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Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr.
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Victor L. Hoskins
Secretary
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Deputy Secretary

D·H·C·D
MARYLAND DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
& COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

February 26, 2004

Honorable Jack B. Johnson
County Executive, Prince George's County
14741 Governor Oden Bowie Drive
Upper Marlboro, Maryland 20772

RE: AFRICAN-AMERICAN RESOURCES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND
Multiple Property Documentation
Abram Hall, Butler House, Calloway House, Ridgley Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall
Prince George's County, Maryland

Dear County Executive Johnson:

The above referenced property was considered by the Governor's Consulting Committee for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places on February 17, 2004. The Committee recommends nomination of the property. The next step in the process involves final preparation of the application materials by the Trust for submission to the National Register office in Washington. You will be advised in writing of the decision of the National Register on the nomination.

Sincerely,

Peter E. Kurtze
Administrator,
Evaluation and Registration

PEK/jmg
cc: State Clearinghouse #MD
Ms. Betty Bird

NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

_X_ New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African-American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

African-American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland

C. Form Prepared by

name/title	Betty Bird				
organization	Betty Bird & Associates			date	October 2003
street & number	2607 24th St. NW, Suite 3			telephone	(202) 588-9033
city or town	Washington, D.C.	state	n/a	zip code	20008

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date: 2-1-05

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets *in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.0. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE/HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Prince George's County, Maryland boasts a wealth of historic resources that anchor this rapidly growing jurisdiction adjacent to Washington, D.C. These resources, which range from the stabilized ruins of slave quarters at Northampton in Largo, to more modern properties such as the town of Greenbelt, provide the County with a sense of place, time, and historical development. Within this universe of cultural resources, properties associated with African American history possess overarching significance to the County.[1]

During the latter decades of the 20th century, numerous academic disciplines focused increased attention on issues of race, class, and gender. This emphasis sometimes obscures the broader role ethnic groups have played in what was once the mainstream historical narrative of local and American history. Focus on small areas of conflict can make it more difficult to integrate local developments into the broader whole. Similarly, conceptualizing African American resources in Prince George's County as "black history" inhibits historical understanding.

African Americans are integral to the narrative of Prince George's County history and to what makes Prince George's County distinctive today. The unique set of circumstances that shaped Maryland's famed "middle temperament" left an indelible imprint on the African American experience in the County. African Americans first arrived in Maryland on the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. By 1720, one quarter of Maryland planters owned slaves; by 1760, this percentage had risen to half. By 1850, Maryland had more free blacks than any other state, with over 29,000 living in Baltimore.[2] In 1860, free and enslaved African Americans constituted 25% of the state's population. However, unlike other states with large African American populations, the power structure in Maryland was dominated by mercantile, rather than agricultural interests. Consequently, despite considerable southern sympathy, Maryland did not secede. Thus Maryland's large African American population was denied many of the protections and political benefits of Reconstruction. Although the Freedmen's Bureau was active in the state, constitutional amendments that gave African Americans specific legal protections and rights in the former Confederacy did not apply to Maryland. Because Maryland remained in the Union, most of its white citizens could still vote and run for political office. The political vacuum that allowed former slaves to hold elective office in other parts of the South did not exist in this border state.

Within Maryland, Prince George's County occupied a unique position. By 1660, European settlers, their slaves, and indentured servants moved north into what is now Prince George's County. In 1850, there were over 11,000 slaves in the County, a number that had remained fairly constant since 1790 and was the highest numerical population of any Maryland

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[1] Throughout this text various terms will be used to describe African Americans. While "African American" has been the preferred term for many years, over the course of the 19th and 20th century, other terms were equally favored. Racially sensitive people have considered "Negro," "colored," "race men," "black," and "Afro-American," appropriate in the past. Consequently, these other terms will appear in the text, particularly within their chronological context. For example, "colored schools" was the common term used to describe the separate school system established for African Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The words "black" and "white" will appear in lower case.

[2] Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament,* p. 781.

County.[3] As with Calvert and Charles County, the African American population exceeded the white population. In 1850, there were 12,648 African Americans in Prince George's County, of whom 1,138 were free, and 11,510 slaves. The white population totaled 8,901.[4] By 1870, over 45% of the population of the County was African-American, a percentage similar to Anne Arundel County and the rest of Southern Maryland.[5]

Thus the history of Prince George's County cannot be interpreted without acknowledging the significant role African Americans played in that history. During the 18th and 19th centuries, African Americans constituted the labor force that fueled the County's agricultural prosperity. Enslaved laborers and tenant farmers underpinned the agricultural system of the County. The economic value of slaves as personal assets and the wealth their labor created made many of the noteworthy achievements of 19th century Prince George's County residents possible.

Prince George's County's relationship with the District of Columbia, coupled with the District's unique importance to African Americans, further shaped the County's destiny. Washington, D.C. held special significance for all African Americans. As with Baltimore, its large antebellum free black community played a leadership role for the race. During the late 19th and early 20th century, African Americans throughout the country viewed the District of Columbia as the cultural center of black America.[6] The cultural and economic opportunities that the city offered made it a magnet for African Americans after the Civil War. The post-Civil War expansion of the federal government and African American participation in Congress opened the city for individual advancement. In the years after the Civil War, government employment provided for a degree of professionalism and security found in few other cities. The cultural and intellectual life of the city also formed a powerful draw. In addition to the social foundation established by Washington's large, free black population in the years before the Civil War, Howard University (founded 1867) provided an intellectual center and job opportunities for educated African Americans.

Improvements in transportation further strengthened the connection between Washington, D.C. and Prince George's County in the 20th century. Beginning in the late 19th century, the development of rail and streetcar lines connecting Prince George's County with Annapolis, Baltimore, and Washington facilitated suburban growth. African Americans constituted an increasingly important element of the County's 20th century suburban growth. Early in the 20th century, African American communities such as North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, and Glenarden developed along transportation arteries, attracting many new African American residents to the County.

By 1940, the explosive growth of the Washington suburbs had transformed Prince George's County. Lured by inexpensive housing, Washington workers flocked to the County. By 1955, the assessed wealth of the whole population in Prince George's and Montgomery County began exceeding that of Baltimore City and the rest of Maryland.[7] In 1970,

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[3] The total for Prince George's County was slightly higher than Anne Arundel. With its higher population of free blacks, the number of African Americans in Anne Arundel was greater than the number in Prince George's County. Between 1790 and 1850, white population in the County declined by 11%; free blacks increased to 1,138, close to 600%; and the enslaved population increased 3% to 11,510. (Brugger, p. 781).

[4] Calculated from census data in Brugger, p. 781. African Americans outnumbered whites in Charles and Calvert County by a ratio of 2:1.

[5] Brugger, p. 784 adapted from Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912.*

[6] Constance Green, *The Secret City*, p. 20.

[7] Brugger, pp. 794-95.

over 90,000 African Americans lived in Prince George's County, which was home to 55% of all African Americans living in the Washington, D.C. suburbs. In 1990, they constituted 51% of the County's population. The 1992 U.S. Economic Census showed that African Americans in the County owned close to 15,000 businesses, more African American-owned businesses than in any other jurisdiction in Maryland.[8] By 2000, Prince George's County had become the wealthiest majority African American county in the United States with a median household income of $55,256. African Americans constituted 62.7% of the County's population. Clearly, the role of African Americans in the County's history needs further interpretation.

Historic resources associated with African Americans are crucial to this interpretation. As scholarly attention devoted to the more well-studied history of Washington, D.C. shows, traditional methodology relying on written documentation falls short when applied to African Americans. Constance Green pointed out in *Secret City,* her ground-breaking history of African Americans in Washington, D.C., that African Americans have largely been ignored in traditional written sources. Thomas Battle, the curator of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, catalogued and annotated the extensive documentary sources bearing on the history of African Americans in Washington. Battle found that

> essentially the materials reflect the bias that much more attention has been focused upon the problems and negative aspects of black life in Washington than upon the positive aspects of organization and club development, the achievements of groups and individuals, and activist efforts to improve the quality of life in the face of discrimination and indifference.[9]

Historic settlements, buildings, and sites provide an alternate route to understanding and a powerful vehicle for interpreting history. Structures survive as a record of concrete achievement, opening a window to a heritage often neglected in written sources. A close study of these cultural resources provides an important lens for viewing the African American experience in the County. Many of these buildings are the work of African American hands. African Americans built their own Freedmen's schools (none extant in Prince George's County) and constructed churches such as the Union Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Marlboro and the Brooks Methodist Episcopal Church in Croom.[10] African American tenant farmers constructed the Holy Family Roman Catholic Church (1890), an exquisite Carpenter Gothic church in Woodmore.[11] Black carpenters constructed many of the houses in communities such as Fairmount Heights and North Brentwood. Buildings are vital elements for interpreting more recent history as well. The Benjamin and Clara Mitchell House (Van Horn House) in Deanwood illustrates the Mitchells' wide-ranging influence. Leaders in the Muslim faith, the Mitchells hosted prominent figures such as Elijah Mohammed, Mohammed Ali, Malcolm X, and Anwar Sadat.

Similarly, archaeology provides evidence for how people lived in the past. Archaeological investigation is particularly valuable for tracing the enduring African influence in the Chesapeake region. Excavations at Oxon Hill Manor in Oxon Hill uncovered delftware deliberately placed within the walls of a slave quarter, suggesting the influence of West African medicinal and religious practice. The material record that standing structures and archaeological investigation provide

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[8] 1992 Economic Census – Area Profile for Prince George's County Maryland. www.census.gov.

[9] Thomas Cornell Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia: An Annotated Guide" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1982), p. 71.

[10] Susan G. Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 87 and 104.

[11] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 126-27.

can illuminate scant written documentation to yield new historical insight. Thus the physical record that archaeological sites and standing structures furnish is potentially as valuable as written sources, such as Freedmen's Bureau Records and the U.S. Manuscript Census.

FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

Architectural historians commonly understand historic resources within a specific framework shaped by political boundaries and the relatively unchanging nature of buildings. Resources associated with African Americans challenge this framework. Geographic boundaries shaped by political jurisdiction are somewhat arbitrary for a disenfranchised population. Local figures and events must be considered against the broader, national backdrop of constitutional amendments, Supreme Court decisions, and social change. Moreover, the broad reach of the African American press and far-flung family, school, and church networks knit African Americans together across city, state, and regional boundaries.

In a similar manner, any effort to understand historic resources associated with African Americans must come to terms with the process of change. Government policy considers historic preservation a public good because it grounds people with a sense of continuity and a sense of the past. Interpretation is critical to conveying meaning and to making the past live. Buildings most often embody distinct chronological moments – the date of their construction, the date of a specific event, the active life of a prominent person. But buildings can also be vehicles for interpreting what transpires with the passage of time. This reading is particularly important for the African American experience, an experience characterized by rapid and dramatic change. In Prince George's County, African Americans went from slavery to emancipation to Reconstruction to Jim Crow to full civil rights to political and socio-economic dominance within a 200 year span. Evaluation of resources associated with African Americans must take the expectation and importance of physical changes in stride. Alterations often directly document the dynamic of political and social change, which characterizes this community. Far from marring the integrity of a building, these changes are the chips and scrapes reflecting the strategies African Americans adopted to survive within a restricted and ever-shifting environment.

Segregation rooted African Americans in particular places. Rather than moving on, African Americans tended to stay in settlements and precincts that they had claimed. Buildings were continually modified to address current need. Adaptation became more prevalent than new construction of purpose-built structures. Consequently, considerable historical meaning and associations survive, even in the locations of demolished resources and long-vanished settlements. The end of segregation and integration of African Americans into the physical fabric of American life resulted in abandoned schools and neighborhoods, when the places African Americans could inhabit were no longer restricted. Resources associated with segregated and rural communities became increasingly fragile in the face of development pressures that the growth of the Washington metropolitan area created. For these reasons and the importance of their associative -- rather than architectural -- significance, integrity requirements should focus on aspects most closely linked with the associative and interpretive value of these resources.

AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION, CA. 1660 TO 1865

In 1634, the *Ark* and *Dove* landed near St. Mary's City, creating the first English settlement in Maryland. Two indentured African servants were aboard, beginning the inextricable link between white and African American settlement in Maryland. By 1660, European settlers, their slaves, and indentured servants moved north into what is now Prince George's County. Maryland's provincial legislature wasted no time codifying slavery in the young colony. In 1666 the legislature authorized chattel slavery with the presumption that anyone of African descent was a slave. By 1720, one quarter of Maryland planters owned slaves; by 1760 this percentage had risen to half. Nevertheless, antislavery sentiment gained a foothold during the 18th century. By 1777, members of the Society of Friends began manumitting their slaves. The population of free blacks rose throughout the state, particularly in Annapolis and Baltimore. In 1790, there were 164 free blacks in Prince George's County.

Events of the late 18th and early 19th century illustrate the uneasy and unstable situation slavery created in Maryland. Slave uprisings and rumors of insurrection frightened a white population dependent on African American agricultural labor. The growing number of free blacks, the close proximity of blacks and whites, and the increasing number of African Americans as a percentage of the population created an uneasy situation. In 1739, Africans newly arrived in South Carolina broke into a store on the Stono River, armed themselves, killed two dozen whites, and escaped to Florida. The terror the Stono Uprising created extended well beyond the Carolinas. That same year in Prince George's County, authorities thwarted plans for a slave rebellion involving 200 slaves at Poplar Neck near Upper Marlboro. Meeting for worship became the only accepted vehicle for African American public assembly. By 1791 free blacks in Oxon Hill had constructed a meeting house and hosted itinerant preachers. That same year Ezekiel Cooper preached to over 100 people at Oxon Hill.[12] In 1817, Marylanders Francis Scott Key, Robert Goodloe Harper, Robert H. Goldsborough, and others founded the American Colonization Society to resettle blacks in Africa. Prince George's County boasted a local chapter.[13]

In 1831, Nat Turner's Rebellion further confirmed the potential threat posed by an enslaved population. Concerns about slave rebellion and control of a growing African American population led to increasingly restrictive legislation governing assembly and education. In 1832, the Maryland legislature required that only white clergy minister to African Americans outside of Baltimore and Annapolis. They chartered the Maryland Colonization Society and appropriated $20,000 to return free blacks to Africa. The legislature required that African Americans obtain certificates to sell farm products and liquor and restricted the right of free blacks who had left the state to return. In 1845, slave rebellion struck close to Prince George's County. Presumably aided by free blacks from the District of Columbia, over 20 Charles County slaves banded together and traveled as far as Rockville before armed whites overpowered them.[14]

By 1850, Maryland boasted more free blacks than any other state. Concentrated in Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore, this number reached nearly 84,000 by 1860.[15] In 1850 in Prince George's County, there were 1,138 free blacks, a number

[12] Bianca Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, p. 29.
[13] Brugger, p. 213.
[14] Brugger, p. 267.
[15] Brugger, p. 264-65.

that increased to 1,198 in 1860.[16] The 1860 census indicated a wide variety of occupations held by these individuals, including carpenters, midwives, gardeners, brick masons, domestic servants, and barbers.[17] The census revealed that the largest concentrations of free blacks settled in the Vansville, Aquasco, Queen Anne, and Piscataway Election Districts. Piscataway boasted nearly 15% of the County's free black population, which held $13,350 in real and personal property.[18] Nevertheless, even though there were nearly 1,200 free blacks in Prince George's County in 1860, 91% of the County's African Americans were enslaved.[19] In 1857, the Supreme Court reached a decision in the Dred Scott case, ruling that an African American remained a slave after moving into free territory. By essentially deciding that African Americans could never become citizens of the United States, the Court dashed the hopes of free blacks throughout the country.

Throughout this period, Prince George's County became increasingly dependent on tobacco, a product that required considerable agricultural labor. By 1840, the County produced 37.3% of Maryland's tobacco crop. The introduction of South American guano in 1843 replenished the soil for greater tobacco production. By 1860, Prince George's County produced more tobacco than any other county in the state. However, the decline in the price of tobacco prior to the Civil War rendered slavery uneconomical for many Maryland farmers.[20]

By the late 1850s, most of the sectional compromises that held the United States together had unraveled. John Brown's vision of armed slave insurrection and subsequent raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October of 1859 inflamed fears about the influence free blacks exercised over slaves. The threat of free blacks inciting insurrection was particularly grave in Maryland since it was the only slave state in which there were almost as many free blacks as slaves.[21] Moreover, the state's proximity to the District of Columbia's large, well-organized free black community compounded white anxiety.

After the turmoil following Lincoln's election, the secession of southern states, and the Pratt Street Riot of April 19, 1861, Prince George's County petitioned the hastily called House of Delegates demanding immediate secession.[22] Maryland was in the anomalous position of being a slave-holding state dominated by Baltimore's mercantile and manufacturing interests that were reluctant to secede. While Maryland stayed in the Union, many people in the state were sympathetic to the South and over 20,000 enlisted in the Confederate army, only slightly less than the 30,000 Union volunteers.[23] In April 1862, Congress emancipated slaves in the District of Columbia, leading to an exodus of 100 to 200 slaves weekly

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[16] University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. *United States Historical Census Data Browser*. ONLINE. 1998. University of Virginia. Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/. [October 2003].

[17] Occupational listings for African Americans in the U.S. Manuscript Census are not entirely reliable. In some instances, African Americans downgraded their occupations to deflect attention. In others, the biases of enumerators pushed people into less skilled categories.

[18] According to census records, Piscataway had 175 free blacks, constituting 14.6% of Prince George's County's free black population (http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/). The income figure and occupational data are from Bianca Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 21.

[19] http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [October 2003].

[20] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Surve*, p. 106.

[21] Brugger, p. 268.

[22] Brugger, p. 278.

[23] Brugger, pp. 285-286.

from neighboring Montgomery and Prince George's County.[24] On January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves in Confederate states.

Both before and after emancipation, family groups provided one of the keys to survival for both free and enslaved African Americans. Prince George's County boasts two extraordinary family sagas dating from this period. Careful genealogical research has shown how the Quander family can be traced directly back to West Africa. The Plummer family also illustrates the enduring importance of family ties. Cupid Plummer fought in the American Revolution. A free black, Cupid Plummer married a woman who remained a slave. Since all children born of a slave mother were considered slaves, none of his children was free. His son, William Barney, married Sarah Norris, a slave of the Calvert family, who owned Riversdale.[25] John Bowser, a minister, taught William and Sarah's son Adam (b. 1819) to read. Adam Plummer's diary, recently donated to the Smithsonian Institution, provides a remarkable account of African American existence in the antebellum and post-Civil War period.[26]

While the achievements and documented genealogies of these families have personal importance to the families themselves, these genealogies and the individuals they highlight possess a broader significance for African American history in Prince George's County. This small, self-selected segment of the population stands in for the lives of thousands for whom no documentation exists. These individuals and families illuminate broad socio-economic and cultural themes associated with African American life in the County. They provide a glimpse of African American family structure during the period of slavery and trace the slave trade's impact on these families. The very existence of a family structure despite the forces operating against family ties during the period of slavery is astounding. The slave trade, forced breeding, rape, and absence of any state-sanctioned legal or social framework were powerful forces tearing families apart. Genealogies illustrate how the web of kinship operated and continues to operate within the African American community. Since these families have prospered and endured to the present day, the way in which family members interacted with the larger community demonstrates successful survival strategies. Finally, the length of these families' residence in Prince George's County serves as an important reminder of how the history of African Americans is, indeed, the history of the County.

Just as the importance of family and kinship ties shine through this difficult period, so does the important role played by the black church. The roots of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church in Oxon Hill, possibly the oldest documented African American congregation in the County, extend back to 1791. Free blacks in the area constructed a meeting house for worship. Itinerant clergy preached to free blacks at the meeting house in 1791 and 1794. In 1848, St. Paul's Baden established St. Phillip's Chapel (no longer extant) in Aquasco as the first Episcopal Chapel for African Americans.[27]

Few known cultural resources survive to represent the pre-emancipation period. Although divorced from its original context, the Trueman Cabin exemplifies frame slave quarters. Originally part of the 64-acre Trueman Plantation near

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[24] Brugger, p. 299.
[25] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, pp. 80-81.
[26] Adam Plummer's diary offers a cautionary lesson about the importance of oral sources and family history to an understanding of the African American experience. Plummer's written diary confirmed what had long been oral tradition within the family. The correspondence between events recorded in the diary and family lore suggests that oral tradition of African Americans, once dismissed as folklore or legend, should be accorded greater weight.
[27] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 130-131, 109.

Aquasco, the building was moved and reassembled at the Patuxent River Park.[28] Intensive archaeological work at the Northampton plantation site in Largo has provided interpretive material for the era of slavery. Photographed intact by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1936, the brick slave quarter, now a preserved foundation, represents the only known two-family quarter and only known brick quarter to survive in Maryland. The site has been stabilized and reconstructed up to window sill level.[29] The Northampton quarter provides an excellent example of how even much altered historic resources can enrich our heritage, particularly with African American sites. Archival research demonstrated the quarter's association with the Hawkins, Smith, and Pongee families, who continue to live in Prince George's County and worked directly with research and interpretation of the site. As County Historian Susan Pearl wrote in 1996:

> The survival of this type of building, even as an interpretive shell, is highly unusual; the information about the slave and later free families, and about their way of life, together with the physical archaeological information, make the Northampton slave quarters an outstandingly important site.[30]

The Butler House, near Oxon Hill Farm, was constructed around 1853. Built by Henry Alexander Boteler (Butler), a free black from Charles County, the Butler House has remained in the Butler family for over 150 years. While the house has been altered and adapted over the years and is currently in poor condition, it still stands to represent the lives of a successful free black farm family.[31]

[28] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 135.
[29] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 125.
[30] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 126.
[31] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 130.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1865-1872

By the end of the Civil War, African Americans constituted 25% of Maryland's population. Although the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect in 1864, Maryland's slaves were not freed until January 1865, when changes in the Maryland Constitution were adopted. The failure of the Emancipation Proclamation to liberate slaves in Maryland illustrates how federal laws passed to assist former slaves in the secessionist states rarely applied to African Americans outside the former Confederacy. So while slaves in Prince George's County had been subject to the same harsh conditions and hostile racial climate as their counterparts south of the Potomac, with the exception of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, they lacked the enforcement provisions and political opportunities that Reconstruction offered further south. The Democrats who controlled Maryland's state and county governments were not sympathetic to the plight of African Americans.

The activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in Prince George's County left an indelible mark on settlement patterns, education, and community development. Its impact also illustrates how federal actions and national laws directly affected African Americans, even in rural Prince George's County. In March 1865, the United States War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau, to assist newly emancipated African Americans. Essentially a temporary relief agency, the Freedmen's Bureau remained active for seven years. While it implemented Reconstruction in the South with the military backing of the War Department, the Freedmen's Bureau also operated in border states such as Maryland, chiefly fostering schools and settling labor disputes between slaves and their former masters.

The existence of the Freedmen's Bureau was particularly important for African Americans in Prince George's County and Southern Maryland. Former slaves were essentially refugees in their own land. In Prince George's County close to 9,000 emancipated African Americans were left to their own devices.[32] The County's support for the Confederate cause, coupled with the loss of both the slave labor underpinning their agricultural economy and the personal wealth slaves represented, created a climate of intense white hostility. The Freedmen's Bureau provided a federal counterbalance that allowed African Americans to establish settlements. Through their funding of schools, the Freedmen's Bureau became a catalyst for organization of newly formed communities.

Although few structures from the period 1865-1872 remain, the settlements African Americans established during this period endured into the 20th century. Prior to the Civil War, settlements of free blacks were concentrated in Vansville, Aquasco, Queen Anne, and Piscataway. The first communal buildings African Americans in these young communities erected were typically churches and schools. These buildings provided the central focus for these communities and became the institutional glue that held them together. Because of the rural character of Prince George's County, the church and schoolhouse were closely linked. Often the same individuals were trustees of both the churches and the schools. Many had either been free blacks before the Civil War or were descended from free blacks.[33] Frequently the church formed a partnership with the school, providing land for its construction or meeting space for lessons. If the

[32] The 1850 census showed 11,510 slaves in the county. Even granting manumission and escape during the Civil War, the County would still have retained a similar population of recently freed slaves in 1865.

[33] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

Freedmen's Bureau School was completed first, the local congregation worshiped at the school.[34] The church and school, which were often situated close together, formed the physical nucleus that defined the new African American settlements. As with Union Methodist Episcopal Chapel in Upper Marlboro (no longer extant) and John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church in Woodville (original building no longer extant), churches and schools often occupied the same building. On occasion, as in Baden, the Freedmen's Bureau building (no longer extant) served both St. Thomas Methodist meeting house and the local school.[35] This use pattern of housing multiple functions within available space would persist throughout the era of segregation.

Education played a special role for enslaved African Americans, for whom literacy had been forbidden. In the heady days after the Civil War, African Americans lived in a climate ripe with opportunity. African Americans and their white benefactors viewed education as the vehicle for advancing African Americans into the national culture. Education was the linchpin of post-Civil War movements for racial uplift. Both white philanthropy and government philanthropy were directed to educating the mass of freed slaves for a productive role in society. In Prince George's County, the most enduring legacy of Freedmen's Bureau schools may be the communities that formed around them.

The commitment that rural African Americans in Prince George's County made to funding and building schools testifies to their determination and drive. Throughout the United States during this period, education was seldom highly valued in rural, agricultural areas. The hard work and seasonal demands of agricultural labor took precedence over learning. Various movements requiring compulsory education and extending schools beyond the primary grades languished in rural states. In Maryland, for example, school attendance was not compulsory until 1902.[36] Moreover, elites sometimes opposed all public education for its democratizing influence. Little wonder that many of Prince George's County's Colored Schools faced almost insurmountable challenges. The rural character of the County and scattered nature of the settlements diluted the meager resources available to sustain schools and teachers. Isolated settlements such as Sharpersville near Accokeek had difficulty attracting and retaining teachers. Poplar Hill could offer no appropriate place for the teacher to board. More importantly, the hard agricultural life left little time or energy for adults and older children to pursue an education.

The Freedmen's Bureau required community participation. Encouraged by this requirement, African Americans purchased land and formed community organizations to raise funds for churches and schools. The Bureau expected settlements to provide a site for the school, $200 for school construction, and $15/month for the teacher. These were considerable sums at a time when the average family made $120/year.[37] Nevertheless, African Americans in Prince George's County successfully petitioned for ten Freedmen's Bureau schools between 1866 and 1868, although many of them were not constructed until the 1870s. These schools were essentially one-room primary schools focused on literacy skills. While many of the communities sponsoring these schools remain, only the Sharpersville School near Accokeek survives.[38] Freedmen's Bureau Schools in Prince George's County are shown on Figure 2 and include:

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[34] This pattern could be seen at St. Luke's M.E. Church in Meadows (now Andrews Air Force Base) and St. Thomas M.E. Church in Baden.
[35] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 141-142.
[36] Brugger, p. 410.
[37] Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, pp. 56 and 58.
[38] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 137-138.

- Union Institute, Bladensburg
- Marlboro Seminary, Upper Marlboro
- Woodville School, Aquasco
- Meadows School, near Nottingham
- Poplar Hill/St. Thomas School, Baden
- Oxon Hill School, Oxon Hill
- Sharpersville/Sumner School, Accokeek
- Croom School, Croom
- Chapel Hill School, Chapel Hill
- Clinton/Robeystown, Clinton[39]

Establishing and maintaining the schools provided an important vehicle for African American leadership and community organization, nurturing skills that would sustain the population in the future. Prince George's County took over the Colored Schools when the Freedmen's Bureau disbanded in 1872.

African American communities established churches along with schools. As Figure 2 shows, there were more church congregations than schools. Most of these congregations were Methodist or other non-hierarchical Protestant denominations. Although these churches served as sites of worship, the significance of their secular role in African American community formation overshadows their religious function. For example, the community of Rossville, south of Laurel, developed around Queen's Chapel, a Methodist church established in 1868 (original building no longer extant). Queen's Chapel unified a disparate group of industrial laborers and farm workers from the Muirkirk Iron Furnace and nearby farms. Families were spread around the area near Laurel and Beltsville as "Swamp Poodle," a rural enclave in the vicinity. When a local property was subdivided to settle an estate, these families bought 12 of the lots, building on all but one of the lots by 1889.[40]

Because African Americans were systematically denied political participation in civic culture and were banished from public venues, the institutions of church and school functioned as the vehicle for debating and instilling community values. The buildings they constructed provided sites for collective activity. While schools attempted to instill community values, the church was by far the more important vehicle for social control. Churches established and enforced norms related to inappropriate behavior such as drinking, dancing, and fighting. For example, Mary Coakley, the teacher at the Woodville School (original building no longer extant), both conducted Sabbath School and established the local Temperance Society.[41]

Very few physical features from the Freedmen's Bureau period remain. Because the settlement patterns established during this period endured well into the 20th century, these few remaining resources are critical to interpreting this period of African American history in the County. Queen's Chapel cemetery in Rossville, St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg, Union Methodist Episcopal cemetery in Upper Marlboro, John Henry Quander House in Upper Marlboro,

[39] Several of these schools were known under other names. The most common name for the school or the school's geographic location appears in this list.

[40] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 18. Rossville continued to flourish through the 20th century; in 1922 the community constructed a Rosenwald School.

[41] Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, p. 42.

and Carroll Methodist Episcopal Church in Mitchellville are the only known features to remain. Queen's Chapel cemetery (ca. 1868) is associated with the church that united the once-thriving rural community of Rossville, near the Muirkirk Iron Furnace. St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg was purchased in 1872 by the congregation founded by freed slave Sarah Miranda Plummer. Union Methodist Episcopal cemetery (ca. 1865) is associated with the church that served the African American Methodist community in Upper Marlboro. The John Henry Quander House (ca. 1870), situated on Old Crain Highway in Upper Marlboro, is one of the few remaining dwellings from this period. This modest building is an important reminder of the enduring presence of the Quander family in Prince George's County and one of the few known buildings associated with freedmen during the Reconstruction era.[42] The Carroll M.E. Chapel in Mitchellville, which was rebuilt in the 1920s, may contain elements of the original 1870s chapel. The size and scale of this building, which was once the focal point of the Mitchellville community, make it a representative example of the simple, rural chapels that once dotted the county.

[42] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 89-90.

THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION ERA IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1872 TO 1896

The political developments of the post-Reconstruction era set the course of 20th century history. By 1870, the promise of Reconstruction had begun to dim. The dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872 essentially absolved the federal government of responsibility for the newly emancipated African American population. A series of legislative actions and court decisions undermined African American rights throughout the country. In 1878 Congress passed the D.C. Organic Act, disenfranchising both black and white District of Columbia residents. The legislation was widely interpreted as signifying that whites in the District would prefer to lose the right to vote than to grant black men the ballot. In 1883, the Supreme Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. And in 1896, *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the doctrine of separate but equal, providing the legal basis for segregation. During this period African Americans in Prince George's County actively participated in party politics. More importantly, they continued to develop institutions that provided support for the community, particularly the mutual benefit society.

African Americans quickly aligned themselves with the Republican Party, traditionally the champions of the black race. The party of Lincoln, Republicans led the battle to end slavery and maintain the Union. Republicans also championed Reconstruction in the South. In 1867, Maryland developed a new state constitution that denied the franchise to African American men. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment extended the right to vote to former male slaves.[43] Fifteen hundred African Americans immediately registered to vote in Prince George's County. That same year William Beckett, the son of a free black, became the first African American in the County to run for political office. Though unsuccessful in his quest to sit on the Bladensburg Town Commission, Beckett's achievement marked an important milestone in African American political participation. Beckett also exemplified one of several ways free blacks and their descendants provided community leadership.[44]

Although Maryland had an active Republican Party, Democrats controlled both the statehouse and the governorship until 1896, when Republican Lloyd Lowndes became governor. Because Maryland stayed in the Union, African Americans never enjoyed the rights and political power that African Americans in the South did. A large majority of white men retained their right to vote and to hold political office. During the Reconstruction years, southern states elected a number of African American office-holders, including two U.S. Senators, 20 Congressmen, and numerous state legislators. In contrast, unlike southern states, no African American in Maryland held elective office in these years. Nevertheless, African Americans remained loyal to the Republican Party, especially since the Democratic Party provided a home for some of the strongest proponents for restricting their rights. In the 1880s, African Americans achieved greater success gaining the right for black men to serve on juries and securing the right of admission to the Maryland Bar.

African Americans in Maryland were politically dependent, whether they participated in the Democratic or Republican Party. In Prince George's County, white Republicans formed a coalition with blacks only to the degree required to weaken the Democratic Party's hold on County and state power. Democrats respected black political interests only when doing so strategically held back Republican advances. Neither party offered blacks substantive power during this period.

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[43] While the amendment stated that suffrage could not be denied on the basis of former status, it left requirements for voting rights to the states. This jurisdictional authority allowed states to impose literacy requirements and poll taxes that disenfranchised both African Americans and immigrants.

[44] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

Ultimately, the singular political concession the Republican Party made to African Americans, who were responsible for their majority in several counties, was naming an African American as an alternate delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1882.

During this bleak period after the Freedmen's Bureau was dismantled, African Americans in Prince George's County established mutual benefit associations to provide for their welfare. Part of a nationwide trend, these organizations functioned as relief societies, collecting dues to care for the sick and to provide for the widows and orphans of members.[45] The Rebecca Lodge, chartered in 1877, was among the first, constructing Abraham Hall in Rossville in 1889.[46] In 1880, the African American Roman Catholic community in Upper Marlboro established the St. Mary's Beneficial Society for financial and burial assistance for African American Roman Catholics.[47] In 1887, the Society purchased land in Upper Marlboro, completing the present St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall in 1892. Briefly consecrated for church services, the building served as the site for numerous local Republican conventions. The Good Samaritan Lodge (no longer extant), constructed ca. 1889, served as the first focal point for the small African American farming community at Brookland, near Glenn Dale. The congregation that constructed Dorsey Methodist Episcopal Chapel (1900) first met for worship at the Lodge.[48] The Bladensburg Burying Association was typical of burial societies, which provided funeral expenses for their members.[49] The survival of buildings associated with these benevolent societies testifies to the importance these structures held as sites of public accommodation for African Americans during the years of segregation. For a race excluded from public and private facilities such as restaurants, theaters, and government offices, these private structures provided an important locus for public life.

More buildings stand from the 1872-1896 period than from earlier periods. Among the extant resources are cemeteries, a school, churches, fraternal halls, and a house. Nevertheless, there are few physical features left to interpret this important theme. As with the Freedmen's Bureau period, cemeteries survive as vivid reminders of the 19th century settlements they once served and the vanished churches with which they were associated. St. Phillips Church in Aquasco was the first Episcopal mission for African Americans in the County. Its site, surviving bell cote, and cemetery continue to bear witness to its 19th century congregation. The cemetery for Grace M.E. Church in Chapel Hill marks the location of that rural community as does the cemetery associated with the Mount Hope A.M.E. Church in Camp Springs. The unmarked, sandstone markers of the Cherry Hill cemetery in Beacon Heights constitute a rare surviving example of a family, rather than congregational, cemetery.

The Sharpersville School stands as the oldest African American school in the County, marking the site of the Accokeek community. Two fraternal halls survive to represent the African American mutual benefit society, an important property type that first appears during this period. Abraham Hall (1889) in Rossville and St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall (1892) in Upper Marlboro provided sites of public assembly for their communities. The Holy Family Roman Catholic Church,

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[45] Although the Prince George's County organizations remained local in nature, fraternal organizations in Richmond and other cities expanded to the national level, providing insurance and banking services to African Americans. (The United Order of True Reformers, a large national Richmond-based organization, held the lot on which the T.B. School was constructed in the 1920s.) (Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey,* p. 140)

[46] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 11 and 19.

[47] Alvin Thorton and Karen Williams Gooden, *Like a Phoenix I'll Rise*, p. 102.

[48] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 119.

[49] Thorton and Gooden, *Like a Phoenix I'll Rise,* p. 102.

constructed in 1890, is a handsome Carpenter Gothic church in Woodmore. The Thomas Matthews House (1888) in Rossville is an example of a dwelling from this period. Together with Abraham Hall and the Queen's Chapel cemetery, the house commemorates the early community of Rossville's activity during this period.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON AND GOVERNMENT SPONSORED SEGREGATION, 1896-1916

In 1896, the United States Supreme Court upheld *Plessy v. Ferguson*, finding that the Fourteenth Amendment was "not ... intended to abolish distinctions based on color or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a co-mingling of the two races." This decision underpinned segregation and Jim Crow laws until the passage of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act. The political and social ramifications of this decision and the restrictive laws that followed structured African American life in Prince George's County for the better part of the 20th century. By restricting African American opportunity, the social and political culture of racial discrimination excluded African Americans from American life. Existing African American settlements in the County solidified and African Americans continued to use and reuse the settlements and facilities they had claimed during the Reconstruction era.

By 1893, African American men comprised one-third of the registered voters in Prince George's County. Of these 2,175 voters, those in the Queen Anne and Upper Marlboro election districts outnumbered whites. The following year over 50% of the delegates Prince George's County sent to the state Republican convention were black.[50] The stunning 1896 gubernatorial upset that elected Lloyd Lowndes, a Cumberland Republican who opposed Civil Rights, was largely due to African American support. (Despite his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1875, African Americans supported Lowndes because the Democratic candidate was even less sympathetic.) When Democrats recovered control of Maryland in the 1903 election, they quickly instituted Jim Crow legislation. In 1904, Maryland passed laws mandating segregation on railroads and steamships. The General Assembly also tried to disenfranchise African Americans, immigrants, and illiterate voters through various legislative amendments to the state constitution. The Poe Amendment of 1904 contained "grandfather" clauses, requiring that each voter be a direct descendant of a voter registered prior to 1869, one year before the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment granted the vote to former slaves. It also required that voters be able to explain any provision of the Maryland Constitution. Although voters rejected the amendment in a 1905 referendum, Democrats quickly regrouped with the Straus Election Law of 1907, which introduced the requirement of property ownership. Once again, the amendment failed to pass the statewide referendum held in 1909. The subsequent Digges Amendment gave the vote to all white men but required that everyone else demonstrate property ownership in order to register. Again, voters defeated the amendment, electing Republican Phillip Lee Goldsborough as governor.

African Americans gradually became disenchanted with the Republican Party on both the national and local level. As the South's political power increased, conciliation with southern whites became an important key to political power. Theodore Roosevelt's response to the Brownsville Race Riots of 1906 and the decline of African American political appointments during the Taft Administration demonstrated that the Republican Party would compromise African American interest. During these years, the Republican administration institutionalized discrimination and segregation at the federal level, cutting the number of positions open to African Americans and creating Jim Crow facilities within the federal workplace.[51]

African Americans in Prince George's County would have been acutely aware of these developments. The *Washington Bee* provided extensive coverage and political analysis of national events. Moreover, a number of men in close-in settlements, such as North Brentwood, were employees of the Federal government. On the local level, in 1916,

[50] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 64.
[51] Green, *The Secret City*, pp. 155-169.

Republicans perpetrated an egregious slight to African American Jeremiah Hawkins, a North Brentwood activist involved in Republican politics in the County for over 36 years. Hawkins had rallied wavering African American support for former Republican governor Goldsborough's bid for the U.S. Senate in 1916. In exchange, County Republicans elected Hawkins as a delegate to the 1916 Republican National Convention. The State convention, held in Baltimore's segregated Rennert Hotel, reduced Hawkins's status to that of an alternate. The *Washington Bee*, which covered Maryland congressional elections, attributed local shifts of African American political allegiance away from the Republican Party to the treatment accorded Hawkins.[52]

As their exclusion from the Hotel Rennert demonstrated, African Americans participating in party politics posed a dilemma in a segregated culture. Once again, the African American church provided a focal point for community activity and political organizing. Schools, private homes, and fraternal halls also served as sites for meetings.[53]

The historic theme of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the institution of government-sanctioned segregation so colors all subsequent events that it is set forth as background more than for its association with particular properties. Properties constructed after 1896 are likely to be closely associated with 20th century suburban life and 20th century education, as well as with the institution of segregation.

[52] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, pp. 74-76.
[53] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY: THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, ca. 1896 - 1964

One of the defining characteristics of Prince George's County in the 20th century has been its development as a suburb of Washington. African Americans have played an important role in this story. Beginning in the late 19th century, African Americans established nine communities along trolley routes and railroads running to the District of Columbia (See Figure 3). These communities attracted an upwardly mobile population with stable occupations. Affiliations such as kinship, professional, or school networks often directed settlement. Towns such as North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, Glenarden, and Eagle Harbor all established municipal governments in the early-20th century. Other settlements such as Ardwick, Fletchertown/Duckettsville, Lincoln, Lakeland, and Highland Park coalesced around schools and African American residential areas. While the earliest suburbs in North Brentwood and Fairmount Heights were subdivided by whites, African Americans quickly assumed responsibility for civic function. By 1908, African Americans were developing and subdividing land themselves in Lincoln. William Bean, an African American, developed a waterfront community, Eagle Harbor, as a resort community for African Americans. Located along the Patuxent River, the community also incorporated and formed its own government.

Nearby Washington, D.C. has long attracted African Americans. During the late 19th and early 20th century African Americans throughout the country viewed the District of Columbia as the cultural center of black America.[54] The cultural and economic opportunities that the city offered made it a magnet for African Americans after the Civil War. The post-Civil War expansion of the federal government and African American participation in Congress opened the city for individual advancement. In the years after the Civil War, federal government employment provided for a degree of professionalism and security found in few other cities. For example, certain high level patronage posts such as Recorder of Deeds were traditionally held by African Americans.[55]

Much of the early suburban development in Prince George's County is inextricably linked to the continued growth of black middle class employment in the District. As Howard University, the D.C. Colored Schools, and the federal government created new jobs for skilled and unskilled workers, teachers, and professionals, the ranks of this new middle class swelled.[56] African Americans in Prince George's County maintained close ties with Washington; the *Washington Bee* covered events in Fairmount Heights, Croom, Lakeland, and Lincoln on a regular basis.[57]

African American settlement patterns in the District facilitated suburban settlement in nearby Prince George's County. While Washington offered a powerful social and economic draw for African Americans, chronic housing shortages affecting both blacks and whites alike plagued the city. The situation for African Americans was particularly dire. Former slaves flooded the city during and after the Civil War, overwhelming the ability of the free black community to provide for them. In the late 19th and early 20th century, as development moved north of Florida Avenue and across Rock Creek, much of the newly subdivided land was subject to racial covenants restricting ownership to white gentiles.

