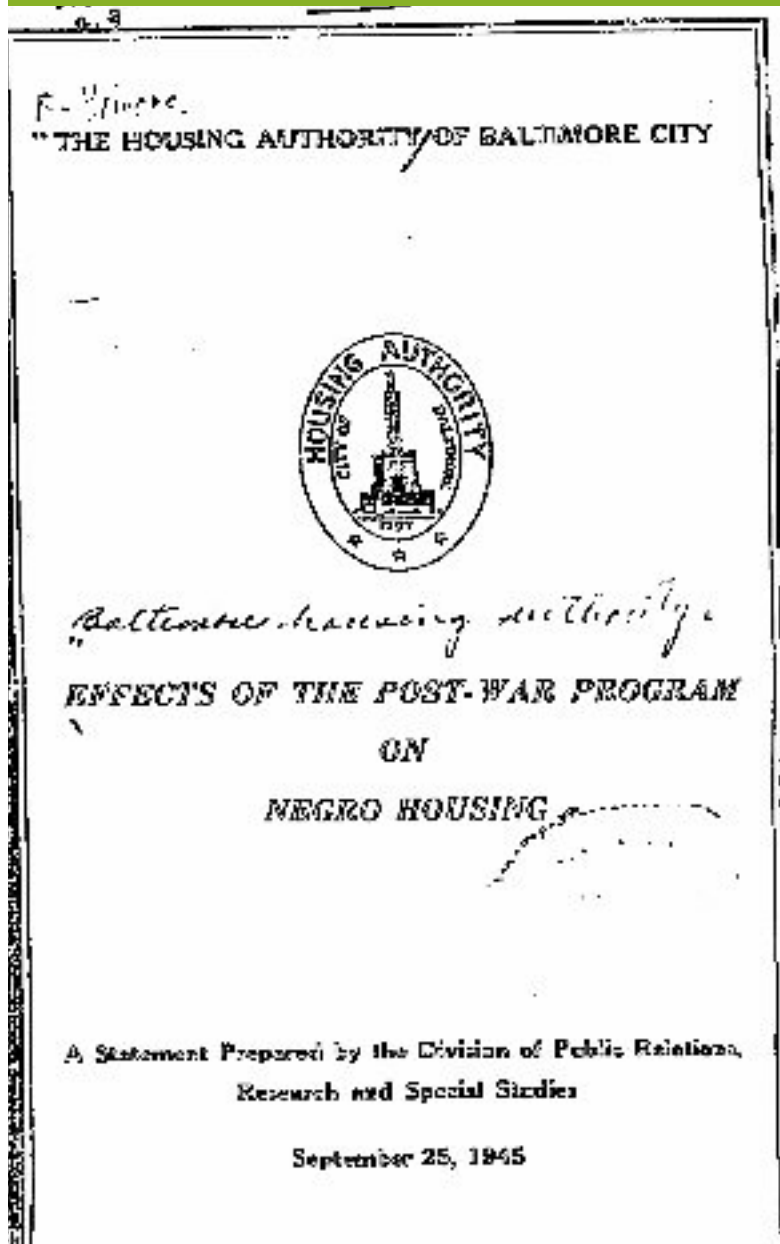
REPORT ON THE CURRENT HOUSING SITUATION
IN THE BALTIMORE HOUSING MARKET

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."



Instead of expanding areas open to African American occupancy, a plan to raze black areas and build higher density public housing to contain “slum dwellers” was first announced in 1945. The plan was intended to arrest “racial and group movements within the city” and prevent “very violent neighborhood resistance to any in-migration of Negroes.”

