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IMPLICATIONS OF ROLAND PARK ON BALTIMORE, FROM 1891
TO THE PRESENT**

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“1000 ACRES OF RESTRICTED LAND”: THE LARGER IMPLICATIONS
OF ROLAND PARK ON BALTIMORE, FROM 1891 TO THE PRESENT

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

“1000 ACRES OF RESTRICTED LAND”: THE LARGER IMPLICATIONS OF ROLAND PARK ON BALTIMORE, FROM 1891 TO THE PRESENT

Madison Rose O’Donnell

This study addresses the circumstances that led to and the long-term consequences of racially exclusive suburban developments in Baltimore City during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1891, British investors and urban planners joined together to build the Roland Park District, one of the nation’s first planned suburban neighborhoods to include a racially restrictive covenant. Ideally located on the Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore developed a high-functioning port, which in turn supported westward expansion, progress, industrialization, and immigration. Located just north of Baltimore’s 1888 city limits, which would later expand to absorb Roland Park in 1918, Roland Park was built as an upper-class streetcar suburb. Inspired by the rise of the garden city movement and similar planned suburbs like Riverside, Illinois, the Roland Park Company intended their development to capture the desired ideals of nature, beauty, and luxury without sacrificing proximity to urban centers. Gaining an understanding of the rationale, profitability, and social circles of the Roland Park Company developers captures the motivation behind the long-lasting consequences of the development. This thesis aims to analyze the foundation laid and the precedent set by the Roland Park Company in Baltimore by investigating the historical beginnings of Baltimore, the Roland Park Company Records Collection, City of Baltimore infrastructure records, the

works of urban planners including Ebenezer Howard, Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., and Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., Civil Rights Laws, and formalized housing policies.

Furthermore, in a city with a large African-American population, the Black communities in Baltimore suffered from the institutionalization and spread of housing policies based on race and class that emerged following the garden suburb developments. While the Roland Park District only occupied a few square miles of Baltimore City, it dramatically deepened racial, class, and wealth divides in the city and across the nation due to its successful exclusionary practices.

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INTRODUCTION

“Baltimore: The Greatest City in America,” reads the street benches in Baltimore City, Maryland. What makes a city great? Furthermore, what makes Baltimore the greatest? Many Americans may know of Baltimore through the city’s sports teams, the Orioles and the Ravens, or their specialty foods, crabs, and the Old Bay brand of seasoning. Yet, it is more likely that most Americans know Baltimore due to news coverage of the city’s high crime rates, civil turmoil—most notably the protests that followed the killing of Freddie Gray in 2015, and the highly acclaimed television series “The Wire.” Baltimore is again in the news due to the tragic collapse of the Francis Scott Key Bridge on March 26, 2024, which killed six people. Since the nineteenth century, Baltimore has experienced many changes like other cities throughout the United States—such as technological advances, immigration, pollution, modernization, and gentrification. Cities go through periods of growth as well as periods of decline, yet there is one neighborhood in Baltimore that remains seemingly untouched, as pristine—and homogeneous—as the year it was established. This neighborhood is Roland Park. Elite and exclusionary suburban communities, such as Roland Park, have deepened and continued racial segregation in American cities by contributing to the codification of federal housing laws through purposeful tactics that circumvent the Fourteenth Amendment and subsequent Civil Rights laws and court decisions.

In 1910, Baltimore gained attention for doing what no city had ever done before—the city legalized residential segregation. The city council enacted the statute denying Baltimore Whites and Blacks the right to move onto blocks whose residents were a majority of the other race. Essentially, Whites were prohibited from moving onto

blocks that were majority Black, and Blacks were prohibited from moving onto blocks that were majority White. As transportation technology began to advance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wealthy families began moving to the streetcar suburbs, and wealthy Blacks began to move into the former city homes that were left vacant. Baltimore's city council passed the ordinance after Margaret G. Franklin Brewer, a White woman, sold her house at 1834 McCulloh Street to W. Ashbie Hawkins, a Black attorney, in 1910, which resulted in neighborhood protests.¹ Further reasonings behind the ordinance include the spread of tuberculosis, the influx of African Americans, and an increase in immigrants.

Soon, similar ordinances were passed in Alabama, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Georgia, Oklahoma, and Texas. In 1917, the Supreme Court nullified Baltimore's segregation ordinance in *Buchanan v. Warley* as the law violated the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Studies by Antero Pietila and Garrett Power have analyzed the city's action and local, state, national, and international response to it. This study will examine how the political road to the city law was paved in part by the construction of a roughly 1000-acre residential community known as Roland Park, which, like the famous Chicago-area planned community named Riverside, established a model for the development elite, outlying communities that were linked to the downtown business district by public transportation but remained almost entirely a world apart, not only because the lots and houses were far more expensive than the ordinary wage-earner could afford, but because Roland Park employed a series of legal economic and social tools to assure income, social class, and racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity.