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[54] Greene, *The Secret City*, p. 177.
[55] *WPA Guide to Washington, D.C.* (1937), p. 500.
[56] Information on Washington, D.C. has been taken from the United Planning Organization's unpublished study, "African American Architects and Builders in D.C.," written by Betty Bird & Associates.
[57] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 109.

Settlement patterns in the District drew African Americans eastward across the Anacostia River and into the northeast quadrant of Washington, D.C.[58] Land on small farms was subdivided and houses constructed.

The streetcars that promoted development outside the original boundaries of the City of Washington intensified development in the eastern portions of the city and spurred suburban development in Prince George's County. By 1898 the City & Suburban Railway, which ran along Rhode Island Avenue, connected North Brentwood (originally Randalltown) with the District.[59] In 1908, the Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis Railway opened its main line, which ran through Prince George's County near Seat Pleasant and then east of Bowie.[60] That same year the town of Lincoln was platted and the Fairmount Heights Municipal Improvement Association formed. Most of these subdivisions were platted with small lots, presumably to make them affordable for their market. The size of a house might depend on the number of lots its owner purchased. For example, most of the four-square houses occupied two lots. Although some larger lots appear, many people appear to have preferred combined lots.

North Brentwood (formerly known as Randalltown), platted in 1896, was the first land subdivided for African Americans in Prince George's County. In a pattern that was later followed in Fairmount Heights, whites sympathetic to African Americans purchased a parcel of land, which they then subdivided for sale to African Americans. Small lots allowed people with various income levels to buy land, combining lots to create larger house sites. In 1887, Capt. Wallace A. Bartlett purchased land near the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia for subdivision. Bartlett, who had commanded Colored Troops during the Civil War, encouraged African Americans to purchase some of the smaller, less desirable lots in the northern section of the subdivision where the Randall family had settled earlier. In 1898, the trolley line was extended to the community. By 1904, the community boasted 23 houses, a school, and a church congregation, which met in one of the member's homes.[61]

The development of Fairmount Heights in 1900 proceeded in similar fashion. Allan C. Clark and Robinson White, both white, purchased farms and subdivided the land for housing. As with North Brentwood, Clark was particularly sympathetic to the plight of African Americans. His father, Appleton Prentiss Clark, "took a great interest in the colored people of the District." Born in Boston, the senior Clark was an active Republican who promoted African American voting rights.[62] A majority of the people who bought lots in Fairmount Heights worked for government agencies. In 1908, the *Washington Bee* noted that "most of the residents of Fairmount Heights are employees and business men of some sort in the city of Washington, and it is easy to see from the appearance of their beautiful homes just the class of

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[58] *WPA Guide to Washington, D.C.* (1937), pp. 498-499. In Northeast, the *WPA Guide* noted African American settlements in Benning, Burrville, Brightwood, and areas around Fort Stevens and Fort Slocum.

[59] Pearl, *African American Historic Sites*, pp. 24, 35.

[60] Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History*, p. 12.

[61] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 24. Bartlett's troops were chiefly drawn from Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. (Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 111)

[62] John Clagett Proctor, "Figures in First Washington Council," June 17, 1934. Clark also sat on the D.C. Council. He was particularly concerned with public schools and was instrumental in introducing German to the curriculum. Allan Clark's brother, architect Appleton P. Clark, Jr. (1865-1955), pioneered low cost housing in the District. A director of the Washington Sanitary Housing Company and Washington Sanitary Improvement Commission, he provided over 1400 units of low and moderate income rental housing.

people they are."[63] Residents included a cross-section of the African American middle class: architects, a carpenter, a brickmason, a Pullman porter, Supervisors of Colored Schools, a White House steward, messengers at the Government Printing Office and Bureau of Engraving,[64] Another common factor early settlers shared was a connection with Tuskegee Institute. William Sidney Pittman, who married Booker T. Washington's daughter Portia, was a Tuskegee graduate as was James F. Armstrong.[65]

Later towns such as Lincoln and Eagle Harbor were subdivided and developed by African Americans. In 1908, Thomas Junius Calloway, a Washington attorney and businessman, platted Lincoln as a semi-rural retreat for African Americans living in the District, Annapolis, and Baltimore. Located along the newly opened Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Railroad, Lincoln was centered on a small, crescent-shaped park opposite the railroad station. The rural town lay within a wooded setting a short distance from a school. Calloway credited Washington African American architect Isaiah Hatton with establishing high architectural standards for the community. He also stated that the community had placed "practically all our business of designing into his hands."[66]

In 1910, William R. Smith began assembling land for Glenarden, a town along the Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis Electric Railroad (WB&A). The 1913 plat for Glenarden displays a plan similar to Lincoln with lots radiating out from a semi-circular park. By 1920, 25 families had settled in Glenarden. Most of the residents were railroad employees, working for either the Pennsylvania Railroad or the WB&A.[67] In 1922, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church opened and the community constructed a Rosenwald school. Both were situated in the section of Glenarden known as Ardwick Park.[68]

In 1903, William Stanton Wormley, scion of Washington's Wormley family, one of the most prominent African American families in the country, purchased an existing house near the road to Bladensburg. The house was situated near Ardwick Station, a stop along the Pennsylvania Railroad line between Washington and Baltimore. Wormley, who was an artist, taught in the D.C. Colored School system. His Ardwick house functioned as a country house, providing a weekend retreat where Wormley and African American professionals could enjoy recreational pursuits such as tennis and trapshooting. Several of Wormley's friends then purchased or constructed nearby houses, establishing the present small community.

For the most part, all of these communities shared a set of common characteristics. The subdivisions (North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, Lincoln, Glenarden) consisted of small, affordable lots that could be combined to yield larger house sites. Unlike contemporary white subdivisions in which streets of houses were constructed on a speculative basis, development in these subdivisions proceeded in a piece-meal fashion. As a general rule, African Americans in the early 20th century did not have the access to capital for development of speculative streets of houses.[69] There are only two

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[63] *Washington Bee*, December 12, 1908, as quoted in Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History,* p. 14.
[64] The Bureau of Engraving & Printing and the Government Printing Office were strongholds of African American employment.
[65] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 67-69
[66] As quoted in Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 48.
[67] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84. Smith's race could not be determined for this study.
[68] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84.
[69] In her dissertation, "Craftsmen and entrepreneurs: Builders in late nineteenth century Washington, D.C.," Melissa McLoud documented how changes in building practice in the second half of the 19th century required access to larger amounts of capital. This need for increasing capital to carry construction costs caused a decline in the number of small builders in

known instances, the "Rosita" houses in Fairmount Heights and the three Owings houses in North Brentwood, where groups of multiple houses were constructed. In both instances, the developer possessed sufficient capital to construct multiple dwellings and carry them as rental property. Comparison of original plats of these towns with Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps shows that early houses were scattered throughout subdivisions rather than clustered in specific precincts. North Brentwood, one of the earliest communities, had a particularly unprepossessing appearance. In a 1947 recollection, an early inhabitant described his impression of the town in 1905:

> One of the most pitiful-looking villages he had ever seen, with a population of 65 and no churches or grocery stores. There was one coal, wood and ice dealer, one 16 x 12 frame public school, 16 dwellings scattered over 25 acres of the eastern part of 100 building lots, and surrounded by a dense, wide grove.[70]

As architectural surveys of the Deanwood neighborhood in Northeast, D.C. and historically African American neighborhoods in Raleigh, North Carolina have demonstrated, African Americans shared many of their white counterparts' motivations for moving into the suburbs.[71] The desire for a quieter existence and fresh air, the exclusivity of neighbors of similar income levels and values, and the same middle class aspirations that drew whites to streetcar suburbs also attracted African Americans.

In 1908 African American William Sidney Pittman incorporated the Fairmount Heights Mutual Improvement Association "to develop Fairmount Heights as a viable alternative to inner city ghetto living."[72] Advertisements for lots marketed to African Americans stressed values dear to the middle class: "The first opportunity offered colored people to secure Homes on Weekly payments of 50 cents a week....Stores, churches and schools already built; the most healthful spot in the State of Maryland."[73] In 1912, the *Bee* noted that the Cornelius Fonville House in Fairmount Heights had a "cellar, furnace and all modern improvements."[74] To these aspirations, the harsh reality of segregation added the ideal of a self-sustaining world. Thomas J. Calloway wrote that "Lincoln, Maryland has a plan to establish without restriction to race, but primarily by, for, and of colored persons, a community with its own municipal government, schools, churches, commercial and industrial life."[75] The philosophy of racial solidarity and self-help became one of the few strategies available in this era. As Calloway stated, "If the future of Lincoln can be prophesied from its brief past, it is destined to meet a situation forced upon the colored people. If we have learned voluntarily to unite in communities of our choosing, then, and not until then, will we, as a race, learn to feed, clothe, and house ourselves."[76]

Washington, D.C., both black and white. Within the African American community, outside funding financed large projects in D.C. such as the True Reformer Building and the Southern Aid Society/Dunbar Theater Building. While ventures such as the Whitelaw Hotel were successful in raising capital through stock subscription, many others were spectacular failures.

[70] Mr. Conway, as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 110.

[71] RuthAnn Overbeck surveyed Deanwood in the 1980s. M. Ruth Little surveyed South Side and Idlewild in Raleigh, North Carolina in the 1990s.

[72] As quoted in Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History*, p. 8.

[73] Ca. 1903 advertisement for Huntington (Bowie) in the *Washington Bee* quoted by Pearl in *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 57.

[74] As quoted in Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 76.

[75] Thomas J. Calloway as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 100.

[76] Thomas J. Calloway as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 109.

Given these aspirations, it is not surprising that housing typologies and architectural styles in African American suburban neighborhoods closely track those found in white neighborhoods. For example, the ubiquitous four-square and suburban bungalow are among the most common house forms in African American suburbs like Deanwood, North Brentwood, and Fairmount Heights. Even Isaiah Hatton, a highly skilled African American architect who designed the elegant Whitelaw Hotel and the Southern Aid Society/Dunbar Theater, built an unpretentious four-square for himself at 5502 Center Avenue in Lincoln.[77]

The form and style of housing also demonstrated African American capability as well as the aspiration of owners. Ranging from four-squares to bungalows to center hall plan houses to free-standing rowhouses, these buildings run the gamut of housing types. The characteristic front or wrap-around porches are a particularly poignant reminder of the attraction of African American suburbs such as Fairmount Heights. Not only do they take advantage of the fresh air and sunshine associated with suburban life, they also signal the freedom to create a communal life within these communities. Although Booker T. Washington's 1895 remarks to the Alabama State Teachers Association treat a different geographic locale and construction tradition, the sentiment expresses motivations often present in African American construction after *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

> There is an unexplainable influence about a Black man's living in a brick house that you cannot understand. Nothing would cause friction to go away so soon as when the Black man made his education felt by producing a brick house. If assertions of being a lazy, shiftless, and a good for nothing class were made against Germans....no argument would prove...wrong more than, do you see that large block of brick buildings over there? Is it owned by Germans?[78]

Two noteworthy patterns can be seen in the construction of these houses. The first is the apparent use of pattern book and catalogue houses; the second, the use of molded concrete block. Both relate to the way in which construction technology was adapted to a mass market in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sears houses were particularly well-adapted to cooperative, do-it-yourself construction in railroad accessible towns because Sears sent plans and lumber numbered for assembly.[79] In 1920, developer Robinson White constructed 19 small bungalows closely resembling the Sears "Rosita" in Fairmount Heights. White also built another "Rosita"-type bungalow at 904 59th Avenue.[80] Individuals also constructed single houses from Sears patterns. Between 1922 and 1924, Prince Albert Washington and his friends constructed Washington's House (Sears Model 3085), an attractive bungalow known as the "Westly," from plans and materials Sears supplied.[81] This house is located at 949 Eastern Avenue in Fairmount Heights.

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[77] The houses depicted in African American architect John Lankford's self-published book consist of four-squares and detached rowhouses.

[78] Booker T. Washington as quoted in Dozier, p. 95.

[79] Mechanical drawing, which taught drafting and plan reading, was a cornerstone of classroom education in industrial education programs.

[80] The date of these developments corresponds with some of the early work of the Washington Sanitary Housing Commission. White, who was Caucasian, may well have been producing the suburban equivalent of the modest brick rowhouses Appleton Clark was designing at the same time in Washington.

[81] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 81.

Similarly, rockfaced concrete block was a material ideal for self-help endeavors.[82] Using a commonly available machine, builders could produce block in their backyards. Cheaper to lay than brick, rockfaced block simulated the solidity and appearance of stone at a fraction of the cost. Although inventors secured various patents for methods of manufacturing concrete blocks, the use of concrete block did not become widespread until Harmon Palmer started the Hollow Building Block Company in 1902, selling a machine that spawned numerous imitators. By 1917, the Sears catalogue offered machines for $42.50, considerably less than their original $200 cost. Ease of operation combined with low cost led to countless backyard operations. Sears offered designs for concrete block houses in addition to their more well-known designs for pre-fabricated frame houses. Men employed in the building trades were often among the first to accept the new technology, using it in their own houses and houses constructed for friends.[83] The manufacture of concrete block would have been particularly appealing to African Americans because it lent itself to self-help and because of their experience in masonry-related building trades. African Americans boasted a long tradition of working as brickmasons and dominated the trade of cement-finishing even after construction unions forced them out of other skilled work in the building trades.[84]

In African American communities in Prince George's County, molded concrete block appears in the foundations of numerous houses, such as Louis Brown's Fairmount Heights house. It also appears in a few individual buildings. St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church in Laurel is constructed almost entirely of rockfaced concrete block. Accounts credit George Levi, described as "a laborer experienced in masonry" with molding the block.[85]

In addition to 20th century African American suburban subdivisions sharing common physical characteristics, all of the 20th century settlements possess similar associative values as well. Most housed upwardly mobile residents, many of whom worked in the District of Columbia, often in government jobs. The thread of common interests, school ties, or professional occupation extended through various towns. African Americans involved in architecture and construction were well-represented and played an important role in many of the communities. Most importantly, people drawn to these communities were politically active and had a strong sense of civic responsibility.

Educators were particularly well-represented in Ardwick because of the pivotal role William Stanton Wormley played . Thomas Hunster (1851-1929) headed the Art Department of the D.C. Colored School. Walter Smith, principal of D.C.'s renowned Dunbar High School and his wife Elsie, who taught English at Dunbar, also maintained homes in Ardwick. In Fairmount Heights, James F. Armstrong was Supervisor of Colored Schools for Prince George's County; Doswell Brooks also served as Supervisor and in 1956 became the first African American appointed to the Board of Education. It is important to remember that during this period, teaching was close to the top of the professional hierarchy for urban African Americans. Often people with professional degrees, such as attorney Thomas J. Calloway, became teachers or

[82] As late as 1943 African Americans in Lee County, North Carolina countered both wartime shortages and racial prejudice to construct the McQueen A.M.E. Chapel of block they manufactured. (Pamela H. Simpson, *Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870-1930*, pp. 28-29.)

[83] Simpson, *Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870-1930*, pp. 9-29.

[84] Betty Bird & Associates, "Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C.," (Interim Report, Phase II), pp. 47-48.

[85] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 115.

principals since that profession offered higher income and more job security.[86] Before becoming principal of Lincoln's school, Calloway had earlier served as president of Alcorn College in Alcorn, Mississippi.[87]

Lincoln drew retired A.M.E. worthies. Dr. Daniel P. Seaton, Presiding Elder of the Baltimore Conference and Rev. Price Andrew Scott, who served both St. Paul A.M.E. Church and Campbell A.M.E. Church in the District, built their retirement homes in Lincoln. Neither house is extant. Seaton's House at 5510 Lincoln Ave. was demolished in the 1980s. Scott's House (location unknown) was destroyed by fire.[88]

The Mitchell family was drawn to Deanwood, a flourishing African American neighborhood in the District of Columbia adjacent to Prince George's County near Fairmount Heights. Deanwood drew families who were new to Washington, D.C. or who had formerly lived in dense urban neighborhoods such as Shaw. By 1940, Benjamin and Clara Mitchell purchased the Van Horn House, a large early 19th century house constructed by prominent white landholders. This house is situated in Prince George's County just across the D.C. line. The Mitchells, prominent in the Muslim faith, came to Washington from Tuskegee Institute. Benjamin Mitchell worked as a carpenter at the Washington Navy Yard and rehabilitated the dilapidated Van Horn house himself. Elijah Mohammed, who converted the Mitchells to Islam, lived with them on and off for seven years during the 1930s and 1940s. The Mitchells provided a focal point for the Muslim community in the Washington area, providing hospitality to Mohammed Ali, Malcolm X, and Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt who was assassinated in 1981.[89]

Just as Benjamin Mitchell's skills enabled him to refurbish a once grand house, African Americans in architecture and construction helped set the physical tone for their communities and provided the skills necessary to keep building programs on an even course. These men included architects, carpenters, interior designers, brickmasons, and laborers. This building expertise was critical to implementing the program of African American racial solidarity and self-help that residents espoused. African American architects William Sidney Pittman and Isaiah Hatton helped lay out the towns of Fairmount Heights and Lincoln, respectively. They also supplied plans for community buildings such as the Fairmount Heights School and Charity Hall (Fairmount Heights). Further, local African American construction workers and laborers built many of the houses. For example, workers cut lumber and made bricks on site for the D.S.S. Goodloe House in Bowie, constructed for the first principal of what was to become Bowie State University.[90] Samuel Hargrove, a brickmason, likely constructed his own house in Fairmount Heights. Displaying a variety of pressed brick motifs

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[86] In his autobiography, African American architect Louis Fry, Sr. wrote that his father, an early graduate of Howard University's law school, became principal of a colored school in rural Bastrop, Texas for precisely that reason. The D.C. Colored Schools provided a haven for African American intellectuals. But for Booker T. Washington's intervention, W.E.B. DuBois would have been named Superintendent.

[87] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 102; Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 47.

[88] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 103-104.

[89] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 122-123 and oral interview with Benjamin Mitchell in www.muhammadspeaks.comBroBenjamin.html.

[90] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 62. This pattern closely resembles the pattern industrial education in the buildings trades followed at Tuskegee Institute and other African American schools where students and faculty constructed many of the buildings.

commonly found in urban rowhouses, Hargrove's house probably incorporates a number of his signature brick patterns.[91] Carpenters Frank and Benjamin Holland, who worked with Isaiah Hatton, constructed many of the houses in Lincoln.[92] Louis Brown, a carpenter, constructed several houses in Fairmount Heights, including his own house at 701 58th Avenue. Other individuals associated with building and construction include carpenter Frank Holland in Lincoln and interior designer George W. McKenzie in North Brentwood. In 1906, Dr. Daniel P. Seaton, a medical doctor who became a minister and presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Baltimore Conference, purchased a lot for his retirement home in Lincoln. In 1915 his house, which no longer stands, was designed and constructed entirely by African Americans.[93]

Perhaps most importantly, many of the settlers in these 20th century towns were political activists. Thomas J. Calloway of Lincoln was an activist who promoted racial equality on the national stage. In 1924, he was one of 20 African Americans appointed to Governor Albert Ritchie's Maryland Inter-racial Commission.[94] Jeremiah Hawkins, the first mayor of North Brentwood, was the elected delegate to the National Republican Convention, whom the Maryland Party demoted to alternate.

Using organizational models developed from founding churches and building Freedmen's Bureau Schools, African Americans in these towns proceeded to assume the functions of municipal self-control. Civic associations and clubs provided the organizational structure for their efforts. Even after the towns of North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, and Glenarden were incorporated, civic organizations continued to play an important role in the community. Because African Americans continued to struggle for state educational money, clubs and citizens associations held fundraisers that provided money for new schools and capital improvements. This model was also used to construct civic buildings, such as Glenarden's Town Hall.[95]

North Brentwood, one of the earliest communities, exhibits a pattern typical of these towns. Building upon organizational efforts required to petition for a school house, in 1906 citizens formed a civic association. Jeremiah Hawkins became president of the association. Hawkins then spearheaded the effort that resulted in North Brentwood's incorporation in 1924.[96] North Brentwood was the first African American municipality in Prince George's County to be incorporated; Hawkins became its first mayor.[97]

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[91] Through oral interviews, the late Washington historian RuthAnn Overbeck documented how African American brickmasons employed signature motifs in their work. An elderly brickmason she interviewed claimed to be able to identify fellow craftsmen's work by its patterning and decorative elements.

[92] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 105.

[93] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 103.

[94] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 102.

[95] Recently published work not consulted for this study may provide additional insight into African American communities. See Louis S. Diggs, *Surviving in America: Histories of Seven Black Communities in Baltimore County, Maryland: Oakland Park, Relay, Oella, Halethorpe, Granite, Church Lane, Winands Road*; Valerie C. Johnson, *Black Power in the Suburbs: The Myth or Reality of African-American Suburban Political Incorporation*; and Calinda Nivel Lee, Creating the Pleasant View: The Impact of Gender, Race, and Class on African-American Suburbanization, 1837-1999.

[96] Floyd, *Records & Recollections,* p. 112.

[97] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 24.

In Fairmount Heights, William Sidney Pittman formed the Fairmount Heights Citizen's Association shortly after he and his wife moved to the community. By 1911, the community constructed the Fairmount Heights School and formed a volunteer fire company in 1917. The movement to incorporate the town began in the 1920s and Fairmount Heights incorporated in 1935.[98]

In 1922, the town of Glenarden constructed a Rosenwald School, which was closed in 1950 and ultimately replaced by Glenarden Woods Elementary in Ardwick Park. Resident W.H. Swann led the community organization, the Glenarden Civic Association. In 1939, Glenarden became the third African American community Prince George's County to incorporate. Glenarden, which housed about 60 families at this time, elected Swann as their first mayor. During his two year term, Swann established a police force, utility service, and road improvements. Citizens formed the Town Hall Club to raise money for the first Town Hall, demonstrating the continued vitality of club organization for municipal fund-raising in African American communities.[99]

When the Board of Education rebuffed the efforts of Lincoln and Buena Vista to obtain a new school, the "Community Club" launched a fund-raising drive that extended into the pages of the *Washington Bee*, soon meeting the requirements for a Rosenwald school.[100] Although Lincoln never incorporated, its Citizen's Association acted as a *de facto* government, functioning as a city council, public works department, and parks commission.

Municipal self-governance and suburban ideals were not the only engines fueling new African American communities in Prince George's County. The growth of the African American middle class in the region spurred the development of resort communities. By the second quarter of the 20th century, African Americans in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Annapolis, and Prince George's County had sufficient wealth and leisure time that the demand for recreation increased. Prince George's County served as the site of several recreational venues. The stringent restrictions segregation placed on the lives of African Americans extended to parks, beaches, hotels, and amusement venues, creating a demand for places that catered to African Americans.

In 1925, spurred by the success of the African American leisure community at Highland Beach, Walter Bean began buying land adjacent to Trueman Point, a steamboat landing on the Patuxent River near Aquasco. Bean platted the land for a resort serving African Americans in Washington, D.C. While wealthy individuals like William Wormley and some of the early residents in Lincoln could always purchase rural retreats, little was available for the urban middle class. Opening a sales office in the heart of Washington's African American community in Shaw, Bean offered lots for no more than $50. Advertisements for the resort boasted 4,000 feet of sandy beach and the forthcoming construction of a $50,000 hotel. Recreational activities included boating, fishing, camping, bathing, and sports. Scores of people began constructing small summer cottages and the town was incorporated in 1929. While only four buildings from the early period remain, Eagle Harbor continues as a popular summer community.[101]

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[98] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 65.
[99] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84 and M-NCPPC, Glenarden: The Past in Perspective.
[100] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 108.
[101] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 111.

These suburban and resort settlements were not the only sites of late 19th and 20th century settlement in the County. Remnants of other 20th century settlements still exist in more rural parts of the County. Because of development pressure, in many of these areas only single structures stand to represent what were once small, rural communities. For example, only a few buildings, such as the imposing Noble Strother House, survive to represent the Fletchertown community near Bowie. The Fletchertown School, a small Rosenwald School that was converted into a residence, survived until the late 20th century.[102] Similarly, the ca. 1920 Charles Ball House, 1925 Lancaster House, and early 20th century Colbert Houses on Old Fort Road survive to represent the African American settlement at Chapel Hill. Many of these resources have particular interpretive value because their simple vernacular form testifies to the rural nature of these settlements. For example, even though it was probably rebuilt in the early 20th century, Carroll Methodist Episcopal Chapel in Mitchellville retains the small size and simple meetinghouse form commonly associated with 19th century buildings. The building may also contain elements of the original 1870s structure.[103]

In Prince George's County, the availability of land near major urban centers lent itself to commercial ventures as well as suburban development. The exclusion of African Americans from aviation led to the founding of the Columbia Air Center near Croom in 1941. Pioneering African American aviators were barred from white airports and could not find employment as pilots within the aviation industry. Their passion for flying led John W. Greene, Jr. and other pilots to form the Cloud Club as a structure to achieve their commercial goals. In a strategy typical of the era of segregation, the formation of clubs and social groups created an outlet for talents and abilities that African Americans could not utilize in workplaces dominated by whites. These organizations allowed skills and experience to be transferred outside of traditional educational systems. The Cloud Club leased land on the Patuxent River near Croom for the Columbia Air Center, which became the first African American owned and operated airfield in the country. Greene managed the facility, which was also known as the W and J Flying Service and the Capital Flying Club. The Columbia Air Center offered classes in navigation, meteorology, instrumentation, civil air regulation, flight theory, parachute training, and aircraft maintenance. The field was the home of the Columbia Air Squadron, the first African American Civil Air Patrol in the Washington area. The airport operated until 1956. The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission acquired the field in 1959, one year after the facility closed.[104] Now only the field remains, incorporated into Patuxent River Park.

[102] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 53-55.
[103] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 127-127.
[104] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 136.

EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1896-1954

Education constitutes one of the most important historic themes associated with African Americans in the 19th and 20th century. Although the development of schools is closely linked with the establishment of settlements and communities, the importance of education as a strategy for racial advancement demands separate treatment. African American schools typically serve as a locus for the community. Like churches, schools served a variety of public purposes that extend beyond those provided by educational institutions in the dominant white community. In many ways education embodied a community's support for its children and its hope for better lives for future generations. Throughout the period of bondage and segregation, African Americans adopted survival strategies that revolved around these collective aspirations focused on education. (Community efforts were not limited solely to schools and were expressed through the extended African American family, clubs, and community institutions such as churches.[105]) As a means of socialization, education also functioned as a vehicle for developing the emotional fortitude and self-assurance required to survive in a segregated society.[106]

Scattered settlements and the harsh demands of agricultural life posed difficulties for rural schools and their teachers. In 1895, no Maryland county had a black high school.[107] The lack of secondary education was common in rural areas, particularly for African Americans in southern states. Many African American families throughout Maryland and Virginia made great sacrifices to send their children to board with relatives in Baltimore and the District of Columbia to get high school educations.[108]

While only Sharpersville School near Accokeek survives to represent African American education in the 19th century in Prince George's County, the record of the 20th century can still be seen. These school buildings, even in much altered condition, continue to possess historical importance since they are the only schools surviving from the period of segregation. They embody how complex internal and external forces combined to create a singularly important institution. With the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau and outside philanthropists, African Americans in Prince George's County had succeeded in establishing a number of primary schools by the end of the 19th century. In a pattern often found in declining rural areas, the schools received little support from the County government. In 1895, Prince George's was one of five Maryland counties that made no contribution to colored schools from County funds. Because of proximity to Washington, African Americans in the County enrolled their children in the D.C. Colored School system,

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[105] Thomas Battle, curator at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Collection, and others have written extensively about the importance of community-based institutions as a revision to historiography that portrays African Americans as passive victims.

[106] Betty Bird & Associates, "The Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C." contains 20 oral interviews with successful African American architects and builders who ranged in age from 65 to 94. Interview questions asked individuals what led them to enter a difficult profession and, more importantly, what enabled them to persist. Although these people were raised throughout the United States, virtually every person interviewed credited teachers and principals in their segregated high schools for their success. All spoke of teachers who insisted on their best effort and of being pushed to achieve beyond their own preconceived limits. This educational strategy instilled in students an important belief in their own ability to achieve that would counteract messages of inferiority from the dominant society.

[107] Brugger, p. 419.

[108] African American families in the rural Northern Neck of Virginia commonly put their children on the boat to Baltimore at the beginning of the school term. Betty Bird, "National Register Nomination for the A.T. Johnson School, Montross, Virginia."

utilizing trolley lines for transportation.[109] Not until 1921-22, when a high school opened in Upper Marlboro, did the County have a high school for African Americans.

Among the specific educational themes illustrated by 20th century African American schools in Prince George's County, three are particularly important. The first is the extent to which industrial education informed the curriculum in several schools. The second is the critical role the Rosenwald Foundation played in the construction of 20th century school buildings in the County. The third is the establishment and growth of what is now Bowie State University.[110] It is important to note that African Americans continued to build and support schools after Rosenwald assistance ended in 1932. Moreover, they struggled to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, which initiated the end of segregation in public schools in the County.[111]

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

Industrial education provided an alternative means of gaining skills formerly learned through apprenticeship. Prior to the Civil War, Negro mass meetings, known as conventions, and militant abolitionists supported industrial education as a strategy for economic self-help. Former Union General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who founded the Hampton Institute in 1868, was an articulate proponent of this system. Armstrong, who had commanded African American troops and who had served as superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, viewed industrial education as a moral force that would endow African Americans with Yankee virtues. He also recognized the possibilities it offered as a basis for agreement among northern and southern whites as well as black leaders.[112]

The concept and purpose of industrial education has always been subject to varying interpretations. It was both a pedagogical technique for teaching the mind how to treat specific objects and a moral force that established character traits such as thrift, morality, and respect for labor. The central paradox plaguing industrial education was that it could be viewed as a tool to reconcile labor to a subordinate position while at the same time serving as a strategy for laborers to better themselves.[113]

Industrial education was problematic within the African American community, particularly in northern cities such as Baltimore and Washington. It had little relevance for middle and upper class African Americans who aspired to professional positions as doctors, teachers, lawyers, and government clerks. It was a lifeline, however, for rural southern blacks who faced a marginal existence as sharecroppers. The African American intellectual community feared that

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[109] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 108.

[110] Information on Bowie State is available in the "Recommendation for Determination of Eligibility," prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. in 1996.

[111] Full development of this theme after World War II is beyond the scope of this Multiple Property Documentation, which can be amended at a later date to include a full discussion of the education in the second half of the 20th century.

[112] Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 89 and pp. 101-102.

[113] Congress supported industrial education with the Morrill Land Grant College Act of 1862. The John F. Slater Fund, a national philanthropy established in 1882, directed private philanthropy to industrial education (Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 85-89). Modeled on Samuel Chapman Armstrong's programs at Hampton Institute, industrial education possessed an appeal that extended across racial lines.

industrial education limited blacks to being "hewers of wood and drawers of water."[114] Further, industrial education embodied a larger paradox of training for a lost craft tradition in an increasingly industrialized age.

In 1881, Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute to provide industrial education, primarily for rural, southern African Americans. Despite Tuskegee's enormous impact, discussions of the Institute and of industrial education are often clouded by the shadow of its founder. Booker T. Washington was controversial in his own time and he remains so today. Enormously powerful, he controlled private philanthropy and influenced government policy. For example, Washington succeeded in blocking W. E. B. Du Bois' appointment as the head of the D.C. Colored Schools. Many urban middle and upper class African Americans reviled him because they felt that he acquiesced in the policy of separate but equal. At the Atlanta Exposition of 1895, two years after *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the doctrine of separate but equal, Washington gave an infamous speech in which he stated, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[115] While Washington worked diligently behind the scenes for equality, this activity was largely unknown until many years after his death.

In 1902 the Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute opened in southern Prince George's County in a rural district that had one of the largest percentages of slave population prior to the Civil War. The Croom Institute illustrates how intertwined African American churches were with education. In 1894, Frank P. Willes, the rector at St. Thomas Episcopal Church in Croom, established St. Simon's Chapel on the grounds of the rectory. The construction of a separate building for African Americans substantially increased the size of the African American congregation, which had been a part of St. Thomas for decades. The rector's sisters, Suzanne and Katherine Willes, taught at the church school. St. Simon's was so successful that the Bishop of Washington provided the church with a full-time rector, African American August Jensen.

Suzanne Willes founded the Croom Institute in 1902. Heavily influenced by Booker T. Washington's work at Tuskegee, Suzanne Willes devoted her life to African American education. She raised funds for the coeducational school from other states and incorporated the school in 1903, the year construction on its first buildings began. Willes proposed to use industrial education "as a means of opening better and wider avenues of employment to young colored men and women." The curriculum at Croom included cooking, home economics, sewing and dress-making for women as well as scientific agriculture for men.[116] As a private institution dependent on philanthropy, the school faced financial difficulties. In 1918, the Institute was dissolved, severing its connection with the Episcopal Church. It then reopened as the Croom Settlement School drawing students from throughout Southern Maryland. The school also served wards of the D.C. Child Welfare Department. World War II created further financial difficulties; the school closed in 1952.[117]

It should come as no surprise that Fairmount Heights, largely settled by Tuskegee graduates, offered another setting for industrial education. In 1915 the Fairmount Heights School became the only public school offering industrial training for

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[114] This phrase appears at the center of the philosophical debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. It figures prominently in late 19th and early 20th century African American accusations directed against Washington and industrial education.

[115] Booker T. Washington as quoted by E. Franklin Frazier, *The Black Bourgeoisie*, p. 67.

[116] The curriculum at the Croom School illustrates how instruction at these schools reinforced expectations of gender behavior. Since most of the teachers were women, many of the courses were directed to domestic ends.

[117] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 101-103.

African Americans in Prince George's County.[118] James F. Armstrong, a Tuskegee graduate who settled in Fairmount Heights around 1905, served as supervisor of Colored Schools in Prince George's County through 1919.[119]

ROSENWALD SCHOOLS

In 1913, philanthropist Julius Rosenwald instituted a program to construct rural schools throughout the South. President of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Rosenwald believed that education was the key to training African Americans for the labor force. He set up the Rosenwald Foundation following in the well-established path of previous northern philanthropic foundations such as the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Jeanes Foundation, and the John F. Slater Fund.[120] By 1928, the Rosenwald Fund had constructed 20% of rural schools in the South, serving one-third of the school population. When the program ended in 1932, it had founded close to 5000 schools in 15 states,[121] including 23 in Prince George's County.

The Rosenwald program required that communities petitioning for a school supply half of the cost of the school. Localities could combine cash, material, and in-kind labor for their match. The Fund provided a set of mandatory guidelines intended to serve as models for rural schools, publishing a book of standardized plans and specifications that was distributed free of charge. The Rosenwald Fund retained the philanthropic preference for industrial education, requiring that every school have an industrial room, which schools often soon converted to a regular classroom.[122]

Several buildings survive from the Rosenwald period. These buildings were often built on the site of earlier Freedmen's Bureau Schools. The Lincoln School illustrates how the Rosenwald pattern operated. Thomas J. Calloway, an activist lawyer who developed the community of Lincoln, secured funding for a Rosenwald School for that town that opened in 1922. The Community Club, formed for the purpose of securing the school, raised funds through entertainment events and subscription. With this funding and a lot they had purchased, the community was able to demonstrate the financial support required for a Rosenwald grant. The school, one of the largest and best-equipped of the early schools, opened in 1922 with Thomas J. Calloway as principal.[123] In the same year, Rossville, Chapel Hill, Fletchertown, and Duckettsville also constructed smaller schools (the Chapel Hill School is no longer extant).[124] In 1924, Colored School 2 in Election District 6 (Camp Springs), designed by architect Russell Mitchell, opened. In 1926, construction began on the T.B. School near Brandywine, designed by Raleigh architects Linthicum and Linthicum, who also designed the Bowie School (now demolished), Community High School in Lakeland, Ridgely School, and Highland Park School.[125]

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[118] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 66.
[119] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 69.
[120] It does not appear that any of these foundations was active in Prince George's County.
[121] Information on Rosenwald Schools from Middle Tennessee State University, "Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide."
[122] Middle Tennessee State University, "Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide."
[123] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 49.
[124] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 21. The Muirkirk School in Rossville still stands, although in much-altered condition.
[125] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 60, 116, 121-123, 139-40.

Several schools opened in 1927. In Collington, Colored School 2 in Election District 7 opened in 1927 serving seven grades.[126] The now much-altered Clinton School (Colored School 1, Election District 9) was typical of larger, two-room schools.[127] The Ridgely School (Colored School 1 in Election District 13), probably the most intact of Prince George's County's Rosenwald Schools, also opened in 1927. Ridgely School followed the elementary school prototype of two large classrooms with a central passage and two cloakrooms. This school was the first purpose-built school for the community; previously classes were held in a hall associated with the Ridgely Methodist Episcopal Church.[128] The Meadows School (Colored School 2 in Election District 9; now gone) was completed in 1929.[129]

In more densely settled areas, African Americans used Rosenwald funds to construct secondary schools. The first high school for African Americans in the County opened in Upper Marlboro in 1921-22. This school, which is now gone, served not only the County seat but the entire southern part of the County. In 1928 both the Community High School in Lakeland (near College Park) and the Highland Park School opened, partially constructed with Rosenwald funds. The Community High School in Lakeland drew students from the northwestern part of the County; the Highland Park School served the north central section.[130] The Rosenwald Fund school program closed in 1932. As historian James Anderson noted, while this program succeeded in providing schools, African Americans essentially paid twice for their schools. They paid government taxes that did not fund schools in African American communities and then raised additional funds for the Rosenwald schools.[131]

Two schools survive from the post-Rosenwald period. The Woodville School, constructed in 1934, is a rare and outstanding example of a rural school house. Situated in Aquasco, the Woodville School was the largest elementary school constructed for African Americans during this period. Although the Rosenwald school program ended two years earlier, the new Woodville School took advantage of outside assistance from the federal government. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided the labor to construct the school, using materials the County Board of Education provided.[132] The much smaller Poplar Hill School (1936) was constructed in the rural community of Baden to replace the 1878 school building. The small size and idiosyncratic form of the school may indicate that African Americans designed and built the school themselves.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION – BOWIE STATE

Bowie State University grew out of the Baltimore Normal School for Colored Teachers, founded in 1865. Colored Normal Schools were especially important in the 19th and early 20th century. As the difficulty of maintaining Freedmen's Bureau Schools illustrates, a cadre of well-trained African American teachers was critical for the educational effort needed after emancipation. In the late 19th century, only 35 of the 210 teachers employed in the Baltimore colored school

[126] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 119-120. After the County closed the school prior to 1952, the Holy Family Church in Woodmore used the facility for religious instruction for black Catholics.
[127] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 134.
[128] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 121.
[129] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 133.
[130] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 116, pp. 123-24.
[131] Middle Tennessee State University, Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide, p. 8.
[132] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 108.

system were African American.[133] Teaching had practical applications that appealed to white philanthropy. Moreover, the aspirations embodied in a normal school devoted to teacher training were less threatening to the established order than those of a liberal arts institution such as Howard University. In 1908, Maryland took over the assets of the Baltimore Colored Normal School, promising to support it. In June 1910, the State purchased land near Bowie and by September 1911 the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie had opened. In 1938, the institution became the Maryland State Teachers College at Bowie, offering a four-year degree. In 1963 the name again changed, this time to Bowie State College, recognizing the liberal arts as well as teaching curricula. In terms of the role Prince George's County played for African Americans in the 20th century, Bowie State University holds particular significance as Maryland's first African American post-secondary school. Even though none of the school's original buildings remains, the university as it exists today stands to reflect the evolution in the political and educational status of African Americans throughout the state.[134]

[133] Brugger, p. 419.
[134] Information on Bowie State is available in the "Recommendation for Determination of Eligibility," prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. in 1996.

CHRONOLOGY: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

1634 Two African American indentured servants arrive on *The Ark and the Dove* (AAHS, p.9).

1660 First settlement in Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 9).

1666 Maryland's provincial legislature establishes slavery with the presumption that any one of African descent is a slave (AAHS, p. 9).

1720 One quarter of Maryland planters own slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1739 Stono uprising in South Carolina; plans for slave rebellion at Poplar Neck near Upper Marlboro involving 200 slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1755 African Americans constitute almost half the population of Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 9).

1760 Nearly one half of Maryland planters own slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1790 164 free blacks in county (AAHS, p. 10).

1791 First documented African American congregation in Prince George's County: Itinerant "clerics" preach to free blacks who'd built meeting house in Oxon Hill (AAHS, p. 131).

1817 Francis Scott Key, Robert Goodloe Harper, Robert H. Goldsborough, and others found the American Colonization Society founded to promote resettlement of blacks in Africa. Local chapter in Prince George's County. (Brugger, p. 212)

1825 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) founded as a burial society for free blacks (AAHS, p. 124).

1827 Maryland Colonization Society splits from parent organization over use of Maryland funds for emigration from other states. (Brugger, p. 212)

1829 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) purchases first tract for cemetery at 5th & Boundary (D.C.) (AAHS, p. 124).