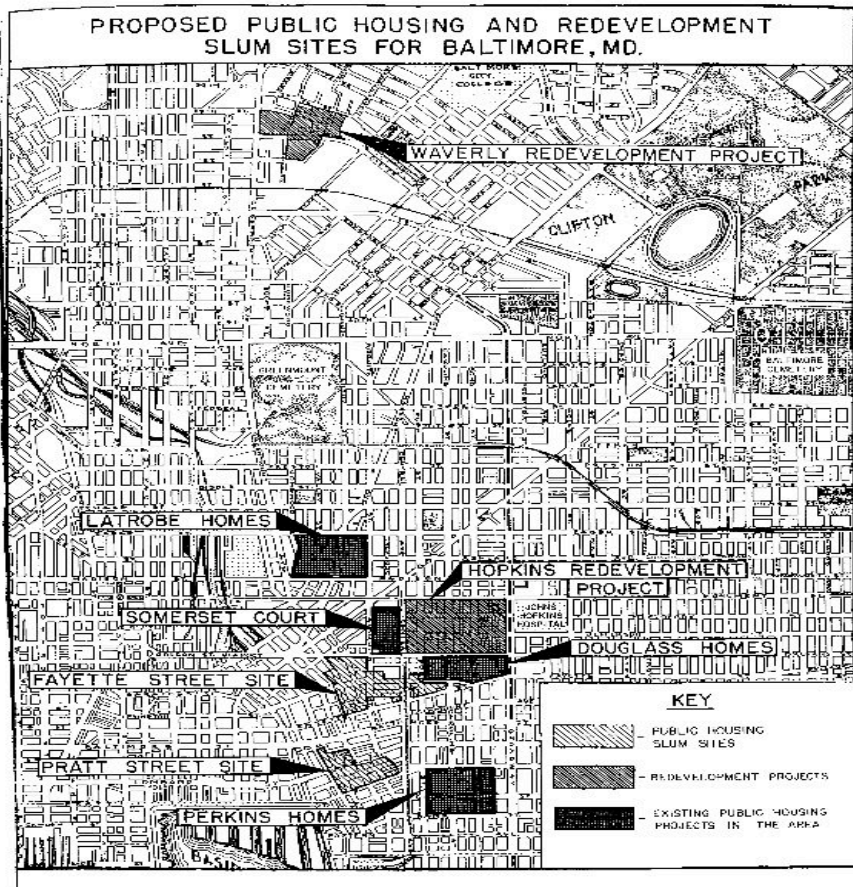
In the 1950’s public housing became a major source of relocation housing for the poorest of those displaced by urban renewal.

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.”

- ✓ Clarence Mitchell, Jr. and NAACP ask the federal urban renewal agency to withdraw federal funds from Baltimore because its “slum clearance and redevelopment program...places the full strength of the Federal government behind a policy of rigid segregation in that city...”
- ✓ 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.

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.

- 1951: HABC rules out 39 alternative locations because Cherry Hill remains the only politically acceptable vacant land site for Negro housing.
- “Any other sites would either be highly undesirable from a planning point of view or would precipitate a major political controversy.”
- HABC builds Cherry Hill Extension II (known as Cherry Hill 17).
- Families displaced by Broadway/Hopkins urban renewal project and Russell Street expressway relocated to Cherry Hill.

To: Mr. Oliver C. Winston

From: Philip Seeling

Date: 7/16/51

Subject: Alternate Vacant Sites for Negro Occupancy

In accordance with your request, this memorandum has been prepared to summarize our past studies and efforts to discover one or more suitable vacant sites for Negro occupancy which could be used to supplement the Negro housing already programmed for the Cherry Hill neighborhood, or as a substitute location for the approximately 350 dwelling units in Project MD 2-17.

Additional vacant sites for Negro occupancy have been one of our prime concerns since we first started looking for project sites no further back as the summer of 1948. This effort was intensified in the spring and summer of 1949 when it became apparent that Congress would probably approve a new housing program. Renewed studies of the vacant site problem were carried on during the fall of 1949 and the winter of 1949-50 when an extended controversy developed over the first vacant site announced by the Authority. While there was not, during this period, any opposition to the selection of the Cherry Hill site, nevertheless, there has always been, within the Authority itself, a feeling that it would be advantageous to have two Negro vacant sites, preferably on opposite sides of the City, rather than concentrate our entire vacant site program for Negro occupancy in the Cherry Hill area. Even after the Cooperation Agreement was approved by the City Council in March of 1950 and the controversy over sites simmered down, we continued to explore all possibilities for substitute vacant sites for Negro occupancy.

All of these studies mentioned above led to the selection of 39 possible locations for vacant sites, for either white or Negro occupancy. These 39 possibilities are shown on the attached map. Detailed investigation of each of these possibilities indicated that Numbers 1 and 34, both in the Cherry Hill neighborhood, were the only ones which could be selected for Negro occupancy with some degree of assurance that a political storm would not ensue. The southern half of Site #27, for example, would appear to be about as thoroughly isolated from surrounding development as is possible within the City limits, and yet this is the area that precipitated the well-known Tarring Run controversy during the War.