¹ *Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1910.

Roland Park was established in 1891. It is a three-square-mile suburb, comprising more than 800 acres, located in North Baltimore and is considered one of the first planned suburbs in the United States (See Figure 1).² It mostly consists of single-family homes of the colonial or Tudor style, with close proximity to the top-rated public schools and elite private schools in the area. Using the landscape design of the Olmsted Brothers, Roland Park embraced the ideals of a garden suburb. With winding roads, large green lawns, and community parks, the Roland Park Company attempted to create the countryside qualities of life on the outskirts of an urban center. The Roland Park Company attempted to separate its development from Baltimore City through its infrastructure and amenities. Roland Park had their own water and sewer systems, electric services, fire department, security, and sanitation department. In terms of social aspects, Roland Park had its own Civic League, country club, Women's club, shopping center, and schools.

The Roland Park Company was funded by the British-backed Lands Trust Company Limited, which tended to purchase land in newly settled and rapidly growing parts of the United States, a category into which Baltimore fell.³ Roland Park received seventy-five percent of its funding from British real estate investors.⁴ It took the Roland Park Company twenty years to complete the construction of Roland Park and its neighboring communities, such as Guilford, Homeland, and Northwood. Not only did the Roland Park Company strive for ideal, countryside-like physical conditions, but they also

² Other well-known planned suburban developments in the United States include Llewelyn Park, New Jersey; Levittown, New York; and Riverside, Chicago.

³ Paige Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated: Developers and the Business of Exclusionary Housing, 1890-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

⁴ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 6.

filtered their residents by race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality based on who the Roland Park Company believed would enhance the value of Roland Park properties.

The Roland Park Company inaugurated deed restrictions on its property in 1891. Deed restrictions soon became a common tool in segregating communities throughout the nation. Racially restrictive deeds or covenants were clauses within property deeds that prohibited certain groups of people based on their race or ethnicity from purchasing or leasing certain property. The covenants were significantly effective at restricting lower-middle and middle-class African Americans, Asian Americans, and other minority groups from purchasing property in majority White working-class neighborhoods. Although the Fourteenth Amendment stated that all persons should be guaranteed “equal protection of the law,” it only applied to public actions and government discrimination—it did not apply to private matters of discrimination.⁵ Segregated neighborhoods emerged when property developers included racially restrictive covenants into their property deeds, henceforth shutting out certain races, ethnicities, and religions from communities at large. In the early twentieth century, racial covenants were one of the most pervasive and widespread forms of housing discrimination in the United States. The covenants provided a type of “insurance” against future residents of color moving into and tipping the demographic scales of a neighborhood.⁶

Housing segregation through racially restrictive deeds was possible due to the racial and economic climate of the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. Faced with the Great Migration, the influx of immigrants from Europe, Whites moving

⁵ The Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1893).

⁶ Aradhya Sood and Kevin Ehrman-Solber, “The Long Shadow of Housing Discrimination: Evidence from Racial Covenants,” *Social Science Research Network* (2023): 8.