1831 Nat Turner's Rebellion.

1832 Maryland legislature passes legislation that requires white clergy for free blacks outside of Baltimore and Annapolis, certificates for sale of farm products and liquor, and restrictions on free blacks returning to Maryland. Legislature charters Maryland Colonization Society and appropriates $20,000, with potential of up to $200,000 over 20 years, to return free African Americans to Africa. (Brugger, p. 213)

1837 Constitutional reforms lessen planter influence in General Assembly. Omnibus bill includes provision requiring unanimous vote to abolish slavery. (Brugger, p. 246)

1843 First shipments of South American guano arrive in Baltimore. (Brugger, p. 209)

1848 St. Mary's Episcopal Church established as mission of St. Paul's, Baden (AAHS, p. 106).

1850 1,138 free blacks in county (AAHS, p. 10). By 1850, Maryland boasted more free blacks than any other state. (Brugger, p. 264)

1857 Dred Scott Decision.

1859 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) purchases new site on Rhode Island Avenue (AAHS, p. 124).

1860 84,000 "free people of color" in Maryland, concentrated on Eastern Shore and Baltimore City. (Brugger, p. 264-5)

1861 Prince George's County sends memorial to House of Delegates calling for immediate secession. (Brugger, p. 278)

1865 Maryland Constitution of 1864 emancipates African Americans in January (AAHS, p. 10).

Ratification of Thirteenth Amendment ending slavery.

Disabilities Bill legislates that African Americans cannot testify in cases involving white defendants (AAHS, p. 10).

Freedmen's Bureau begins operations in Maryland (AAHS, p. 11).

Freedmen of Upper Marlboro construct Methodist meeting house which also serves as school (AAHS, p. 89). They petition Freedmen's Bureau for schools (AAHS, p. 86).

1866 Freedmen's Bureau establishes school in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

Sarah Miranda Plummer is returned from New Orleans to her family and founds St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

1867 Freedmen's Bureau School in Upper Marlboro completed. Opens in 1868 adjacent to Union Methodist Chapel (AAHS, p. 86, 89).

Freedmen's Bureau School, also used for Methodist services, opened at southern edge of Aquasco. Teacher not provided until 1868 (AAHS, pp. 106, 107).

Freedmen's Bureau establishes school south of Centreville along Washington-Marlborough Turnpike. Opens 1868 (AAHS, p. 133).

John Skinner transfers one acre of Croom farm to African Americans for school and church.

George Orme transfers one acre to black trustees of M.E. church for "free school" and church in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141).

1868 Rossville settlement begins with establishment of Queen's Chapel; first Queen's Chapel constructed (AAHS, p. 11; 22).

Trustees acquire land for M.E. chapel in Brandywine. Church (now gone) appears on 1878 map. (Replaced by Union-Bethel AME Church in 1955. (AAHS, p. 138)

Freedmen's Bureau School established in Chapel Hill. Methodists meet in school before construction of chapel in 1880s (AAHS, p. 92).

Freedmen's Bureau opens school, forerunner of Sharpersville School, near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 137).

Freedmen's Bureau establishes school (eventually Colored School 2 in E.D. 8) in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141).

1868/69 Freedmen's Bureau constructs school (demolished) for Surratts Election District (AAHS, p. 134).

1870 Fourteenth Amendment.

1870s First church on site of John Wesley M.E. Church in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 107).

1871 Lewis Ridgely and others acquire land for Methodist church (AAHS, p. 120).

1872 Freedmen's Bureau disbanded.

Prince George's County Board of School Commissioners assumes responsibility for Freedman's Bureau Schools (AAHS, p. 5).

Thirteen schools for African American children (42 for white) (AAHS, p. 12).

1872 Washington spur of Pennsylvania Railroad begins operation in Bowie; Pope's Creek line to Southern Maryland opens in following year (AAHS, p. 57).

1874 Freedman's Bank fails (June) (Green, p. 113).

1875 Congress passes Civil Rights Act (Green, p. 113).

First school constructed in Collington (AAHS, p. 119).

1876 Trustees acquire land for M.E. chapel (demolished), later Asbury M.E., near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 136).

Ca. 1877 Second Freedmen's School established at northern end of Aquasco; first school at southern end converts to Methodist Church use (AAHS, pp. 106, 107).

African American M.E. community in Mitchellville (AAHS, p. 128).

1877 Compromise of 1877.

Rebecca Lodge chartered (AAHS, p. 19).

Trustees of A.M.E. Church purchase part of Poplar Ridge tract near Queen Anne, site of Mount Nebo A.M.E. (AAHS, p. 128).

Niles M.E. Chapel (demolished) constructed near Centreville School (AAHS, p. 133).

Augustus Lancaster purchases 13 acres, one of which becomes the site of Sharpersville School, possibly oldest surviving African American schoolhouse in Prince George's County (AAHS, pp. 137-138).

St. Mary's vestry acquires land for St. Phillips chapel (demolished) in Aquasco. (AAHS, p. 109).

Poplar Hill School (Black Swamp School, Colored School No. 2, E.D. 8), completed in Baden Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141-42).

Ca. 1878 African Americans move into Carroll M.E. Church (formerly McKendree Chapel) in Mitchellville (AAHS, p. 127).

Late 1870s First school for Bowie (Huntington) African Americans constructed. (AAHS, p. 60)

1883 Supreme Court rules that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 is unconstitutional in states but might still be valid in territories and D.C.

1884 Laurel Colored School constructed (AAHS, p. 115).

1885 Methodist congregation established in Huntington (Bowie) (AAHS, p. 57).

1887 St. Mary's Beneficial Society purchases land in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 88).

James H.S. Gibbons deeds land for Gibbons M.E. Church (demolished) near Brandywine (AAHS, p. 140).

Ca. 1887 Construction of Ridgely M.E. Church, Landover (AAHS, p. 120).

1888 Convention of Colored Catholics holds first meeting in Washington (AAHS, p. 90).

Construction of original St. Paul's M.E. Church (demolished) in Oxon Hill (AAHS, p. 131).

Ca. 1889 Good Samaritan Lodge established for African American farmers in Brookland (AAHS, p. 119).

1889 Rebecca Lodge established in Rossville (AAHS, p. 11).

Original log structure of Brooks Church in Croom replaced with frame building (AAHS, p. 104).

Gibbons M.E. Church (demolished) constructed near Brandywine (AAHS, p. 140).

1890s African Americans began purchasing land in Randalltown (North Brentwood) (AAHS, p. 11).

Notley Hall Amusement Park constructed (AAHS, p. 12).

1890 Parishioners construct Holy Family R.C. Church in Woodmore (AAHS, p. 126).

1891 Mount Hope A.M.E. trustees purchase 2 acres for church site; church (demolished) erected a few years later. Only graveyard remains (AAHS, p. 132).

1892 September reunion of U.S. Colored Troops (Civil War) in D.C. (AAHS, p. 24).

St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall completed (AAHS, p. 88).

1893 Traditional frame church replaces first Niles Chapel in Centreville (AAHS, p. 133).

1894 St. Simon's Chapel (Episcopal) established.

1895 Brookland men purchase land near Good Samaritan Lodge for M.E. church. (AAHS, p. 119).

1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* establishes the doctrine of separate but equal.

1898 City & Suburban Railway running along Rhode Island Avenue connects Randalltown (N. Brentwood) with D.C. (AAHS, p. 24, 35).

1900 Twenty-eight schools for African American children (60 for white) (AAHS, p. 12).

Bowie population is more than 40% African American (AAHS, p. 57).

Robinson White and Allen Clark subdivide 50 acres for Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 64).

Trustees of M.E. Church acquire land in Croom (AAHS, p. 102).

Dorsey M.E. Chapel constructed for Brookland (near Glenn Dale) (AAHS, p. 118-119).

1902 Grace Methodist Church (demolished) constructed at Chapel Hill (AAHS, pp. 92, 94).

1902 Suzanne Willes, sister of St. Thomas's rector, establishes the Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute (AAHS, pp. 100, 101).

Bishop of Washington appoints August Jenson rector of St. Simon's (AAHS, p. 101).

Camp Springs Board of School Commissioners authorizes black school (AAHS, p. 132).

1903 William Stanton Wormley buys land in Ardwick (AAHS, p. 40).

One-room schoolhouse opens in Lakeland (AAHS, p. 116).

January – Camp Springs School (demolished) completed (AAHS, p. 131).

1905 Niagara Movement.

1906 Randalltown/North Brentwood civic association started (BF, p. 10).

John Wesley M.E. Church (demolished) constructed in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 107).

Asbury M.E. Church constructed near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 136-37).

1907 Baptist church established in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24).

William Sidney Pittman marries Portia Washington and moves into Fairmount Heights house (AAHS, p. 68).

Ca. 1908 Charity Hall, designed by William Sidney Pittman, constructed in Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 78).

1908 Completion of Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis (WB&A) electric railway (AAHS, p. 45).

Thomas Junius Calloway's Lincoln Land and Improvement Company, Inc. acquires and plats 200 acres (AAHS, p. 45).

State accepts assets of Baltimore Colored Normal School and agrees to establish permanent Maryland Normal School to train African American teachers (AAHS, p. 61).

Ross Memorial Methodist Church constructed in Bowie (AAHS, p. 57, 58-59).

Fireman's Hall constructed in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24).

1909 NAACP founded.

Fairmount Heights ME Church (Grace United) established (AAHS, p. 70).

Ca. 1910 Knights of St. John Hall constructed for St. John's Auxiliary of Ascension R.C. Church (AAHS, p. 59).

1910 State purchases 187 acres near Bowie for Maryland Normal School (AAHS, p. 61).

North Fairmount Heights established (AAHS, p. 64).

1911 Maryland Normal and Industrial School opens in Bowie (AAHS, p. 12).

West Fairmount Heights established (AAHS, p. 64).

Fairmount Heights ME Church constructs building (AAHS, p. 70).

St. Mary's M.E. Chapel constructed in Croom (AAHS, p. 102).

St. Thomas M.E. Church constructed in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, pp. 141-42).

1912 Julius Rosenwald establishes the Rosenwald Fund (AAHS, p. 12).

William Sidney Pittman's Fairmount Heights School opened. School offered Prince George's County's only facility for industrial training for African Americans. Pittmans move to Dallas (BF, p. 11; AAHS, pp. 66, 68).

ca. 1913 William R. Smith plats Glenarden and Glenarden Heights southwest of Lincoln along WB&A. (AAHS, p. 84).

1915 St. Paul's M.E. Church in Oxon Hill constructed (AAHS, p. 130).

1916 First four-square house (William H. Thomas House) constructed in N. Brentwood (AAHS, p. 27).

Seaton (Bethel) AME Church (demolished) constructed in Lincoln (AAHS, p. 46).

Union Memorial M.E. Church completed to replace Union Chapel in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 87).

Bowie incorporated (AAHS, p. 57).

1919 Washington Race Riot.

1920s Mitchellville School constructed near Carroll M.E. Church (AAHS, p. 128).

1920 Completion of AME Zion Church in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24, 32).

1921 First African American High School in Prince George's County opens in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 86).

St. Mark's M.E. Church (founded in 19th c.) constructed in Laurel. George Levi molds block (AAHS, p. 115.).

Ca. 1922 Present Ridgely M.E. Church constructed after earlier church burns in 1921 (AAHS, p. 121).

1922 Citizens of Fairmount Heights begin incorporation procedures (BF, p. 11).

Rosenwald School opens in Lincoln with T.J. Calloway as first principal (AAHS, p. 45).

Colored School 3 (Duckettsville; demolished) and Colored School 4 (Fletchertown) constructed with partial support from Rosenwald funds (AAHS, p. 54).

1922 Rosenwald School constructed in Ardwick Park (Glenarden) (AAHS, p. 84).

Rosenwald School constructed in Chapel Hill adjacent to Freedmen's Bureau School (AAHS, p. 93).

St. Joseph's R.C. Church constructed in Ardwick Park (Glenarden) (AAHS, p. 84).

Benevolent society lodge constructed in Chapel Hill (AAHS, p. 92).

1923 Board of Education approves construction of African American primary school in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

Sylvan Vista (Fairmount Heights) platted (AAHS, p. 65).

1923/24 Survey of Colored Public Schools notes 42 elementary schools for African Americans in Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 122).

1924 North Brentwood incorporates (AAHS, p. 11, 24).

Camp Springs School (Colored School No. 2) constructed with Rosenwald funds (AAHS, p. 132).

1925 Walter Bean purchases land for Eagle Harbor, marketed as a resort for D.C. residents (AAHS, p. 111).

Present Mount Nebo A.M.E. Church constructed on site of log church that burned (AAHS, p. 129).

Second Rosenwald school opened in Chapel Hill (AAHS, p. 93).

1926 Lakeland Rosenwald school opens (AAHS, p. 116).

Rosenwald-funded T.B. School constructed in Brandywine (AAHS, p. 139).

1927 Maryland establishes permanent interracial commission appointed by governor. (WPA, p. 59).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1 (Bowie School; demolished) opens (AAHS, p. 60).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 2 (Collington) opens (AAHS, p. 120).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1 (Landover) constructed (AAHS, p. 121).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1, Election District 9 (Clinton) opens (AAHS, p. 134).

James Easley Edmunds of Lynchburg develops Lincoln Memorial Cemetery on site of Landon Dairy Farm (AAHS, p. 129).

1928 Community High School constructed in Lakeland to serve students in northwest part of County (AAHS, p. 116).

Highland Park School constructed for students in north central County. Community High School and Highland Park School were the 2nd and 3rd African American secondary school in county. (AAHS, pp. 116, 123-124)

1929 Extension of Rhode Island Avenue west of trolley tracks increases N. Brentwood's accessibility (AAHS, p. 24).

Eagle Harbor incorporated (AAHS, p. 111).

Rosenwald-funded Meadows School (Colored School 2, Election District 9) completed near church and social hall (AAHS, p. 133).

Rosenwald-funded Brandywine School constructed near Gibbons M.E. Church (AAHS, p. 141).

1932 St. Phillip's Episcopal Church (demolished) expands (AAHS, p. 109).

1934 Eight-room school constructed at Addison & Sheriff Roads in Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 66).

Woodville School replaces Freedmen's Bureau School in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 106).

1935 Fairmount Heights finally incorporated (BF, p. 11).

Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Electric Railway, which provided access to Lincoln and Glenarden, stops service. Right-of-way becomes MLK, Jr. (George Palmer) Hwy. (AAHS, pp. 45, 84).

Small Poplar Hill School constructed in Baden (AAHS, p. 143).

1938 Maryland Normal School converts to four-year degree program and becomes Maryland State Teachers College at Bowie (AAHS, p. 61).

1939 Glenarden becomes 3rd African American community to incorporate (AAHS, p. 84).

Brooks Methodist Episcopal Church constructed in Croom (AAHS, p. 104).

1940s Fairmount Heights Community begins construction of nucleus of Municipal Center (AAHS, p. 80).

Glenarden Municipal Hall constructed (AAHS, p. 84).

1941 Cloud Club opens Columbia Air Center (AAHS, p. 12).

1942 U.S. Government condemns land for Andrews Air Force Base, destroying Niles Chapel (St. Luke's, school, & lodge). Only cemetery remains (AAHS, pp. 133-134).

1947 Theresa Banks' efforts result in teacher pay parity (AAHS, p. 13).

1948 Washington, D.C. archdiocese decides to desegregate parochial schools (including Prince George's County) (Green, p. 301).

1950s Levitt Corporation develops Belair at Ogle-Woodward estate south of Bowie (AAHS, p. 57).

1952 Croom Settlement School closes (AAHS, p. 103).

Collington School closes (AAHS, p. 120).

1952 Baden School closes; purchased by Elks Lodge (AAHS, p. 143).

T.B. School auctioned (AAHS, p. 140).

1953 Congregation lays cornerstone for present Queen's Chapel (AAHS, p. 22).

1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* outlaws separate but equal education.

Woodville School closes; purchased by Knights of St. John Commandery #373 for social hall (AAHS, p. 108).

1955 Camp Springs School auctioned (AAHS, p. 132)

Clinton School sold to American Legion (AAHS, p. 134).

1956 Fairmount Heights resident Doswell Brooks (d. 1968) becomes first African American member of the Board of Education (AAHS, p. 77).

1957 Glenarden Woods Elementary School replaces 1922 Rosenwald School (AAHS, p. 84).

1958 Columbia Air Center closes (AAHS, p. 136).

Prince George's Community College (integrated) opens.

1960 Columbian Harmony Society moves 37,000 graves to present site in Landover (AAHS, p. 124).

1963 Maryland State Teachers College grants liberal arts degrees and becomes Bowie State College (AAHS, p. 61).

1965 Executive Order 11246 (Non-discrimination for government contractors) (Rowan, p. iv).

1964 St. Simon's Chapel merges with St. Thomas, Croom (AAHS, p. 100).

1967 Arthur A. King of Beltsville serves as first African American in the General Assembly (AAHS, p. 13).

1988 Bowie State University joins University of Maryland system (AAHS, p. 61).

Goodloe House becomes first Prince George's County African-American historic site to be listed on the National Register. (Conversation with Susan Pearl, 6/24/03).

1991 Abraham Hall becomes the first African American site in County to be restored with public funds (AAHS, p. 19).

SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

AAHS — Pearl, Susan. *African-American Heritage Survey, 1996.* M-NCPPC.

BF — Floyd, Bianca. "Bible, Book and Voting Booth: Early Black Institutions and Political History, 1870-1920. Final Report for Fiscal Year 1984-1985." M-NCPPC.

Brugger — Brugger, Robert J. *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Green — Green, Constance McLaughlin. *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Rowan — Rowan, Richard L. and Lester Rubin. *Opening the Skilled Construction Trades to Blacks: A Study of the Washington and Indianapolis Plans for Minority Employment.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

WPA — Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Maryland. *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1940.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

The criteria for evaluating whether properties are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places are set forth in 36 CFR Part 60:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and:
>
> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
> D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
>
> Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:
>
> a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
> b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
> c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life; or
> d. A cemetery that derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, for age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
> e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
> f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
> g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Identification and analysis of property type is an important element in determining whether a property meets National Register Criteria. Understanding particular property types assists in determining how a particular property compares with other similar properties. Property type analysis assists in determining what associative and physical characteristics a particular resource should have and guides expectation about the typical condition of a property.

PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Historic properties associated with the African Americans in Prince George's County embody the unique character of the African American cultural experience from bondage through the age of segregation. In appearance the physical form of these buildings – churches, schools, houses – is no different than the form of structures serving similar functions in the white community. However, the functions these buildings housed and the unique role they played embody a richer and more expansive set of historic associations. Slavery and segregation limited the places and buildings that African Americans could inhabit. The role and symbolic function these resources played in the community with which they are associated can ultimately be very different from similar purpose-built structures erected for the white community. While other Americans had access to a variety of buildings designed for different purposes and could move easily within society, African Americans possessed fewer options. Faced with a hostile and often dangerous environment, the places and buildings that African Americans claimed became the vessels for their collective life, providing venues for public assembly and community expression. In Prince George's County, this racial isolation was often compounded by the rural isolation that prevailed until the early 20th century.

Changes to these places and buildings represent the African American community's adaptive response to the social and political restrictions placed on them. A substantial body of historic and contemporary sociological scholarship demonstrates how African Americans adapt institutions and relationships to serve their needs. Historical scholarship details the extent to which blacks created an environment that counteracted the exclusionary world created by segregation.[1] Deprived of political representation, African Americans created their own systems to translate political, cultural, and social ideals into reality. In place of political systems, they established institutional systems based on churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. Moreover, without the more formal relationships established within a political system, personal relationships nurtured within these institutions became the "building blocks of the community."[2] Building use, therefore, goes well beyond the purpose for which the building was originally designed. Consequently, oral history and archaeology often provide valuable insight into how buildings and settlements functioned.

Historic resources associated with African Americans in Prince George's County can be divided into nine categories – churches, fraternal halls, schools, commercial buildings, sites of recreation and entertainment, settlements, and dwellings. "Settlements" is a broad category that includes archaeological sites as well as historic districts. These types may not encompass all resources associated with African Americans in Prince George's County; they have been selected because they facilitate evaluation of resources identified through the *African-American Heritage Survey, 1996.*

The property type analysis set forth below builds on earlier property type analysis of African American properties developed for United Planning Organization's "Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C."[3]

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[1] See, for example, the work of William Henry Jones, Lorenzo Greene, Carter Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, etc.

[2] James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community*, p. 11.

[3] This thematic study was funded with the assistance of a matching grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, through the D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Historic Preservation Program, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The end date for the period of significance of this multiple property nomination is that of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a date which falls outside the 50 year mark set forth in Criteria Consideration G. The extraordinary way in which custom and laws limited opportunity and places African Americans could access extended until the Civil Rights Act prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations. Criteria Consideration G ensures that "sufficient historical perspective exists to determine that the property is exceptionally important."[4] A substantial body of historical scholarship on the Civil Rights Movement has studied African American life through the end of the 1960s, providing objective confirmation for extending the period of significance through this date. Indeed, the National Register includes the Civil Rights movement among seven topics for which sufficient scholarship to permit evaluation exists, even though the topic encompasses events that occurred within the past 50 years.[5] Because the historical effects of legal segregation extended through 1964, that date has been selected as the end date for this Multiple Property Documentation.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RESOURCES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

National Register guidelines direct professionals to conduct a comparative analysis of resources. For example, a Greek revival house must be compared with other Greek revival houses to ensure representative listing of resources. However, for African American resources in Prince George's County, comparative evaluation must proceed with great caution. Through the end of the 20th century, Prince George's County has been characterized by rural and suburban settlement. Unlike a densely-packed city where numerous examples of similar buildings exist, buildings in a county with dispersed settlement often possess more singular associative attributes. In rural Prince George's County, African American churches and schools may well possess greater significance as locations of settlements than they do as churches and schools, per se. Moreover, because these buildings are invested with aspirations and strategies that have no outlet under segregation, they rise to a level of individual associative significance not present in more mainstream resources. Since the political and social restrictions of segregation resulted in a community excluded from the political system, institutional buildings such as churches and schools became venues for expressing and enforcing community values and airing and settling disputes. Consequently, the comparative examination of physical fabric of resources may be less important than the careful delineation of each resource's associative attributes. The importance of material culture to understanding African American history requires that evaluation should always err on the side of inclusion.

INTEGRITY REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

The National Register requires that historic resources possess sufficient integrity to convey their historic associations. This requirement ensures that the physical character of the resource is directly connected with the events or people for which it is significant. For example, if an early 19th century house had been completely gutted in 1960 and its exterior converted into a glass box, it would be difficult for the house to represent its early 19th century owner. The National Register sets forth seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. While the physical features of a resource may not retain all seven aspects of integrity, it must retain those aspects that

[4] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 42.
[5] *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, p. 6.

convey its historic significance. For example, a building nominated under Criterion C as an excellent example of its architectural style would need to retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship – aspects of integrity that directly relate to how well the building represents its architectural style. On the other hand, for battlefields, the survival of setting, feeling, and association would be paramount since battlefields are cultural landscapes.

Historic resources associated with African Americans can challenge customary notions of integrity. These resources, which are most often nominated for their associative significance (Criterion A or B), have commonly experienced considerable alteration to their physical fabric. Because of legal restrictions on where African Americans could settle and what spaces they could access, those buildings they did control were often continually adapted and reworked to serve shifting needs. The longer a resource has been associated with African Americans, the greater the likelihood of its physical alteration. In an ironic twist, with the end of segregation many of these resources have been lost as options for African Americans have increased. Buildings have been abandoned to deteriorate or have been converted to other uses. In Prince George's County, the rapid suburban expansion of the County has created development pressures that further threaten these fragile resources.

Four aspects of integrity are of paramount importance for historic resources nominated under National Register Criterion A or Criterion B for their association with African American history prior to 1964: location, design, feeling, and association. These aspects of integrity, as well as setting, materials, and workmanship should be understood with specific reference to African American resources as a category.

Feeling and association can be especially important for African American resources. The National Register acknowledges that "feeling and association depend on individual perceptions."[6] Feeling addresses a property's ability to convey a particular period in time. Association is the direct link between a particular property and the events it represents. Communities often used institutional facilities, such as churches and schools, for multiple functions over an extended period of time. Because it is difficult for African Americans to identify with civic and commercial buildings from which they were excluded, African American schools, churches, and settlements are often invested with powerful associative meaning. Physical changes do not diminish these historic associations or their meaning for the community. Indeed, these changes often reflect how African Americans accommodated change in property that they controlled. While feeling and association alone cannot satisfy National Register integrity requirements, these two aspects of integrity should be given great weight in evaluating the integrity of African American resources.

Location is important for all historic properties, but it is especially important for African American properties that pre-date 1964. Location directly addresses areas open to a segregated race. Settlement patterns and buildings within settlements are visible signs of the locus of African American experience during the era of slavery and segregation. While African Americans could adapt and change their buildings, until restrictive covenants were overturned at the end of the 1940s, they could not easily change the limited geographic areas in which they could live.

Setting, the physical environment of a historic property should also be understood in ways that relate this aspect of integrity to the African American experience. While setting commonly refers to the immediate surroundings of a property, a broader interpretation is appropriate for African American resources. Setting can be considered in terms of

[6] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 45.

relationships to roads, railroads, streetcar lines, and other transportation networks. The relationship between the building site and areas of white settlement can also be important. In other words, a building's setting on the opposite side of railroad tracks is probably more important to the historic significance of the building than survival of original lot lines or trees.

As an aspect of integrity, design relates directly to the form, internal organization of space, structure, and architectural style that a property exhibits. In Prince George's County, many African American properties nominated for historic associations (National Register Criterion A or B) are commonplace, vernacular structures with little architectural detail. For these buildings, critical aspects of design are form, massing, and the ability of the property to convey its historic use. Size, scale, and basic form are more important than stylistic details and fenestration patterns for embodying the historic significance of these buildings and the communities they served. For example, a highly altered African American school or church could retain integrity of design if its form and massing still communicate the building's original purpose and role within the community. In many instances, physical alterations taking place within the period of significance of these properties are as significant as the circumstances surrounding the construction of the building.

Just as their character as vernacular buildings affects how integrity of design is understood, their commonplace character also affects expectations for integrity of materials and workmanship. The combination of frame construction, inexpensive initial materials, and intense, continued use makes it likely that materials, especially on the exterior of the building, will have been replaced or covered over the years. For alterations, the use of in-kind materials and duplication of earlier appearance is less important than the character of the materials and the intentions of the people applying them. Changes that reflect income levels, community values, and individual aesthetic preferences show how buildings and communities evolved. None of these changes should be disconcerting when viewed through the larger lens of understanding the impact of segregation on African American life. The survival of the original structural framework and the African American origin of the alterations exhibit a characteristic pattern that constitutes sufficient integrity of workmanship and material for listing.

Because of the extent to which change characterizes the African American experience and the way properties convey change, all of these aspects of integrity should be considered in light of the interpretive value of the resource. The ability of remaining physical fabric to convey the appearance of the resource at a particular point in time is important to communicating the historic significance of the resource. But the manner in which the appearance of a much-altered building allows for interpreting how African American life in Prince George's County has changed since the resource was constructed may be of much greater importance. For resources associated with African American history, their value to interpret change overrides their value to commemorate a fixed moment in time.

CHURCHES

National Register Criteria for Evaluation state that churches and buildings that religious groups own are not ordinarily considered for listing. Criteria Consideration A notes that churches will qualify for listing if they are historically or architecturally important. Because of the role church congregations played in African American communities, many African American churches qualify through their historical importance. Noted African American scholar E. Franklin

Frazier wrote, "The most important institution which the Negro has built in the United States is the Negro church."[7] Black churches developed as enormously influential institutions within their communities, providing a setting for social and cultural interaction and educational and political activity. Worship and religious instruction provided the only legal means of coming together as a community when public assembly was forbidden. During the early 19th century, Sabbath Schools provided education when laws forbade educating blacks. Most importantly, as the history of Prince George's County shows, churches provided a vehicle for African Americans to exercise leadership within their own community.[8]

Scholarship has long acknowledged the importance of churches to African American history and culture. August Meier wrote, "it would be difficult to overemphasize the role of the church in Negro life in the age of Booker T. Washington."[9]

> Both church and fraternity were especially important in the Negro community, far more so than in the white community in nineteenth century America. It was in the church and fraternity that Negroes found unhampered opportunity for social life and for the exercise of leadership. A high proportion of distinguished Negro leaders have been ministers.[10]

In *Lankford's Artistic Church and Other Designs,* Washington, D.C., African American architect John Lankford, who served as Supervisory Architect for the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church during the early 20th century, described how the African American church building housed functions that extended well beyond religious worship:

> there are many who come from other places, who either join or come under the care of the church, who know few people in the place, except those whom they meet at church; many have not homes or families in that city, and they use the church and its compartments for both their spiritual and social temple.
>
> We have a great deal of proof to show that the social side of the church should be encouraged and planned, while studying and laying plans for any church edifice.... some of the noted Christian leaders disdain the idea of having anything in the church edifice, other than divine worship. I, however, take middle ground upon the subject, for the large majority of the members of the A.M.E. Church, in fact of Negro churches throughout the world, are made up of poor people.
>
> I believe it is the duty of the church, not only to look after the spiritual needs of its members and the country, but to aid in every possible way, morally, socially, and financially.[11]

Thus while African Americans in Prince George's County occupied church buildings for religious worship, this function was only one of many activities embraced within a church's walls. For example, during the 19th century, churches formed the center of small rural settlements and often housed schools as well as congregations. African American churches even

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[7] E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, p. 87.
[8] Thomas Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia," contains an excellent discussion of this phenomenon on pp. 10-11.
[9] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*, p. 130.
[10] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 15.
[11] John Lankford, *Lankford's Artistic Church* (1916), unpaginated.

provided playgrounds for children. In the early 20th century, Mount Hope A.M.E. Church in Camp Springs allowed children from the nearby Camp Springs School to use their spacious churchyard.[12]

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Because of the institutional importance of the church in African American history and the particular role churches played in the settlement patterns of rural Prince George's County in the 19th century, most churches should first be evaluated under National Register Criterion A. Consequently, physical character is secondary to a church's associative attributes. Churches may be significant under themes of education, social philanthropy, African American ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation, politics and government, and social history. A church constructed for African American use prior to 1964 or adapted for African American use prior to 1940 is potentially eligible for the National Register if it meets the following requirements:

- Twenty years use by an African American congregation prior to 1964,[13] or
- Site of an important event prior to 1964, particularly relating to community organizing, or
- Association with a congregation dating back to the 19th century.

The associative attributes required will depend on the date of the church's construction. For example, the scattered nature of settlement and small number of church buildings constructed in the 19th century testifies to the significance of these historic resources. As the number of churches rises with the growth of the African American population, the comparative significance of associative attributes may not be as clear. Documentation of churches constructed after 1940 must include the following information about associative attributes

- Information about specific institutional role in the community compared with other churches in the community. What functions did the church serve beyond religious worship? Did it operate educational or social programs? Did it serve as a community meeting place? Was it the site of meetings relating to the Civil Rights movement?
- Information about the 19th and early 20th century congregation and its role within the community. How did the early congregation shape educational and social life within the community and how have these associations continued after 1940?
- Biographical information about the pastor. Was the church the site most closely associated with a historically significant deceased pastor who played a greater political or social role within the community?[14] If an individual is listed in the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* and if a church building is the one most closely associated with the activity for which the individual is recognized, the church is probably eligible under Criterion

[12] Susan Pearl, *African American Heritage Survey*, pp. 132 and 133. Even in the 19th century, the deed for St. Luke's M.E. Church in Meadows provided playgrounds for children on the church grounds.

[13] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.

[14] *National Register Bulletin 15* states, "A religious property can be eligible for association with a person important in religious history, if that significance has scholarly, secular recognition or is important in other historic contexts. Individuals who would likely be considered significant are those who formed or significantly influenced an important religious institution or movement, or ***who were important in the social, economic, or political history of the area. Properties associated with individuals important only within the context of a single congregation and lacking importance in any other historic context would not be eligible*** under Criterion B. (p. 27; italics added for emphasis)

B. If an individual does not appear in the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* or other document that indicates scholarly consensus and recognition, the church may still be eligible if the individual's significance can be demonstrated on the basis of objective, lay scholarship.

In order to meet Criterion A, the essential physical attribute a church must possess is the continued ability of its form and massing to communicate that it is a church. While additions and changes are acceptable, the size and scale of the original church should be easily read. The simple character of small, rural churches renders workmanship and materials less important than their overall form. Because of the role the church played in the African American community, the aspects of integrity most important for churches are location, design, feeling, and association. Continued use by its historic congregation greatly bolsters integrity of association, the most important aspect of integrity for this resource. Cemeteries enhance integrity of setting, association, and feeling for churches that once served as the locus of rural settlement.

Despite the overarching importance of associative attributes, churches can also be nominated under National Register Criterion C for their physical attributes. Several African American churches have survived to exemplify increasingly rare rural church forms. For example, Holy Family Roman Catholic Church is an excellent example of a rural, frame church whose significance is enhanced by its association with an African American congregation. The integrity requirements for churches nominated under Criterion C, however, are more stringent than those nominated under Criterion A. If a church is nominated under Criterion C, it must have integrity of location, design, workmanship, and materials.

FRATERNAL HALLS AND LODGES

Fraternal halls and lodges are also important for their historic associations. As with churches, there is substantial scholarly consensus about the importance of fraternal organizations, which include burial societies, to African American history. Fraternal organizations, like churches, illustrate how African Americans were able to create institutions to address their own unique needs. "Next to the Negro church, the various fraternal organizations have represented the most influential associations which Negroes have built up within their segregated social life."[15] Along with the church, fraternal organizations provided excluded African Americans with a channel for mutual assistance and cooperative endeavor. "As old as the Negro church, and second only to it in importance as a self-help and co-operative institution was the fraternal and mutual benefit society."[16] Buildings fraternal organizations occupied exemplify the manner in which buildings serve multiple purposes within the African American community. Since African Americans were barred from most places of public assembly, fraternal halls offered one of the few facilities for African American civic and recreational life. In Prince George's County, St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall was one of the few buildings in which blacks and whites could congregate for Republican Party meetings.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR FRATERNAL HALLS

As with churches, fraternal halls will most likely be eligible under National Register Criterion A. Fraternal halls commonly possess significance under themes of education, African American ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation,

[15] E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, pp. 90-91.
[16] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 136.

politics and government, and social history. Associative attributes required for potential National Register eligibility include:

- Documented association with African American fraternal or social organizations, or
- Documented association with a significant event, or
- Twenty years of documented association with community prior to 1940, or
- Documentation of activities building housed beyond meetings of fraternal or social organizations.

While the history of the fraternal organization constructing the building may in itself be sufficient to satisfy the requirement of significance for Criterion A, it is likely that the adjunct activities will be equally meaningful.

Because fraternal halls in Prince George's County are likely to be eligible under Criterion A, their most important physical attributes relate directly to their ability to convey historic associations. The manner in which massing and size communicate the space available for public assembly is particularly important for conveying these associations. Aspects of integrity most important for fraternal halls are integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. Survival of features added to adapt the building for community use during the period of segregation enhance the associative values these buildings embody.

SCHOOLS

Schools and structures used for education have particular resonance within the African American community. These buildings typically meet registration requirements because of their associative significance. Throughout the 19th and first half of the 20th century, both African Americans and their white supporters held that education was the key to racial advancement. During the 19th century, schools were particularly important in defining the locus of newly established African American settlements in rural Prince George's County. Schools and school buildings also served as work sites for African Americans. With limited job opportunities, teaching became a significant occupation for upper and middle class blacks.

The larger history of educational institutions for African Americans reveals important information about racial attitudes, civic participation, and political rights. Because education was a major focus of white philanthropy, educational institutions were contested terrain that revealed areas of disagreement between African Americans and their white benefactors. The manner in which buildings embody institutional history and curricula provides insights into racial expectations and racial philosophy of both blacks and whites. Because education was viewed as the primary strategy for racial advancement, issues that developed around educational philosophy are particularly meaningful.

Schools may be eligible under National Register Criterion A in connection with themes of education, ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation, and social history. For secondary and post-secondary institutions, buildings may also be eligible under themes directly related to subject matter such as teachers' education or industrial education. As with other buildings identified with African Americans, schools may be closely associated with strategies of institution-building and racial self-help.

Extending beyond education, African American schools typically serve as a focus for the community. For example, in Prince George's County, Freedmen's Bureau school buildings often served as the first churches in their communities. As with churches, they serve a variety of public purposes that extend beyond those provided by the same building type in the white community. Especially in rural areas, public schools were often the only government facility that African Americans could access prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Because African Americans were excluded from stores, theaters, auditoriums, and meeting rooms, schools provided a venue for public gatherings. Beyond their significance as facilities, school buildings possess added meaning as the physical representation of community and a community's support for its children.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Because of the overarching importance of schools to African American racial advancement, any school constructed prior to 1954, the date of *Brown v. the Board of Education*, is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. These schools are significant under Criterion A for their associative significance and may be associated with National Register themes such as community planning and development, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage, and social history. Registration requirements include:

- A documented history of African American initiative associated with the construction and operation of the school, and
- A history of at least 20 years of African American use.[17]

Documentation of community life beyond education taking place in the schoolhouse enhances its associative attributes. For Criterion A, integrity requirements should be applied in inverse proportion to the age of the school. For example, the scarcity of surviving 19th century educational buildings renders any 19th century school whose original massing and form remains discernable, eligible.

The most important aspects of integrity for 20th century schools are integrity of location, design, feeling, and association. It is important to remember that any changes made to these buildings prior to 1954 may have gained significance in their own right. Broader elements of design such as overall form, massing, size, and scale are more important than survival of original windows, fenestration patterns, and architectural detailing. The integrity of 20th century schools is greatly enhanced if the original floor plan is largely intact and the original setting of playgrounds and fields remains. It is also helpful if changes that have been made to the building are reversible. Superficial changes would allow the exterior of the building to resume its earlier form in the future.

Educational structures may be eligible under Criterion B for their associations with individuals who taught within their walls. Because of the historic importance of many black educators, these buildings may well be the only surviving buildings most closely associated with their life and work. Integrity requirements are similar to those of Criterion A. However, the school's present appearance must resemble the appearance it had at the time the educator worked there.

[17] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.

Educational structures may be eligible under Criterion C if they are good examples of the work of outstanding African American architects or if they are exemplify typology or architectural style. For example, although much changed, William Sidney Pittman's Fairmount Heights School is the only major example of this important African American's work in Prince George's County. Similarly, the Ridgley School appears to be an excellent example of the Rosenwald School typology. Many of the 20th century schools may be eligible under Criterion C since they exhibit standardized plans published by the Rosenwald Foundation.[18] These schools may be good examples of their type. Integrity requirements for schools nominated under Criterion C are more stringent than integrity requirements for buildings nominated under Criterion A. Further study of Rosenwald Schools in Prince George's County will be necessary to determine integrity requirements for schools nominated under Criterion C. As with Criterion A, survival of original floor plan and setting greatly enhances the integrity of these buildings.

COMMERCIAL STRUCTURES

Twentieth century commercial structures that housed African American business and businessmen illustrate African American economic and cultural life. Given Prince George's County's present renown for the sheer number of its successful African American entrepreneurs, this theme in the County's history will likely gain increasing importance with the passage of time. Commercial buildings illustrate the types of occupations and businesses that African Americans could pursue within chronological time periods. They also illustrate the range of goods and services provided to the community. Just as the history embodied by these buildings demonstrates the evolution of African American business and professional life, the locations of these businesses reveal areas of the County open to African Americans at any given time.

Commercial structures include small retail buildings, storefronts, and free-standing, road-related resources.[19] These buildings may be eligible under Criterion A in connection with the following themes: commerce, communications, ethnic history, and social history. Even though Washington, D.C., employment dominated African American middle class life in Prince George's County, the business and commercial life of the African American community is a significant historic theme. The history of small businesses, tradesmen, and entrepreneurs is closely linked with opportunities and capital within the community. Small business becomes more attractive when access and advancement in larger venues such as corporations or government remains restricted. Commercial buildings dedicated to the African American community illustrate the principle of self-help and racial solidarity. The growth and decline of businesses can also provide a barometer of the evolution of Jim Crow laws and practice in a given geographic area.

Commercial structures can meet Criterion A if they possess any of the following attributes:

- Documented association with a business owned and operated for African Americans for over five years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with a business owned by an African American for five years prior to 1964.

[18] Even the Woodville School, constructed after the era of Rosenwald funding, may be a good example of a standardized rural school plan.

[19] While the County may contain office and industrial buildings associated with African Americans, it is more likely road-related resources along transportation routes constitute the typical commercial building available to African Americans in the early 20th century.

- Documented use of building for both African American business and other community functions for five years.[20]

As a property type, commercial structures are often frequently altered to accommodate the latest retail fashion. Consequently, alterations (particularly storefront alterations) have less impact on a commercial building's integrity than they may have on other types of buildings. Nevertheless, it remains unlikely that a commercial building associated with African Americans will be eligible under Criterion C simply because commonly applied integrity standards for Criterion C would eliminate the potential eligibility of all but little changed resources.

SITES OF RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

While recreation and entertainment held little meaning for African Americans struggling to make a living from farms and agriculture in the 19th century, the importance of these diversions increased in the 20th century. With employment in Washington and a suburban lifestyle, the amount of leisure time African Americans enjoyed increased. While Washington, D.C., boasted vital nightlife, especially along U Street, African Americans in Prince George's County enjoyed other diversions. In addition to obvious sites of recreation and entertainment, structures nominally devoted to other purposes may be equally important under this category. In his 1929 study, *Recreation and Amusement Among Negroes in Washington, D.C.*, eminent African American sociologist William Henry Jones clearly delineated how venues for recreation and amusement served other purposes. For example, barber shops and pool rooms functioned as centers of communication for a community without daily newspaper service.[21]

In evaluating cultural resources in Prince George's County associated with recreation and entertainment, it is important to note how segregation forced African Americans to pursue what would normally constitute vocations as activities outside full time work. African Americans in Prince George's County clearly possessed both the talent and skills to pursue flying and baseball at the professional level. Although the Columbia Air Center provided a living for some individuals, for many more it provided an important outlet for developing and retaining a skill. Similarly, sandlot baseball permitted gifted athletes to display their talent.