Site #1 was our original tentative selection in the Cherry Hill area, but it had to be abandoned prior to the passage of the Housing Act of 1949 when it was discovered that part of it had been acquired by a Negro builder for development and that the remaining part presented major severing difficulties. Site #34 was therefore selected as the location for both MD 2-12 and MD 2-17.

Conversion of Fairfield Homes to black occupancy

- 1954: Before Brown decision, HABC plans conversion of Fairfield white war housing project to Negro public housing occupancy. Change is designed to produce more Negro housing to meet urgent relocation housing need.
- Fairfield selected because adjacent to black enclave and deemed undesirable to whites.

INTRODUCTION

This report is a preliminary survey prepared for the purpose of assembling in one place certain pertinent basic data regarding the disposition of Fairfield Homes War Housing Project. These findings are not intended to be conclusive, as no attempt is made to prove that one plan of disposition is more practical than any other. Rather, factual data has been drawn together which was secured by means of personal visits to the area, studying accumulated statistics and by interviews with representatives of the Department of Education, the Staff of the Planning Commission, and staff members of the Housing Authority. Care has been exercised in all personal contacts to emphasize that any possible proposals regarding the future of the project should be treated with the utmost discretion. There is every reason to believe that such requests will be respected by all concerned.

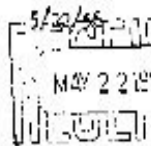
As further progress is made toward disposition, it is anticipated that this preliminary report will need supplementation and answers developed for specific questions or supporting information secured to lend weight to proposed courses of action.

PL 031580

Mr. Ellis Ash

Edgar M. Ewing

Planning Meeting on Westport Desegregation



The following individuals met on May 21, 1966 in the Tenancy and Education Boardroom for a preliminary discussion of the application of the desegregation program in Westport Houses: Franklyn Hochreiter, Clyde Clarke, Bill Smith, Bob Hendrickson, Harry Weiss, Bob Meyer, Father Egan, and the writer. Ellis Ash was also present for a few introductory remarks. He opened the meeting by indicating that even though there had been considerable experience in the authority for planning programs of desegregation in various projects, each new project presented a new and different challenge and required the same amount of thought as has been given during the initial ones. It is important that the many facets of the undertaking be coordinated as is customary.

The first order of business seemed to be the settlement of an acceptable date for moving the first family. After considering the number of applications, the rent period, the holiday of May 30, and several other factors, it was decided that leading interviews would be held with the first families on May 31 and June 1, and that plans would be made to move the first family into the project on _____.