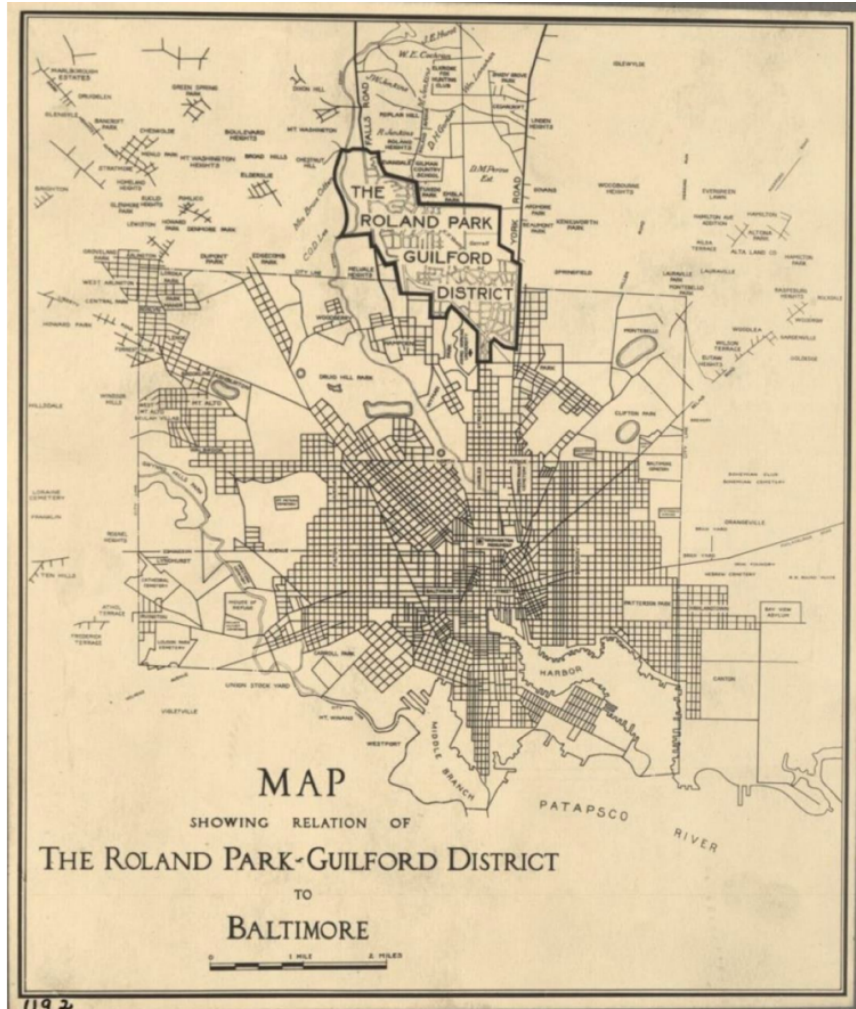


Figure 1: Map Illustrating the Roland Park-Guilford District in Baltimore, Maryland. Courtesy of the Roland Park Company Records Special Collection at Johns Hopkins University

out of the city for more space, rapid urbanization, and race riots, cities began to use municipal zoning ordinances to establish segregated housing.⁷ This ended in 1917 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Buchanan v. Warley* to prohibit municipalities from explicitly enacting racial zoning regulations. Yet, city segregation was able to continue due to the ruling; cities began to use racial covenants instead. The use of racial covenants increased in 1924 when the National Association of Real Estate Board, also known as the NAREB,

⁷ Sood, "The Long Shadow of Housing Discrimination," 9.

included the covenants in their code of ethics. In 1926, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the legality and enforceability of racial covenants in *Corrigan v. Buckley*, which decided that the Supreme Court would not interfere with the right to discriminate in private agreements. In 1938, the Federal Housing Administration institutionalized the use of racial covenants in its underwriting manual, which gave preference to mortgages associated with “suitable restrictive covenants.”⁸ It was not until *Shelley v. Kraemer* in 1948 that the Supreme Court ruled racially restrictive covenants as invalid and unenforceable, citing the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and, again later in The Fair Housing Act in 1968. Yet, informal restrictions kept Roland Park an exclusively white affluent community.⁹

This thesis focuses on the creation of Roland Park within the larger constructs of Baltimore. The irregular street patterns, neighborhood continuity, and provision of parks and green spaces offer vistas of lovely homes and quaint, tree-lined streets that mask or obscure the real estate laws, policies, and practices that resulted in the segregation of residents by income, social class, race, religion, and ethnicity. This thesis will ask why the Roland Park Company, the developers of the Baltimore neighborhood of Roland Park, utilized urban planning to extend and reinforce residential segregation and structural racism.

American cities are racially segregated and unequal, which is a sad reality, but it is not surprising. Urban historians agree that suburbanization emerged due to

⁸ Sood, “The Long Shadow of Housing Discrimination,” 9.

⁹ *Shelley v. Kraemer* ruled in the Supreme Court that racially restrictive housing covenants are unenforceable. Restrictive covenants in real estate property deeds prohibiting the sale of property to non-Caucasians unconstitutionally violated the equal protection provision of the Fourteenth Amendment—yet the decision yielded little power over the application of the restrictions.

unprecedented urban growth and population. City infrastructures could not contain the growing population. This led to the wealthy and middle-class city residents moving out of the city to gain more space and escape the pollution, disease, and the people of the city. This is one of the earliest examples of what would later become known as White flight, which was the large-scale migration of White people from areas that were becoming more diverse post-World War II. With White residents fleeing toward the suburbs, inner cities were robbed of their tax base.¹⁰ White flight increased the concentration of poverty and decreased the economic opportunities for a city. For context, between 1970 and 1980, Baltimore lost over 110,000 residents as White city residents moved into the suburbs.¹¹ White urban neighborhoods tend to receive more investments and better city services than most nonwhite neighborhoods.

Roland Park was among a series of late nineteenth-century communities that introduced deed restrictions. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, racial covenants and deed restrictions rose in the United States due to the growth in suburbanization combined with the simultaneous migration of Black Americans from South to North, known as the Great Migration. Neighborhood-level segregation significantly doubled during this period.¹² Cities including Washington D.C., Minneapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Charlottesville, and Seattle had racial restrictions in their regions. Many historians have started digitally mapping racial restrictions, capturing

¹⁰ Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University Press, 2014), 8.