As an indicator of the shift from agricultural to office and light industrial work, 20th century sites of outdoor recreation provide important information about the social and cultural life of African Americans. Unfortunately, few of these sites remain in their earlier physical condition. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which opened public accommodations to African Americans, gave them access to amusement parks and other facilities that were once segregated. Across the country, facilities once devoted solely to blacks lost patronage and closed.

Buildings and outdoor sites used for recreation and entertainment may be eligible for the National Register for their associations with the following areas of significance: art, commerce, communications, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage, performing arts, and social history. These resources may meet Criterion A for their associations with African American communal social and cultural life and for their association with the theme of racial self-help and solidarity. Buildings may meet Criterion B because of their association with individual proprietors or performers.

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[20] The five year period has been chosen because it roughly relates to the length of the typical post-World War II business cycle.
[21] William H. Jones, *Recreation and Amusement Among Negroes in Washington, D.C.*, pp. 135-138.

Resources once devoted to entertainment and recreation can meet Criterion A or B if they possess any of the following associative attributes:

- Documented African American use for entertainment and/or recreation extending over a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with "public accommodation" of African American social functions such as parties, weddings, and theatrical productions for a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with outdoor sports or other outdoor leisure or recreational activities for a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association and close identification with a particular, significant entertainer or proprietor over a period of years.

Sites where buildings are gone may be nominated for archaeological significance under Criterion D (information potential) if they embody the third attribute listed above. Structures may meet Criterion C if they are good examples of a type or style.

AFRICAN AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS

The surviving traces of 19th century African American settlements testify to the presence of African Americans in Prince George's County history. The situation and form of these settlements, their relation to roads and waterways, and their location with respect to large, white-owned farms provides important information about the transition from bondage to freedom. The form these traces take – small buildings with simple or non-existent detailing and cemeteries with hand-carved stones – evokes the predominantly rural character Prince George's County once had. Later settlements reveal the evolution of the region and the suburban growth of the County. All of the settlements provide evidence of the pervasive effects of segregation and the restriction of African Americans to specific places and buildings.

The National Register typically recognizes entities composed of multiple buildings, such as towns and settlements, as historic districts. National Register Criteria for Evaluation provide that historic districts may "represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction." The "cumulative importance of prominent residents" may provide eligibility under Criterion A because of the potential historic district's association with "the broad pattern of community development, through which the neighborhood evolved into the primary residential area for this class of citizens."[22] National Register Criterion D, commonly used for archaeological sites permits nomination of resources "that have yielded or are likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history." Many African American settlement sites in Prince George's County are eligible for the National Register as historic districts. Unlike the typical historic district, which would qualify under Criterion C for its architectural character, these potential districts would qualify under Criterion A for their associative significance.

For 19th century settlements, their surviving elements – churches, cemeteries, or road junctions -- can provide potentially important information about the web of kinship and interrelationships within the African American community. Today's

[22] *National Register Bulletin 15*, p. 15. It is interesting to note that this guidance appears in the discussion of Criterion B, a Criterion typically associated with individuals.

significant African American presence in Prince George's County developed from these roots. These settlements relate directly to the rural character of the County. Often they survive as signposts showing where small communities of free blacks were concentrated before the Civil War. These fragments also survive, even in much altered condition, as one of the few marks left by the broad class of individuals once held in bondage.

Similarly, 20th century municipalities and suburbs such as North Brentwood and Fairmount Heights became the foundation for African American suburban development in the County. They illustrate how African Americans constructed rich environments for themselves in the hostile and dangerous climate segregation created. They embody a wealth of associative attributes ranging from their relationship to suburbanization to the way in which they manifest strategies of self help and racial solidarity. Unlike individual building typologies, 20th century settlements took on many forms. The particular set of circumstances governing each community – access to capital, occupational status of residents, character of real estate development, etc. – affected the shape the community took.

For both 19th and 20th century settlements, the physical evolution of these communities is as important as their early architectural character. For example, a 20th century church on the site of an earlier church in a small 19th century settlement speaks to the way a rural congregation endures. It signals the enhanced economic status of its congregation and the profound meaning they invest in a site that may be some distance from where its members currently reside. Physical changes reveal how African Americans adapted their buildings to accommodate changing needs and circumstances. Even dilapidation reveals how communities are abandoned as African Americans achieved more prosperity and took advantage of wider housing options with the end of segregation.

Because of the way in which settlements and settlement sites convey change, the aspects of their integrity should be considered in light of the interpretive value of the resource. The ability of remaining physical fabric to convey the appearance of the resource at a particular point in time is important to communicating the historic significance of the resource. But the manner in which the much-altered present appearance allows for the interpretation of how African American life in Prince George's County has changed since the resource was constructed is far more important. For these resources, their value to interpret change overrides their value to commemorate a fixed moment in time.

Location is the most important aspect of integrity for 19th century settlements. To convey design, feeling, and association, survival of 19th century buildings is less important than the survival of land use patterns. Early 20th century buildings still well convey the role church, school, and houses played in defining the locus of 19th century African American settlement. The combination of frame construction and intense, continued use minimized the likelihood of particular buildings surviving, even though the use pattern continues.

Locations of vanished settlements may be eligible for the National Register as archaeological sites if they possess the following associative and physical attributes:

- Documented site of an African American settlement prior to 1900. Potentially eligible sites should have included two or more buildings in addition to dwellings. Sites should be relatively undisturbed.

Similarly, the physical evidence of change should be expected in 20th century settlements. African American suburban settlements in the County typically exhibited a pattern of scattered houses constructed in a platted subdivision. Because

plats contained small, affordable lots, the size of buildings varied based on the number of lots purchased. Consequently, later infill construction is the rule, rather than the exception, for these resources. Because of the restrictions segregation placed on African Americans, people commonly remodeled or improved houses rather than buying new houses more in line with their present needs. Similarly, individuals often converted obsolete buildings such as schools into residential structures. In turn, purpose-built dwellings may have become commercial buildings.

Surviving 20th century towns and municipalities settled before 1940 may be associated with the following themes: commerce, community planning and development, ethnic heritage, exploration/settlement, politics/government, and social history. These towns may be eligible for listing if they possess the following associative attributes:

- Community or incorporated municipality settled by African Americans and occupied by African Americans for at least 20 years, or
- Documentation of the achievements of specific individuals, or
- Community developed and platted by African Americans and occupied by African Americans for at least 20 years.[23]

These communities must possess the following physical attributes for listing as a historic district:

- At least one communal or institutional building must survive. This building may be a church, social hall, school, or municipal building.
- At least 30% of the houses present during the period of significance of the district must survive.
- The pattern of streets and size of original lots must be present. (Alterations of form and material are more acceptable than changes in size and scale).

AFRICAN AMERICAN DWELLINGS

Dwellings are important to African American history in Prince George's County on two levels. Houses survive to represent the African American presence in the larger cultural landscape of Prince George's County. Simple vernacular dwellings testify to settlement locations and family roots in the County. On a second level, exclusion and segregation extend the associative values attached to domestic architecture within the African American community well beyond the domestic realm associated with this typology in the white community.

Within the white community, houses are typically significant for their design or for the importance of their occupant. Occasionally they possess importance because of events that happened within the house. Because of the limited public venues available to African Americans in the age of segregation, houses served functions that extended well beyond domestic use. Church congregations met and worshipped in houses before church buildings were constructed. For example, the congregation of St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg formed in the Plummer family's house and the congregation of Bethel A.M.E., later Seaton Memorial A.M.E., first met in Dr. Daniel P. Seaton's Lincoln house.[24] Schools also formed in dwellings. In North Brentwood, students attended school in homes prior to construction of a

[23] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.
[24] Pearl, *African American Heritage Sites*, p. 38 and Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 106.

school house in 1904.[25] Houses served as sites of recreation and entertainment, gathering places for debating ideas, and safe havens for community organizing.

Dwellings constructed by African Americans may meet Criterion A because of association with themes of community planning and development, commerce, education, ethnic heritage, and social history. If African Americans employed other African Americans to design, construct, or remodel these properties, the buildings could be eligible under Criterion A as representative of the movement to black self-help and economic solidarity, a major theme within African American history.

Domestic structures may meet Criterion B because of associations with figures that resided there. In order for the building to meet Criterion B, the relative significance of the individual must be established. Again, understanding the significance of the individual is likely to differ from the way that significance is understood for individuals in the white community. Because community achievement required collective effort through kinship or social structures existing outside of the political arena, strategies for racial advancement typically involved a large number of individuals working together, as with the strategy of racial solidarity and racial self-help. Consequently, within the context of the African American community, a large number of individuals made contributions of singular importance.

Teachers such as Thomas Hunster and William Wormley served as leaders. William Sidney Pittman engaged in community activity that extended far beyond architecture. Attorney Thomas J. Calloway was a tireless proponent for the race. These individuals and others like them all achieved significance because of the way they facilitated African American survival during the age of segregation. By molding and implementing strategies for racial advancement, they helped create a distinct culture associated with African Americans during the age of segregation. It is important to note that for race men as those noted above, their achievements are not limited to a specific geographic area or moment in time. Wherever they lived and at virtually every period of their lives, they continued their efforts for African American survival and advancement. Consequently, their local impact over brief periods of time and within individual communities could be profound.

Dwellings associated with figures who worked to build and sustain a community possess sufficient associative value for nomination under Criterion B. If the individual's role within the community can be demonstrated, the house should be eligible. National Register Criterion B recognizes buildings "that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past." *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* cautions that

> A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.
>
> A property is not eligible under Criterion B if it is associated with an individual about whom no scholarly judgment can be made because either research has not revealed specific information about the person's activities and their impact, or there is insufficient perspective to determine whether those activities or contributions were historically important.

[25] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 112.

All associations must be documented; speculative association is not acceptable. For the National Register, listing in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is considered sufficient scholarly judgment for Criterion B, a standard difficult for many African American community leaders to meet.

Because of the important role that communities such as Fairmount Heights and North Brentwood held for African Americans in Prince George's County and in the Washington region, houses associated with individuals who played important roles in African-American communities may qualify for listing under Criterion B. While the small-grain, local significance of small municipalities might not loom large in the universe of state and local history, their significance within the African American community is enormous. In the era of segregation, these towns provided political and social autonomy. They also served as an outlet for African Americans to exercise leadership skills. The cooperative nature of these ventures was an important strategy during this period. Instead of a single important figure, the history of these towns typically reveals the importance of several people and families.

National Register guidance for Criterion B requires that properties nominated under this Criterion best reflect "a person's *productive* life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.... Properties that pre- or post-date an individual's significant accomplishments are usually not eligible." (Italics appear in National Register guidance.) The documented importance of individuals to the cooperative network that developed and held these towns together, should be considered a distinct aspect of people's lives. Because of the extraordinary pace of change for African Americans during the last half of the 19th and first three-quarters of the 20th century, an individual's contribution to the settlement pattern of a specific locale can be enormously important.

Architect William Sidney Pittman provides an example of how Criterion B should be interpreted. Pittman was a highly skilled, pioneering African American architect who designed the Negro Building at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907. Pittman's residence in Fairmount Heights constituted a narrow time period in his life that arguably could represent his most productive period. However, when Pittman is considered in terms of the contributions he made to civic life in Fairmount Heights, the definition of his productivity is transformed and the significance of the house he lived in increases. Using this analysis, if a house was the residence of persons of documented importance to African American towns and settlements, it should be eligible for nomination under Criterion B, even if it was associated with the person only during the period of his or her active involvement with the settlement.

Conversely, for suburban residences in Prince George's County, the individual's role in other jurisdictions should also be considered. For example, the Walter and Elsie Smith House in Ardwick would easily qualify under Criterion B because of Walter Smith's 21 year tenure at the District of Columbia's Dunbar High School, the flagship of African American secondary education in the United States.

Domestic structures may also meet Criterion C if they are excellent examples of the work of outstanding African American architects or if they possess individual architectural importance.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN DWELLINGS

Registration requirements for African American dwellings will differ based on the location and date of construction of the building. Registration requirements for association with themes that have been well-studied and documented are less stringent than for topics about which less is known.

- Because of the relative scarcity of dwellings associated with African Americans prior to Emancipation and during the Freedmen's Bureau period, any dwelling constructed prior to 1878 is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.
- A dwelling associated with an individual with a documented role in community formation – through the ministry, teaching, civic activism, service on a board of trustees, leadership in fraternal organization, etc., should be eligible under Criterion B, provided the role of the individual and his impact on the community can be documented and is clearly set forth.

Because the associative significance of dwellings is attached to particular individuals and families, integrity requirements must relate to National Register guidance for Criterion B:

> A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today.[26]

Although strength of association and the peculiar effects of segregation can mitigate this test somewhat for Criterion A (association with historic themes), the threshold of recognition remains applicable for buildings nominated under Criterion B. Removal of ornament and porches and alterations such as additions and removal of entrances may be acceptable if the overall form and basic massing of the dwelling at the time its significant occupant resided in it remains. Similarly, the National Register permits listing of covered buildings and buildings where alterations can be reversed to reveal more of the earlier appearance of the building. Even though formstone and aluminum siding might prove disconcerting to the time-traveler, he or she would still likely recognize their former residence. For buildings such as the Butler House near Oxon Hill and the John Henry Quander House in Upper Marlboro, continuous family occupation can accommodate more physical changes to the property since these physical changes reflect the span of family occupation.

[26] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 48.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

This Multiple Property Submission applies to all of Prince George's County, as defined by the political boundaries of that jurisdiction in the State of Maryland.

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

Betty Bird & Associates (BB&A) prepared this multiple property listing of African American historic resources in Prince George's County, Maryland utilizing extensive material compiled by the Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission (M-NCPPC). The M-NCPPC, which serves as the Prince George's County historic preservation office, has studied African American resources since 1976, surveying and identifying a high percentage of the County's resources. Susan Pearl, a staff member with particular expertise in African American resources, and others have produced numerous studies that treat these resources. Moreover, numerous published and unpublished studies treated African American resources in the County. In particular, Bianca Floyd and George McDaniel have developed important information about 19th century schools and settlements and vernacular resources.

Because of this previous work, the goal of this study was to produce a National Register framework that would facilitate evaluation of identified resources and that would encourage community efforts to register African American resources in Prince George's County. The temporal span and property types of identified resources shaped the Multiple Property Documentation (MPD). To facilitate registration, emphasis was placed on developing themes encompassing larger numbers of resources. For example, the 20th century was treated in greater detail than the early 19th century. To expedite evaluation, BB&A devoted considerable attention to National Register Criteria Considerations, property type analysis, and integrity requirements, which often impede evaluation of African American resources. Lastly, the selection of historic contexts this MPD would develop was based on a clear understanding of the limits budget and time placed on this complex topic.

Grant deadlines required that the MPD place a premium on efficiency and effective use of personnel and historic sources. Because the MPD can be expanded and amplified through future study, discrete topics suitable for future projects were noted but not developed. For example, the theme of Rosenwald Schools, which this report briefly notes, easily lends itself to a student project. The MPD built directly on the strengths of BB&A, a firm with over 20 years experience treating African American resources in the District of Columbia.[1] Consequently, this MPD places Prince George's County within a larger regional and national context, emphasizing the late 19th and 20th century ties between the County and the District. Further, the MPD includes a chronology that provides a broader regional and national framework for local events.

Properties are grouped under six historic contexts that embrace African American properties in the County. These contexts are:

- African American experience in Prince George's County prior to Emancipation, ca. 1660-1865
- The Freedmen's Bureau and Prince George's County, 1865-1872
- The post-Reconstruction era in Prince George's County, 1872-1896

[1] From 1995-1998, BB&A conducted an exhaustive study of primary and secondary sources to produce the Thematic Study of Black Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C. for United Planning Organization. This project was funded with the assistance of a matching grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, through the D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Historic Preservation Program, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended.

- *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the institution of government-sanctioned segregation in Prince George's County, 1896-1916
- Suburban settlement in Prince George's County: The African American experience, 1896-1964
- Education for African Americans in Prince George's County, 1896-1954

Property types are organized by function. Registration requirements have been developed from knowledge of identified properties and their history. Integrity standards have been developed from professional experience with a variety of African American cultural resources. These standards are based on the condition of identified properties in Prince George's County as well as the threats posed to these resources. Individual forms for five properties are included with this nomination. These properties were chosen both for their representative character and for the potential use of their nominations as templates for additional nominations in the future.

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Figure 1: Prince George's County and the Region

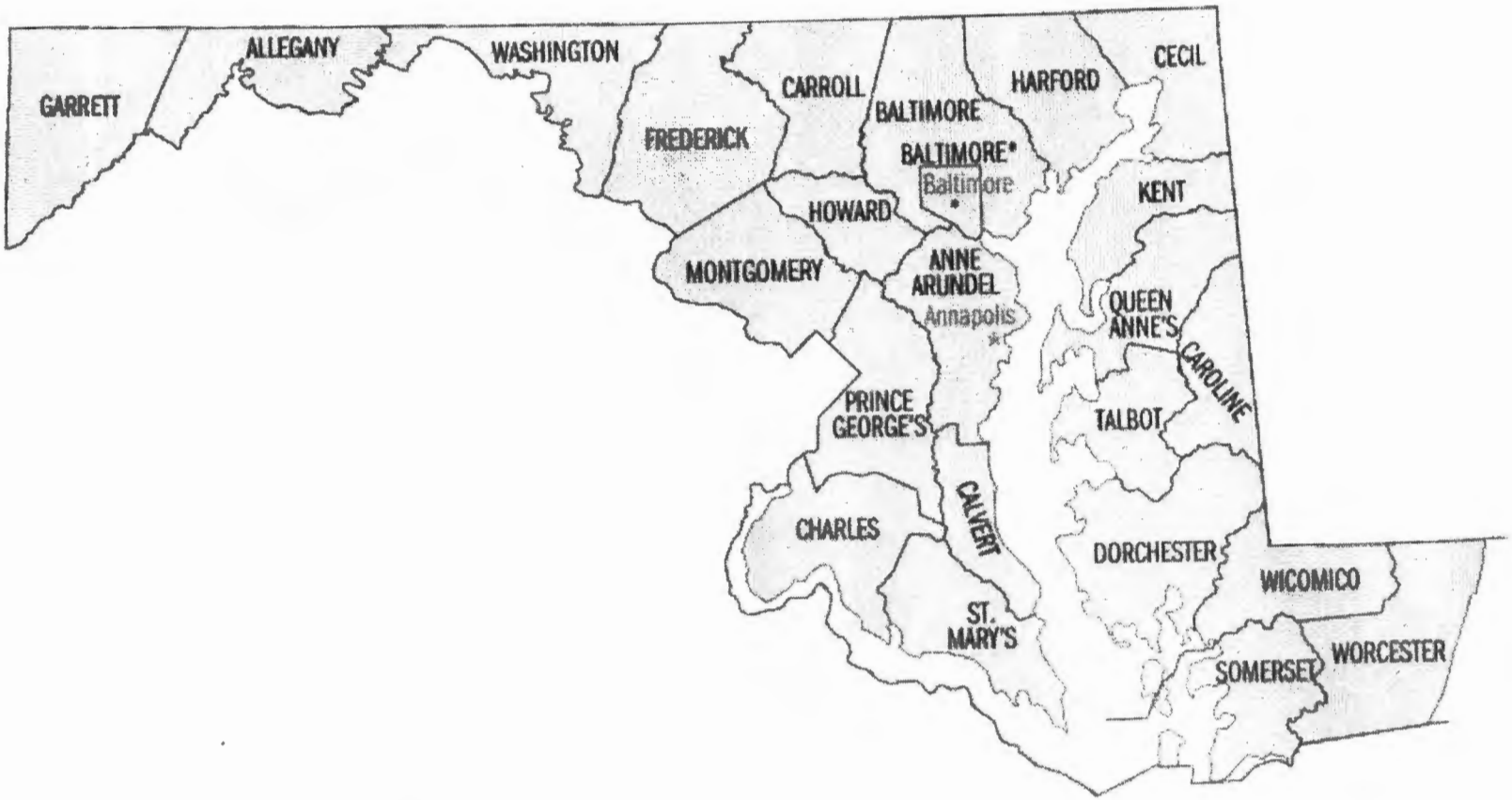


Figure 2:
19th Century African American Settlements
(Extant non-residential buildings in parentheses)

1. Laurel
   (church)
2. Rossville
   (cemetery, church, lodge, school)
3. Brookland
   (cemetery, church)
4. Bowie
   (church, lodge)
5. Collington
   (school)
6. North Brentwood
   (church, municipal hall)
7. Bladensburg
   (church)
8. Ridgley
   (cemetery, church, school)
9. Woodmore
   (cemetery, church)
10. Mitchellville
    (church)
11. Queen Anne
    (cemetery, church)
12. Oxon Hill
    (cemetery, church)
13. Camp Springs
    (cemetery, school)
14. Meadows
    (cemetery)
15. Upper Marlboro
    (cemetery, church, lodge)
16. Clinton
    (school)
17. Croom
    (cemeteries, church)
18. Nottingham
19. Baden
    (church, school)
20. Brandywine
    (cemetery, church, social hall)
21. T. B.
    (school)
22. Chapel Hill
    (cemetery)
23. Accokeek
    (cemetery, church, school)
24. Aquasco
    (cemeteries, church, school)

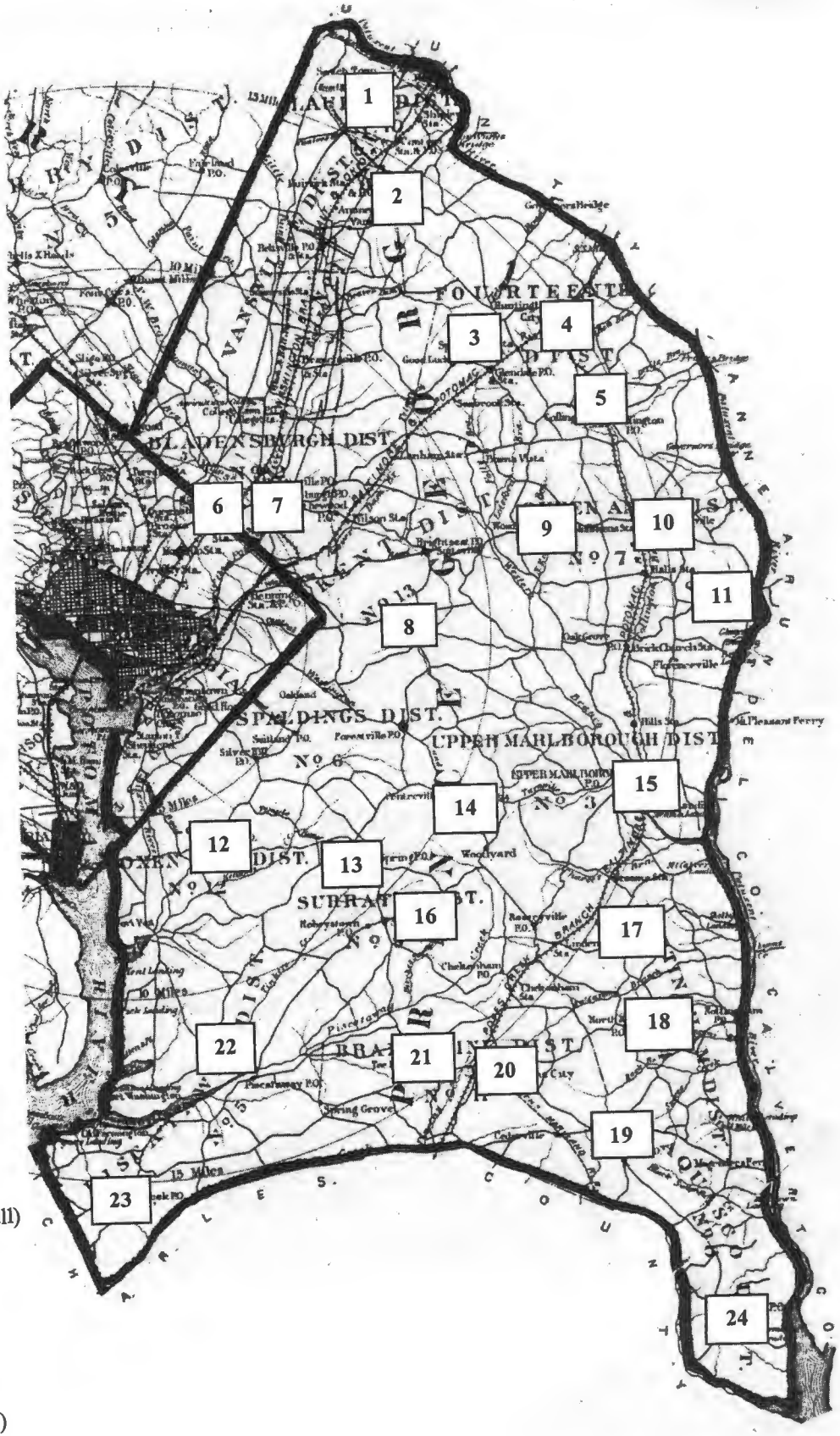
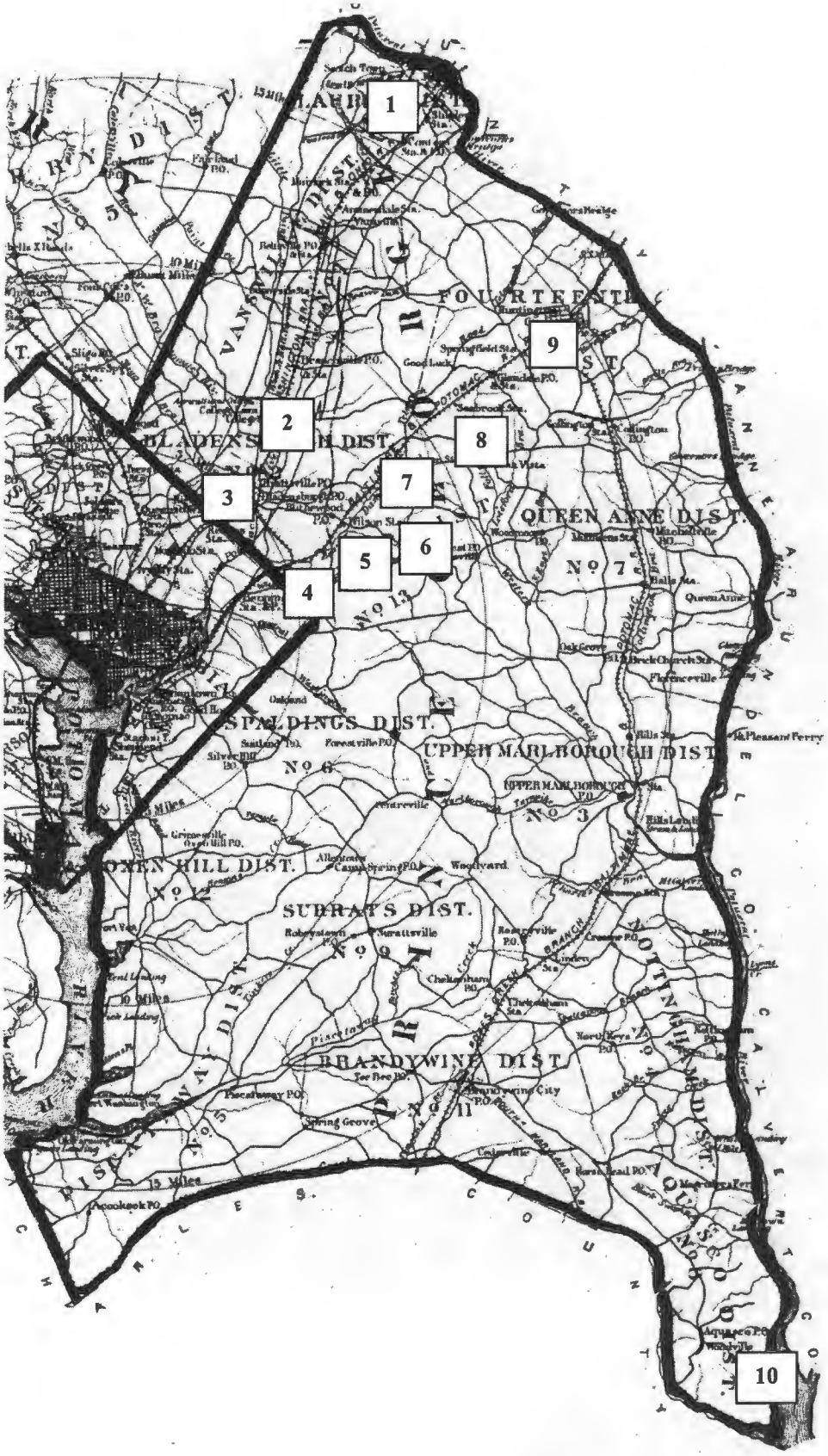


Figure 3
20th Century African American Settlements
(Extant non-residential buildings in parentheses)

1. Laurel (church)
2. Lakeland (school)
3. North Brentwood (church, municipal hall)
4. Fairmount Heights (church, monument, municipal hall, school, social hall)
5. Highland Park (school)
6. Glenarden
7. Ardwick
8. Lincoln (school)
9. Fletchertown/Duckettsville
10. Eagle Harbor/Cedar Haven



NPS Form 10-900-b

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__ New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African-American Historic Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

African-American Historic Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland

C. Form Prepared by

name/title	Betty Bird				
organization	Betty Bird & Associates			date	October 2003
street & number	2607 24th St. NW, Suite 3			telephone	(202) 588-9033
city or town	Washington, D.C.	state	n/a	zip code	20008

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets *in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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Attachments

Figure 1: Prince George's County and the Region
Figure 2: 19th Century African American Settlements
Figure 3: 20th Century African American Settlements

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE/HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Prince George's County, Maryland boasts a wealth of historic resources that anchor this rapidly growing jurisdiction adjacent to Washington, D.C. These resources, which range from the stabilized ruins of slave quarters at Northampton in Largo, to more modern properties such as the town of Greenbelt, provide the County with a sense of place, time, and historical development. Within this universe of cultural resources, properties associated with African American history possess overarching significance to the County.[1]

Issues of race, class, and gender, which dominated academic publications in the latter decades of the 20th century, have sometimes obscured the broader role ethnic groups have played in what was once the mainstream historical narrative of local and American history. Focus on small areas of conflict can make it more difficult to integrate local developments into the broader whole. Similarly, conceptualizing African American resources in Prince George's County as "black history" inhibits historical understanding.

African Americans are integral to the narrative of Prince George's County history and to what makes Prince George's County distinctive today. The unique set of circumstances that shaped Maryland's famed "middle temperament" left an indelible imprint on the African American experience in the County. African Americans first arrived in Maryland on the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. By 1720, one quarter of Maryland planters owned slaves; by 1760, this percentage had risen to half. By 1850, Maryland had more free blacks than any other state, with over 29,000 living in Baltimore.[2] In 1860, free and enslaved African Americans constituted 25% of the state's population. However, unlike other states with large African American populations, the power structure in Maryland was dominated by mercantile, rather than agricultural interests. Consequently, despite considerable southern sympathy, Maryland did not secede. Thus Maryland's large African American population was denied many of the protections and political benefits of Reconstruction. Although the Freedmen's Bureau was active in the state, constitutional amendments that gave African Americans specific legal protections and rights in the former Confederacy did not apply to Maryland. Because Maryland remained in the Union, most of its white citizens could still vote and run for political office. The political vacuum that allowed former slaves to hold elective office in other parts of the South did not exist in this border state.

Within Maryland, Prince George's County occupied a unique position. By 1660, European settlers, their slaves, and indentured servants moved north into what is now Prince George's County. In 1850, there were over 11,000 slaves in the County, a number that had remained fairly constant since 1790 and was the highest numerical population of any Maryland

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[1] Throughout this text various terms will be used to describe African Americans. While "African American" has been the preferred term for many years, over the course of the 19th and 20th century, other terms were equally favored. Racially sensitive people have considered "Negro," "colored," "race men," "black," and "Afro-American," appropriate in the past. Consequently, these other terms will appear in the text, particularly within their chronological context. For example, "colored schools" was the common term used to describe the separate school system established for African Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The words "black" and "white" will appear in lower case.

[2] Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament,* p. 781.

County.[3] As with Calvert and Charles County, the African American population exceeded the white population. In 1850, there were 12,648 African Americans in Prince George's County, of whom 1,138 were free, and 11,510 slaves. The white population totaled 8,901.[4] By 1870, over 45% of the population of the County was African-American, a percentage similar to Anne Arundel County and the rest of Southern Maryland.[5]

Thus the history of Prince George's County cannot be interpreted without acknowledging the significant role African Americans played in that history. During the 18th and 19th centuries, African Americans constituted the labor force that fueled the County's agricultural prosperity. Enslaved laborers and tenant farmers underpinned the agricultural system of the County. The economic value of slaves as personal assets and the wealth their labor created made many of the noteworthy achievements of 19th century Prince George's County residents possible.

Prince George's County's relationship with the District of Columbia, coupled with the District's unique importance to African Americans, further shaped the County's destiny. Washington, D.C. held special significance for all African Americans. As with Baltimore, its large antebellum free black community played a leadership role for the race. During the late 19th and early 20th century, African Americans throughout the country viewed the District of Columbia as the cultural center of black America.[6] The cultural and economic opportunities that the city offered made it a magnet for African Americans after the Civil War. The post-Civil War expansion of the federal government and African American participation in Congress opened the city for individual advancement. In the years after the Civil War, government employment provided for a degree of professionalism and security found in few other cities. The cultural and intellectual life of the city also formed a powerful draw. In addition to the social foundation established by Washington's large, free black population in the years before the Civil War, Howard University (founded 1867) provided an intellectual center and job opportunities for educated African Americans.

Improvements in transportation further strengthened the connection between Washington, D.C. and Prince George's County in the 20th century. Beginning in the late 19th century, the development of rail and streetcar lines connecting Prince George's County with Annapolis, Baltimore, and Washington facilitated suburban growth. African Americans constituted an increasingly important element of the County's 20th century suburban growth. Early in the 20th century, African American communities such as North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, and Glenarden developed along transportation arteries, attracting many new African American residents to the County.

By 1940, the explosive growth of the Washington suburbs had transformed Prince George's County. Lured by inexpensive housing, Washington workers flocked to the County. By 1955, the assessed wealth of the whole population in Prince George's and Montgomery County began exceeding that of Baltimore City and the rest of Maryland.[7] In 1970,

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[3] The total for Prince George's County was slightly higher than Anne Arundel. With its higher population of free blacks, the number of African Americans in Anne Arundel was greater than the number in Prince George's County. Between 1790 and 1850, white population in the County declined by 11%; free blacks increased to 1,138, close to 600%; and the enslaved population increased 3% to 11,510. (Brugger, p. 781).

[4] Calculated from census data in Brugger, p. 781. African Americans outnumbered whites in Charles and Calvert County by a ratio of 2:1.

[5] Brugger, p. 784 adapted from Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912.*

[6] Constance Green, *The Secret City*, p. 20.

[7] Brugger, pp. 794-95.

over 90,000 African Americans lived in Prince George's County, which was home to 55% of all African Americans living in the Washington, D.C. suburbs. In 1990, they constituted 51% of the County's population. The 1992 U.S. Economic Census showed that African Americans in the County owned close to 15,000 businesses, more African American-owned businesses than in any other jurisdiction in Maryland.[8] By 2000, Prince George's County had become the wealthiest majority African American county in the United States with a median household income of $55,256. African Americans constituted 62.7% of the County's population. Clearly, the role of African Americans in the County's history needs further interpretation.

Historic resources associated with African Americans are crucial to this interpretation. As scholarly attention devoted to the more well-studied history of Washington, D.C. shows, traditional methodology relying on written documentation falls short when applied to African Americans. Constance Green pointed out in *Secret City,* her ground-breaking history of African Americans in Washington, D.C., that African Americans have largely been ignored in traditional written sources. Thomas Battle, the curator of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, catalogued and annotated the extensive documentary sources bearing on the history of African Americans in Washington. Battle found that

> essentially the materials reflect the bias that much more attention has been focused upon the problems and negative aspects of black life in Washington than upon the positive aspects of organization and club development, the achievements of groups and individuals, and activist efforts to improve the quality of life in the face of discrimination and indifference.[9]

Historic settlements, buildings, and sites provide an alternate route to understanding and a powerful vehicle for interpreting history. Structures survive as a record of concrete achievement, opening a window to a heritage often neglected in written sources. A close study of these cultural resources provides an important lens for viewing the African American experience in the County. Many of these buildings are the work of African American hands. African Americans built their own Freedmen's schools (none extant in Prince George's County) and constructed churches such as the Union Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Marlboro and the Brooks Methodist Episcopal Church in Croom.[10] African American tenant farmers constructed the Holy Family Roman Catholic Church (1890), an exquisite Carpenter Gothic church in Woodmore.[11] Black carpenters constructed many of the houses in communities such as Fairmount Heights and North Brentwood. Buildings are vital elements for interpreting more recent history as well. The Benjamin and Clara Mitchell House (Van Horn House) in Deanwood illustrates the Mitchells' wide-ranging influence. Leaders in the Muslim faith, the Mitchells hosted prominent figures such as Elijah Mohammed, Mohammed Ali, Malcolm X, and Anwar Sadat.

Similarly, archaeology provides evidence for how people lived in the past. Archaeological investigation is particularly valuable for tracing the enduring African influence in the Chesapeake region. Excavations at Oxon Hill Manor in Oxon Hill uncovered delftware deliberately placed within the walls of a slave quarter, suggesting the influence of West African medicinal and religious practice. The material record that standing structures and archaeological investigation provide

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[8] 1992 Economic Census – Area Profile for Prince George's County Maryland. www.census.gov.

[9] Thomas Cornell Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia: An Annotated Guide" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1982), p. 71.

[10] Susan G. Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 87 and 104.

[11] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 126-27.

can illuminate scant written documentation to yield new historical insight. Thus the physical record that archaeological sites and standing structures furnish is potentially as valuable as written sources, such as Freedmen's Bureau Records and the U.S. Manuscript Census.

FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

Architectural historians commonly understand historic resources within a specific framework shaped by political boundaries and the relatively unchanging nature of buildings. Resources associated with African Americans challenge this framework. Geographic boundaries shaped by political jurisdiction are somewhat arbitrary for a disenfranchised population. Local figures and events must be considered against the broader, national backdrop of constitutional amendments, Supreme Court decisions, and social change. Moreover, the broad reach of the African American press and far-flung family, school, and church networks knit African Americans together across city, state, and regional boundaries.

In a similar manner, any effort to understand historic resources associated with African Americans must come to terms with the process of change. Government policy considers historic preservation a public good because it grounds people with a sense of continuity and a sense of the past. Interpretation is critical to conveying meaning and to making the past live. Buildings most often embody distinct chronological moments – the date of their construction, the date of a specific event, the active life of a prominent person. But buildings can also be vehicles for interpreting what transpires with the passage of time. This reading is particularly important for the African American experience, an experience characterized by rapid and dramatic change. In Prince George's County, African Americans went from slavery to emancipation to Reconstruction to Jim Crow to full civil rights to political and socio-economic dominance within a 200 year span. Evaluation of resources associated with African Americans must take the expectation and importance of physical changes in stride. Alterations often directly document the dynamic of political and social change, which characterizes this community. Far from marring the integrity of a building, these changes are the chips and scrapes reflecting the strategies African Americans adopted to survive within a restricted and ever-shifting environment.

Segregation rooted African Americans in particular places. Rather than moving on, African Americans tended to stay in settlements and precincts that they had claimed. Buildings were continually modified to address current need. Adaptation became more prevalent than new construction of purpose-built structures. Consequently, considerable historical meaning and associations survive, even in the locations of demolished resources and long-vanished settlements. The end of segregation and integration of African Americans into the physical fabric of American life resulted in abandoned schools and neighborhoods, when the places African Americans could inhabit were no longer restricted. Resources associated with segregated and rural communities became increasingly fragile in the face of development pressures that the growth of the Washington metropolitan area created. For these reasons and the importance of their associative -- rather than architectural -- significance, integrity requirements should focus on aspects most closely linked with the associative and interpretive value of these resources.

AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION, CA. 1660 TO 1865

In 1634, the *Ark* and *Dove* landed near St. Mary's City, creating the first English settlement in Maryland. Two indentured African servants were aboard, beginning the inextricable link between white and African American settlement in Maryland. By 1660, European settlers, their slaves, and indentured servants moved north into what is now Prince George's County. Maryland's provincial legislature wasted no time codifying slavery in the young colony. In 1666 the legislature authorized chattel slavery with the presumption that anyone of African descent was a slave. By 1720, one quarter of Maryland planters owned slaves; by 1760 this percentage had risen to half. Nevertheless, antislavery sentiment gained a foothold during the 18th century. By 1777, members of the Society of Friends began manumitting their slaves. The population of free blacks rose throughout the state, particularly in Annapolis and Baltimore. In 1790, there were 164 free blacks in Prince George's County.