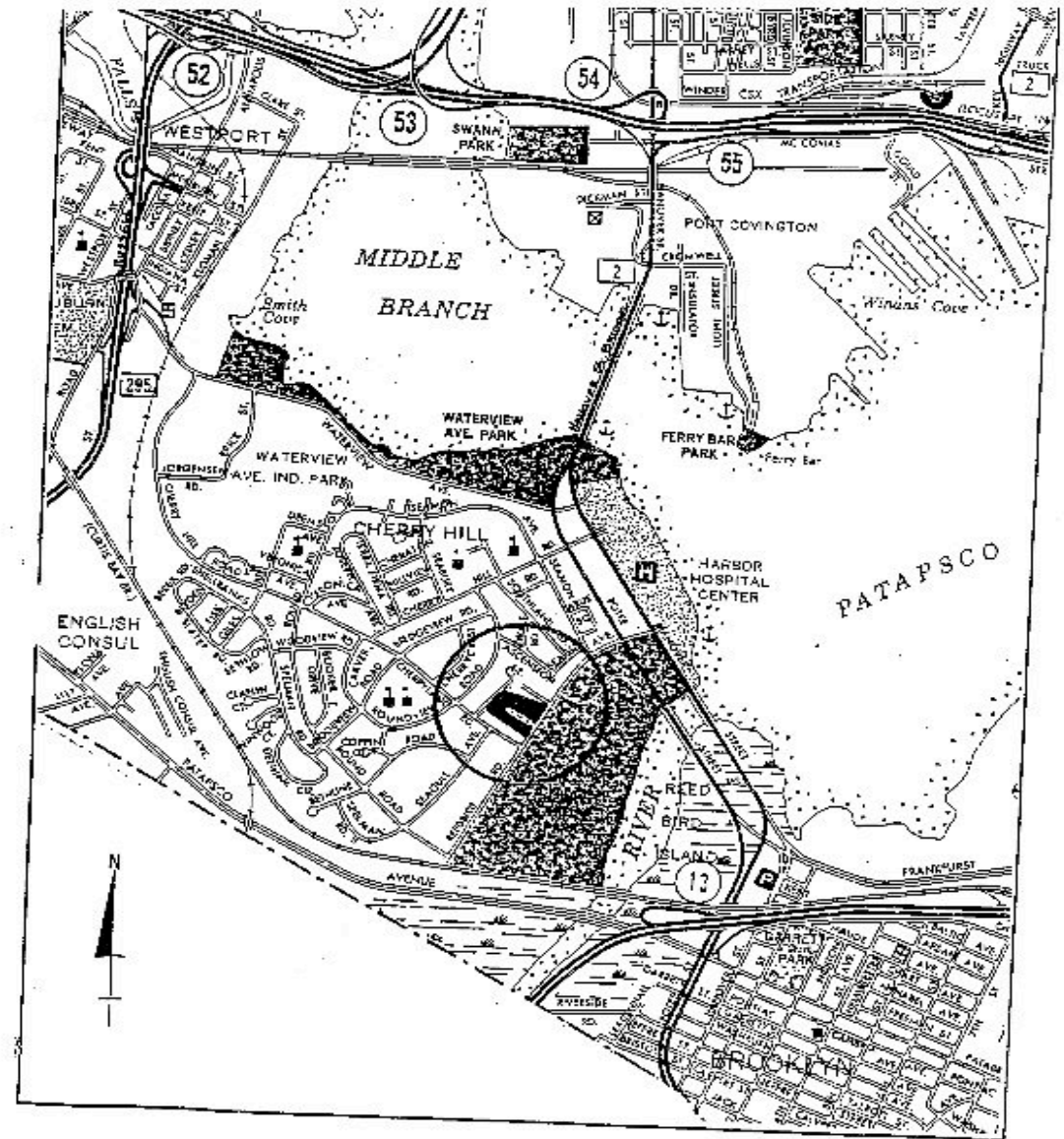
In order that all tenants living in the project might be notified in advance, Bob Meyer was asked to review the letter which had been used in other projects, making the necessary revisions, and discussing the final with Bill Smith, with the end in view of sending the letter to the tenants on Saturday, May 26. This will permit the receipt of the letter on Monday, May 28.

Frank Hochreiter was asked to telephone the detective agency and make the necessary tentative plans for their services, to begin on _____. This service will be engaged for a two-week period. Arrangements will be made for project personnel to cooperate with the detective agency and arrangements will be made to have some staff present on weekends.

Ed Ewing and Bob Hendrickson were asked to make the police contact. It was agreed that Chief Inspector Ford should be telephoned first, but that, for strategy purposes, Commissioner Hagbron should be spoken to personally about the planned move. After the contact is made with the Central Police Department, Captain Harroch of the Southwestern District will be visited by representatives of the Central Office, and also the housing manager, Bill Smith. Arrangements should be made to see the Magistrate of that district also.

- After Brown decision, HABC announces “desegregation” policy.
- Fairfield, Latrobe, Perkins and Westport, white projects located next to black areas, were selected for implementation of the new policy. They quickly changed from all white to all black. This provided urgently needed housing for blacks while avoiding the the controversy of finding sites for black-occupied housing.
- Brooklyn, Claremont and O’Donnell, all located in white areas, remained all white until 1967, when civil rights activists demanded they be integrated. As of 1995, they were still 60% white, despite a waiting list that was more than 90% black.
- No attempt was ever made to integrate Cherry Hill and other de jure Negro projects.

- In 1981 HABC purchased a distressed FHA property, Patapsco Park Apartments and renamed it Charles K. Anderson Village.
- With this addition to the inventory, the number of public housing units in Cherry Hill climbed above 1,700.
- It has been said that this is the largest concentration of public housing east of Chicago.