¹¹ “1966-1976: After the Unrest,” *Baltimore’s Civil Rights Heritage*, accessed January 10, 2024. <https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1966-1976/#:~:text=Baltimore's%20population%20dropped.,largely%20unavailable%20for%20Black%20residents.>

¹² Sood, “The Long Shadow of Housing Discrimination,” 1.

the widespread nature of covenants across the nation.¹³ Digital mapping seems to be the future direction for urban historians. Many Americans are not aware of the restrictive covenants within the history of their own communities. While it raises awareness for racial segregation in neighborhoods across the nation, the digital maps do not capture the full history of the discrimination groups faced based on their race, ethnicity, and religion.

Baltimore's development into one of America's most prominent cities is key to understanding the emergence of Roland Park and other elite and exclusionary neighborhoods throughout the United States. Capitalizing on racial divisions in rapidly growing, industrial Baltimore at the turn of the century, urban planners designed Roland Park to generate profits based on racist fears, restrictions, and exclusivity. Yet, it is important to note that many other cities deal with structural racism and segregation in their cities. Racial segregation in housing in southern states is not an idea born out of the Confederacy, but it is a nationwide project of the federal government.¹⁴ Examining Roland Park Company developments, Roland Park, Guilford, Homeland, and Northwood capture the consequences of redlining, segregation, and racial restrictions in the twenty-first century as the developments highlight the pervasive role racism has played in shaping Baltimore's suburban landscape.

This introductory chapter will briefly discuss the historiography of urban history, social history, and the history of capitalism. It will explore notable works exploring garden suburbs and suburbanization in America, including themes of racial segregation,

¹³ Digital mapping projects to highlight the widespread use of racially restrictive covenants include "Mapping Exclusion—Arlington, VA" which is run by researchers at Marymount University; "Montgomery County's Mapping Segregation Project" which is run by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission; "Mapping Restricting Covenants in Washington D.C." which is run by Prologue DC; "Minneapolis Mapping Prejudice" which is run by the University of Minnesota.

¹⁴ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 3.

redlining, and structural racism. Lastly, it will provide context on the history of studying suburbanization—specifically the popularity and spread of garden suburbs throughout the United States.

Chapter One will provide context on the history of Baltimore, highlighting its growth as a port city with multiple key exports like grain and tobacco during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, rapid industrial and urban growth at the turn of the twentieth century, and the chapter will examine the beginnings of the Roland Park Company, including the actions of the Roland Park Company president, Edward Bouton, and the influence of the Olmsted Brothers. It will delve into Roland Park's restrictions and tools of exclusion, along with the impact of industrialization. It will examine the creators of the Garden City and Garden Suburb movement and its start.

Chapter Two will explore Roland Park Company's investors and the methods by which the company attracted and restricted its residents. It will examine the impact of race, culture, and religious identity on property value. It will also explore how Roland Park attempted to separate from Baltimore City through the use of restrictive boundaries—whether they be racial, economic, or physical. Roland Park stimulated the development of the Baltimore Country Club, prestigious neighborhoods, and private schools—while also strengthening racial differences and residential segregation in the city. Lastly, it will discuss the legal actions taken by the United States and Baltimore that furthered housing discrimination and segregation.

Chapter Three will examine African Americans' response to Roland Park and the company's efforts to create a community defined by racial, class, ethnic, and religious exclusion. It will discuss the creation of planned Black suburbs, like the Village of Cross

Keys, which neighbored Roland Park, and Daniel A. P. Murray's Cherry Heights, which was inspired by the Roland Park Company. This chapter attempts to answer the questions: What impact did Roland Park have on the African-American communities nearby? How has Roland Park contributed to the reshaping of the racial landscape of Baltimore?

By 1910, Baltimore was the sixth-largest city in the United States. It was thriving in its industrial capabilities, and its port was busy and generating significant economic profits. The city became a destination for Blacks migrating from the rural South in search of new jobs and economic opportunities. While the intention of garden suburbs is positive, the infrastructure and exclusionary practices used by the Roland Park Company in Roland Park had harmful and long-lasting effects on Baltimore City—affecting the way in which Black communities developed in the spaces neighboring Roland Park. While racism and racial segregation existed prior to Roland Park Company's venture into racially restrictive developments, Roland Park serves as one of the first prime examples of the codification of racial covenants—which it modeled as an example for many suburbs across the nation with diverse populations and demographics.