Events of the late 18th and early 19th century illustrate the uneasy and unstable situation slavery created in Maryland. Slave uprisings and rumors of insurrection frightened a white population dependent on African American agricultural labor. The growing number of free blacks, the close proximity of blacks and whites, and the increasing number of African Americans as a percentage of the population created an uneasy situation. In 1739, Africans newly arrived in South Carolina broke into a store on the Stono River, armed themselves, killed two dozen whites, and escaped to Florida. The terror the Stono Uprising created extended well beyond the Carolinas. That same year in Prince George's County, authorities thwarted plans for a slave rebellion involving 200 slaves at Poplar Neck near Upper Marlboro. Meeting for worship became the only accepted vehicle for African American public assembly. By 1791 free blacks in Oxon Hill had constructed a meeting house and hosted itinerant preachers. That same year Ezekiel Cooper preached to over 100 people at Oxon Hill.[12] In 1817, Marylanders Francis Scott Key, Robert Goodloe Harper, Robert H. Goldsborough, and others founded the American Colonization Society to resettle blacks in Africa. Prince George's County boasted a local chapter.[13]

In 1831, Nat Turner's Rebellion further confirmed the potential threat posed by an enslaved population. Concerns about slave rebellion and control of a growing African American population led to increasingly restrictive legislation governing assembly and education. In 1832, the Maryland legislature required that only white clergy minister to African Americans outside of Baltimore and Annapolis. They chartered the Maryland Colonization Society and appropriated $20,000 to return free blacks to Africa. The legislature required that African Americans obtain certificates to sell farm products and liquor and restricted the right of free blacks who had left the state to return. In 1845, slave rebellion struck close to Prince George's County. Presumably aided by free blacks from the District of Columbia, over 20 Charles County slaves banded together and traveled as far as Rockville before armed whites overpowered them.[14]

By 1850, Maryland boasted more free blacks than any other state. Concentrated in Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore, this number reached nearly 84,000 by 1860.[15] In 1850 in Prince George's County, there were 1,138 free blacks, a number

[12] Bianca Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, p. 29.
[13] Brugger, p. 213.
[14] Brugger, p. 267.
[15] Brugger, p. 264-65.

that increased to 1,198 in 1860.[16] The 1860 census indicated a wide variety of occupations held by these individuals, including carpenters, midwives, gardeners, brick masons, domestic servants, and barbers.[17] The census revealed that the largest concentrations of free blacks settled in the Vansville, Aquasco, Queen Anne, and Piscataway Election Districts. Piscataway boasted nearly 15% of the County's free black population, which held $13,350 in real and personal property.[18] Nevertheless, even though there were nearly 1,200 free blacks in Prince George's County in 1860, 91% of the County's African Americans were enslaved.[19] In 1857, the Supreme Court reached a decision in the Dred Scott case, ruling that an African American remained a slave after moving into free territory. By essentially deciding that African Americans could never become citizens of the United States, the Court dashed the hopes of free blacks throughout the country.

Throughout this period, Prince George's County became increasingly dependent on tobacco, a product that required considerable agricultural labor. By 1840, the County produced 37.3% of Maryland's tobacco crop. The introduction of South American guano in 1843 replenished the soil for greater tobacco production. By 1860, Prince George's County produced more tobacco than any other county in the state. However, the decline in the price of tobacco prior to the Civil War rendered slavery uneconomical for many Maryland farmers.[20]

By the late 1850s, most of the sectional compromises that held the United States together had unraveled. John Brown's vision of armed slave insurrection and subsequent raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October of 1859 inflamed fears about the influence free blacks exercised over slaves. The threat of free blacks inciting insurrection was particularly grave in Maryland since it was the only slave state in which there were almost as many free blacks as slaves.[21] Moreover, the state's proximity to the District of Columbia's large, well-organized free black community compounded white anxiety.

After the turmoil following Lincoln's election, the secession of southern states, and the Pratt Street Riot of April 19, 1861, Prince George's County petitioned the hastily called House of Delegates demanding immediate secession.[22] Maryland was in the anomalous position of being a slave-holding state dominated by Baltimore's mercantile and manufacturing interests that were reluctant to secede. While Maryland stayed in the Union, many people in the state were sympathetic to the South and over 20,000 enlisted in the Confederate army, only slightly less than the 30,000 Union volunteers.[23] In April 1862, Congress emancipated slaves in the District of Columbia, leading to an exodus of 100 to 200 slaves weekly

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[16] University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. *United States Historical Census Data Browser*. ONLINE. 1998. University of Virginia. Available at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/. [October 2003].

[17] Occupational listings for African Americans in the U.S. Manuscript Census are not entirely reliable. In some instances, African Americans downgraded their occupations to deflect attention. In others, the biases of enumerators pushed people into less skilled categories.

[18] According to census records, Piscataway had 175 free blacks, constituting 14.6% of Prince George's County's free black population (http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/). The income figure and occupational data are from Bianca Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 21.

[19] http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ [October 2003].

[20] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Surve*, p. 106.

[21] Brugger, p. 268.

[22] Brugger, p. 278.

[23] Brugger, pp. 285-286.

from neighboring Montgomery and Prince George's County.[24] On January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves in Confederate states.

Both before and after emancipation, family groups provided one of the keys to survival for both free and enslaved African Americans. Prince George's County boasts two extraordinary family sagas dating from this period. Careful genealogical research has shown how the Quander family can be traced directly back to West Africa. The Plummer family also illustrates the enduring importance of family ties. Cupid Plummer fought in the American Revolution. A free black, Cupid Plummer married a woman who remained a slave. Since all children born of a slave mother were considered slaves, none of his children was free. His son, William Barney, married Sarah Norris, a slave of the Calvert family, who owned Riversdale.[25] John Bowser, a minister, taught William and Sarah's son Adam (b. 1819) to read. Adam Plummer's diary, recently donated to the Smithsonian Institution, provides a remarkable account of African American existence in the antebellum and post-Civil War period.[26]

While the achievements and documented genealogies of these families have personal importance to the families themselves, these genealogies and the individuals they highlight possess a broader significance for African American history in Prince George's County. This small, self-selected segment of the population stands in for the lives of thousands for whom no documentation exists. These individuals and families illuminate broad socio-economic and cultural themes associated with African American life in the County. They provide a glimpse of African American family structure during the period of slavery and trace the slave trade's impact on these families. The very existence of a family structure despite the forces operating against family ties during the period of slavery is astounding. The slave trade, forced breeding, rape, and absence of any state-sanctioned legal or social framework were powerful forces tearing families apart. Genealogies illustrate how the web of kinship operated and continues to operate within the African American community. Since these families have prospered and endured to the present day, the way in which family members interacted with the larger community demonstrates successful survival strategies. Finally, the length of these families' residence in Prince George's County serves as an important reminder of how the history of African Americans is, indeed, the history of the County.

Just as the importance of family and kinship ties shine through this difficult period, so does the important role played by the black church. The roots of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church in Oxon Hill, possibly the oldest documented African American congregation in the County, extend back to 1791. Free blacks in the area constructed a meeting house for worship. Itinerant clergy preached to free blacks at the meeting house in 1791 and 1794. In 1848, St. Paul's Baden established St. Phillip's Chapel (no longer extant) in Aquasco as the first Episcopal Chapel for African Americans.[27]

Few known cultural resources survive to represent the pre-emancipation period. Although divorced from its original context, the Trueman Cabin exemplifies frame slave quarters. Originally part of the 64-acre Trueman Plantation near

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[24] Brugger, p. 299.
[25] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, pp. 80-81.
[26] Adam Plummer's diary offers a cautionary lesson about the importance of oral sources and family history to an understanding of the African American experience. Plummer's written diary confirmed what had long been oral tradition within the family. The correspondence between events recorded in the diary and family lore suggests that oral tradition of African Americans, once dismissed as folklore or legend, should be accorded greater weight.
[27] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 130-131, 109.

Aquasco, the building was moved and reassembled at the Patuxent River Park.[28] Intensive archaeological work at the Northampton plantation site in Largo has provided interpretive material for the era of slavery. Photographed intact by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1936, the brick slave quarter, now a preserved foundation, represents the only known two-family quarter and only known brick quarter to survive in Maryland. The site has been stabilized and reconstructed up to window sill level.[29] The Northampton quarter provides an excellent example of how even much altered historic resources can enrich our heritage, particularly with African American sites. Archival research demonstrated the quarter's association with the Hawkins, Smith, and Pongee families, who continue to live in Prince George's County and worked directly with research and interpretation of the site. As County Historian Susan Pearl wrote in 1996:

> The survival of this type of building, even as an interpretive shell, is highly unusual; the information about the slave and later free families, and about their way of life, together with the physical archaeological information, make the Northampton slave quarters an outstandingly important site.[30]

The Butler House, near Oxon Hill Farm, was constructed around 1853. Built by Henry Alexander Boteler (Butler), a free black from Charles County, the Butler House has remained in the Butler family for over 150 years. While the house has been altered and adapted over the years and is currently in poor condition, it still stands to represent the lives of a successful free black farm family.[31]

[28] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 135.
[29] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 125.
[30] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 126.
[31] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 130.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1865-1872

By the end of the Civil War, African Americans constituted 25% of Maryland's population. Although the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect in 1864, Maryland's slaves were not freed until January 1865, when changes in the Maryland Constitution were adopted. The failure of the Emancipation Proclamation to liberate slaves in Maryland illustrates how federal laws passed to assist former slaves in the secessionist states rarely applied to African Americans outside the former Confederacy. So while slaves in Prince George's County had been subject to the same harsh conditions and hostile racial climate as their counterparts south of the Potomac, with the exception of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, they lacked the enforcement provisions and political opportunities that Reconstruction offered further south. The Democrats who controlled Maryland's state and county governments were not sympathetic to the plight of African Americans.

The activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in Prince George's County left an indelible mark on settlement patterns, education, and community development. Its impact also illustrates how federal actions and national laws directly affected African Americans, even in rural Prince George's County. In March 1865, the United States War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau, to assist newly emancipated African Americans. Essentially a temporary relief agency, the Freedmen's Bureau remained active for seven years. While it implemented Reconstruction in the South with the military backing of the War Department, the Freedmen's Bureau also operated in border states such as Maryland, chiefly fostering schools and settling labor disputes between slaves and their former masters.

The existence of the Freedmen's Bureau was particularly important for African Americans in Prince George's County and Southern Maryland. Former slaves were essentially refugees in their own land. In Prince George's County close to 9,000 emancipated African Americans were left to their own devices.[32] The County's support for the Confederate cause, coupled with the loss of both the slave labor underpinning their agricultural economy and the personal wealth slaves represented, created a climate of intense white hostility. The Freedmen's Bureau provided a federal counterbalance that allowed African Americans to establish settlements. Through their funding of schools, the Freedmen's Bureau became a catalyst for organization of newly formed communities.

Although few structures from the period 1865-1872 remain, the settlements African Americans established during this period endured into the 20th century. Prior to the Civil War, settlements of free blacks were concentrated in Vansville, Aquasco, Queen Anne, and Piscataway. The first communal buildings African Americans in these young communities erected were typically churches and schools. These buildings provided the central focus for these communities and became the institutional glue that held them together. Because of the rural character of Prince George's County, the church and schoolhouse were closely linked. Often the same individuals were trustees of both the churches and the schools. Many had either been free blacks before the Civil War or were descended from free blacks.[33] Frequently the church formed a partnership with the school, providing land for its construction or meeting space for lessons. If the

[32] The 1850 census showed 11,510 slaves in the county. Even granting manumission and escape during the Civil War, the County would still have retained a similar population of recently freed slaves in 1865.

[33] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

Freedmen's Bureau School was completed first, the local congregation worshiped at the school.[34] The church and school, which were often situated close together, formed the physical nucleus that defined the new African American settlements. As with Union Methodist Episcopal Chapel in Upper Marlboro (no longer extant) and John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church in Woodville (original building no longer extant), churches and schools often occupied the same building. On occasion, as in Baden, the Freedmen's Bureau building (no longer extant) served both St. Thomas Methodist meeting house and the local school.[35] This use pattern of housing multiple functions within available space would persist throughout the era of segregation.

Education played a special role for enslaved African Americans, for whom literacy had been forbidden. In the heady days after the Civil War, African Americans lived in a climate ripe with opportunity. African Americans and their white benefactors viewed education as the vehicle for advancing African Americans into the national culture. Education was the linchpin of post-Civil War movements for racial uplift. Both white philanthropy and government philanthropy were directed to educating the mass of freed slaves for a productive role in society. In Prince George's County, the most enduring legacy of Freedmen's Bureau schools may be the communities that formed around them.

The commitment that rural African Americans in Prince George's County made to funding and building schools testifies to their determination and drive. Throughout the United States during this period, education was seldom highly valued in rural, agricultural areas. The hard work and seasonal demands of agricultural labor took precedence over learning. Various movements requiring compulsory education and extending schools beyond the primary grades languished in rural states. In Maryland, for example, school attendance was not compulsory until 1902.[36] Moreover, elites sometimes opposed all public education for its democratizing influence. Little wonder that many of Prince George's County's Colored Schools faced almost insurmountable challenges. The rural character of the County and scattered nature of the settlements diluted the meager resources available to sustain schools and teachers. Isolated settlements such as Sharpersville near Accokeek had difficulty attracting and retaining teachers. Poplar Hill could offer no appropriate place for the teacher to board. More importantly, the hard agricultural life left little time or energy for adults and older children to pursue an education.

The Freedmen's Bureau required community participation. Encouraged by this requirement, African Americans purchased land and formed community organizations to raise funds for churches and schools. The Bureau expected settlements to provide a site for the school, $200 for school construction, and $15/month for the teacher. These were considerable sums at a time when the average family made $120/year.[37] Nevertheless, African Americans in Prince George's County successfully petitioned for ten Freedmen's Bureau schools between 1866 and 1868, although many of them were not constructed until the 1870s. These schools were essentially one-room primary schools focused on literacy skills. While many of the communities sponsoring these schools remain, only the Sharpersville School near Accokeek survives.[38] Freedmen's Bureau Schools in Prince George's County are shown on Figure 2 and include:

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[34] This pattern could be seen at St. Luke's M.E. Church in Meadows (now Andrews Air Force Base) and St. Thomas M.E. Church in Baden.
[35] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 141-142.
[36] Brugger, p. 410.
[37] Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, pp. 56 and 58.
[38] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 137-138.

- Union Institute, Bladensburg
- Marlboro Seminary, Upper Marlboro
- Woodville School, Aquasco
- Meadows School, near Nottingham
- Poplar Hill/St. Thomas School, Baden
- Oxon Hill School, Oxon Hill
- Sharpersville/Sumner School, Accokeek
- Croom School, Croom
- Chapel Hill School, Chapel Hill
- Clinton/Robeystown, Clinton[39]

Establishing and maintaining the schools provided an important vehicle for African American leadership and community organization, nurturing skills that would sustain the population in the future. Prince George's County took over the Colored Schools when the Freedmen's Bureau disbanded in 1872.

African American communities established churches along with schools. As Figure 2 shows, there were more church congregations than schools. Most of these congregations were Methodist or other non-hierarchical Protestant denominations. Although these churches served as sites of worship, the significance of their secular role in African American community formation overshadows their religious function. For example, the community of Rossville, south of Laurel, developed around Queen's Chapel, a Methodist church established in 1868 (original building no longer extant). Queen's Chapel unified a disparate group of industrial laborers and farm workers from the Muirkirk Iron Furnace and nearby farms. Families were spread around the area near Laurel and Beltsville as "Swamp Poodle," a rural enclave in the vicinity. When a local property was subdivided to settle an estate, these families bought 12 of the lots, building on all but one of the lots by 1889.[40]

Because African Americans were systematically denied political participation in civic culture and were banished from public venues, the institutions of church and school functioned as the vehicle for debating and instilling community values. The buildings they constructed provided sites for collective activity. While schools attempted to instill community values, the church was by far the more important vehicle for social control. Churches established and enforced norms related to inappropriate behavior such as drinking, dancing, and fighting. For example, Mary Coakley, the teacher at the Woodville School (original building no longer extant), both conducted Sabbath School and established the local Temperance Society.[41]

Very few physical features from the Freedmen's Bureau period remain. Because the settlement patterns established during this period endured well into the 20th century, these few remaining resources are critical to interpreting this period of African American history in the County. Queen's Chapel cemetery in Rossville, St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg, Union Methodist Episcopal cemetery in Upper Marlboro, John Henry Quander House in Upper Marlboro,

[39] Several of these schools were known under other names. The most common name for the school or the school's geographic location appears in this list.

[40] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 18. Rossville continued to flourish through the 20th century; in 1922 the community constructed a Rosenwald School.

[41] Floyd, Bible, Book and Voting Booth, p. 42.

and Carroll Methodist Episcopal Church in Mitchellville are the only known features to remain. Queen's Chapel cemetery (ca. 1868) is associated with the church that united the once-thriving rural community of Rossville, near the Muirkirk Iron Furnace. St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg was purchased in 1872 by the congregation founded by freed slave Sarah Miranda Plummer. Union Methodist Episcopal cemetery (ca. 1865) is associated with the church that served the African American Methodist community in Upper Marlboro. The John Henry Quander House (ca. 1870), situated on Old Crain Highway in Upper Marlboro, is one of the few remaining dwellings from this period. This modest building is an important reminder of the enduring presence of the Quander family in Prince George's County and one of the few known buildings associated with freedmen during the Reconstruction era.[42] The Carroll M.E. Chapel in Mitchellville, which was rebuilt in the 1920s, may contain elements of the original 1870s chapel. The size and scale of this building, which was once the focal point of the Mitchellville community, make it a representative example of the simple, rural chapels that once dotted the county.

[42] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 89-90.

THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION ERA IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1872 TO 1896

The political developments of the post-Reconstruction era set the course of 20th century history. By 1870, the promise of Reconstruction had begun to dim. The dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872 essentially absolved the federal government of responsibility for the newly emancipated African American population. A series of legislative actions and court decisions undermined African American rights throughout the country. In 1878 Congress passed the D.C. Organic Act, disenfranchising both black and white District of Columbia residents. The legislation was widely interpreted as signifying that whites in the District would prefer to lose the right to vote than to grant black men the ballot. In 1883, the Supreme Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. And in 1896, *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the doctrine of separate but equal, providing the legal basis for segregation. During this period African Americans in Prince George's County actively participated in party politics. More importantly, they continued to develop institutions that provided support for the community, particularly the mutual benefit society.

African Americans quickly aligned themselves with the Republican Party, traditionally the champions of the black race. The party of Lincoln, Republicans led the battle to end slavery and maintain the Union. Republicans also championed Reconstruction in the South. In 1867, Maryland developed a new state constitution that denied the franchise to African American men. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment extended the right to vote to former male slaves.[43] Fifteen hundred African Americans immediately registered to vote in Prince George's County. That same year William Beckett, the son of a free black, became the first African American in the County to run for political office. Though unsuccessful in his quest to sit on the Bladensburg Town Commission, Beckett's achievement marked an important milestone in African American political participation. Beckett also exemplified one of several ways free blacks and their descendants provided community leadership.[44]

Although Maryland had an active Republican Party, Democrats controlled both the statehouse and the governorship until 1896, when Republican Lloyd Lowndes became governor. Because Maryland stayed in the Union, African Americans never enjoyed the rights and political power that African Americans in the South did. A large majority of white men retained their right to vote and to hold political office. During the Reconstruction years, southern states elected a number of African American office-holders, including two U.S. Senators, 20 Congressmen, and numerous state legislators. In contrast, unlike southern states, no African American in Maryland held elective office in these years. Nevertheless, African Americans remained loyal to the Republican Party, especially since the Democratic Party provided a home for some of the strongest proponents for restricting their rights. In the 1880s, African Americans achieved greater success gaining the right for black men to serve on juries and securing the right of admission to the Maryland Bar.

African Americans in Maryland were politically dependent, whether they participated in the Democratic or Republican Party. In Prince George's County, white Republicans formed a coalition with blacks only to the degree required to weaken the Democratic Party's hold on County and state power. Democrats respected black political interests only when doing so strategically held back Republican advances. Neither party offered blacks substantive power during this period.

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[43] While the amendment stated that suffrage could not be denied on the basis of former status, it left requirements for voting rights to the states. This jurisdictional authority allowed states to impose literacy requirements and poll taxes that disenfranchised both African Americans and immigrants.

[44] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

Ultimately, the singular political concession the Republican Party made to African Americans, who were responsible for their majority in several counties, was naming an African American as an alternate delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1882.

During this bleak period after the Freedmen's Bureau was dismantled, African Americans in Prince George's County established mutual benefit associations to provide for their welfare. Part of a nationwide trend, these organizations functioned as relief societies, collecting dues to care for the sick and to provide for the widows and orphans of members.[45] The Rebecca Lodge, chartered in 1877, was among the first, constructing Abraham Hall in Rossville in 1889.[46] In 1880, the African American Roman Catholic community in Upper Marlboro established the St. Mary's Beneficial Society for financial and burial assistance for African American Roman Catholics.[47] In 1887, the Society purchased land in Upper Marlboro, completing the present St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall in 1892. Briefly consecrated for church services, the building served as the site for numerous local Republican conventions. The Good Samaritan Lodge (no longer extant), constructed ca. 1889, served as the first focal point for the small African American farming community at Brookland, near Glenn Dale. The congregation that constructed Dorsey Methodist Episcopal Chapel (1900) first met for worship at the Lodge.[48] The Bladensburg Burying Association was typical of burial societies, which provided funeral expenses for their members.[49] The survival of buildings associated with these benevolent societies testifies to the importance these structures held as sites of public accommodation for African Americans during the years of segregation. For a race excluded from public and private facilities such as restaurants, theaters, and government offices, these private structures provided an important locus for public life.

More buildings stand from the 1872-1896 period than from earlier periods. Among the extant resources are cemeteries, a school, churches, fraternal halls, and a house. Nevertheless, there are few physical features left to interpret this important theme. As with the Freedmen's Bureau period, cemeteries survive as vivid reminders of the 19th century settlements they once served and the vanished churches with which they were associated. St. Phillips Church in Aquasco was the first Episcopal mission for African Americans in the County. Its site, surviving bell cote, and cemetery continue to bear witness to its 19th century congregation. The cemetery for Grace M.E. Church in Chapel Hill marks the location of that rural community as does the cemetery associated with the Mount Hope A.M.E. Church in Camp Springs. The unmarked, sandstone markers of the Cherry Hill cemetery in Beacon Heights constitute a rare surviving example of a family, rather than congregational, cemetery.

The Sharpersville School stands as the oldest African American school in the County, marking the site of the Accokeek community. Two fraternal halls survive to represent the African American mutual benefit society, an important property type that first appears during this period. Abraham Hall (1889) in Rossville and St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall (1892) in Upper Marlboro provided sites of public assembly for their communities. The Holy Family Roman Catholic Church,

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[45] Although the Prince George's County organizations remained local in nature, fraternal organizations in Richmond and other cities expanded to the national level, providing insurance and banking services to African Americans. (The United Order of True Reformers, a large national Richmond-based organization, held the lot on which the T.B. School was constructed in the 1920s.) (Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey,* p. 140)

[46] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 11 and 19.

[47] Alvin Thorton and Karen Williams Gooden, *Like a Phoenix I'll Rise*, p. 102.

[48] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 119.

[49] Thorton and Gooden, *Like a Phoenix I'll Rise,* p. 102.

constructed in 1890, is a handsome Carpenter Gothic church in Woodmore. The Thomas Matthews House (1888) in Rossville is an example of a dwelling from this period. Together with Abraham Hall and the Queen's Chapel cemetery, the house commemorates the early community of Rossville's activity during this period.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON AND GOVERNMENT SPONSORED SEGREGATION, 1896-1916

In 1896, the United States Supreme Court upheld *Plessy v. Ferguson*, finding that the Fourteenth Amendment was "not ... intended to abolish distinctions based on color or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a co-mingling of the two races." This decision underpinned segregation and Jim Crow laws until the passage of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act. The political and social ramifications of this decision and the restrictive laws that followed structured African American life in Prince George's County for the better part of the 20th century. By restricting African American opportunity, the social and political culture of racial discrimination excluded African Americans from American life. Existing African American settlements in the County solidified and African Americans continued to use and reuse the settlements and facilities they had claimed during the Reconstruction era.

By 1893, African American men comprised one-third of the registered voters in Prince George's County. Of these 2,175 voters, those in the Queen Anne and Upper Marlboro election districts outnumbered whites. The following year over 50% of the delegates Prince George's County sent to the state Republican convention were black.[50] The stunning 1896 gubernatorial upset that elected Lloyd Lowndes, a Cumberland Republican who opposed Civil Rights, was largely due to African American support. (Despite his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1875, African Americans supported Lowndes because the Democratic candidate was even less sympathetic.) When Democrats recovered control of Maryland in the 1903 election, they quickly instituted Jim Crow legislation. In 1904, Maryland passed laws mandating segregation on railroads and steamships. The General Assembly also tried to disenfranchise African Americans, immigrants, and illiterate voters through various legislative amendments to the state constitution. The Poe Amendment of 1904 contained "grandfather" clauses, requiring that each voter be a direct descendant of a voter registered prior to 1869, one year before the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment granted the vote to former slaves. It also required that voters be able to explain any provision of the Maryland Constitution. Although voters rejected the amendment in a 1905 referendum, Democrats quickly regrouped with the Straus Election Law of 1907, which introduced the requirement of property ownership. Once again, the amendment failed to pass the statewide referendum held in 1909. The subsequent Digges Amendment gave the vote to all white men but required that everyone else demonstrate property ownership in order to register. Again, voters defeated the amendment, electing Republican Phillip Lee Goldsborough as governor.

African Americans gradually became disenchanted with the Republican Party on both the national and local level. As the South's political power increased, conciliation with southern whites became an important key to political power. Theodore Roosevelt's response to the Brownsville Race Riots of 1906 and the decline of African American political appointments during the Taft Administration demonstrated that the Republican Party would compromise African American interest. During these years, the Republican administration institutionalized discrimination and segregation at the federal level, cutting the number of positions open to African Americans and creating Jim Crow facilities within the federal workplace.[51]

African Americans in Prince George's County would have been acutely aware of these developments. The *Washington Bee* provided extensive coverage and political analysis of national events. Moreover, a number of men in close-in settlements, such as North Brentwood, were employees of the Federal government. On the local level, in 1916,

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[50] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 64.
[51] Green, *The Secret City*, pp. 155-169.

Republicans perpetrated an egregious slight to African American Jeremiah Hawkins, a North Brentwood activist involved in Republican politics in the County for over 36 years. Hawkins had rallied wavering African American support for former Republican governor Goldsborough's bid for the U.S. Senate in 1916. In exchange, County Republicans elected Hawkins as a delegate to the 1916 Republican National Convention. The State convention, held in Baltimore's segregated Rennert Hotel, reduced Hawkins's status to that of an alternate. The *Washington Bee*, which covered Maryland congressional elections, attributed local shifts of African American political allegiance away from the Republican Party to the treatment accorded Hawkins.[52]

As their exclusion from the Hotel Rennert demonstrated, African Americans participating in party politics posed a dilemma in a segregated culture. Once again, the African American church provided a focal point for community activity and political organizing. Schools, private homes, and fraternal halls also served as sites for meetings.[53]

The historic theme of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the institution of government-sanctioned segregation so colors all subsequent events that it is set forth as background more than for its association with particular properties. Properties constructed after 1896 are likely to be closely associated with 20th century suburban life and 20th century education, as well as with the institution of segregation.

[52] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, pp. 74-76.
[53] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 61.

SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY: THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, ca. 1896 - 1964

One of the defining characteristics of Prince George's County in the 20th century has been its development as a suburb of Washington. African Americans have played an important role in this story. Beginning in the late 19th century, African Americans established nine communities along trolley routes and railroads running to the District of Columbia (See Figure 3). These communities attracted an upwardly mobile population with stable occupations. Affiliations such as kinship, professional, or school networks often directed settlement. Towns such as North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, Glenarden, and Eagle Harbor all established municipal governments in the early-20th century. Other settlements such as Ardwick, Fletchertown/Duckettsville, Lincoln, Lakeland, and Highland Park coalesced around schools and African American residential areas. While the earliest suburbs in North Brentwood and Fairmount Heights were subdivided by whites, African Americans quickly assumed responsibility for civic function. By 1908, African Americans were developing and subdividing land themselves in Lincoln. William Bean, an African American, developed a waterfront community, Eagle Harbor, as a resort community for African Americans. Located along the Patuxent River, the community also incorporated and formed its own government.

Nearby Washington, D.C. has long attracted African Americans. During the late 19th and early 20th century African Americans throughout the country viewed the District of Columbia as the cultural center of black America.[54] The cultural and economic opportunities that the city offered made it a magnet for African Americans after the Civil War. The post-Civil War expansion of the federal government and African American participation in Congress opened the city for individual advancement. In the years after the Civil War, federal government employment provided for a degree of professionalism and security found in few other cities. For example, certain high level patronage posts such as Recorder of Deeds were traditionally held by African Americans.[55]

Much of the early suburban development in Prince George's County is inextricably linked to the continued growth of black middle class employment in the District. As Howard University, the D.C. Colored Schools, and the federal government created new jobs for skilled and unskilled workers, teachers, and professionals, the ranks of this new middle class swelled.[56] African Americans in Prince George's County maintained close ties with Washington; the *Washington Bee* covered events in Fairmount Heights, Croom, Lakeland, and Lincoln on a regular basis.[57]

African American settlement patterns in the District facilitated suburban settlement in nearby Prince George's County. While Washington offered a powerful social and economic draw for African Americans, chronic housing shortages affecting both blacks and whites alike plagued the city. The situation for African Americans was particularly dire. Former slaves flooded the city during and after the Civil War, overwhelming the ability of the free black community to provide for them. In the late 19th and early 20th century, as development moved north of Florida Avenue and across Rock Creek, much of the newly subdivided land was subject to racial covenants restricting ownership to white gentiles.

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[54] Greene, *The Secret City*, p. 177.
[55] *WPA Guide to Washington, D.C.* (1937), p. 500.
[56] Information on Washington, D.C. has been taken from the United Planning Organization's unpublished study, "African American Architects and Builders in D.C.," written by Betty Bird & Associates.
[57] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 109.

Settlement patterns in the District drew African Americans eastward across the Anacostia River and into the northeast quadrant of Washington, D.C.[58] Land on small farms was subdivided and houses constructed.

The streetcars that promoted development outside the original boundaries of the City of Washington intensified development in the eastern portions of the city and spurred suburban development in Prince George's County. By 1898 the City & Suburban Railway, which ran along Rhode Island Avenue, connected North Brentwood (originally Randalltown) with the District.[59] In 1908, the Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis Railway opened its main line, which ran through Prince George's County near Seat Pleasant and then east of Bowie.[60] That same year the town of Lincoln was platted and the Fairmount Heights Municipal Improvement Association formed. Most of these subdivisions were platted with small lots, presumably to make them affordable for their market. The size of a house might depend on the number of lots its owner purchased. For example, most of the four-square houses occupied two lots. Although some larger lots appear, many people appear to have preferred combined lots.

North Brentwood (formerly known as Randalltown), platted in 1896, was the first land subdivided for African Americans in Prince George's County. In a pattern that was later followed in Fairmount Heights, whites sympathetic to African Americans purchased a parcel of land, which they then subdivided for sale to African Americans. Small lots allowed people with various income levels to buy land, combining lots to create larger house sites. In 1887, Capt. Wallace A. Bartlett purchased land near the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia for subdivision. Bartlett, who had commanded Colored Troops during the Civil War, encouraged African Americans to purchase some of the smaller, less desirable lots in the northern section of the subdivision where the Randall family had settled earlier. In 1898, the trolley line was extended to the community. By 1904, the community boasted 23 houses, a school, and a church congregation, which met in one of the member's homes.[61]

The development of Fairmount Heights in 1900 proceeded in similar fashion. Allan C. Clark and Robinson White, both white, purchased farms and subdivided the land for housing. As with North Brentwood, Clark was particularly sympathetic to the plight of African Americans. His father, Appleton Prentiss Clark, "took a great interest in the colored people of the District." Born in Boston, the senior Clark was an active Republican who promoted African American voting rights.[62] A majority of the people who bought lots in Fairmount Heights worked for government agencies. In 1908, the *Washington Bee* noted that "most of the residents of Fairmount Heights are employees and business men of some sort in the city of Washington, and it is easy to see from the appearance of their beautiful homes just the class of

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[58] *WPA Guide to Washington, D.C.* (1937), pp. 498-499. In Northeast, the *WPA Guide* noted African American settlements in Benning, Burrville, Brightwood, and areas around Fort Stevens and Fort Slocum.

[59] Pearl, *African American Historic Sites*, pp. 24, 35.

[60] Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History*, p. 12.

[61] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 24. Bartlett's troops were chiefly drawn from Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. (Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 111)

[62] John Clagett Proctor, "Figures in First Washington Council," June 17, 1934. Clark also sat on the D.C. Council. He was particularly concerned with public schools and was instrumental in introducing German to the curriculum. Allan Clark's brother, architect Appleton P. Clark, Jr. (1865-1955), pioneered low cost housing in the District. A director of the Washington Sanitary Housing Company and Washington Sanitary Improvement Commission, he provided over 1400 units of low and moderate income rental housing.

people they are."[63] Residents included a cross-section of the African American middle class: architects, a carpenter, a brickmason, a Pullman porter, Supervisors of Colored Schools, a White House steward, messengers at the Government Printing Office and Bureau of Engraving,[64] Another common factor early settlers shared was a connection with Tuskegee Institute. William Sidney Pittman, who married Booker T. Washington's daughter Portia, was a Tuskegee graduate as was James F. Armstrong.[65]

Later towns such as Lincoln and Eagle Harbor were subdivided and developed by African Americans. In 1908, Thomas Junius Calloway, a Washington attorney and businessman, platted Lincoln as a semi-rural retreat for African Americans living in the District, Annapolis, and Baltimore. Located along the newly opened Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Railroad, Lincoln was centered on a small, crescent-shaped park opposite the railroad station. The rural town lay within a wooded setting a short distance from a school. Calloway credited Washington African American architect Isaiah Hatton with establishing high architectural standards for the community. He also stated that the community had placed "practically all our business of designing into his hands."[66]

In 1910, William R. Smith began assembling land for Glenarden, a town along the Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis Electric Railroad (WB&A). The 1913 plat for Glenarden displays a plan similar to Lincoln with lots radiating out from a semi-circular park. By 1920, 25 families had settled in Glenarden. Most of the residents were railroad employees, working for either the Pennsylvania Railroad or the WB&A.[67] In 1922, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church opened and the community constructed a Rosenwald school. Both were situated in the section of Glenarden known as Ardwick Park.[68]

In 1903, William Stanton Wormley, scion of Washington's Wormley family, one of the most prominent African American families in the country, purchased an existing house near the road to Bladensburg. The house was situated near Ardwick Station, a stop along the Pennsylvania Railroad line between Washington and Baltimore. Wormley, who was an artist, taught in the D.C. Colored School system. His Ardwick house functioned as a country house, providing a weekend retreat where Wormley and African American professionals could enjoy recreational pursuits such as tennis and trapshooting. Several of Wormley's friends then purchased or constructed nearby houses, establishing the present small community.

For the most part, all of these communities shared a set of common characteristics. The subdivisions (North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, Lincoln, Glenarden) consisted of small, affordable lots that could be combined to yield larger house sites. Unlike contemporary white subdivisions in which streets of houses were constructed on a speculative basis, development in these subdivisions proceeded in a piece-meal fashion. As a general rule, African Americans in the early 20th century did not have the access to capital for development of speculative streets of houses.[69] There are only two

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[63] *Washington Bee*, December 12, 1908, as quoted in Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History,* p. 14.
[64] The Bureau of Engraving & Printing and the Government Printing Office were strongholds of African American employment.
[65] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 67-69
[66] As quoted in Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 48.
[67] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84. Smith's race could not be determined for this study.
[68] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84.
[69] In her dissertation, "Craftsmen and entrepreneurs: Builders in late nineteenth century Washington, D.C.," Melissa McLoud documented how changes in building practice in the second half of the 19th century required access to larger amounts of capital. This need for increasing capital to carry construction costs caused a decline in the number of small builders in

known instances, the "Rosita" houses in Fairmount Heights and the three Owings houses in North Brentwood, where groups of multiple houses were constructed. In both instances, the developer possessed sufficient capital to construct multiple dwellings and carry them as rental property. Comparison of original plats of these towns with Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps shows that early houses were scattered throughout subdivisions rather than clustered in specific precincts. North Brentwood, one of the earliest communities, had a particularly unprepossessing appearance. In a 1947 recollection, an early inhabitant described his impression of the town in 1905:

> One of the most pitiful-looking villages he had ever seen, with a population of 65 and no churches or grocery stores. There was one coal, wood and ice dealer, one 16 x 12 frame public school, 16 dwellings scattered over 25 acres of the eastern part of 100 building lots, and surrounded by a dense, wide grove.[70]

As architectural surveys of the Deanwood neighborhood in Northeast, D.C. and historically African American neighborhoods in Raleigh, North Carolina have demonstrated, African Americans shared many of their white counterparts' motivations for moving into the suburbs.[71] The desire for a quieter existence and fresh air, the exclusivity of neighbors of similar income levels and values, and the same middle class aspirations that drew whites to streetcar suburbs also attracted African Americans.

In 1908 African American William Sidney Pittman incorporated the Fairmount Heights Mutual Improvement Association "to develop Fairmount Heights as a viable alternative to inner city ghetto living."[72] Advertisements for lots marketed to African Americans stressed values dear to the middle class: "The first opportunity offered colored people to secure Homes on Weekly payments of 50 cents a week....Stores, churches and schools already built; the most healthful spot in the State of Maryland."[73] In 1912, the *Bee* noted that the Cornelius Fonville House in Fairmount Heights had a "cellar, furnace and all modern improvements."[74] To these aspirations, the harsh reality of segregation added the ideal of a self-sustaining world. Thomas J. Calloway wrote that "Lincoln, Maryland has a plan to establish without restriction to race, but primarily by, for, and of colored persons, a community with its own municipal government, schools, churches, commercial and industrial life."[75] The philosophy of racial solidarity and self-help became one of the few strategies available in this era. As Calloway stated, "If the future of Lincoln can be prophesied from its brief past, it is destined to meet a situation forced upon the colored people. If we have learned voluntarily to unite in communities of our choosing, then, and not until then, will we, as a race, learn to feed, clothe, and house ourselves."[76]

Washington, D.C., both black and white. Within the African American community, outside funding financed large projects in D.C. such as the True Reformer Building and the Southern Aid Society/Dunbar Theater Building. While ventures such as the Whitelaw Hotel were successful in raising capital through stock subscription, many others were spectacular failures.

[70] Mr. Conway, as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 110.

[71] RuthAnn Overbeck surveyed Deanwood in the 1980s. M. Ruth Little surveyed South Side and Idlewild in Raleigh, North Carolina in the 1990s.

[72] As quoted in Pearl, *Fairmount Heights, Maryland, A History*, p. 8.

[73] Ca. 1903 advertisement for Huntington (Bowie) in the *Washington Bee* quoted by Pearl in *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 57.

[74] As quoted in Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 76.

[75] Thomas J. Calloway as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 100.

[76] Thomas J. Calloway as quoted in Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 109.

Given these aspirations, it is not surprising that housing typologies and architectural styles in African American suburban neighborhoods closely track those found in white neighborhoods. For example, the ubiquitous four-square and suburban bungalow are among the most common house forms in African American suburbs like Deanwood, North Brentwood, and Fairmount Heights. Even Isaiah Hatton, a highly skilled African American architect who designed the elegant Whitelaw Hotel and the Southern Aid Society/Dunbar Theater, built an unpretentious four-square for himself at 5502 Center Avenue in Lincoln.[77]

The form and style of housing also demonstrated African American capability as well as the aspiration of owners. Ranging from four-squares to bungalows to center hall plan houses to free-standing rowhouses, these buildings run the gamut of housing types. The characteristic front or wrap-around porches are a particularly poignant reminder of the attraction of African American suburbs such as Fairmount Heights. Not only do they take advantage of the fresh air and sunshine associated with suburban life, they also signal the freedom to create a communal life within these communities. Although Booker T. Washington's 1895 remarks to the Alabama State Teachers Association treat a different geographic locale and construction tradition, the sentiment expresses motivations often present in African American construction after *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

> There is an unexplainable influence about a Black man's living in a brick house that you cannot understand. Nothing would cause friction to go away so soon as when the Black man made his education felt by producing a brick house. If assertions of being a lazy, shiftless, and a good for nothing class were made against Germans....no argument would prove...wrong more than, do you see that large block of brick buildings over there? Is it owned by Germans?[78]

Two noteworthy patterns can be seen in the construction of these houses. The first is the apparent use of pattern book and catalogue houses; the second, the use of molded concrete block. Both relate to the way in which construction technology was adapted to a mass market in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sears houses were particularly well-adapted to cooperative, do-it-yourself construction in railroad accessible towns because Sears sent plans and lumber numbered for assembly.[79] In 1920, developer Robinson White constructed 19 small bungalows closely resembling the Sears "Rosita" in Fairmount Heights. White also built another "Rosita"-type bungalow at 904 59th Avenue.[80] Individuals also constructed single houses from Sears patterns. Between 1922 and 1924, Prince Albert Washington and his friends constructed Washington's House (Sears Model 3085), an attractive bungalow known as the "Westly," from plans and materials Sears supplied.[81] This house is located at 949 Eastern Avenue in Fairmount Heights.

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[77] The houses depicted in African American architect John Lankford's self-published book consist of four-squares and detached rowhouses.

[78] Booker T. Washington as quoted in Dozier, p. 95.

[79] Mechanical drawing, which taught drafting and plan reading, was a cornerstone of classroom education in industrial education programs.

[80] The date of these developments corresponds with some of the early work of the Washington Sanitary Housing Commission. White, who was Caucasian, may well have been producing the suburban equivalent of the modest brick rowhouses Appleton Clark was designing at the same time in Washington.

[81] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 81.

Similarly, rockfaced concrete block was a material ideal for self-help endeavors.[82] Using a commonly available machine, builders could produce block in their backyards. Cheaper to lay than brick, rockfaced block simulated the solidity and appearance of stone at a fraction of the cost. Although inventors secured various patents for methods of manufacturing concrete blocks, the use of concrete block did not become widespread until Harmon Palmer started the Hollow Building Block Company in 1902, selling a machine that spawned numerous imitators. By 1917, the Sears catalogue offered machines for $42.50, considerably less than their original $200 cost. Ease of operation combined with low cost led to countless backyard operations. Sears offered designs for concrete block houses in addition to their more well-known designs for pre-fabricated frame houses. Men employed in the building trades were often among the first to accept the new technology, using it in their own houses and houses constructed for friends.[83] The manufacture of concrete block would have been particularly appealing to African Americans because it lent itself to self-help and because of their experience in masonry-related building trades. African Americans boasted a long tradition of working as brickmasons and dominated the trade of cement-finishing even after construction unions forced them out of other skilled work in the building trades.[84]

In African American communities in Prince George's County, molded concrete block appears in the foundations of numerous houses, such as Louis Brown's Fairmount Heights house. It also appears in a few individual buildings. St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church in Laurel is constructed almost entirely of rockfaced concrete block. Accounts credit George Levi, described as "a laborer experienced in masonry" with molding the block.[85]

In addition to 20th century African American suburban subdivisions sharing common physical characteristics, all of the 20th century settlements possess similar associative values as well. Most housed upwardly mobile residents, many of whom worked in the District of Columbia, often in government jobs. The thread of common interests, school ties, or professional occupation extended through various towns. African Americans involved in architecture and construction were well-represented and played an important role in many of the communities. Most importantly, people drawn to these communities were politically active and had a strong sense of civic responsibility.