Charles K. Anderson Village
722 Reebird Ave. - 21225

C. K. ANDERSON

073

ITUD-30329

- **In 1987, HABC began relocating residents from Fairfield Homes due to environmental hazards.**
- **In 1997, HABC began relocating families from public housing in Cherry Hill.**
- **432 units have been demolished in Cherry Hill Extensions I and II and Charles K. Anderson over the objections of the Cherry Hill Homes Tenant Council.**
- **A major justification cited for demolition is the excessive density of public housing units in the community.**

CHARLES K. ANDERSON VILLAGE

DEMOLITION / DISPOSITION
APPLICATION

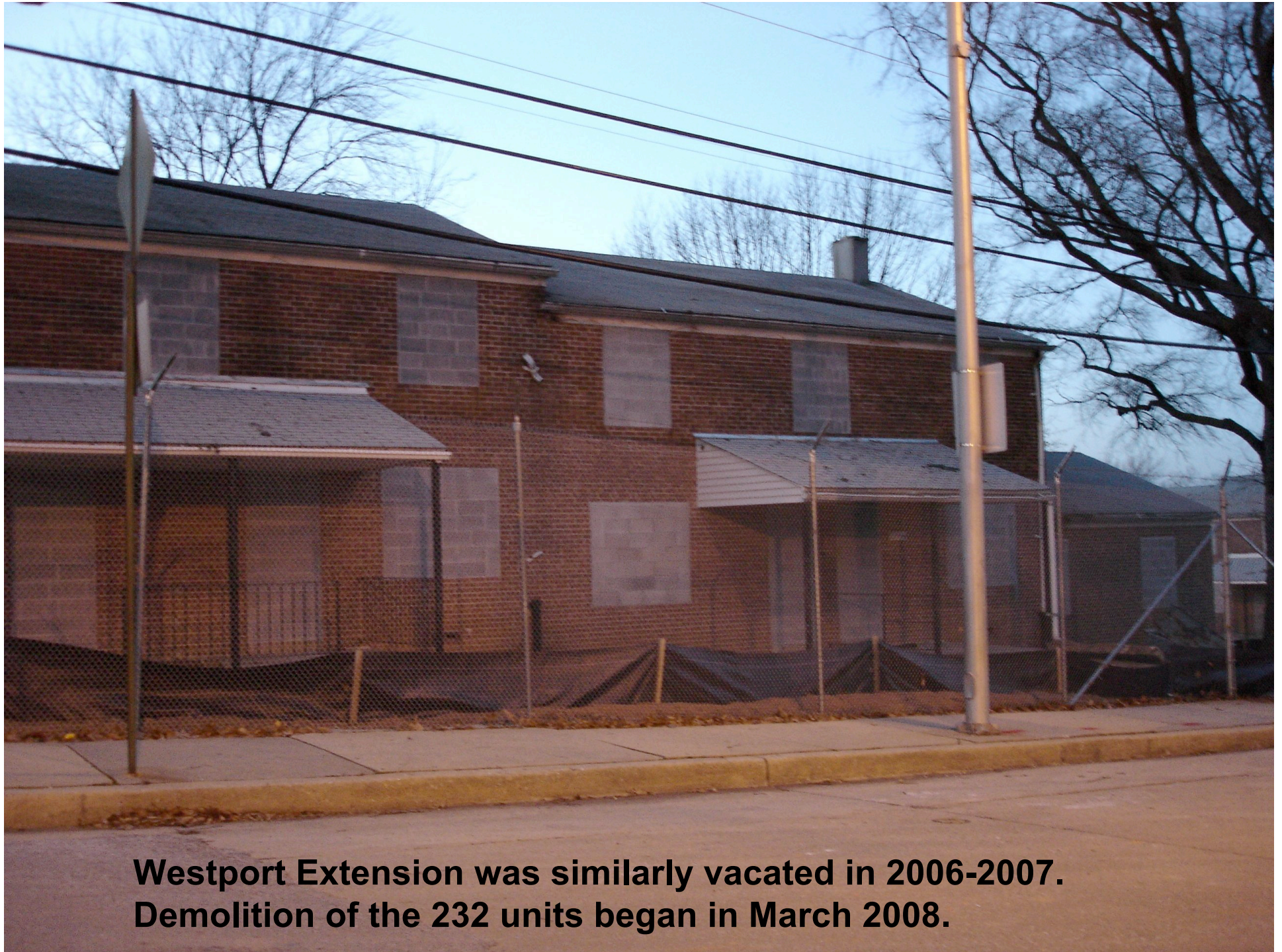
SUBMITTED BY

THE HOUSING AUTHORITY OF
BALTIMORE CITY

PAUL T. GRAZIANO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JUNE 2002

HUD-30298



**Westport Extension was similarly vacated in 2006-2007.
Demolition of the 232 units began in March 2008.**