Historiography:

This section will explore American urban history, a historical field that examines the nature and social processes of cities and towns. Urban history is interdisciplinary, drawing on social history, architectural studies, economics, sociology, geography, and business history. The first known use of urban history in America was Arthur M. Schlesinger's "The City in American History," published in the *Mississippi Valley*

Historical Review in 1940.¹⁵ Interest in urban history grew rather slowly.¹⁶ The most prominent works to follow Schlesinger were urban biographies that summarized the history of a particular city. This changed in the 1960s due to the emergence of a new social history. New social history reflected a shift that occurred due to the climate in which historians were writing. Plagued by the aftermath of the Great Depression, the Second World War, and the Cold War, historians began to focus on new topics rather than following the traditional format of largely writing history focused on politics and diplomacy.¹⁷ Traditional history was more elitist, focusing on the ideas and impacts of powerful leaders and decision-makers. The new shift in history focused more on a history from below—non-elitist. Historians began to focus more on issues such as race, ethnicity, class, group behaviors, community settings, social values, and processes that shaped the everyday lives of ordinary people.¹⁸ Historians began to focus more on local levels, rather than just nationally. Furthermore, history began to change in the 1960s due to the computer revolution.¹⁹ Technology allowed historians to analyze large amounts of data through computer-generated programs that collect, store, sort, and manipulate the data they input. Urban history was spurred by the changes that occurred in the 1960s—the social changes and technological advances.

¹⁵ Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The City in American History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 27 no. 1 (1940): 43.

¹⁶ Raymond A. Mohl, "The New Urban History and its Alternatives: Some Reflections on Recent U.S. Scholarship on the Twentieth-Century City," *Urban History Yearbook* 10, vol. 1 (1983): 19.

¹⁷ Mohl, "The New Urban History," 19.

¹⁸ Works of urban history that reflect new social history include William F. Holmes, "Whitecapping: Agrarian Violence in Mississippi, 1902-1906," *Journal of Southern History* 35, no. 2 (1969): 165-185; Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961); John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and Clement Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

¹⁹ Mohl, "The New Urban History," 19.

These changes are illuminated by Sam Bass Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900*, and Stephan Thernstorm's *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City*. Warner's book focused on urbanization, highlighting the technological advancements experienced at the turn of the century. Warner's method signified urbanization as a new lens through which American urban historians analyzed and captured the shift of urban historians within the scope of new social history. Historians began to see urbanization as a societal process that allowed historians to analyze multiple elements of society intersecting, such as population, topography, economy, social structure, politics, and civic leadership. The shift led to a focus more on urban change and the methodology behind analyzing change over time. Thernstorm's approach differed from Warner's approach. Thernstorm's main approach was quantitative analysis. His main intention was to focus narrowly on social mobility rather than larger processes like urbanization and city-building formations and structures. Thernstorm used rates of urban population turnover and correlations between economic failures and spatial mobility to make his arguments. Interestingly, Thernstrom's approach over Warner's approach dominated the field of urban history following the publications.²⁰

Due to the impact of the New Deal, urban historians began to shift their focus to the expansion of power in the United States government.²¹ Today, the themes that urban historians tend to focus on include the role of the federal government, the deconcentrating

²⁰ Mohl, "The New Urban History," 20.

²¹ Notable dealing with New Deal and federal power include Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Margaret Garb, *City of American Dreams: A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Jeffrey Hornstein, *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-Century American Middle Class* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Louis Hyman, *Debtor Nation: The History of America in Red Ink* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); and Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

of population, the impact of technology, the role of race and ethnicity in urban life, the rise of the sunbelt cities, and the abandonment of cities in the industrial region.²² The New Deal signifies one of the biggest changes in urban history due to its expansion of the federal government's power and influence and its unsuccessful efforts to create a national urban policy in the United States.²³ Following the Second World War, federal policies and efforts like the New Deal, combined with the economic crises and migrations that occurred, reshaped the United States and led to the expansion of housing segregation.

This thesis also will give a nod to the history of capitalism, specifically racial capitalism, as the thesis involves themes of power and discusses those wielding power to those on the receiving end. Racial capitalism is the concept that capital accumulation is derived from racial exploitation, and capital value is based on racial identity. Developers like those involved in the Roland Park Company created and perpetuated narratives about housing and high property values and constructed exclusionary housing markets in conjunction with the state.²⁴ Racial capitalism is a term developed by Cedric Robinson in his book *Black Marxism* to describe the way in which culture and the economy coexist. The book discusses the historical roots of racial capitalism and how it existed in many places throughout time.²⁵ Robinson discusses the way in which structures, institutions, and cultures of the United States evolved inseparably from those of slavery and global

²² Mohl, "The New Urban History," 22.

²³ Mohl, "The New Urban History," 22.

²⁴ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 4.

²⁵ Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Historians often debate Robinson's work, notably Lani Guinier and Ruth Wilson Gilmore.

capitalism.²⁶ Robinson addresses the need to involve cultural and racial issues on a larger scale.