Educators were particularly well-represented in Ardwick because of the pivotal role William Stanton Wormley played . Thomas Hunster (1851-1929) headed the Art Department of the D.C. Colored School. Walter Smith, principal of D.C.'s renowned Dunbar High School and his wife Elsie, who taught English at Dunbar, also maintained homes in Ardwick. In Fairmount Heights, James F. Armstrong was Supervisor of Colored Schools for Prince George's County; Doswell Brooks also served as Supervisor and in 1956 became the first African American appointed to the Board of Education. It is important to remember that during this period, teaching was close to the top of the professional hierarchy for urban African Americans. Often people with professional degrees, such as attorney Thomas J. Calloway, became teachers or

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[82] As late as 1943 African Americans in Lee County, North Carolina countered both wartime shortages and racial prejudice to construct the McQueen A.M.E. Chapel of block they manufactured. (Pamela H. Simpson, *Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870-1930*, pp. 28-29.)

[83] Simpson, *Cheap, Quick, & Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870-1930*, pp. 9-29.

[84] Betty Bird & Associates, "Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C.," (Interim Report, Phase II), pp. 47-48.

[85] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 115.

principals since that profession offered higher income and more job security.[86] Before becoming principal of Lincoln's school, Calloway had earlier served as president of Alcorn College in Alcorn, Mississippi.[87]

Lincoln drew retired A.M.E. worthies. Dr. Daniel P. Seaton, Presiding Elder of the Baltimore Conference and Rev. Price Andrew Scott, who served both St. Paul A.M.E. Church and Campbell A.M.E. Church in the District, built their retirement homes in Lincoln. Neither house is extant. Seaton's House at 5510 Lincoln Ave. was demolished in the 1980s. Scott's House (location unknown) was destroyed by fire.[88]

The Mitchell family was drawn to Deanwood, a flourishing African American neighborhood in the District of Columbia adjacent to Prince George's County near Fairmount Heights. Deanwood drew families who were new to Washington, D.C. or who had formerly lived in dense urban neighborhoods such as Shaw. By 1940, Benjamin and Clara Mitchell purchased the Van Horn House, a large early 19th century house constructed by prominent white landholders. This house is situated in Prince George's County just across the D.C. line. The Mitchells, prominent in the Muslim faith, came to Washington from Tuskegee Institute. Benjamin Mitchell worked as a carpenter at the Washington Navy Yard and rehabilitated the dilapidated Van Horn house himself. Elijah Mohammed, who converted the Mitchells to Islam, lived with them on and off for seven years during the 1930s and 1940s. The Mitchells provided a focal point for the Muslim community in the Washington area, providing hospitality to Mohammed Ali, Malcolm X, and Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt who was assassinated in 1981.[89]

Just as Benjamin Mitchell's skills enabled him to refurbish a once grand house, African Americans in architecture and construction helped set the physical tone for their communities and provided the skills necessary to keep building programs on an even course. These men included architects, carpenters, interior designers, brickmasons, and laborers. This building expertise was critical to implementing the program of African American racial solidarity and self-help that residents espoused. African American architects William Sidney Pittman and Isaiah Hatton helped lay out the towns of Fairmount Heights and Lincoln, respectively. They also supplied plans for community buildings such as the Fairmount Heights School and Charity Hall (Fairmount Heights). Further, local African American construction workers and laborers built many of the houses. For example, workers cut lumber and made bricks on site for the D.S.S. Goodloe House in Bowie, constructed for the first principal of what was to become Bowie State University.[90] Samuel Hargrove, a brickmason, likely constructed his own house in Fairmount Heights. Displaying a variety of pressed brick motifs

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[86] In his autobiography, African American architect Louis Fry, Sr. wrote that his father, an early graduate of Howard University's law school, became principal of a colored school in rural Bastrop, Texas for precisely that reason. The D.C. Colored Schools provided a haven for African American intellectuals. But for Booker T. Washington's intervention, W.E.B. DuBois would have been named Superintendent.

[87] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 102; Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 47.

[88] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 103-104.

[89] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 122-123 and oral interview with Benjamin Mitchell in www.muhammadspeaks.comBroBenjamin.html.

[90] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 62. This pattern closely resembles the pattern industrial education in the buildings trades followed at Tuskegee Institute and other African American schools where students and faculty constructed many of the buildings.

commonly found in urban rowhouses, Hargrove's house probably incorporates a number of his signature brick patterns.[91] Carpenters Frank and Benjamin Holland, who worked with Isaiah Hatton, constructed many of the houses in Lincoln.[92] Louis Brown, a carpenter, constructed several houses in Fairmount Heights, including his own house at 701 58th Avenue. Other individuals associated with building and construction include carpenter Frank Holland in Lincoln and interior designer George W. McKenzie in North Brentwood. In 1906, Dr. Daniel P. Seaton, a medical doctor who became a minister and presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Baltimore Conference, purchased a lot for his retirement home in Lincoln. In 1915 his house, which no longer stands, was designed and constructed entirely by African Americans.[93]

Perhaps most importantly, many of the settlers in these 20th century towns were political activists. Thomas J. Calloway of Lincoln was an activist who promoted racial equality on the national stage. In 1924, he was one of 20 African Americans appointed to Governor Albert Ritchie's Maryland Inter-racial Commission.[94] Jeremiah Hawkins, the first mayor of North Brentwood, was the elected delegate to the National Republican Convention, whom the Maryland Party demoted to alternate.

Using organizational models developed from founding churches and building Freedmen's Bureau Schools, African Americans in these towns proceeded to assume the functions of municipal self-control. Civic associations and clubs provided the organizational structure for their efforts. Even after the towns of North Brentwood, Fairmount Heights, and Glenarden were incorporated, civic organizations continued to play an important role in the community. Because African Americans continued to struggle for state educational money, clubs and citizens associations held fundraisers that provided money for new schools and capital improvements. This model was also used to construct civic buildings, such as Glenarden's Town Hall.[95]

North Brentwood, one of the earliest communities, exhibits a pattern typical of these towns. Building upon organizational efforts required to petition for a school house, in 1906 citizens formed a civic association. Jeremiah Hawkins became president of the association. Hawkins then spearheaded the effort that resulted in North Brentwood's incorporation in 1924.[96] North Brentwood was the first African American municipality in Prince George's County to be incorporated; Hawkins became its first mayor.[97]

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[91] Through oral interviews, the late Washington historian RuthAnn Overbeck documented how African American brickmasons employed signature motifs in their work. An elderly brickmason she interviewed claimed to be able to identify fellow craftsmen's work by its patterning and decorative elements.

[92] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 105.

[93] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 103.

[94] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 102.

[95] Recently published work not consulted for this study may provide additional insight into African American communities. See Louis S. Diggs, *Surviving in America: Histories of Seven Black Communities in Baltimore County, Maryland: Oakland Park, Relay, Oella, Halethorpe, Granite, Church Lane, Winands Road*; Valerie C. Johnson, *Black Power in the Suburbs: The Myth or Reality of African-American Suburban Political Incorporation*; and Calinda Nivel Lee, Creating the Pleasant View: The Impact of Gender, Race, and Class on African-American Suburbanization, 1837-1999.

[96] Floyd, *Records & Recollections,* p. 112.

[97] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 24.

In Fairmount Heights, William Sidney Pittman formed the Fairmount Heights Citizen's Association shortly after he and his wife moved to the community. By 1911, the community constructed the Fairmount Heights School and formed a volunteer fire company in 1917. The movement to incorporate the town began in the 1920s and Fairmount Heights incorporated in 1935.[98]

In 1922, the town of Glenarden constructed a Rosenwald School, which was closed in 1950 and ultimately replaced by Glenarden Woods Elementary in Ardwick Park. Resident W.H. Swann led the community organization, the Glenarden Civic Association. In 1939, Glenarden became the third African American community Prince George's County to incorporate. Glenarden, which housed about 60 families at this time, elected Swann as their first mayor. During his two year term, Swann established a police force, utility service, and road improvements. Citizens formed the Town Hall Club to raise money for the first Town Hall, demonstrating the continued vitality of club organization for municipal fund-raising in African American communities.[99]

When the Board of Education rebuffed the efforts of Lincoln and Buena Vista to obtain a new school, the "Community Club" launched a fund-raising drive that extended into the pages of the *Washington Bee*, soon meeting the requirements for a Rosenwald school.[100] Although Lincoln never incorporated, its Citizen's Association acted as a *de facto* government, functioning as a city council, public works department, and parks commission.

Municipal self-governance and suburban ideals were not the only engines fueling new African American communities in Prince George's County. The growth of the African American middle class in the region spurred the development of resort communities. By the second quarter of the 20th century, African Americans in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Annapolis, and Prince George's County had sufficient wealth and leisure time that the demand for recreation increased. Prince George's County served as the site of several recreational venues. The stringent restrictions segregation placed on the lives of African Americans extended to parks, beaches, hotels, and amusement venues, creating a demand for places that catered to African Americans.

In 1925, spurred by the success of the African American leisure community at Highland Beach, Walter Bean began buying land adjacent to Trueman Point, a steamboat landing on the Patuxent River near Aquasco. Bean platted the land for a resort serving African Americans in Washington, D.C. While wealthy individuals like William Wormley and some of the early residents in Lincoln could always purchase rural retreats, little was available for the urban middle class. Opening a sales office in the heart of Washington's African American community in Shaw, Bean offered lots for no more than $50. Advertisements for the resort boasted 4,000 feet of sandy beach and the forthcoming construction of a $50,000 hotel. Recreational activities included boating, fishing, camping, bathing, and sports. Scores of people began constructing small summer cottages and the town was incorporated in 1929. While only four buildings from the early period remain, Eagle Harbor continues as a popular summer community.[101]

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[98] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 65.
[99] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 84 and M-NCPPC, Glenarden: The Past in Perspective.
[100] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 108.
[101] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 111.

These suburban and resort settlements were not the only sites of late 19th and 20th century settlement in the County. Remnants of other 20th century settlements still exist in more rural parts of the County. Because of development pressure, in many of these areas only single structures stand to represent what were once small, rural communities. For example, only a few buildings, such as the imposing Noble Strother House, survive to represent the Fletchertown community near Bowie. The Fletchertown School, a small Rosenwald School that was converted into a residence, survived until the late 20th century.[102] Similarly, the ca. 1920 Charles Ball House, 1925 Lancaster House, and early 20th century Colbert Houses on Old Fort Road survive to represent the African American settlement at Chapel Hill. Many of these resources have particular interpretive value because their simple vernacular form testifies to the rural nature of these settlements. For example, even though it was probably rebuilt in the early 20th century, Carroll Methodist Episcopal Chapel in Mitchellville retains the small size and simple meetinghouse form commonly associated with 19th century buildings. The building may also contain elements of the original 1870s structure.[103]

In Prince George's County, the availability of land near major urban centers lent itself to commercial ventures as well as suburban development. The exclusion of African Americans from aviation led to the founding of the Columbia Air Center near Croom in 1941. Pioneering African American aviators were barred from white airports and could not find employment as pilots within the aviation industry. Their passion for flying led John W. Greene, Jr. and other pilots to form the Cloud Club as a structure to achieve their commercial goals. In a strategy typical of the era of segregation, the formation of clubs and social groups created an outlet for talents and abilities that African Americans could not utilize in workplaces dominated by whites. These organizations allowed skills and experience to be transferred outside of traditional educational systems. The Cloud Club leased land on the Patuxent River near Croom for the Columbia Air Center, which became the first African American owned and operated airfield in the country. Greene managed the facility, which was also known as the W and J Flying Service and the Capital Flying Club. The Columbia Air Center offered classes in navigation, meteorology, instrumentation, civil air regulation, flight theory, parachute training, and aircraft maintenance. The field was the home of the Columbia Air Squadron, the first African American Civil Air Patrol in the Washington area. The airport operated until 1956. The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission acquired the field in 1959, one year after the facility closed.[104] Now only the field remains, incorporated into Patuxent River Park.

[102] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 53-55.
[103] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 127-127.
[104] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 136.

EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, 1896-1954

Education constitutes one of the most important historic themes associated with African Americans in the 19th and 20th century. Although the development of schools is closely linked with the establishment of settlements and communities, the importance of education as a strategy for racial advancement demands separate treatment. African American schools typically serve as a locus for the community. Like churches, schools served a variety of public purposes that extend beyond those provided by educational institutions in the dominant white community. In many ways education embodied a community's support for its children and its hope for better lives for future generations. Throughout the period of bondage and segregation, African Americans adopted survival strategies that revolved around these collective aspirations focused on education. (Community efforts were not limited solely to schools and were expressed through the extended African American family, clubs, and community institutions such as churches.[105]) As a means of socialization, education also functioned as a vehicle for developing the emotional fortitude and self-assurance required to survive in a segregated society.[106]

Scattered settlements and the harsh demands of agricultural life posed difficulties for rural schools and their teachers. In 1895, no Maryland county had a black high school.[107] The lack of secondary education was common in rural areas, particularly for African Americans in southern states. Many African American families throughout Maryland and Virginia made great sacrifices to send their children to board with relatives in Baltimore and the District of Columbia to get high school educations.[108]

While only Sharpersville School near Accokeek survives to represent African American education in the 19th century in Prince George's County, the record of the 20th century can still be seen. These school buildings, even in much altered condition, continue to possess historical importance since they are the only schools surviving from the period of segregation. They embody how complex internal and external forces combined to create a singularly important institution. With the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau and outside philanthropists, African Americans in Prince George's County had succeeded in establishing a number of primary schools by the end of the 19th century. In a pattern often found in declining rural areas, the schools received little support from the County government. In 1895, Prince George's was one of five Maryland counties that made no contribution to colored schools from County funds. Because of proximity to Washington, African Americans in the County enrolled their children in the D.C. Colored School system,

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[105] Thomas Battle, curator at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Collection, and others have written extensively about the importance of community-based institutions as a revision to historiography that portrays African Americans as passive victims.

[106] Betty Bird & Associates, "The Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C." contains 20 oral interviews with successful African American architects and builders who ranged in age from 65 to 94. Interview questions asked individuals what led them to enter a difficult profession and, more importantly, what enabled them to persist. Although these people were raised throughout the United States, virtually every person interviewed credited teachers and principals in their segregated high schools for their success. All spoke of teachers who insisted on their best effort and of being pushed to achieve beyond their own preconceived limits. This educational strategy instilled in students an important belief in their own ability to achieve that would counteract messages of inferiority from the dominant society.

[107] Brugger, p. 419.

[108] African American families in the rural Northern Neck of Virginia commonly put their children on the boat to Baltimore at the beginning of the school term. Betty Bird, "National Register Nomination for the A.T. Johnson School, Montross, Virginia."

utilizing trolley lines for transportation.[109] Not until 1921-22, when a high school opened in Upper Marlboro, did the County have a high school for African Americans.

Among the specific educational themes illustrated by 20th century African American schools in Prince George's County, three are particularly important. The first is the extent to which industrial education informed the curriculum in several schools. The second is the critical role the Rosenwald Foundation played in the construction of 20th century school buildings in the County. The third is the establishment and growth of what is now Bowie State University.[110] It is important to note that African Americans continued to build and support schools after Rosenwald assistance ended in 1932. Moreover, they struggled to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, which initiated the end of segregation in public schools in the County.[111]

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

Industrial education provided an alternative means of gaining skills formerly learned through apprenticeship. Prior to the Civil War, Negro mass meetings, known as conventions, and militant abolitionists supported industrial education as a strategy for economic self-help. Former Union General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who founded the Hampton Institute in 1868, was an articulate proponent of this system. Armstrong, who had commanded African American troops and who had served as superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, viewed industrial education as a moral force that would endow African Americans with Yankee virtues. He also recognized the possibilities it offered as a basis for agreement among northern and southern whites as well as black leaders.[112]

The concept and purpose of industrial education has always been subject to varying interpretations. It was both a pedagogical technique for teaching the mind how to treat specific objects and a moral force that established character traits such as thrift, morality, and respect for labor. The central paradox plaguing industrial education was that it could be viewed as a tool to reconcile labor to a subordinate position while at the same time serving as a strategy for laborers to better themselves.[113]

Industrial education was problematic within the African American community, particularly in northern cities such as Baltimore and Washington. It had little relevance for middle and upper class African Americans who aspired to professional positions as doctors, teachers, lawyers, and government clerks. It was a lifeline, however, for rural southern blacks who faced a marginal existence as sharecroppers. The African American intellectual community feared that

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[109] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 108.

[110] Information on Bowie State is available in the "Recommendation for Determination of Eligibility," prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. in 1996.

[111] Full development of this theme after World War II is beyond the scope of this Multiple Property Documentation, which can be amended at a later date to include a full discussion of the education in the second half of the 20th century.

[112] Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 89 and pp. 101-102.

[113] Congress supported industrial education with the Morrill Land Grant College Act of 1862. The John F. Slater Fund, a national philanthropy established in 1882, directed private philanthropy to industrial education (Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 85-89). Modeled on Samuel Chapman Armstrong's programs at Hampton Institute, industrial education possessed an appeal that extended across racial lines.

industrial education limited blacks to being "hewers of wood and drawers of water."[114] Further, industrial education embodied a larger paradox of training for a lost craft tradition in an increasingly industrialized age.

In 1881, Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute to provide industrial education, primarily for rural, southern African Americans. Despite Tuskegee's enormous impact, discussions of the Institute and of industrial education are often clouded by the shadow of its founder. Booker T. Washington was controversial in his own time and he remains so today. Enormously powerful, he controlled private philanthropy and influenced government policy. For example, Washington succeeded in blocking W. E. B. Du Bois' appointment as the head of the D.C. Colored Schools. Many urban middle and upper class African Americans reviled him because they felt that he acquiesced in the policy of separate but equal. At the Atlanta Exposition of 1895, two years after *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the doctrine of separate but equal, Washington gave an infamous speech in which he stated, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[115] While Washington worked diligently behind the scenes for equality, this activity was largely unknown until many years after his death.

In 1902 the Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute opened in southern Prince George's County in a rural district that had one of the largest percentages of slave population prior to the Civil War. The Croom Institute illustrates how intertwined African American churches were with education. In 1894, Frank P. Willes, the rector at St. Thomas Episcopal Church in Croom, established St. Simon's Chapel on the grounds of the rectory. The construction of a separate building for African Americans substantially increased the size of the African American congregation, which had been a part of St. Thomas for decades. The rector's sisters, Suzanne and Katherine Willes, taught at the church school. St. Simon's was so successful that the Bishop of Washington provided the church with a full-time rector, African American August Jensen.

Suzanne Willes founded the Croom Institute in 1902. Heavily influenced by Booker T. Washington's work at Tuskegee, Suzanne Willes devoted her life to African American education. She raised funds for the coeducational school from other states and incorporated the school in 1903, the year construction on its first buildings began. Willes proposed to use industrial education "as a means of opening better and wider avenues of employment to young colored men and women." The curriculum at Croom included cooking, home economics, sewing and dress-making for women as well as scientific agriculture for men.[116] As a private institution dependent on philanthropy, the school faced financial difficulties. In 1918, the Institute was dissolved, severing its connection with the Episcopal Church. It then reopened as the Croom Settlement School drawing students from throughout Southern Maryland. The school also served wards of the D.C. Child Welfare Department. World War II created further financial difficulties; the school closed in 1952.[117]

It should come as no surprise that Fairmount Heights, largely settled by Tuskegee graduates, offered another setting for industrial education. In 1915 the Fairmount Heights School became the only public school offering industrial training for

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[114] This phrase appears at the center of the philosophical debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. It figures prominently in late 19th and early 20th century African American accusations directed against Washington and industrial education.

[115] Booker T. Washington as quoted by E. Franklin Frazier, *The Black Bourgeoisie*, p. 67.

[116] The curriculum at the Croom School illustrates how instruction at these schools reinforced expectations of gender behavior. Since most of the teachers were women, many of the courses were directed to domestic ends.

[117] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 101-103.

African Americans in Prince George's County.[118] James F. Armstrong, a Tuskegee graduate who settled in Fairmount Heights around 1905, served as supervisor of Colored Schools in Prince George's County through 1919.[119]

ROSENWALD SCHOOLS

In 1913, philanthropist Julius Rosenwald instituted a program to construct rural schools throughout the South. President of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Rosenwald believed that education was the key to training African Americans for the labor force. He set up the Rosenwald Foundation following in the well-established path of previous northern philanthropic foundations such as the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Jeanes Foundation, and the John F. Slater Fund.[120] By 1928, the Rosenwald Fund had constructed 20% of rural schools in the South, serving one-third of the school population. When the program ended in 1932, it had founded close to 5000 schools in 15 states,[121] including 23 in Prince George's County.

The Rosenwald program required that communities petitioning for a school supply half of the cost of the school. Localities could combine cash, material, and in-kind labor for their match. The Fund provided a set of mandatory guidelines intended to serve as models for rural schools, publishing a book of standardized plans and specifications that was distributed free of charge. The Rosenwald Fund retained the philanthropic preference for industrial education, requiring that every school have an industrial room, which schools often soon converted to a regular classroom.[122]

Several buildings survive from the Rosenwald period. These buildings were often built on the site of earlier Freedmen's Bureau Schools. The Lincoln School illustrates how the Rosenwald pattern operated. Thomas J. Calloway, an activist lawyer who developed the community of Lincoln, secured funding for a Rosenwald School for that town that opened in 1922. The Community Club, formed for the purpose of securing the school, raised funds through entertainment events and subscription. With this funding and a lot they had purchased, the community was able to demonstrate the financial support required for a Rosenwald grant. The school, one of the largest and best-equipped of the early schools, opened in 1922 with Thomas J. Calloway as principal.[123] In the same year, Rossville, Chapel Hill, Fletchertown, and Duckettsville also constructed smaller schools (the Chapel Hill School is no longer extant).[124] In 1924, Colored School 2 in Election District 6 (Camp Springs), designed by architect Russell Mitchell, opened. In 1926, construction began on the T.B. School near Brandywine, designed by Raleigh architects Linthicum and Linthicum, who also designed the Bowie School (now demolished), Community High School in Lakeland, Ridgely School, and Highland Park School.[125]

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[118] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 66.
[119] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 69.
[120] It does not appear that any of these foundations was active in Prince George's County.
[121] Information on Rosenwald Schools from Middle Tennessee State University, "Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide."
[122] Middle Tennessee State University, "Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide."
[123] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 49.
[124] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 21. The Muirkirk School in Rossville still stands, although in much-altered condition.
[125] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 60, 116, 121-123, 139-40.

Several schools opened in 1927. In Collington, Colored School 2 in Election District 7 opened in 1927 serving seven grades.[126] The now much-altered Clinton School (Colored School 1, Election District 9) was typical of larger, two-room schools.[127] The Ridgely School (Colored School 1 in Election District 13), probably the most intact of Prince George's County's Rosenwald Schools, also opened in 1927. Ridgely School followed the elementary school prototype of two large classrooms with a central passage and two cloakrooms. This school was the first purpose-built school for the community; previously classes were held in a hall associated with the Ridgely Methodist Episcopal Church.[128] The Meadows School (Colored School 2 in Election District 9; now gone) was completed in 1929.[129]

In more densely settled areas, African Americans used Rosenwald funds to construct secondary schools. The first high school for African Americans in the County opened in Upper Marlboro in 1921-22. This school, which is now gone, served not only the County seat but the entire southern part of the County. In 1928 both the Community High School in Lakeland (near College Park) and the Highland Park School opened, partially constructed with Rosenwald funds. The Community High School in Lakeland drew students from the northwestern part of the County; the Highland Park School served the north central section.[130] The Rosenwald Fund school program closed in 1932. As historian James Anderson noted, while this program succeeded in providing schools, African Americans essentially paid twice for their schools. They paid government taxes that did not fund schools in African American communities and then raised additional funds for the Rosenwald schools.[131]

Two schools survive from the post-Rosenwald period. The Woodville School, constructed in 1934, is a rare and outstanding example of a rural school house. Situated in Aquasco, the Woodville School was the largest elementary school constructed for African Americans during this period. Although the Rosenwald school program ended two years earlier, the new Woodville School took advantage of outside assistance from the federal government. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided the labor to construct the school, using materials the County Board of Education provided.[132] The much smaller Poplar Hill School (1936) was constructed in the rural community of Baden to replace the 1878 school building. The small size and idiosyncratic form of the school may indicate that African Americans designed and built the school themselves.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION – BOWIE STATE

Bowie State University grew out of the Baltimore Normal School for Colored Teachers, founded in 1865. Colored Normal Schools were especially important in the 19th and early 20th century. As the difficulty of maintaining Freedmen's Bureau Schools illustrates, a cadre of well-trained African American teachers was critical for the educational effort needed after emancipation. In the late 19th century, only 35 of the 210 teachers employed in the Baltimore colored school

[126] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, pp. 119-120. After the County closed the school prior to 1952, the Holy Family Church in Woodmore used the facility for religious instruction for black Catholics.
[127] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 134.
[128] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 121.
[129] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 133.
[130] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 116, pp. 123-24.
[131] Middle Tennessee State University, Rosenwald School Conference Resource Guide, p. 8.
[132] Pearl, *African-American Heritage Survey*, p. 108.

system were African American.[133] Teaching had practical applications that appealed to white philanthropy. Moreover, the aspirations embodied in a normal school devoted to teacher training were less threatening to the established order than those of a liberal arts institution such as Howard University. In 1908, Maryland took over the assets of the Baltimore Colored Normal School, promising to support it. In June 1910, the State purchased land near Bowie and by September 1911 the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie had opened. In 1938, the institution became the Maryland State Teachers College at Bowie, offering a four-year degree. In 1963 the name again changed, this time to Bowie State College, recognizing the liberal arts as well as teaching curricula. In terms of the role Prince George's County played for African Americans in the 20th century, Bowie State University holds particular significance as Maryland's first African American post-secondary school. Even though none of the school's original buildings remains, the university as it exists today stands to reflect the evolution in the political and educational status of African Americans throughout the state.[134]

[133] Brugger, p. 419.
[134] Information on Bowie State is available in the "Recommendation for Determination of Eligibility," prepared by EHT Traceries, Inc. in 1996.

CHRONOLOGY: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

1634 Two African American indentured servants arrive on *The Ark and the Dove* (AAHS, p.9).

1660 First settlement in Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 9).

1666 Maryland's provincial legislature establishes slavery with the presumption that any one of African descent is a slave (AAHS, p. 9).

1720 One quarter of Maryland planters own slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1739 Stono uprising in South Carolina; plans for slave rebellion at Poplar Neck near Upper Marlboro involving 200 slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1755 African Americans constitute almost half the population of Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 9).

1760 Nearly one half of Maryland planters own slaves (AAHS, p. 9).

1790 164 free blacks in county (AAHS, p. 10).

1791 First documented African American congregation in Prince George's County: Itinerant "clerics" preach to free blacks who'd built meeting house in Oxon Hill (AAHS, p. 131).

1817 Francis Scott Key, Robert Goodloe Harper, Robert H. Goldsborough, and others found the American Colonization Society founded to promote resettlement of blacks in Africa. Local chapter in Prince George's County. (Brugger, p. 212)

1825 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) founded as a burial society for free blacks (AAHS, p. 124).

1827 Maryland Colonization Society splits from parent organization over use of Maryland funds for emigration from other states. (Brugger, p. 212)

1829 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) purchases first tract for cemetery at 5th & Boundary (D.C.) (AAHS, p. 124).

1831 Nat Turner's Rebellion.

1832 Maryland legislature passes legislation that requires white clergy for free blacks outside of Baltimore and Annapolis, certificates for sale of farm products and liquor, and restrictions on free blacks returning to Maryland. Legislature charters Maryland Colonization Society and appropriates $20,000, with potential of up to $200,000 over 20 years, to return free African Americans to Africa. (Brugger, p. 213)

1837 Constitutional reforms lessen planter influence in General Assembly. Omnibus bill includes provision requiring unanimous vote to abolish slavery. (Brugger, p. 246)

1843 First shipments of South American guano arrive in Baltimore. (Brugger, p. 209)

1848 St. Mary's Episcopal Church established as mission of St. Paul's, Baden (AAHS, p. 106).

1850 1,138 free blacks in county (AAHS, p. 10). By 1850, Maryland boasted more free blacks than any other state. (Brugger, p. 264)

1857 Dred Scott Decision.

1859 Columbian Harmony Society (D.C.) purchases new site on Rhode Island Avenue (AAHS, p. 124).

1860 84,000 "free people of color" in Maryland, concentrated on Eastern Shore and Baltimore City. (Brugger, p. 264-5)

1861 Prince George's County sends memorial to House of Delegates calling for immediate secession. (Brugger, p. 278)

1865 Maryland Constitution of 1864 emancipates African Americans in January (AAHS, p. 10).

Ratification of Thirteenth Amendment ending slavery.

Disabilities Bill legislates that African Americans cannot testify in cases involving white defendants (AAHS, p. 10).

Freedmen's Bureau begins operations in Maryland (AAHS, p. 11).

Freedmen of Upper Marlboro construct Methodist meeting house which also serves as school (AAHS, p. 89). They petition Freedmen's Bureau for schools (AAHS, p. 86).

1866 Freedmen's Bureau establishes school in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

Sarah Miranda Plummer is returned from New Orleans to her family and founds St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

1867 Freedmen's Bureau School in Upper Marlboro completed. Opens in 1868 adjacent to Union Methodist Chapel (AAHS, p. 86, 89).

Freedmen's Bureau School, also used for Methodist services, opened at southern edge of Aquasco. Teacher not provided until 1868 (AAHS, pp. 106, 107).

Freedmen's Bureau establishes school south of Centreville along Washington-Marlborough Turnpike. Opens 1868 (AAHS, p. 133).

John Skinner transfers one acre of Croom farm to African Americans for school and church.

George Orme transfers one acre to black trustees of M.E. church for "free school" and church in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141).

1868 Rossville settlement begins with establishment of Queen's Chapel; first Queen's Chapel constructed (AAHS, p. 11; 22).

Trustees acquire land for M.E. chapel in Brandywine. Church (now gone) appears on 1878 map. (Replaced by Union-Bethel AME Church in 1955. (AAHS, p. 138)

Freedmen's Bureau School established in Chapel Hill. Methodists meet in school before construction of chapel in 1880s (AAHS, p. 92).

Freedmen's Bureau opens school, forerunner of Sharpersville School, near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 137).

Freedmen's Bureau establishes school (eventually Colored School 2 in E.D. 8) in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141).

1868/69 Freedmen's Bureau constructs school (demolished) for Surratts Election District (AAHS, p. 134).

1870 Fourteenth Amendment.

1870s First church on site of John Wesley M.E. Church in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 107).

1871 Lewis Ridgely and others acquire land for Methodist church (AAHS, p. 120).

1872 Freedmen's Bureau disbanded.

Prince George's County Board of School Commissioners assumes responsibility for Freedman's Bureau Schools (AAHS, p. 5).

Thirteen schools for African American children (42 for white) (AAHS, p. 12).

1872 Washington spur of Pennsylvania Railroad begins operation in Bowie; Pope's Creek line to Southern Maryland opens in following year (AAHS, p. 57).

1874 Freedman's Bank fails (June) (Green, p. 113).

1875 Congress passes Civil Rights Act (Green, p. 113).

First school constructed in Collington (AAHS, p. 119).

1876 Trustees acquire land for M.E. chapel (demolished), later Asbury M.E., near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 136).

Ca. 1877 Second Freedmen's School established at northern end of Aquasco; first school at southern end converts to Methodist Church use (AAHS, pp. 106, 107).

African American M.E. community in Mitchellville (AAHS, p. 128).

1877 Compromise of 1877.

Rebecca Lodge chartered (AAHS, p. 19).

Trustees of A.M.E. Church purchase part of Poplar Ridge tract near Queen Anne, site of Mount Nebo A.M.E. (AAHS, p. 128).

Niles M.E. Chapel (demolished) constructed near Centreville School (AAHS, p. 133).

Augustus Lancaster purchases 13 acres, one of which becomes the site of Sharpersville School, possibly oldest surviving African American schoolhouse in Prince George's County (AAHS, pp. 137-138).

St. Mary's vestry acquires land for St. Phillips chapel (demolished) in Aquasco. (AAHS, p. 109).

Poplar Hill School (Black Swamp School, Colored School No. 2, E.D. 8), completed in Baden Aquasco (AAHS, p. 141-42).

Ca. 1878 African Americans move into Carroll M.E. Church (formerly McKendree Chapel) in Mitchellville (AAHS, p. 127).

Late 1870s First school for Bowie (Huntington) African Americans constructed. (AAHS, p. 60)

1883 Supreme Court rules that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 is unconstitutional in states but might still be valid in territories and D.C.

1884 Laurel Colored School constructed (AAHS, p. 115).

1885 Methodist congregation established in Huntington (Bowie) (AAHS, p. 57).

1887 St. Mary's Beneficial Society purchases land in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 88).

James H.S. Gibbons deeds land for Gibbons M.E. Church (demolished) near Brandywine (AAHS, p. 140).

Ca. 1887 Construction of Ridgely M.E. Church, Landover (AAHS, p. 120).

1888 Convention of Colored Catholics holds first meeting in Washington (AAHS, p. 90).

Construction of original St. Paul's M.E. Church (demolished) in Oxon Hill (AAHS, p. 131).

Ca. 1889 Good Samaritan Lodge established for African American farmers in Brookland (AAHS, p. 119).

1889 Rebecca Lodge established in Rossville (AAHS, p. 11).

Original log structure of Brooks Church in Croom replaced with frame building (AAHS, p. 104).

Gibbons M.E. Church (demolished) constructed near Brandywine (AAHS, p. 140).

1890s African Americans began purchasing land in Randalltown (North Brentwood) (AAHS, p. 11).

Notley Hall Amusement Park constructed (AAHS, p. 12).

1890 Parishioners construct Holy Family R.C. Church in Woodmore (AAHS, p. 126).

1891 Mount Hope A.M.E. trustees purchase 2 acres for church site; church (demolished) erected a few years later. Only graveyard remains (AAHS, p. 132).

1892 September reunion of U.S. Colored Troops (Civil War) in D.C. (AAHS, p. 24).

St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall completed (AAHS, p. 88).

1893 Traditional frame church replaces first Niles Chapel in Centreville (AAHS, p. 133).

1894 St. Simon's Chapel (Episcopal) established.

1895 Brookland men purchase land near Good Samaritan Lodge for M.E. church. (AAHS, p. 119).

1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* establishes the doctrine of separate but equal.

1898 City & Suburban Railway running along Rhode Island Avenue connects Randalltown (N. Brentwood) with D.C. (AAHS, p. 24, 35).

1900 Twenty-eight schools for African American children (60 for white) (AAHS, p. 12).

Bowie population is more than 40% African American (AAHS, p. 57).

Robinson White and Allen Clark subdivide 50 acres for Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 64).

Trustees of M.E. Church acquire land in Croom (AAHS, p. 102).

Dorsey M.E. Chapel constructed for Brookland (near Glenn Dale) (AAHS, p. 118-119).

1902 Grace Methodist Church (demolished) constructed at Chapel Hill (AAHS, pp. 92, 94).

1902 Suzanne Willes, sister of St. Thomas's rector, establishes the Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute (AAHS, pp. 100, 101).

Bishop of Washington appoints August Jenson rector of St. Simon's (AAHS, p. 101).

Camp Springs Board of School Commissioners authorizes black school (AAHS, p. 132).

1903 William Stanton Wormley buys land in Ardwick (AAHS, p. 40).

One-room schoolhouse opens in Lakeland (AAHS, p. 116).

January – Camp Springs School (demolished) completed (AAHS, p. 131).

1905 Niagara Movement.

1906 Randalltown/North Brentwood civic association started (BF, p. 10).

John Wesley M.E. Church (demolished) constructed in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 107).

Asbury M.E. Church constructed near Accokeek (AAHS, p. 136-37).

1907 Baptist church established in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24).

William Sidney Pittman marries Portia Washington and moves into Fairmount Heights house (AAHS, p. 68).

Ca. 1908 Charity Hall, designed by William Sidney Pittman, constructed in Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 78).

1908 Completion of Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis (WB&A) electric railway (AAHS, p. 45).

Thomas Junius Calloway's Lincoln Land and Improvement Company, Inc. acquires and plats 200 acres (AAHS, p. 45).

State accepts assets of Baltimore Colored Normal School and agrees to establish permanent Maryland Normal School to train African American teachers (AAHS, p. 61).

Ross Memorial Methodist Church constructed in Bowie (AAHS, p. 57, 58-59).

Fireman's Hall constructed in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24).

1909 NAACP founded.

Fairmount Heights ME Church (Grace United) established (AAHS, p. 70).

Ca. 1910 Knights of St. John Hall constructed for St. John's Auxiliary of Ascension R.C. Church (AAHS, p. 59).

1910 State purchases 187 acres near Bowie for Maryland Normal School (AAHS, p. 61).

North Fairmount Heights established (AAHS, p. 64).

1911 Maryland Normal and Industrial School opens in Bowie (AAHS, p. 12).

West Fairmount Heights established (AAHS, p. 64).

Fairmount Heights ME Church constructs building (AAHS, p. 70).

St. Mary's M.E. Chapel constructed in Croom (AAHS, p. 102).

St. Thomas M.E. Church constructed in Baden-Aquasco (AAHS, pp. 141-42).

1912 Julius Rosenwald establishes the Rosenwald Fund (AAHS, p. 12).

William Sidney Pittman's Fairmount Heights School opened. School offered Prince George's County's only facility for industrial training for African Americans. Pittmans move to Dallas (BF, p. 11; AAHS, pp. 66, 68).

ca. 1913 William R. Smith plats Glenarden and Glenarden Heights southwest of Lincoln along WB&A. (AAHS, p. 84).

1915 St. Paul's M.E. Church in Oxon Hill constructed (AAHS, p. 130).

1916 First four-square house (William H. Thomas House) constructed in N. Brentwood (AAHS, p. 27).

Seaton (Bethel) AME Church (demolished) constructed in Lincoln (AAHS, p. 46).

Union Memorial M.E. Church completed to replace Union Chapel in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 87).

Bowie incorporated (AAHS, p. 57).

1919 Washington Race Riot.

1920s Mitchellville School constructed near Carroll M.E. Church (AAHS, p. 128).

1920 Completion of AME Zion Church in North Brentwood (AAHS, p. 24, 32).

1921 First African American High School in Prince George's County opens in Upper Marlboro (AAHS, p. 86).

St. Mark's M.E. Church (founded in 19th c.) constructed in Laurel. George Levi molds block (AAHS, p. 115.).

Ca. 1922 Present Ridgely M.E. Church constructed after earlier church burns in 1921 (AAHS, p. 121).

1922 Citizens of Fairmount Heights begin incorporation procedures (BF, p. 11).

Rosenwald School opens in Lincoln with T.J. Calloway as first principal (AAHS, p. 45).

Colored School 3 (Duckettsville; demolished) and Colored School 4 (Fletchertown) constructed with partial support from Rosenwald funds (AAHS, p. 54).

1922 Rosenwald School constructed in Ardwick Park (Glenarden) (AAHS, p. 84).

Rosenwald School constructed in Chapel Hill adjacent to Freedmen's Bureau School (AAHS, p. 93).

St. Joseph's R.C. Church constructed in Ardwick Park (Glenarden) (AAHS, p. 84).

Benevolent society lodge constructed in Chapel Hill (AAHS, p. 92).

1923 Board of Education approves construction of African American primary school in Bladensburg (AAHS, p. 37).

Sylvan Vista (Fairmount Heights) platted (AAHS, p. 65).

1923/24 Survey of Colored Public Schools notes 42 elementary schools for African Americans in Prince George's County (AAHS, p. 122).

1924 North Brentwood incorporates (AAHS, p. 11, 24).

Camp Springs School (Colored School No. 2) constructed with Rosenwald funds (AAHS, p. 132).

1925 Walter Bean purchases land for Eagle Harbor, marketed as a resort for D.C. residents (AAHS, p. 111).

Present Mount Nebo A.M.E. Church constructed on site of log church that burned (AAHS, p. 129).

Second Rosenwald school opened in Chapel Hill (AAHS, p. 93).

1926 Lakeland Rosenwald school opens (AAHS, p. 116).

Rosenwald-funded T.B. School constructed in Brandywine (AAHS, p. 139).

1927 Maryland establishes permanent interracial commission appointed by governor. (WPA, p. 59).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1 (Bowie School; demolished) opens (AAHS, p. 60).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 2 (Collington) opens (AAHS, p. 120).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1 (Landover) constructed (AAHS, p. 121).

Rosenwald-funded Colored School 1, Election District 9 (Clinton) opens (AAHS, p. 134).

James Easley Edmunds of Lynchburg develops Lincoln Memorial Cemetery on site of Landon Dairy Farm (AAHS, p. 129).

1928 Community High School constructed in Lakeland to serve students in northwest part of County (AAHS, p. 116).

Highland Park School constructed for students in north central County. Community High School and Highland Park School were the 2nd and 3rd African American secondary school in county. (AAHS, pp. 116, 123-124)

1929 Extension of Rhode Island Avenue west of trolley tracks increases N. Brentwood's accessibility (AAHS, p. 24).

Eagle Harbor incorporated (AAHS, p. 111).

Rosenwald-funded Meadows School (Colored School 2, Election District 9) completed near church and social hall (AAHS, p. 133).

Rosenwald-funded Brandywine School constructed near Gibbons M.E. Church (AAHS, p. 141).

1932 St. Phillip's Episcopal Church (demolished) expands (AAHS, p. 109).

1934 Eight-room school constructed at Addison & Sheriff Roads in Fairmount Heights (AAHS, p. 66).

Woodville School replaces Freedmen's Bureau School in Aquasco (AAHS, p. 106).

1935 Fairmount Heights finally incorporated (BF, p. 11).

Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Electric Railway, which provided access to Lincoln and Glenarden, stops service. Right-of-way becomes MLK, Jr. (George Palmer) Hwy. (AAHS, pp. 45, 84).

Small Poplar Hill School constructed in Baden (AAHS, p. 143).

1938 Maryland Normal School converts to four-year degree program and becomes Maryland State Teachers College at Bowie (AAHS, p. 61).

1939 Glenarden becomes 3rd African American community to incorporate (AAHS, p. 84).

Brooks Methodist Episcopal Church constructed in Croom (AAHS, p. 104).

1940s Fairmount Heights Community begins construction of nucleus of Municipal Center (AAHS, p. 80).

Glenarden Municipal Hall constructed (AAHS, p. 84).

1941 Cloud Club opens Columbia Air Center (AAHS, p. 12).

1942 U.S. Government condemns land for Andrews Air Force Base, destroying Niles Chapel (St. Luke's, school, & lodge). Only cemetery remains (AAHS, pp. 133-134).

1947 Theresa Banks' efforts result in teacher pay parity (AAHS, p. 13).

1948 Washington, D.C. archdiocese decides to desegregate parochial schools (including Prince George's County) (Green, p. 301).

1950s Levitt Corporation develops Belair at Ogle-Woodward estate south of Bowie (AAHS, p. 57).

1952 Croom Settlement School closes (AAHS, p. 103).

Collington School closes (AAHS, p. 120).

1952 Baden School closes; purchased by Elks Lodge (AAHS, p. 143).

T.B. School auctioned (AAHS, p. 140).

1953 Congregation lays cornerstone for present Queen's Chapel (AAHS, p. 22).

1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* outlaws separate but equal education.

Woodville School closes; purchased by Knights of St. John Commandery #373 for social hall (AAHS, p. 108).

1955 Camp Springs School auctioned (AAHS, p. 132)

Clinton School sold to American Legion (AAHS, p. 134).

1956 Fairmount Heights resident Doswell Brooks (d. 1968) becomes first African American member of the Board of Education (AAHS, p. 77).

1957 Glenarden Woods Elementary School replaces 1922 Rosenwald School (AAHS, p. 84).

1958 Columbia Air Center closes (AAHS, p. 136).

Prince George's Community College (integrated) opens.

1960 Columbian Harmony Society moves 37,000 graves to present site in Landover (AAHS, p. 124).

1963 Maryland State Teachers College grants liberal arts degrees and becomes Bowie State College (AAHS, p. 61).

1965 Executive Order 11246 (Non-discrimination for government contractors) (Rowan, p. iv).

1964 St. Simon's Chapel merges with St. Thomas, Croom (AAHS, p. 100).

1967 Arthur A. King of Beltsville serves as first African American in the General Assembly (AAHS, p. 13).

1988 Bowie State University joins University of Maryland system (AAHS, p. 61).

Goodloe House becomes first Prince George's County African-American historic site to be listed on the National Register. (Conversation with Susan Pearl, 6/24/03).

1991 Abraham Hall becomes the first African American site in County to be restored with public funds (AAHS, p. 19).

SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

AAHS — Pearl, Susan. *African-American Heritage Survey, 1996*. M-NCPPC.

BF — Floyd, Bianca. "Bible, Book and Voting Booth: Early Black Institutions and Political History, 1870-1920. Final Report for Fiscal Year 1984-1985." M-NCPPC.

Brugger — Brugger, Robert J. *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Green — Green, Constance McLaughlin. *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Rowan — Rowan, Richard L. and Lester Rubin. *Opening the Skilled Construction Trades to Blacks: A Study of the Washington and Indianapolis Plans for Minority Employment.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

WPA — Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Maryland. *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

The criteria for evaluating whether properties are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places are set forth in 36 CFR Part 60:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and:
>
> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
> D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
>
> Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:
>
> a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
> b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
> c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life; or
> d. A cemetery that derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, for age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
> e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
> f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
> g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Identification and analysis of property type is an important element in determining whether a property meets National Register Criteria. Understanding particular property types assists in determining how a particular property compares with other similar properties. Property type analysis assists in determining what associative and physical characteristics a particular resource should have and guides expectation about the typical condition of a property.

PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Historic properties associated with the African Americans in Prince George's County embody the unique character of the African American cultural experience from bondage through the age of segregation. In appearance the physical form of these buildings – churches, schools, houses – is no different than the form of structures serving similar functions in the white community. However, the functions these buildings housed and the unique role they played embody a richer and more expansive set of historic associations. Slavery and segregation limited the places and buildings that African Americans could inhabit. The role and symbolic function these resources played in the community with which they are associated can ultimately be very different from similar purpose-built structures erected for the white community. While other Americans had access to a variety of buildings designed for different purposes and could move easily within society, African Americans possessed fewer options. Faced with a hostile and often dangerous environment, the places and buildings that African Americans claimed became the vessels for their collective life, providing venues for public assembly and community expression. In Prince George's County, this racial isolation was often compounded by the rural isolation that prevailed until the early 20th century.

Changes to these places and buildings represent the African American community's adaptive response to the social and political restrictions placed on them. A substantial body of historic and contemporary sociological scholarship demonstrates how African Americans adapt institutions and relationships to serve their needs. Historical scholarship details the extent to which blacks created an environment that counteracted the exclusionary world created by segregation.[1] Deprived of political representation, African Americans created their own systems to translate political, cultural, and social ideals into reality. In place of political systems, they established institutional systems based on churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. Moreover, without the more formal relationships established within a political system, personal relationships nurtured within these institutions became the "building blocks of the community."[2] Building use, therefore, goes well beyond the purpose for which the building was originally designed. Consequently, oral history and archaeology often provide valuable insight into how buildings and settlements functioned.

Historic resources associated with African Americans in Prince George's County can be divided into nine categories – churches, fraternal halls, schools, commercial buildings, sites of recreation and entertainment, settlements, and dwellings. "Settlements" is a broad category that includes archaeological sites as well as historic districts. These types may not encompass all resources associated with African Americans in Prince George's County; they have been selected because they facilitate evaluation of resources identified through the *African-American Heritage Survey, 1996*.

The property type analysis set forth below builds on earlier property type analysis of African American properties developed for United Planning Organization's "Thematic Study of African American Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C."[3]

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[1] See, for example, the work of William Henry Jones, Lorenzo Greene, Carter Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, etc.

[2] James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community*, p. 11.

[3] This thematic study was funded with the assistance of a matching grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, through the D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Historic Preservation Program, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The end date for the period of significance of this multiple property nomination is that of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a date which falls outside the 50 year mark set forth in Criteria Consideration G. The extraordinary way in which custom and laws limited opportunity and places African Americans could access extended until the Civil Rights Act prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations. Criteria Consideration G ensures that "sufficient historical perspective exists to determine that the property is exceptionally important."[4] A substantial body of historical scholarship on the Civil Rights Movement has studied African American life through the end of the 1960s, providing objective confirmation for extending the period of significance through this date. Indeed, the National Register includes the Civil Rights movement among seven topics for which sufficient scholarship to permit evaluation exists, even though the topic encompasses events that occurred within the past 50 years.[5] Because the historical effects of legal segregation extended through 1964, that date has been selected as the end date for this Multiple Property Documentation.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RESOURCES IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

National Register guidelines direct professionals to conduct a comparative analysis of resources. For example, a Greek revival house must be compared with other Greek revival houses to ensure representative listing of resources. However, for African American resources in Prince George's County, comparative evaluation must proceed with great caution. Through the end of the 20th century, Prince George's County has been characterized by rural and suburban settlement. Unlike a densely-packed city where numerous examples of similar buildings exist, buildings in a county with dispersed settlement often possess more singular associative attributes. In rural Prince George's County, African American churches and schools may well possess greater significance as locations of settlements than they do as churches and schools, per se. Moreover, because these buildings are invested with aspirations and strategies that have no outlet under segregation, they rise to a level of individual associative significance not present in more mainstream resources. Since the political and social restrictions of segregation resulted in a community excluded from the political system, institutional buildings such as churches and schools became venues for expressing and enforcing community values and airing and settling disputes. Consequently, the comparative examination of physical fabric of resources may be less important than the careful delineation of each resource's associative attributes. The importance of material culture to understanding African American history requires that evaluation should always err on the side of inclusion.

INTEGRITY REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

The National Register requires that historic resources possess sufficient integrity to convey their historic associations. This requirement ensures that the physical character of the resource is directly connected with the events or people for which it is significant. For example, if an early 19th century house had been completely gutted in 1960 and its exterior converted into a glass box, it would be difficult for the house to represent its early 19th century owner. The National Register sets forth seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. While the physical features of a resource may not retain all seven aspects of integrity, it must retain those aspects that

[4] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 42.
[5] *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, p. 6.

convey its historic significance. For example, a building nominated under Criterion C as an excellent example of its architectural style would need to retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship – aspects of integrity that directly relate to how well the building represents its architectural style. On the other hand, for battlefields, the survival of setting, feeling, and association would be paramount since battlefields are cultural landscapes.

Historic resources associated with African Americans can challenge customary notions of integrity. These resources, which are most often nominated for their associative significance (Criterion A or B), have commonly experienced considerable alteration to their physical fabric. Because of legal restrictions on where African Americans could settle and what spaces they could access, those buildings they did control were often continually adapted and reworked to serve shifting needs. The longer a resource has been associated with African Americans, the greater the likelihood of its physical alteration. In an ironic twist, with the end of segregation many of these resources have been lost as options for African Americans have increased. Buildings have been abandoned to deteriorate or have been converted to other uses. In Prince George's County, the rapid suburban expansion of the County has created development pressures that further threaten these fragile resources.

Four aspects of integrity are of paramount importance for historic resources nominated under National Register Criterion A or Criterion B for their association with African American history prior to 1964: location, design, feeling, and association. These aspects of integrity, as well as setting, materials, and workmanship should be understood with specific reference to African American resources as a category.

Feeling and association can be especially important for African American resources. The National Register acknowledges that "feeling and association depend on individual perceptions."[6] Feeling addresses a property's ability to convey a particular period in time. Association is the direct link between a particular property and the events it represents. Communities often used institutional facilities, such as churches and schools, for multiple functions over an extended period of time. Because it is difficult for African Americans to identify with civic and commercial buildings from which they were excluded, African American schools, churches, and settlements are often invested with powerful associative meaning. Physical changes do not diminish these historic associations or their meaning for the community. Indeed, these changes often reflect how African Americans accommodated change in property that they controlled. While feeling and association alone cannot satisfy National Register integrity requirements, these two aspects of integrity should be given great weight in evaluating the integrity of African American resources.

Location is important for all historic properties, but it is especially important for African American properties that pre-date 1964. Location directly addresses areas open to a segregated race. Settlement patterns and buildings within settlements are visible signs of the locus of African American experience during the era of slavery and segregation. While African Americans could adapt and change their buildings, until restrictive covenants were overturned at the end of the 1940s, they could not easily change the limited geographic areas in which they could live.

Setting, the physical environment of a historic property should also be understood in ways that relate this aspect of integrity to the African American experience. While setting commonly refers to the immediate surroundings of a property, a broader interpretation is appropriate for African American resources. Setting can be considered in terms of

[6] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 45.

relationships to roads, railroads, streetcar lines, and other transportation networks. The relationship between the building site and areas of white settlement can also be important. In other words, a building's setting on the opposite side of railroad tracks is probably more important to the historic significance of the building than survival of original lot lines or trees.

As an aspect of integrity, design relates directly to the form, internal organization of space, structure, and architectural style that a property exhibits. In Prince George's County, many African American properties nominated for historic associations (National Register Criterion A or B) are commonplace, vernacular structures with little architectural detail. For these buildings, critical aspects of design are form, massing, and the ability of the property to convey its historic use. Size, scale, and basic form are more important than stylistic details and fenestration patterns for embodying the historic significance of these buildings and the communities they served. For example, a highly altered African American school or church could retain integrity of design if its form and massing still communicate the building's original purpose and role within the community. In many instances, physical alterations taking place within the period of significance of these properties are as significant as the circumstances surrounding the construction of the building.

Just as their character as vernacular buildings affects how integrity of design is understood, their commonplace character also affects expectations for integrity of materials and workmanship. The combination of frame construction, inexpensive initial materials, and intense, continued use makes it likely that materials, especially on the exterior of the building, will have been replaced or covered over the years. For alterations, the use of in-kind materials and duplication of earlier appearance is less important than the character of the materials and the intentions of the people applying them. Changes that reflect income levels, community values, and individual aesthetic preferences show how buildings and communities evolved. None of these changes should be disconcerting when viewed through the larger lens of understanding the impact of segregation on African American life. The survival of the original structural framework and the African American origin of the alterations exhibit a characteristic pattern that constitutes sufficient integrity of workmanship and material for listing.

Because of the extent to which change characterizes the African American experience and the way properties convey change, all of these aspects of integrity should be considered in light of the interpretive value of the resource. The ability of remaining physical fabric to convey the appearance of the resource at a particular point in time is important to communicating the historic significance of the resource. But the manner in which the appearance of a much-altered building allows for interpreting how African American life in Prince George's County has changed since the resource was constructed may be of much greater importance. For resources associated with African American history, their value to interpret change overrides their value to commemorate a fixed moment in time.

CHURCHES

National Register Criteria for Evaluation state that churches and buildings that religious groups own are not ordinarily considered for listing. Criteria Consideration A notes that churches will qualify for listing if they are historically or architecturally important. Because of the role church congregations played in African American communities, many African American churches qualify through their historical importance. Noted African American scholar E. Franklin

Frazier wrote, "The most important institution which the Negro has built in the United States is the Negro church."[7] Black churches developed as enormously influential institutions within their communities, providing a setting for social and cultural interaction and educational and political activity. Worship and religious instruction provided the only legal means of coming together as a community when public assembly was forbidden. During the early 19th century, Sabbath Schools provided education when laws forbade educating blacks. Most importantly, as the history of Prince George's County shows, churches provided a vehicle for African Americans to exercise leadership within their own community.[8]

Scholarship has long acknowledged the importance of churches to African American history and culture. August Meier wrote, "it would be difficult to overemphasize the role of the church in Negro life in the age of Booker T. Washington."[9]

> Both church and fraternity were especially important in the Negro community, far more so than in the white community in nineteenth century America. It was in the church and fraternity that Negroes found unhampered opportunity for social life and for the exercise of leadership. A high proportion of distinguished Negro leaders have been ministers.[10]

In *Lankford's Artistic Church and Other Designs,* Washington, D.C., African American architect John Lankford, who served as Supervisory Architect for the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church during the early 20th century, described how the African American church building housed functions that extended well beyond religious worship:

> there are many who come from other places, who either join or come under the care of the church, who know few people in the place, except those whom they meet at church; many have not homes or families in that city, and they use the church and its compartments for both their spiritual and social temple.
>
> We have a great deal of proof to show that the social side of the church should be encouraged and planned, while studying and laying plans for any church edifice.... some of the noted Christian leaders disdain the idea of having anything in the church edifice, other than divine worship. I, however, take middle ground upon the subject, for the large majority of the members of the A.M.E. Church, in fact of Negro churches throughout the world, are made up of poor people.
>
> I believe it is the duty of the church, not only to look after the spiritual needs of its members and the country, but to aid in every possible way, morally, socially, and financially.[11]

Thus while African Americans in Prince George's County occupied church buildings for religious worship, this function was only one of many activities embraced within a church's walls. For example, during the 19th century, churches formed the center of small rural settlements and often housed schools as well as congregations. African American churches even

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[7] E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, p. 87.
[8] Thomas Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia," contains an excellent discussion of this phenomenon on pp. 10-11.
[9] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*, p. 130.
[10] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 15.
[11] John Lankford, *Lankford's Artistic Church* (1916), unpaginated.

provided playgrounds for children. In the early 20th century, Mount Hope A.M.E. Church in Camp Springs allowed children from the nearby Camp Springs School to use their spacious churchyard.[12]

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

Because of the institutional importance of the church in African American history and the particular role churches played in the settlement patterns of rural Prince George's County in the 19th century, most churches should first be evaluated under National Register Criterion A. Consequently, physical character is secondary to a church's associative attributes. Churches may be significant under themes of education, social philanthropy, African American ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation, politics and government, and social history. A church constructed for African American use prior to 1964 or adapted for African American use prior to 1940 is potentially eligible for the National Register if it meets the following requirements:

- Twenty years use by an African American congregation prior to 1964,[13] or
- Site of an important event prior to 1964, particularly relating to community organizing, or
- Association with a congregation dating back to the 19th century.

The associative attributes required will depend on the date of the church's construction. For example, the scattered nature of settlement and small number of church buildings constructed in the 19th century testifies to the significance of these historic resources. As the number of churches rises with the growth of the African American population, the comparative significance of associative attributes may not be as clear. Documentation of churches constructed after 1940 must include the following information about associative attributes

- Information about specific institutional role in the community compared with other churches in the community. What functions did the church serve beyond religious worship? Did it operate educational or social programs? Did it serve as a community meeting place? Was it the site of meetings relating to the Civil Rights movement?
- Information about the 19th and early 20th century congregation and its role within the community. How did the early congregation shape educational and social life within the community and how have these associations continued after 1940?
- Biographical information about the pastor. Was the church the site most closely associated with a historically significant deceased pastor who played a greater political or social role within the community?[14] If an individual is listed in the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* and if a church building is the one most closely associated with the activity for which the individual is recognized, the church is probably eligible under Criterion

[12] Susan Pearl, *African American Heritage Survey*, pp. 132 and 133. Even in the 19th century, the deed for St. Luke's M.E. Church in Meadows provided playgrounds for children on the church grounds.

[13] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.

[14] *National Register Bulletin 15* states, "A religious property can be eligible for association with a person important in religious history, if that significance has scholarly, secular recognition or is important in other historic contexts. Individuals who would likely be considered significant are those who formed or significantly influenced an important religious institution or movement, or ***who were important in the social, economic, or political history of the area. Properties associated with individuals important only within the context of a single congregation and lacking importance in any other historic context would not be eligible*** under Criterion B. (p. 27; italics added for emphasis)

B. If an individual does not appear in the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* or other document that indicates scholarly consensus and recognition, the church may still be eligible if the individual's significance can be demonstrated on the basis of objective, lay scholarship.

In order to meet Criterion A, the essential physical attribute a church must possess is the continued ability of its form and massing to communicate that it is a church. While additions and changes are acceptable, the size and scale of the original church should be easily read. The simple character of small, rural churches renders workmanship and materials less important than their overall form. Because of the role the church played in the African American community, the aspects of integrity most important for churches are location, design, feeling, and association. Continued use by its historic congregation greatly bolsters integrity of association, the most important aspect of integrity for this resource. Cemeteries enhance integrity of setting, association, and feeling for churches that once served as the locus of rural settlement.

Despite the overarching importance of associative attributes, churches can also be nominated under National Register Criterion C for their physical attributes. Several African American churches have survived to exemplify increasingly rare rural church forms. For example, Holy Family Roman Catholic Church is an excellent example of a rural, frame church whose significance is enhanced by its association with an African American congregation. The integrity requirements for churches nominated under Criterion C, however, are more stringent than those nominated under Criterion A. If a church is nominated under Criterion C, it must have integrity of location, design, workmanship, and materials.

FRATERNAL HALLS AND LODGES

Fraternal halls and lodges are also important for their historic associations. As with churches, there is substantial scholarly consensus about the importance of fraternal organizations, which include burial societies, to African American history. Fraternal organizations, like churches, illustrate how African Americans were able to create institutions to address their own unique needs. "Next to the Negro church, the various fraternal organizations have represented the most influential associations which Negroes have built up within their segregated social life."[15] Along with the church, fraternal organizations provided excluded African Americans with a channel for mutual assistance and cooperative endeavor. "As old as the Negro church, and second only to it in importance as a self-help and co-operative institution was the fraternal and mutual benefit society."[16] Buildings fraternal organizations occupied exemplify the manner in which buildings serve multiple purposes within the African American community. Since African Americans were barred from most places of public assembly, fraternal halls offered one of the few facilities for African American civic and recreational life. In Prince George's County, St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall was one of the few buildings in which blacks and whites could congregate for Republican Party meetings.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR FRATERNAL HALLS

As with churches, fraternal halls will most likely be eligible under National Register Criterion A. Fraternal halls commonly possess significance under themes of education, African American ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation,

[15] E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, pp. 90-91.
[16] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, p. 136.

politics and government, and social history. Associative attributes required for potential National Register eligibility include:

- Documented association with African American fraternal or social organizations, or
- Documented association with a significant event, or
- Twenty years of documented association with community prior to 1940, or
- Documentation of activities building housed beyond meetings of fraternal or social organizations.

While the history of the fraternal organization constructing the building may in itself be sufficient to satisfy the requirement of significance for Criterion A, it is likely that the adjunct activities will be equally meaningful.

Because fraternal halls in Prince George's County are likely to be eligible under Criterion A, their most important physical attributes relate directly to their ability to convey historic associations. The manner in which massing and size communicate the space available for public assembly is particularly important for conveying these associations. Aspects of integrity most important for fraternal halls are integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. Survival of features added to adapt the building for community use during the period of segregation enhance the associative values these buildings embody.

SCHOOLS

Schools and structures used for education have particular resonance within the African American community. These buildings typically meet registration requirements because of their associative significance. Throughout the 19th and first half of the 20th century, both African Americans and their white supporters held that education was the key to racial advancement. During the 19th century, schools were particularly important in defining the locus of newly established African American settlements in rural Prince George's County. Schools and school buildings also served as work sites for African Americans. With limited job opportunities, teaching became a significant occupation for upper and middle class blacks.

The larger history of educational institutions for African Americans reveals important information about racial attitudes, civic participation, and political rights. Because education was a major focus of white philanthropy, educational institutions were contested terrain that revealed areas of disagreement between African Americans and their white benefactors. The manner in which buildings embody institutional history and curricula provides insights into racial expectations and racial philosophy of both blacks and whites. Because education was viewed as the primary strategy for racial advancement, issues that developed around educational philosophy are particularly meaningful.

Schools may be eligible under National Register Criterion A in connection with themes of education, ethnic heritage, entertainment/recreation, and social history. For secondary and post-secondary institutions, buildings may also be eligible under themes directly related to subject matter such as teachers' education or industrial education. As with other buildings identified with African Americans, schools may be closely associated with strategies of institution-building and racial self-help.

Extending beyond education, African American schools typically serve as a focus for the community. For example, in Prince George's County, Freedmen's Bureau school buildings often served as the first churches in their communities. As with churches, they serve a variety of public purposes that extend beyond those provided by the same building type in the white community. Especially in rural areas, public schools were often the only government facility that African Americans could access prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Because African Americans were excluded from stores, theaters, auditoriums, and meeting rooms, schools provided a venue for public gatherings. Beyond their significance as facilities, school buildings possess added meaning as the physical representation of community and a community's support for its children.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Because of the overarching importance of schools to African American racial advancement, any school constructed prior to 1954, the date of *Brown v. the Board of Education*, is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. These schools are significant under Criterion A for their associative significance and may be associated with National Register themes such as community planning and development, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage, and social history. Registration requirements include:

- A documented history of African American initiative associated with the construction and operation of the school, and
- A history of at least 20 years of African American use.[17]

Documentation of community life beyond education taking place in the schoolhouse enhances its associative attributes. For Criterion A, integrity requirements should be applied in inverse proportion to the age of the school. For example, the scarcity of surviving 19th century educational buildings renders any 19th century school whose original massing and form remains discernable, eligible.

The most important aspects of integrity for 20th century schools are integrity of location, design, feeling, and association. It is important to remember that any changes made to these buildings prior to 1954 may have gained significance in their own right. Broader elements of design such as overall form, massing, size, and scale are more important than survival of original windows, fenestration patterns, and architectural detailing. The integrity of 20th century schools is greatly enhanced if the original floor plan is largely intact and the original setting of playgrounds and fields remains. It is also helpful if changes that have been made to the building are reversible. Superficial changes would allow the exterior of the building to resume its earlier form in the future.

Educational structures may be eligible under Criterion B for their associations with individuals who taught within their walls. Because of the historic importance of many black educators, these buildings may well be the only surviving buildings most closely associated with their life and work. Integrity requirements are similar to those of Criterion A. However, the school's present appearance must resemble the appearance it had at the time the educator worked there.

[17] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.

Educational structures may be eligible under Criterion C if they are good examples of the work of outstanding African American architects or if they are exemplify typology or architectural style. For example, although much changed, William Sidney Pittman's Fairmount Heights School is the only major example of this important African American's work in Prince George's County. Similarly, the Ridgley School appears to be an excellent example of the Rosenwald School typology. Many of the 20th century schools may be eligible under Criterion C since they exhibit standardized plans published by the Rosenwald Foundation.[18] These schools may be good examples of their type. Integrity requirements for schools nominated under Criterion C are more stringent than integrity requirements for buildings nominated under Criterion A. Further study of Rosenwald Schools in Prince George's County will be necessary to determine integrity requirements for schools nominated under Criterion C. As with Criterion A, survival of original floor plan and setting greatly enhances the integrity of these buildings.

COMMERCIAL STRUCTURES

Twentieth century commercial structures that housed African American business and businessmen illustrate African American economic and cultural life. Given Prince George's County's present renown for the sheer number of its successful African American entrepreneurs, this theme in the County's history will likely gain increasing importance with the passage of time. Commercial buildings illustrate the types of occupations and businesses that African Americans could pursue within chronological time periods. They also illustrate the range of goods and services provided to the community. Just as the history embodied by these buildings demonstrates the evolution of African American business and professional life, the locations of these businesses reveal areas of the County open to African Americans at any given time.

Commercial structures include small retail buildings, storefronts, and free-standing, road-related resources.[19] These buildings may be eligible under Criterion A in connection with the following themes: commerce, communications, ethnic history, and social history. Even though Washington, D.C., employment dominated African American middle class life in Prince George's County, the business and commercial life of the African American community is a significant historic theme. The history of small businesses, tradesmen, and entrepreneurs is closely linked with opportunities and capital within the community. Small business becomes more attractive when access and advancement in larger venues such as corporations or government remains restricted. Commercial buildings dedicated to the African American community illustrate the principle of self-help and racial solidarity. The growth and decline of businesses can also provide a barometer of the evolution of Jim Crow laws and practice in a given geographic area.

Commercial structures can meet Criterion A if they possess any of the following attributes:

- Documented association with a business owned and operated for African Americans for over five years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with a business owned by an African American for five years prior to 1964.

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[18] Even the Woodville School, constructed after the era of Rosenwald funding, may be a good example of a standardized rural school plan.

[19] While the County may contain office and industrial buildings associated with African Americans, it is more likely road-related resources along transportation routes constitute the typical commercial building available to African Americans in the early 20th century.

- Documented use of building for both African American business and other community functions for five years.[20]

As a property type, commercial structures are often frequently altered to accommodate the latest retail fashion. Consequently, alterations (particularly storefront alterations) have less impact on a commercial building's integrity than they may have on other types of buildings. Nevertheless, it remains unlikely that a commercial building associated with African Americans will be eligible under Criterion C simply because commonly applied integrity standards for Criterion C would eliminate the potential eligibility of all but little changed resources.

SITES OF RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

While recreation and entertainment held little meaning for African Americans struggling to make a living from farms and agriculture in the 19th century, the importance of these diversions increased in the 20th century. With employment in Washington and a suburban lifestyle, the amount of leisure time African Americans enjoyed increased. While Washington, D.C., boasted vital nightlife, especially along U Street, African Americans in Prince George's County enjoyed other diversions. In addition to obvious sites of recreation and entertainment, structures nominally devoted to other purposes may be equally important under this category. In his 1929 study, *Recreation and Amusement Among Negroes in Washington, D.C.*, eminent African American sociologist William Henry Jones clearly delineated how venues for recreation and amusement served other purposes. For example, barber shops and pool rooms functioned as centers of communication for a community without daily newspaper service.[21]

In evaluating cultural resources in Prince George's County associated with recreation and entertainment, it is important to note how segregation forced African Americans to pursue what would normally constitute vocations as activities outside full time work. African Americans in Prince George's County clearly possessed both the talent and skills to pursue flying and baseball at the professional level. Although the Columbia Air Center provided a living for some individuals, for many more it provided an important outlet for developing and retaining a skill. Similarly, sandlot baseball permitted gifted athletes to display their talent.

As an indicator of the shift from agricultural to office and light industrial work, 20th century sites of outdoor recreation provide important information about the social and cultural life of African Americans. Unfortunately, few of these sites remain in their earlier physical condition. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which opened public accommodations to African Americans, gave them access to amusement parks and other facilities that were once segregated. Across the country, facilities once devoted solely to blacks lost patronage and closed.

Buildings and outdoor sites used for recreation and entertainment may be eligible for the National Register for their associations with the following areas of significance: art, commerce, communications, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage, performing arts, and social history. These resources may meet Criterion A for their associations with African American communal social and cultural life and for their association with the theme of racial self-help and solidarity. Buildings may meet Criterion B because of their association with individual proprietors or performers.

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[20] The five year period has been chosen because it roughly relates to the length of the typical post-World War II business cycle.
[21] William H. Jones, *Recreation and Amusement Among Negroes in Washington, D.C.*, pp. 135-138.

Resources once devoted to entertainment and recreation can meet Criterion A or B if they possess any of the following associative attributes:

- Documented African American use for entertainment and/or recreation extending over a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with "public accommodation" of African American social functions such as parties, weddings, and theatrical productions for a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association with outdoor sports or other outdoor leisure or recreational activities for a period of years prior to 1964.
- Documented association and close identification with a particular, significant entertainer or proprietor over a period of years.

Sites where buildings are gone may be nominated for archaeological significance under Criterion D (information potential) if they embody the third attribute listed above. Structures may meet Criterion C if they are good examples of a type or style.

AFRICAN AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS

The surviving traces of 19th century African American settlements testify to the presence of African Americans in Prince George's County history. The situation and form of these settlements, their relation to roads and waterways, and their location with respect to large, white-owned farms provides important information about the transition from bondage to freedom. The form these traces take – small buildings with simple or non-existent detailing and cemeteries with hand-carved stones – evokes the predominantly rural character Prince George's County once had. Later settlements reveal the evolution of the region and the suburban growth of the County. All of the settlements provide evidence of the pervasive effects of segregation and the restriction of African Americans to specific places and buildings.

The National Register typically recognizes entities composed of multiple buildings, such as towns and settlements, as historic districts. National Register Criteria for Evaluation provide that historic districts may "represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction." The "cumulative importance of prominent residents" may provide eligibility under Criterion A because of the potential historic district's association with "the broad pattern of community development, through which the neighborhood evolved into the primary residential area for this class of citizens."[22] National Register Criterion D, commonly used for archaeological sites permits nomination of resources "that have yielded or are likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history." Many African American settlement sites in Prince George's County are eligible for the National Register as historic districts. Unlike the typical historic district, which would qualify under Criterion C for its architectural character, these potential districts would qualify under Criterion A for their associative significance.

For 19th century settlements, their surviving elements – churches, cemeteries, or road junctions -- can provide potentially important information about the web of kinship and interrelationships within the African American community. Today's

[22] *National Register Bulletin 15*, p. 15. It is interesting to note that this guidance appears in the discussion of Criterion B, a Criterion typically associated with individuals.

significant African American presence in Prince George's County developed from these roots. These settlements relate directly to the rural character of the County. Often they survive as signposts showing where small communities of free blacks were concentrated before the Civil War. These fragments also survive, even in much altered condition, as one of the few marks left by the broad class of individuals once held in bondage.

Similarly, 20th century municipalities and suburbs such as North Brentwood and Fairmount Heights became the foundation for African American suburban development in the County. They illustrate how African Americans constructed rich environments for themselves in the hostile and dangerous climate segregation created. They embody a wealth of associative attributes ranging from their relationship to suburbanization to the way in which they manifest strategies of self help and racial solidarity. Unlike individual building typologies, 20th century settlements took on many forms. The particular set of circumstances governing each community – access to capital, occupational status of residents, character of real estate development, etc. – affected the shape the community took.

For both 19th and 20th century settlements, the physical evolution of these communities is as important as their early architectural character. For example, a 20th century church on the site of an earlier church in a small 19th century settlement speaks to the way a rural congregation endures. It signals the enhanced economic status of its congregation and the profound meaning they invest in a site that may be some distance from where its members currently reside. Physical changes reveal how African Americans adapted their buildings to accommodate changing needs and circumstances. Even dilapidation reveals how communities are abandoned as African Americans achieved more prosperity and took advantage of wider housing options with the end of segregation.

Because of the way in which settlements and settlement sites convey change, the aspects of their integrity should be considered in light of the interpretive value of the resource. The ability of remaining physical fabric to convey the appearance of the resource at a particular point in time is important to communicating the historic significance of the resource. But the manner in which the much-altered present appearance allows for the interpretation of how African American life in Prince George's County has changed since the resource was constructed is far more important. For these resources, their value to interpret change overrides their value to commemorate a fixed moment in time.

Location is the most important aspect of integrity for 19th century settlements. To convey design, feeling, and association, survival of 19th century buildings is less important than the survival of land use patterns. Early 20th century buildings still well convey the role church, school, and houses played in defining the locus of 19th century African American settlement. The combination of frame construction and intense, continued use minimized the likelihood of particular buildings surviving, even though the use pattern continues.

Locations of vanished settlements may be eligible for the National Register as archaeological sites if they possess the following associative and physical attributes:

- Documented site of an African American settlement prior to 1900. Potentially eligible sites should have included two or more buildings in addition to dwellings. Sites should be relatively undisturbed.

Similarly, the physical evidence of change should be expected in 20th century settlements. African American suburban settlements in the County typically exhibited a pattern of scattered houses constructed in a platted subdivision. Because

plats contained small, affordable lots, the size of buildings varied based on the number of lots purchased. Consequently, later infill construction is the rule, rather than the exception, for these resources. Because of the restrictions segregation placed on African Americans, people commonly remodeled or improved houses rather than buying new houses more in line with their present needs. Similarly, individuals often converted obsolete buildings such as schools into residential structures. In turn, purpose-built dwellings may have become commercial buildings.

Surviving 20th century towns and municipalities settled before 1940 may be associated with the following themes: commerce, community planning and development, ethnic heritage, exploration/settlement, politics/government, and social history. These towns may be eligible for listing if they possess the following associative attributes:

- Community or incorporated municipality settled by African Americans and occupied by African Americans for at least 20 years, or
- Documentation of the achievements of specific individuals, or
- Community developed and platted by African Americans and occupied by African Americans for at least 20 years.[23]

These communities must possess the following physical attributes for listing as a historic district:

- At least one communal or institutional building must survive. This building may be a church, social hall, school, or municipal building.
- At least 30% of the houses present during the period of significance of the district must survive.
- The pattern of streets and size of original lots must be present. (Alterations of form and material are more acceptable than changes in size and scale).

AFRICAN AMERICAN DWELLINGS

Dwellings are important to African American history in Prince George's County on two levels. Houses survive to represent the African American presence in the larger cultural landscape of Prince George's County. Simple vernacular dwellings testify to settlement locations and family roots in the County. On a second level, exclusion and segregation extend the associative values attached to domestic architecture within the African American community well beyond the domestic realm associated with this typology in the white community.

Within the white community, houses are typically significant for their design or for the importance of their occupant. Occasionally they possess importance because of events that happened within the house. Because of the limited public venues available to African Americans in the age of segregation, houses served functions that extended well beyond domestic use. Church congregations met and worshipped in houses before church buildings were constructed. For example, the congregation of St. Paul's Baptist Church in Bladensburg formed in the Plummer family's house and the congregation of Bethel A.M.E., later Seaton Memorial A.M.E., first met in Dr. Daniel P. Seaton's Lincoln house.[24] Schools also formed in dwellings. In North Brentwood, students attended school in homes prior to construction of a

[23] The period of twenty years was chosen since it roughly corresponds to the chronological span of a generation.
[24] Pearl, *African American Heritage Sites*, p. 38 and Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 106.

school house in 1904.[25] Houses served as sites of recreation and entertainment, gathering places for debating ideas, and safe havens for community organizing.

Dwellings constructed by African Americans may meet Criterion A because of association with themes of community planning and development, commerce, education, ethnic heritage, and social history. If African Americans employed other African Americans to design, construct, or remodel these properties, the buildings could be eligible under Criterion A as representative of the movement to black self-help and economic solidarity, a major theme within African American history.

Domestic structures may meet Criterion B because of associations with figures that resided there. In order for the building to meet Criterion B, the relative significance of the individual must be established. Again, understanding the significance of the individual is likely to differ from the way that significance is understood for individuals in the white community. Because community achievement required collective effort through kinship or social structures existing outside of the political arena, strategies for racial advancement typically involved a large number of individuals working together, as with the strategy of racial solidarity and racial self-help. Consequently, within the context of the African American community, a large number of individuals made contributions of singular importance.

Teachers such as Thomas Hunster and William Wormley served as leaders. William Sidney Pittman engaged in community activity that extended far beyond architecture. Attorney Thomas J. Calloway was a tireless proponent for the race. These individuals and others like them all achieved significance because of the way they facilitated African American survival during the age of segregation. By molding and implementing strategies for racial advancement, they helped create a distinct culture associated with African Americans during the age of segregation. It is important to note that for race men as those noted above, their achievements are not limited to a specific geographic area or moment in time. Wherever they lived and at virtually every period of their lives, they continued their efforts for African American survival and advancement. Consequently, their local impact over brief periods of time and within individual communities could be profound.

Dwellings associated with figures who worked to build and sustain a community possess sufficient associative value for nomination under Criterion B. If the individual's role within the community can be demonstrated, the house should be eligible. National Register Criterion B recognizes buildings "that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past." *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* cautions that

> A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group.
>
> A property is not eligible under Criterion B if it is associated with an individual about whom no scholarly judgment can be made because either research has not revealed specific information about the person's activities and their impact, or there is insufficient perspective to determine whether those activities or contributions were historically important.

[25] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, p. 112.

All associations must be documented; speculative association is not acceptable. For the National Register, listing in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is considered sufficient scholarly judgment for Criterion B, a standard difficult for many African American community leaders to meet.

Because of the important role that communities such as Fairmount Heights and North Brentwood held for African Americans in Prince George's County and in the Washington region, houses associated with individuals who played important roles in African-American communities may qualify for listing under Criterion B. While the small-grain, local significance of small municipalities might not loom large in the universe of state and local history, their significance within the African American community is enormous. In the era of segregation, these towns provided political and social autonomy. They also served as an outlet for African Americans to exercise leadership skills. The cooperative nature of these ventures was an important strategy during this period. Instead of a single important figure, the history of these towns typically reveals the importance of several people and families.

National Register guidance for Criterion B requires that properties nominated under this Criterion best reflect "a person's *productive* life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.... Properties that pre- or post-date an individual's significant accomplishments are usually not eligible." (Italics appear in National Register guidance.) The documented importance of individuals to the cooperative network that developed and held these towns together, should be considered a distinct aspect of people's lives. Because of the extraordinary pace of change for African Americans during the last half of the 19th and first three-quarters of the 20th century, an individual's contribution to the settlement pattern of a specific locale can be enormously important.

Architect William Sidney Pittman provides an example of how Criterion B should be interpreted. Pittman was a highly skilled, pioneering African American architect who designed the Negro Building at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907. Pittman's residence in Fairmount Heights constituted a narrow time period in his life that arguably could represent his most productive period. However, when Pittman is considered in terms of the contributions he made to civic life in Fairmount Heights, the definition of his productivity is transformed and the significance of the house he lived in increases. Using this analysis, if a house was the residence of persons of documented importance to African American towns and settlements, it should be eligible for nomination under Criterion B, even if it was associated with the person only during the period of his or her active involvement with the settlement.

Conversely, for suburban residences in Prince George's County, the individual's role in other jurisdictions should also be considered. For example, the Walter and Elsie Smith House in Ardwick would easily qualify under Criterion B because of Walter Smith's 21 year tenure at the District of Columbia's Dunbar High School, the flagship of African American secondary education in the United States.

Domestic structures may also meet Criterion C if they are excellent examples of the work of outstanding African American architects or if they possess individual architectural importance.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN DWELLINGS

Registration requirements for African American dwellings will differ based on the location and date of construction of the building. Registration requirements for association with themes that have been well-studied and documented are less stringent than for topics about which less is known.

- Because of the relative scarcity of dwellings associated with African Americans prior to Emancipation and during the Freedmen's Bureau period, any dwelling constructed prior to 1878 is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.
- A dwelling associated with an individual with a documented role in community formation – through the ministry, teaching, civic activism, service on a board of trustees, leadership in fraternal organization, etc., should be eligible under Criterion B, provided the role of the individual and his impact on the community can be documented and is clearly set forth.

Because the associative significance of dwellings is attached to particular individuals and families, integrity requirements must relate to National Register guidance for Criterion B:

> A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today.[26]

Although strength of association and the peculiar effects of segregation can mitigate this test somewhat for Criterion A (association with historic themes), the threshold of recognition remains applicable for buildings nominated under Criterion B. Removal of ornament and porches and alterations such as additions and removal of entrances may be acceptable if the overall form and basic massing of the dwelling at the time its significant occupant resided in it remains. Similarly, the National Register permits listing of covered buildings and buildings where alterations can be reversed to reveal more of the earlier appearance of the building. Even though formstone and aluminum siding might prove disconcerting to the time-traveler, he or she would still likely recognize their former residence. For buildings such as the Butler House near Oxon Hill and the John Henry Quander House in Upper Marlboro, continuous family occupation can accommodate more physical changes to the property since these physical changes reflect the span of family occupation.