One of the most prominent works of scholarship that focuses on Roland Park is Paige Glotzer's *How the Suburbs Were Segregated*, which focuses on the capitalist foundations of Roland Park—specifically tracing the flow of money and investment into the Roland Park Company.²⁷ Glotzer's book excavates and illuminates the various ways in which racism and capitalism, in their historicized configurations, gave rise to segregated suburbs. Glotzer approaches racial capitalism as a web of relationships connecting particular people, institutions, and ideas engaged in housing development.²⁸ Glotzer focuses primarily on the investments and financing involved in the creation of exclusive garden suburbs, particularly from British investments. In Baltimore, Roland Park is the prime example of a garden suburb that capitalized on exclusivity to generate profits. The British capitalized on the racist fears of Whites in Baltimore by investing in the development of Roland Park.²⁹ Roland Park emerges as a picturesque and romantic suburb connected with nature, exclusive for Whites only at the very border of Baltimore's city center.

²⁶ Other works discussing themes of racial capitalism include Charles Blockson, *Black Genealogy* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1977); David M. P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Elizabeth A. Herbin-Triant, *Threatening Property: Race, Class, and Campaigns to Legislate Jim Crow Neighborhoods* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); and Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

²⁷ Other prominent works that focus specifically on Roland Park or the Baltimore suburbs at large include James Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill: A History of the Roland Park–Guilford–Homeland District* (Baltimore: Maclay and Associates, 1987); Garrett Power, "Apartheid, Baltimore Style: The Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910–1913," *Maryland Law Review* 42 (1983): 289–328; Eric L. Holcomb, *The City as Suburb: A History of Northeast Baltimore Since 1660* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2005); and Matthew A. Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017).

²⁸ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 45.

²⁹ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 45.

This thesis differs from the work of Paige Glotzer in how it will focus more on Baltimore's growth around Roland Park and how the city has changed today, how the Roland Park Company had implications on the growth and development of the Black communities that developed in the immediate spaces surrounding Roland Park. Removing the restrictions and exclusionary policies from Roland Park does not immediately fix the problem. This thesis focuses more on how Black Americans in Baltimore have adapted to the exclusionary communities. Many successful African American neighborhoods in Baltimore were built surrounding their local church.

The study of garden suburbs has become a popular subject among American urban historians. From the origin of the movement to the methodologies and classifications behind historicizing garden suburbs, urban historians have dedicated large amounts of resources and time to examining the start and spread of garden communities throughout the United States. Two of the most notable urban historians who classified types of suburbanization include Dolores Hayden and Kenneth Jackson. Hayden's *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*, analyzes Americans' movement towards the suburbs in the past two centuries as they search for affordability, small-town qualities, and nature. Hayden stresses the importance of both the natural and the built environment in the context of those living in the conditions by dividing the American process of suburbanization into seven categories to capture her argument.³⁰ The seven categories are based on specific time periods and landscape features. The seven categories are borderlands, picturesque enclaves, streetcar buildouts, mail-order and self-built suburbs, sitcom suburbs, edge nodes, and rural fringes. Roland Park would

³⁰ Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 22.

fall under two of Hayden's classifications: borderland and picturesque enclave. Borderland suburbanization encompasses residences that occur just outside or on the edge of the city center. While cities were dirty—filled with crowds, germs, and pollution—suburbs located just outside of city centers allowed families to enjoy the amenities of countryside living while still being in close proximity to all the benefits cities provide. Picturesque enclaves acted as a triple threat since they offered houses, nature, and community, yet they came at a steep price.³¹ In order to purchase a picturesque enclave, buyers had to be able to afford expensive down payments and upfront costs. Picturesque communities carried a high cost, making them only accessible to affluent elites.

Kenneth Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* examines the rise of American suburbanization from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century, examining the social, economic, and political factors that contributed to the widespread development of suburbs and how suburbs transformed American notions of lifestyle and landscape. Roland Park would fall under Jackson's classification of romantic suburbs, which describes a commutable suburb in which the community is in harmony with their natural surroundings. Jackson emphasizes key elements that define romantic suburbs, such as the gridlines of street patterns and the blending of the community with nature. In contrast with urban centers, Jackson defines romantic suburbs as consisting of polarizing elements. Instead of concrete, romantic suburbs had greenery; instead of straight and efficient roads, romantic suburbs had curvilinear streets like the countryside. The romantic suburb integrated nature with suburban living to attract more

³¹ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 66.

buyers and highlight the benefits of living on the outskirts away from the perceived dirty, unhealthy, or polluted city centers.³²

Urban history is interesting due to the way in which various themes intersect. Themes of capitalism, power, race, culture, religion, structure, and landscape combine. No two cities in America are the same. They each have their own niche and particular aspects, and present-day urban historians are researching and analyzing cities based on their unique circumstances.³³ In a city that holds one of the highest percentages of African-American populations, Roland Park was built solely for the white population and the wealthy in Baltimore. With the slogan, “1000 Acres of Restricted Land,” Roland Park provokes questions of race, wealth, and class. This thesis intends to evaluate the local, regional, national, and international factors that led to the emergence of elite and exclusionary garden suburbs in Baltimore, Maryland, notably Roland Park and the Roland Park Company. Living separate but equal, the government failed the vulnerable citizens of Baltimore by institutionalizing segregation, which restricted the ability of Black Americans to generate wealth and receive well-funded education, which ultimately deepened racial discrimination throughout the city and the nation. What is remarkable

³² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 87-88.

³³ Modern works include Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Robert M. Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870–1930* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); Colin Gordon, *Citizen Brown: Race Democracy, and Inequality in the St. Louis Suburbs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019); Andrew Highsmith, *Demolition Means Progress: Flint, Michigan, and the Fate of the American Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); LeeAnn Lands, *The Culture of Property: Race, Class, and Housing Landscapes in Atlanta, 1880–1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009); Matthew Lassiter, *Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Elaine Lewinnek, *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Todd Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs: Black Upward Mobility and Neighborhood Change in Cleveland, 1900–1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

about Roland Park is how it has been able to sustain its legacy of picturesque and exclusive garden suburb living.

CHAPTER 1: CREATING A BEAUTIFUL, BUT SEGREGATED CITY

“Roland Park is almost within a stone’s throw of the present city limits. We know how natural it is for people to associate ‘the suburbs’ with remoteness and isolation. [But] to employ a figure, [at Roland Park] you can shake hands with your city friends and open your own door with the other hand,” reads a Roland Park Company 1892 advertisement.³⁴ Less than a mile from Johns Hopkins University and less than six miles to the inner harbor, Roland Park was designed as a luxury within reach. Far enough from the sounds and scents of the inner city, but close enough to commute for work. Containing all of the amenities of the countryside—fresh air, natural beauty, and space—with the convenience of streetcar lines. Understanding the history of Baltimore is key to understanding the context in which Roland Park was created. Baltimore developed slowly, yet the city strengthened greatly to rival major east coast cities like Philadelphia, Boston, and New York by the end of the nineteenth century. This chapter will discuss the rise and fall of Baltimore city, the uneven impact of industrialization, and the development of Baltimore’s suburban movement.

The tools of exclusion were primarily the forces of attraction for Roland Park. One of Roland Park’s main attributes was racial exclusion. Before it was incorporated into policy, racial exclusion was an informal policy practiced by the Roland Park Company. Due to the lack of employment opportunities, racist prejudice, and lack of substantial income, Black city residents were unable to afford living outside of the city or far from their workplace. Prior to 1913, the Roland Park Company did not need to include explicit racial restriction deeds in their property agreement due to the social

³⁴ Advertisement, *Baltimore Daily News*, 8 June 1892.

norms, discriminatory nature of the city, lack of opportunities, and monetary barriers that prevented the Black population from purchasing property. The formal deed restrictions helped bolster property values as they reinforced the neighborhood's image—yet the Roland Park Company would later become deeply involved in the rise of Northern Baltimore as neighborhoods in the proximate affect the value and status of the community.

Colonial Beginnings:

Roland Park's countryside feel and plentiful, expansive tracts of land trace back to Baltimore's colonial settlement. With the promises of patronage, land, and the building of churches, the English Province of the Society of Jesus supported George Calvert's venture of creating a safe haven colony, Maryland, in the New World.³⁵ Yet Lord Baltimore had trouble finding colonists willing to move and invest in his colony. Many did not believe religious tolerance outweighed the inherent risk of travel and survival especially with threats of Native American hostility, deadly diseases, harsh weather, and shipwrecks. Calvert used land as an incentive. In *A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland*, Calvert wrote vigorously about crop stability, vast lands, and economic fortunes.³⁶ Calvert's declaration largely appealed to the second sons of well-established families in England. Targeting second sons was strategic on Calvert's end as second sons had access to their family's capital, yet they lacked the ability to inherit land or titles. By emphasizing the appealing economic opportunities, Calvert encouraged more

³⁵ Kevin Starr, *Continental Ambitions: Roman Catholics in North America: The Colonial Experience* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2016), 481.