[26] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, p. 48.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Prince George's County, Maryland

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

Betty Bird & Associates (BB&A) prepared this multiple property listing of African American historic resources in Prince George's County, Maryland utilizing extensive material compiled by the Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission (M-NCPPC). The M-NCPPC, which serves as the Prince George's County historic preservation office, has studied African American resources since 1976, surveying and identifying a high percentage of the County's resources. Susan Pearl, a staff member with particular expertise in African American resources, and others have produced numerous studies that treat these resources. Moreover, numerous published and unpublished studies treated African American resources in the County. In particular, Bianca Floyd and George McDaniel have developed important information about 19th century schools and settlements and vernacular resources.

Because of this previous work, the goal of this study was to produce a National Register framework that would facilitate evaluation of identified resources and that would encourage community efforts to register African American resources in Prince George's County. The temporal span and property types of identified resources shaped the Multiple Property Documentation (MPD). To facilitate registration, emphasis was placed on developing themes encompassing larger numbers of resources. For example, the 20th century was treated in greater detail than the early 19th century. To expedite evaluation, BB&A devoted considerable attention to National Register Criteria Considerations, property type analysis, and integrity requirements, which often impede evaluation of African American resources. Lastly, the selection of historic contexts this MPD would develop was based on a clear understanding of the limits budget and time placed on this complex topic.

Grant deadlines requiring that the MPD be produced within 90 days placed a premium on efficiency and effective use of personnel and historic sources. Because the MPD can be expanded and amplified through future study, discrete topics suitable for future projects were noted but not developed. For example, the theme of Rosenwald Schools, which this report briefly notes, easily lends itself to a student project. The MPD built directly on the strengths of BB&A, a firm with over 20 years experience treating African American resources in the District of Columbia.[1] Consequently, this MPD places Prince George's County within a larger regional and national context, emphasizing the late 19th and 20th century ties between the County and the District. Further, the MPD includes a chronology that provides a broader regional and national framework for local events.

Properties are grouped under six historic contexts that embrace African American properties in the County. These contexts are:

- African American experience in Prince George's County prior to Emancipation, ca. 1660-1865
- The Freedmen's Bureau and Prince George's County, 1865-1872
- The post-Reconstruction era in Prince George's County, 1872-1896

[1] From 1995-1998, BB&A conducted an exhaustive study of primary and secondary sources to produce the Thematic Study of Black Architects and Builders in Washington, D.C. for United Planning Organization. This project was funded with the assistance of a matching grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, through the D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Historic Preservation Program, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended.

- *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the institution of government-sanctioned segregation in Prince George's County, 1896-1916
- Suburban settlement in Prince George's County: The African American experience, 1896-1964
- Education for African Americans in Prince George's County, 1896-1954

Property types are organized by function. Registration requirements have been developed from knowledge of identified properties and their history. Integrity standards have been developed from professional experience with a variety of African American cultural resources. These standards are based on the condition of identified properties in Prince George's County as well as the threats posed to these resources. Individual forms for five properties are included with this nomination. These properties were chosen both for their representative character and for the potential use of their nominations as templates for additional nominations in the future.

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Figure 1: Prince George's County and the Region

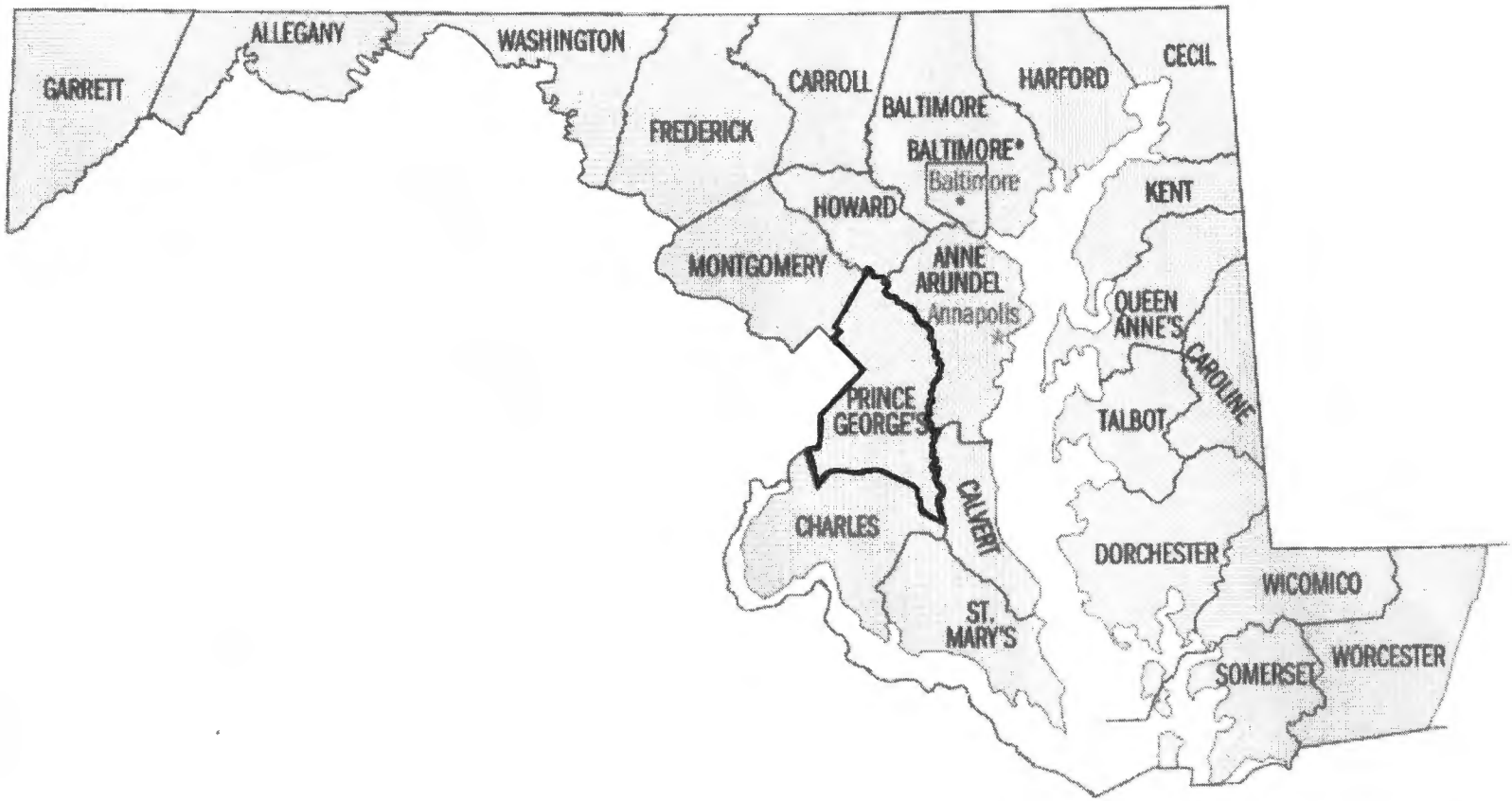


Figure 2:
19th Century African American Settlements
(Extant non-residential buildings in parentheses)

1. Laurel
   (church)
2. Rossville
   (cemetery, church, lodge, school)
3. Brookland
   (cemetery, church)
4. Bowie
   (church, lodge)
5. Collington
   (school)
6. North Brentwood
   (church, municipal hall)
7. Bladensburg
   (church)
8. Ridgley
   (cemetery, church, school)
9. Woodmore
   (cemetery, church)
10. Mitchellville
    (church)
11. Queen Anne
    (cemetery, church)
12. Oxon Hill
    (cemetery, church)
13. Camp Springs
    (cemetery, school)
14. Meadows
    (cemetery)
15. Upper Marlboro
    (cemetery, church, lodge)
16. Clinton
    (school)
17. Croom
    (cemeteries, church)
18. Nottingham
19. Baden
    (church, school)
20. Brandywine
    (cemetery, church, social hall)
21. T. B.
    (school)
22. Chapel Hill
    (cemetery)
23. Accokeek
    (cemetery, church, school)
24. Aquasco
    (cemeteries, church, school)

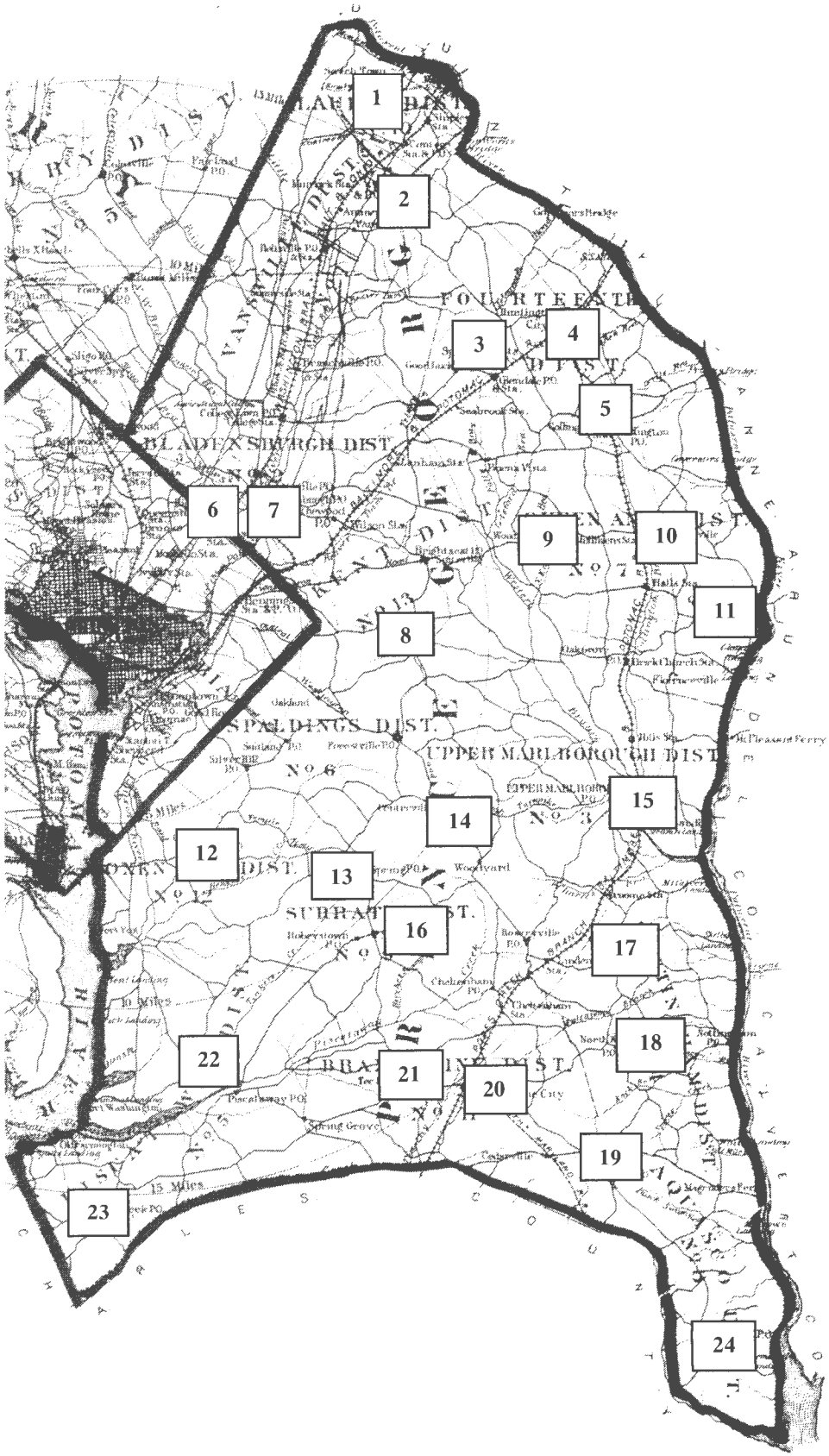
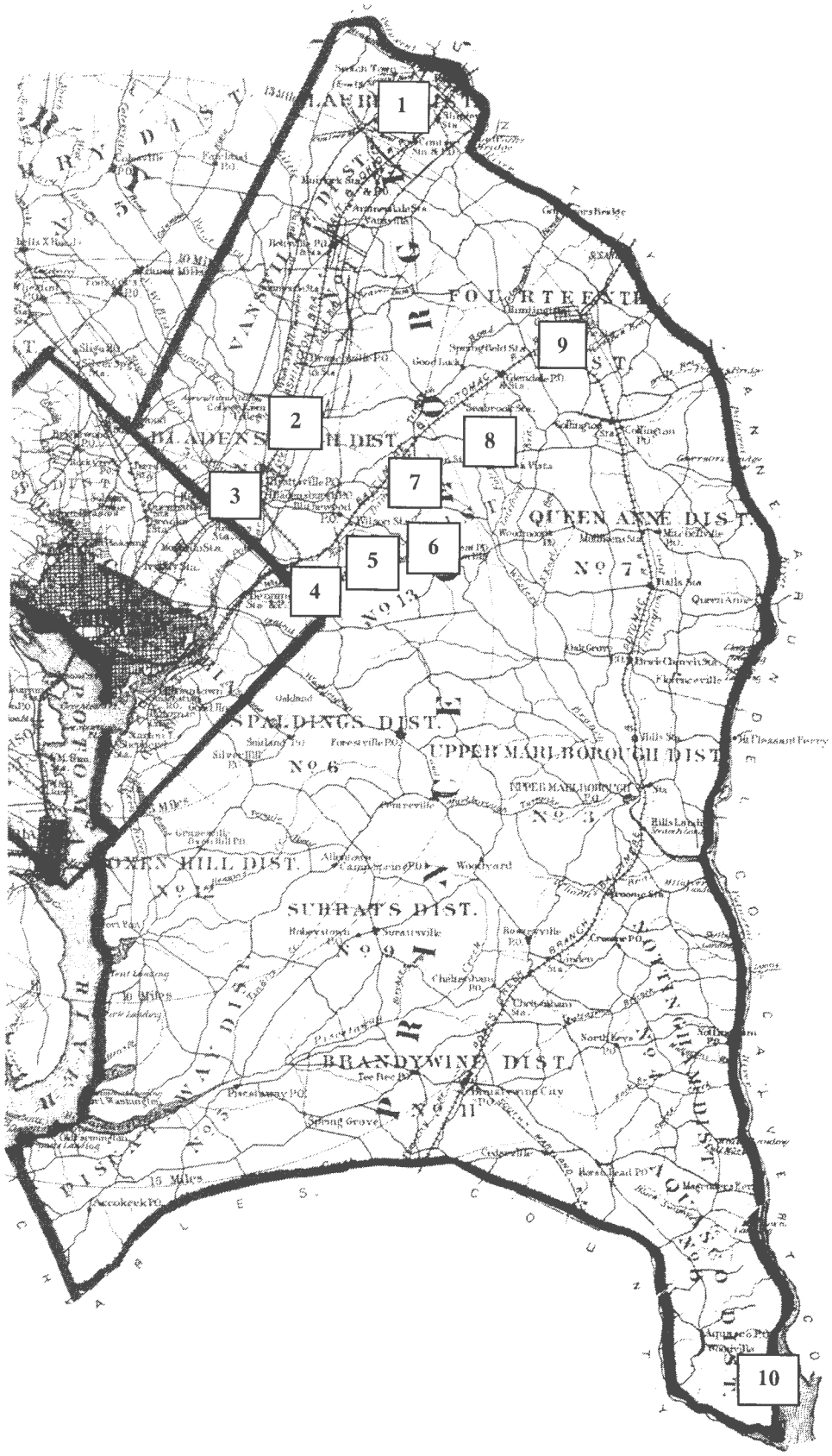


Figure 3
20th Century African American Settlements
(Extant non-residential buildings in parentheses)

1. Laurel (church)
2. Lakeland (school)
3. North Brentwood (church, municipal hall)
4. Fairmount Heights (church, monument, municipal hall, school, social hall)
5. Highland Park (school)
6. Glenarden
7. Ardwick
8. Lincoln (school)
9. Fletchertown/Duckettsville
10. Eagle Harbor/Cedar Haven



LIST OF PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED SITES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Description	Significance
PG:62-23-21	Queen's Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	7410 Old Muirkirk Rd.	Rossville	Church, Church Site, Cemetery	1868	front-gable brick church with corner tower; grassy site with cedars and gravestones	Site of earliest building around which Rossville grew
PG:68-61-1	Jeremiah Hawkins House Site	4114 Webster St.	North Brentwood	Residence Site	1905	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	Associated with Jeremiah Hawkins (first mayor of North Brentwood) and Emma Hawkins (treasurer of North Brentwood)
PG:68-61-4	Mack Brown House Site	3907 Wallace Rd.	North Brentwood	Residence Site	1907	2-story, flat-roof, wood-frame residence	
PG:68-61-9	McKenzie-Bullock House Site	4538 41st Ave.	North Brentwood	Residence Site	ca. 1912	2 1/2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	
PG:68-61-10	Nelson-Queen House Site	4505 Church St.	North Brentwood	Residence Site	1912	2 1/2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	
PG:68-61-12	Henry Newton House Site	4502 Church St.	North Brentwood	Residence Site	ca. 1901	2 1/2-story, cross-gable, wood-frame residence	
PG:70-49-15	Seaton Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church Site	5503 Lincoln Ave.	Lincoln	Church site	1916	front-gable, wood-frame church with corner tower	Focal point of Lincoln community from 1916-1984
PG:70-49-32	Daniel P. Seaton House Site	5510 Lincoln Ave.	Lincoln	Residence Site	1915	2 1/2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with large dormers and projecting bay	Substantial early residence designed and built by blacks; associated with Rev. Daniel P. Seaton, pastor of Seaton Memorial A.M.E. Church

LIST OF PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED SITES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Description	Significance
PG:71A-22-1	Fletchertown School Site	13106 Old Fletchertown Rd.	Fletchertown	School site	1922	1-story, side-gable, wood-frame school	One of the last small schoolhouses built for African-Americans in Prince George's County
PG:71A-22-2	Nettie Brown House Site	13011 Fletchertown Rd.	Fletchertown	Residence Site	ca. 1930	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame I-house	
PG:71B-2-32	Bowie School Site	13216 10th St.	Bowie	School site	1927	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	Important site in the history of the black community in Bowie
PG:71A-21	Bowie State University Campus	13900 Jericho Park Rd.	Bowie	College Campus	1911-present	Campus comprising recent, neo Georgian and International-style buildings	First institution of higher learning for blacks in Maryland
PG:72-9-37	James Campbell House Site	709 61st Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence Site	1921	1 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame bungalow	Associated with James A. Campbell, treasurer and mayor of Fairmount Heights
PG:72-9-44	Rice House Site	904 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence Site	1920	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame bungalow	
PG:79-46	Union Methodist Episcopal Chapel Site and Cemetery	Valley Lane	Upper Marlboro	Church site and cemetery	1865	secluded, grassy area with gravestones	Original center of black Methodist community in Upper Marlboro
PG:80-18-1	Grace Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	11700 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1883, 1902, 1927	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with corner tower; cemetery	Focal point of rural Chapel Hill community
PG:80-18-2	Chapel Hill School Site	South of 11700 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	School site	1868, 1922, 1925	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame schools (2 buildings)	Focal point of rural Chapel Hill community

LIST OF PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED SITES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Description	Significance
PG:80-18-3	Albert Owen Shorter House Site	Southeast of 12500 Livingston Rd.	Chapel Hill	Residence Site	ca. 1906	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with wing extending to side	Associated with Albert Owen Shorter, patriarch of extended family settled Chapel Hill
PG:86A-12	St. Simon's Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	West of 14401 St. Thomas Church Rd.	Croom	Church site and cemetery	1894	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church; secluded cemetery surrounding by woods	One of only two chapels for black Episcopalians in Prince George's County
PG:86A-13	St. Mary's Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	Croom Airport Rd.	Croom	Church site and cemetery	1911	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church; grassy cemetery	Focal point of rural Croom community
PG:86A-27-24	Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute Site	14400 block of St. Thomas Church Rd.	Croom	School and school site	1920, 1925	2-story, cross-gable, wood-frame main building; Five 1-story, front-gable, wood-frame classroom and dormitory buildings	Early vocational school for blacks in Southern Maryland
PG:87B-33	John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	22919 Christ Church Rd.	Aquasco	Church site and cemetery	1906	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with tower; grassy cemetery	Focal point of rural Aquasco community; served as both school and church
PG:87B-12	St. Phillip's Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	16100 St. Phillip's Church Rd.	Aquasco	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1878, 1932	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church	First church for black Episcopalians in Prince George's County
PG:73-12	Slave Quarters at Northampton	10951 Waterport Ct.	Largo	Residence Site	early 19th century	1 1/2-story, side-gable, brick duplex	Only known 2-unit brick slave quarter in Maryland; outstanding potential for information from excavations, archival research, and oral history.

LIST OF PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED SITES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Description	Significance
PG:76B-16	Mount Hope African Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	7043 Allentown Rd.	Camp Springs	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1891	grassy cemetery with a few visible headstones, surrounded by woods.	Focal point of black community in Camp Springs
PG:77-12	St. Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	Leapley Rd. at Dower House Rd. West	Meadows	Church site and cemetery	1893	grassy cemetery just outside Andrews Air Force Base	Only remnant of historically black community of Meadows

LIST OF EXTANT PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:62-23-17	Thomas Matthews House	7700 Old Muirkirk Rd.	Rossville	Residence	1888	No	No	2-story, 3-bay, wood-frame I-house with ell	One of the first residences built in Rossville and one of the few that survive from that period	
PG:62-23-20	Muirkirk School	7813 Muirkirk Rd.	Rossville	School	1922	No	No	1-story, side-gable, wood-frame school	Surviving Rosenwald school that served Rossville.	
PG:62-23-21	Queen's Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	7410 Old Muirkirk Rd.	Rossville	Church, Church Site, Cemetery	1953 (church), 1868 (church site and cemetery	Yes	No	front-gable brick church with corner tower; grassy site with cedars and gravestones	Site of earliest building around which Rossville grew	Also listed in sites of former buildings database
PG:62-23-7	Abraham Hall	7612 Old Muirkirk Rd.	Rossville	Lodge	1889	No	No	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame lodge	One of only two 19th century African-American benevolent society lodges surviving in PG Co.	MHT Easement
PG:66-14	Community High School	8108 54th Ave.	Lakeland	School	1928	No	Yes?	1-story, hip-roof, brick school with large additions	Rosenwald School. Focal point of Lakeland community, second secondary school (along with Highland Park) for blacks in Prince George's County	Designed by Linthicum and Linthicum. Under develop. pressure
PG:68-61-11	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of Brentwood	4037 Webster St.	North Brentwood	Church	1920	No	Yes	front-gable brick church with corner tower	Focal point of the North Brentwood community	
PG:68-61-13	Foursquares on Webster St.	3914, 3916, 3918 Webster St.	North Brentwood	Residences	ca. 1920	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residences	Representative examples of Foursquare type	

LIST OF EXTANT PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:68-61-2	Robert Orr House	4528 40th St.	North Brentwood	Residence	1913	No	Yes	2-story, shed-roof, wood-frame residence	Representative example of "freestanding rowhouse" type	
PG:68-61-3	William H. Thomas House	3911 Wallace Rd.	North Brentwood	Residence	1916	No	Yes	2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame Foursquare	Representative example of Foursquare type	
PG:68-61-5	Owings Houses	4533, 4535, 4537 41st Ave.	North Brentwood	Residences	1912	No	Yes	2-story, shed-roof, wood-frame residences	Representative examples of "freestanding rowhouse" type	
PG:68-61-6	Seaburn House	4529 41st Ave.	North Brentwood	Residence	1912	No	Yes	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	Representative example of front-gable type	
PG:68-61-7	A. A. Randall House	4504 41st Ave.	North Brentwood	Residence	1895	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	Representative example of front-gable type; associated with Randall family, first settlers in North Brentwood	
PG:68-61-8	Edith Mason House	4501 41st Ave.	North Brentwood	Residence	ca. 1895	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, wood-frame I-house with central, flush cross-gable	Representative example of I-house type; associated with Randall family, first settlers in North Brentwood	
PG:69-21	Cherry Hill Cemetery	6821 Ingraham St.	Beacon Heights	Cemetery	1884	No	No	steep, wooded cemetery with uninscribed, sandstone markers	Rare surviving example of late 19th cemetery black community cemetery	
PG:69-23-17	Wormley House	7533 Ardwick-Ardmore Rd.	Ardwick	Residence	late 1890s, late 1920s	No	No	2-story, wood-frame I-house with multiple additions	Focal point of Ardwick community; associated with Wormley family, prominent professionals from Washington D.C.	
PG:69-23-27	Thomas Hunster House	7523 Ardwick-Ardmore Rd.	Ardwick	Residence	1920	No	No	1 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame bungalow	Associated with Thomas W. Hunster, prominent painter and head of Art Department in D.C.'s black public schools.	

LIST OF EXTANT PREVIOUSLY SURVEYED AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:69-23-28	Walter and Elsie Smith House	7515 Ardwick-Ardmore Rd.	Ardwick	Residence	ca. 1910	No	No	2 1/2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence	Associated with Walter L. Smith, principal of Dunbar High School, and Elsie Smith, English teacher at Dunbar High School.	
PG:69-5-6	St. Paul's Baptist Church	4107 47th St.	Bladensburg	Church	1818, 1908	No	No	front-gable brick church with tower on south wall and front-gable addition	Associated with African-American social and religious life since 1872	
PG:70-28	Dorsey Methodist Episcopal Chapel	10704 Brookland Rd.	Glenn Dale	Church	1900	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame, Queen Anne-style church	Focal point of rural black farming community of Brookland	
PG:70-37	Burke-Jackson House	4907 Lottsford Vista Rd.	Vista	Residence	1918	No	No	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence	Associated with black architect Isaiah T. Hatton, black carpenter Frank Holland, and black educator Georgia Burke	
PG:70-4	Franklin Pierce House	9301 Good Luck Rd.	Seabrook	Residence	ca. 1907	No	No?	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame I-house with central flush cross-gable and ell	Representative example of early 20th century I-house built by black landowners	
PG:70-49-33	Thomas J. Calloway House	9949 Elm St.	Lincoln	Residence	1910	No	Yes?	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence	Associated with Thomas Junius Calloway, black activist, promoter of Lincoln community, and first principal of Lincoln School	
PG:70-49-35	Lincoln School	5201 Baltimore Ave.	Lincoln	School	1922	No	Yes?	1 1/2-story, side-gable, wood-frame school with brick veneer and multiple additions	Rosenwald school and important institution in Lincoln community	

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PG:70-49-37	Isaiah T. Hatton House	5502 Center Ave.	Lincoln	Residence	1911	No	Yes?	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence	Representative example of Foursquare type; designed by and built for African-American architect Isaiah T. Hatton; one of the earliest residences in Lincoln	
PG:71A-16	Collington School	5201 Church Rd.	Collington	School	1927	No	No	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	Good example of Rosenwald School. Center of black education since 1875 (including previous buildings)	
PG:71A-21	Bowie State University Campus	13900 Jericho Park Rd.	Bowie	College Campus	1911-present	Yes	No	Campus comprised of recent, neo-Georgian and International-style buildings	First institution of higher learning for blacks in Maryland	No original buildings remain. Listed in both sites of former buildings and buildings databases.
PG:71A-22-4	Noble Strother House	12500 Fletchertown Rd.	Fletchertown	Residence	1924	No	No	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame Foursquare	Most substantial dwelling in Fletchertown community	
PG:71A-30	D. S. S. Goodloe House	13809 Jericho Park Rd.	Bowie	Residence	1916	No	No	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence with brick veneer and rear kitchen wing	Associated with D. S. S. Goodloe, first principal of Bowie State University, and black architect John A. Moore	NR-listed

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MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:71B-2-10	Ross Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church and Parsonage	13111 and 13105 11th St.	Bowie	Church and Church-related Residence	1909 (church), mid-1920s (parsonage)	No	Yes	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church; 1 1/2-story, front gable, wood-frame bungalow	Remnant of early black community in Bowie	
PG:71B-2-23	Knights of St. John Hall	13004 12th St.	Bowie	Social Hall	ca. 1930	No	Yes	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame social hall	Remnant of early black Catholic population in Bowie	
PG:72-10	Van Horn-Mitchell House	4706 Mann St.	Deanwood	Residence	ca. 1803	No	?	2 1/2-story, side-gable, brick residence	Forerunner of the I-house type; associated with Archibald Van Horn, Speaker of the Maryland House and delegate to U.S. House; associated with Benjamin and Clara Mitchell, black Muslim activists	
PG:72-21	Highland Park School	6501 Lowland Dr.	Highland Park	School	1928	No	?	1-story, hip-roof, brick Colonial Revival School with exposed basement and multiple additions	Rosenwald School. Focal point of Highland Park community, second secondary school (along with Lakeland) for blacks in Prince George's County	Designed by Linthicum and Linthicum
PG:72-45	Harmony Memorial Park	7101 Sheriff Rd.	Landover	Cemetery	1959	No	No	Large, landscaped cemetery and memorial park	Predominantly African-American cemetery that contains approx. 64,000 graves dating as far back as 1829, including those moved from previous sites.	

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MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:72-5	Ridgley Methodist Episcopal Church	8900 Central Ave.	Landover	Church	ca. 1921	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church	Focal point of small black community of Ridgley	Building has been moved
PG:72-9-17	Samuel Hargrove House	590 K St.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1918	No	No	2-story, hip-roof, brick residence	Unusual and artistic use of molded brick	
PG:72-9-18	W. Sidney and Portia Washington Pittman House	505 Eastern Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1907	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	Associated with black architect William Sidney Pittman and black pianist Portia Washington Pittman	
PG:72-9-23	Alice Dorsey House	910 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca. 1904	No	Yes	2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence	Among the oldest residences in Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-24	James F. Armstrong House	908 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca. 1905	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, gable-front-and-wing, wood-frame residence	Outstanding example of the oldest residences in Fairmount Heights; associated with James F. Armstrong, supervisor of Colored Schools in Prince George's County	
PG:72-9-25	Fairmount Heights Methodist Episcopal Church	716 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Church	1911	No	Yes	1-story, cross-gable, stuccoed wood-frame church with corner tower	One of the cultural centers in Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-26	Trammell-Taylor House	717 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca. 1910	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with Classical Revival details	One of the more substantial early houses in Fairmount Heights; associated with James H. Taylor, Prince George's County Circuit Court Judge	

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PG:72-9-27	Towles-Brooks House	708 59th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca. 1910	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, gable-front-and-wing, wood-frame residence	Representative example of gable-front-and-wing type	
PG:72-9-28	Louis Brown House	701 58th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	late 1920s	No	Yes	2-story, cross-gable, wood-frame residence with English-style details	Unusual, carpenter-built, English-style residence	
PG:72-9-29	World War II Monument	59th Ave. at 59th Pl.	Fairmount Heights	Monument	1946	No	No	Pyramidal, granite and sandstone monument	Landmark at the entrance to Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-30	Isaac Brown House	715 59th Pl.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca. 1911	No	Yes	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame residence	Representative example of front-gable type	
PG:72-9-31	William B. Coles House	730 60th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1906	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, gable-front-and-wing, wood-frame residence	Large and prominent example of gable-front-and-wing type	
PG:72-9-32	John S. Johnson House	612 60th Pl.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1911	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, gable-front-and-wing, wood-frame residence	Representative example of gable-front-and-wing type	
PG:72-9-33	Henry Pinckney House	608 60th Pl.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	ca.1905	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence	Representative example of Foursquare type	
PG:72-9-35	Cornelius Fonville House	602 60th Pl.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1912	No	Yes	2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence	Representative example of Foursquare type	
PG:72-9-36	Doswell Brooks House	6107 Foote Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1928	No	Yes	1 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame bungalow	Representative example of bungalow type; associated with Doswell Brooks, Supervisor of Colored Schools for Prince George's County, Prince George's County School Board member, and mayor of Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-38	Charity Hall	715 61st Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Social Hall	1908	No	Yes	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame social hall with shed additions	Historical community center of Fairmount Heights	Integrity problems

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PG:72-9-39	Robert S. Nichols House	802 58th Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1908	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame residence with side wing	One of the more substantial houses in Fairmount Heights; associated with Robert S. Nichols, first mayor of Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-41	Bungalow Row	62nd Ave. bet. Foote St. and Addison Rd.	Fairmount Heights	Residences	1920	No	Yes	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame bungalows	Representative examples of mail-order houses	19 originally
PG:72-9-42	Fairmount Heights Municipal Center	717 60th Place	Fairmount Heights	Municipal Building	ca. 1942, 1946	No	Yes	2 1/2-story, front-gable, brick and concrete block municipal building with large, flat-roof addition	Historical center of municipal activities in Fairmount Heights	
PG:72-9-43	Prince Albert Washington House	949 Eastern Ave.	Fairmount Heights	Residence	1922-1924	No	Yes	1 1/2-story, side-gable, wood-frame bungalow	Outstanding example of Sears-Roebuck House	
PG:72-9-9	Fairmount Heights Elementary School	737 61st Ave.	Fairmount Heights	School	1912	No	Yes	2-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	First school in Fairmount Heights	
PG:74A-4	Holy Family Roman Catholic Church	12010 Woodmore Rd.	Woodmore	Church	1890	No	?	large, front-gable, wood-frame church with bellcote and gothic revival and stick-style details	Focal point of black Catholic community in Woodmore-Mitchellville	
PG:74B-10	Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal Church	17214 Queen Anne Rd.	Queen Anne	Church	1925	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church	Focal point of black community in Queen Anne	

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PG:74B-6	Carroll Methodist Episcopal Church	1811 Mitchellville Rd.	Mitchellville	Church	ca. 1870s - early 20th century	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church	Focal point of black community in Mitchellville; representative of rural chapels of the early 20th century	
PG:75A-28	Ridgley School	8600 block Central Ave. at Truck Way	Landover	School	1927	No	No	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	Representative of 1920s Rosenwald Schools in Prince George's County	Designed by Linthicum and Linthicum; near original condition
PG:75A-30	Lincoln Memorial Cemetery	4001 Suitland Rd.	Suitland	Cemetery	1927	No	No	Large, landscaped cemetery/memorial park	Commercial, non-sectarian African-American cemetery. Over 50,000 gravesites	
PG:76A-14	Butler House	6403 Oxon Hill Rd.	Oxon Hill	Residence	ca. 1853	No	Yes	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with large shed addition on one side and formstone veneer.	Rare surviving example of free black farmstead from before the Civil War	
PG:76B-15	Camp Springs School	7039 Allentown Rd.	Camp Springs	School	1924	No	?	1-story, side-gable, wood-frame school	Representative example of early 20th century Rosenwald Schools; focal point of black community in Camp Springs.	

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PG:76B-16	Mount Hope African Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	7043 Allentown Rd.	Camp Springs	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1891	Yes	No	grassy cemetery with a few visible headstones, surrounded by woods.	Focal point of black community in Camp Springs	Church demolished ca. 1960s. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases.
PG:76B-8	St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church	6634 St. Barnabas Rd.	Oxon Hill	Church	1915	No	?	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with corner tower and rear additions	Representative of rural chapels of the early 20th century; possibly the oldest African-American congregation in Prince George's County	
PG:77-12	St. Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	Leapley Rd. at Dower House Rd. West	Meadows	Church site and cemetery	1893	Yes	No	grassy cemetery surrounded by Andrews Air Force Base	Only remnant of historically black community of Meadows	Church demolished late 1970s. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases.
PG:79-19-20	Union Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church	14418 Old Marlboro Pike	Upper Marlboro	Church	1913	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with center entrance tower and side addition	Center of black Methodist community in Upper Marlboro	

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MHT #	Property Name	Property Address	Community	Property Type	Date of Construction	Archeological Site?	Element in Streetscape?	Description	Significance	Comments
PG:79-19-25	St. Mary's Beneficial Society Hall	14825 Pratt St.	Upper Marlboro	Social Hall	1892	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame social hall	One of only two 19th century African-American benevolent society lodges surviving in PG Co.; center of black Catholic community in Upper Marlboro	
PG:79-46	Union Methodist Episcopal Chapel Site and Cemetery	Valley Lane	Upper Marlboro	Church site and cemetery	1865	Yes	No	secluded, grassy area with gravestones	Original center of black Methodist community in Upper Marlboro	Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases
PG:79-63-70	John Henry Quander House	3708 Old Crain Highway	Upper Marlboro	Residence	ca. 1870	No	No	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with ell	Rare surviving example of Reconstruction-era freedman's house	
PG:80-18-1	Grace Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	11700 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1883, 1902, 1927	Yes	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with corner tower; cemetery	Focal point of rural Chapel Hill community	Demolished 1989. List in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases
PG:80-18-4	Charles Ball House	12127 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	Residence	ca. 1915	No	No	2-story, side-gable, wood-frame residence with ell and side addition	One of few surviving early residences in Chapel Hill	
PG:80-18-5	Lancaster House	12123 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	Residence	1925	No	No	1-story, cross-gable, wood-frame residence with bungalow style porch	One of few surviving early residences in Chapel Hill	

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PG:80-18-6	Colbert Houses	12210-12212 Old Fort Rd.	Chapel Hill	Residences	1910; ca. 1930	No	No	2-story, gable-front-and-wing, wood-frame residence; 1-story, front-gable, wood-frame cottage	Two of few surviving early residences in Chapel Hill	
PG:81A-13	Clinton School	9122 Piscataway Rd.	Clinton	School	1927	No	?	Highly altered 1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	Representative example of early 20th century Rosenwald Schools.	
PG:82B-34	Trueman Cabin	Patuxent River Park	Croom	Residence	1st half 19th century	No	No	1 1/2-story, side-gable, log residence	Only known surviving log slave quarter in Prince George's County; one of very few surviving slave quarters.	Moved to park 1970s, now a museum exhibit
PG:82B-38	Columbia Air Center	Patuxent River Park	Croom	Airport	1941	No	No	Large, flat field formerly used as air field	First and only black-owned airport in Prince George's County, first licensed in the United States	Now owned by MNCPPC
PG:84-14	Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church	4004 Accokeek Rd.	Accokeek	Church	1906, rebuilt 1958	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with front entry tower and brick side addition	Focal point of black community in Accokeek and surrounding rural areas.	
PG:84-17	Sharpersville School	15508 Berry Rd.	Accokeek	School	Possibly 1877	No	No	2-story, front-gable, wood-frame school with side shed addition	Might be oldest surviving African-American school in Prince George's County; first school built in post-Freedman's Bureau era.	
PG:85A-18	Union-Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church	6810 Floral Park Rd.	Brandywine	Church	1955	No	No	1-story, front-gable, stuccoed brick church with front entry tower and attached 1991church	Focal point of black community in Brandywine and surrounding rural areas	

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PG:85A-26	T. B. School	14000 Crain Highway	Brandywine	School	1926	No	?	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school with one projecting cloak room.	Representative example of early 20th century Rosenwald Schools; Focal point of black community in Brandywine and surrounding rural areas.	Designed by Linthicum and Linthicum.
PG:86A-12	St. Simon's Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	West of 14401 St. Thomas Church Rd.	Croom	Church site and cemetery	1894	Yes	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church; secluded cemetery surrounding by woods	One of only two chapels for black Episcopalians in Prince George's County	Demolished 1972. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases
PG:86A-13	St. Mary's Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	Croom Airport Rd.	Croom	Church site and cemetery	1911	Yes	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church; grassy cemetery	Focal point of rural Croom community	Burned late 1960s. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases

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PG:86A-27-24	Croom Industrial and Agricultural Institute Site	14400 block of St. Thomas Church Rd.	Croom	School and school site	1920, 1925	Yes	No	2-story, cross-gable, wood-frame main building; Five 1-story, front-gable, wood-frame classroom and dormitory buildings	Early vocational school for blacks in Southern Maryland	Many buildings demolished. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases.
PG:86B-1	Gibbons Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Educational Building	14107 Gibbons Church Rd.	Brandywine	Church site and educational building	late 19th century (church site), 1920s (educational building)	Yes	No	One-story, front-gable, wood-frame educational building with ell; surrounded by cemetery, 1960s brick church, and modern church	Focal point of black community in Brandywine and surrounding rural areas	Church demolished 1968
PG:86B-5	Brooks Methodist Episcopal Church	15601 Brooks Church Rd.	Croom	Church	1939, 1983	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with corner tower and front-gable addition on side	Focal point of rural Croom community	
PG:87A-10	St. Thomas Methodist Episcopal Church	18810 Aquasco Rd.	Baden	Church	1911	No	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with entry vestibule and rear addition	Representative of rural chapels of the early 20th century. Focal point of black community in Baden-Aquasco	
PG:87A-12	Poplar Hill School	19104 Croom Rd.	Baden	School	1936	No	No	1-story, gable-roof, wood-frame school	School that served the black community in Baden area	

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PG:87B-12	St. Phillip's Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	16100 St. Phillip's Church Rd.	Aquasco	Church site and cemetery	ca. 1878, 1932	Yes	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church	First church for black Episcopalians in Prince George's County	Burned 1976. Listed in both buildings and sites of former buildings databases
PG:87B-33	John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church Site and Cemetery	22919 Christ Church Rd.	Aquasco	Church site and cemetery	1906	Yes	No	1-story, front-gable, wood-frame church with tower; grassy cemetery	Focal point of rural Aquasco community; served as both school and church	Listed in both buildings and sites database
PG:87B-34	Woodville School	21500 Aquasco Rd.	Aquasco	School	1934	No	No	1-story, hip-roof, wood-frame school	Best surviving rural school of its period	
PG:LAU-2	St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church	601 8th St.	Laurel	Church	1921	No	Yes	1 1/2-story, front-gable, concrete-block church with corner tower and rear addition	Religious center of black community in Laurel	