³⁶ "A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland," vol. 550, *Maryland State Archives*, 26.

colonists to establish settlements.³⁷ As an incentive, Calvert granted two thousand acres for every five able-bodied indentured servants brought to the colony, adding an additional one hundred acres for every additional servant brought along.³⁸

Slavery was also brought to Maryland through the Calverts. In 1634, the first voyages on the *Ark* and the *Dove*, with newly-appointed Governor Leonard Calvert on board, arrived on the coast of Maryland, and the colony was settled. The first slave was brought to Maryland with the colonists in 1634. Aboard the *Ark*, Mathias de Sousa, Maryland's first slave, arrived with the initial voyages to the colony.³⁹ As slavery began to grow, so did the plantation economy. The plantation system thrived in the state due to the tidewater. Colonists used indentured servants and slave labor to maintain the crops on the large plots of land, Calvert granted to them. Soon the lands formed into well-producing tobacco, rice, coffee, and sugar plantations.⁴⁰ By 1755, one-third of Maryland's population was enslaved.⁴¹ Slave labor significantly contributed to the progress and success of Maryland and Baltimore as a coastal city. It provided a basis to the economy, and it allowed for cities to rise in the colony. Maryland's high population of enslaved Africans became a tremendous factor in the rise of Baltimore city and the development of its suburbs.

Seventeenth-Century to Eighteenth-Century Growth:

A strong port city was unnecessary for Maryland planters as they did not lack resources. Maryland was a planter's aristocracy with a strong economy based on tobacco.

³⁷ Starr, *Continental Ambitions*, 485.

³⁸ "A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland," 35.

³⁹ David S. Bogen, "Mathias de Sousa: Maryland's First Colonist of African Descent," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 96 no. 1 (2001): 68.

⁴⁰ *A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland* (Annapolis: The Maryland State Archives, 2007), 3.

⁴¹ *Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland*, 3.

With such easy access to multiple outlets of water, the early British settlers had little need for a major port city. Baltimore was established almost a century after the colony of Maryland was settled. In 1660, land patents for the current site of Baltimore City were issued to English colonists by Cecil Calvert. By 1670, Baltimore had grown to include a jail, courthouse, and simple roads.⁴² Yet, Maryland was not in desperate need for large city due to its geographical location and features. Located on the Chesapeake Bay, Maryland planters were able to trade with many colonies. The stretch of the Chesapeake Bay prevented the development of a strong port city in the colony. The bay's major tributaries, the Susquehanna, Potomac, and James rivers, connected Maryland to Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the bay's watershed provided Maryland access to Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.⁴³ Furthermore, Maryland's shoreline is 3,190 miles in length.⁴⁴ There was no need for a port city, when Maryland residents had multiple avenues of access to a body of water in a valuable trade network. Planters tended to live close to a harbor or water landing to make use of the multiple channels of the Chesapeake Bay for shipping purposes and many plantations even had their own docks.⁴⁵ Planters who lived more inland would pack their dried tobacco in hogsheads and roll them down to the water landings, where British ships would be waiting to exchange goods. The planters were able to store, ship, and sell their

⁴² "Baltimore's Landscape Legacy," *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*, accessed January 20, 2024. <https://www.tclf.org/places/view-city-and-regional-guides/national-park-service-guides/baltimore/baltimores-landscape#:~:text=Land%20patents%20for%20the%20current,%2C%20courthouse%2C%20and%20rudimentary%20roads>.

⁴³ "Chesapeake Bay Facts and Figures," *Sea Grant Maryland*, accessed January 20, 2024. <https://www.mdsg.umd.edu/topics/ecosystems-restoration/chesapeake-bay-facts-and-figures>.

⁴⁴ "Coastal Planning," *Maryland Department of Natural Resources*, accessed January 20, 2024. <https://dnr.maryland.gov/ccs/Pages/coastal-planning.aspx>.

⁴⁵ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 9.

crops, and if planters needed to bank or borrow, they would rely on London-based banking.⁴⁶

Baltimore Town was created in 1729. Maryland's legislature in 1706 sought to create more port cities in an attempt to stimulate the economy and lessen the colony's dependence on tobacco. In 1729, the Maryland Assembly granted a charter naming the port city Baltimore Town, with a population of 3,000.⁴⁷ Of the 3,000, less than 800 represented White, landowning men, which highlights the city's large African American, enslaved, and indentured servant populations.⁴⁸ The city consisted of sixty lots, each one acre, located on the north side of the Inner Basin of the Patapsco River, known today as the Inner Harbor.⁴⁹ Today, the City of Baltimore is the combination of three early settlements: Baltimore Town, Jones Town, and Fells Point, which were annexed with Baltimore Town in 1745 and 1773, respectively.⁵⁰ The colony, mostly run by wealthy Protestant planters, attracted many Europeans. Since there was no federal taxation, huge fortunes could be quickly made, inherited, or married into.⁵¹ Newcomers saw the wide opportunities in the New World and came to Maryland in an attempt to make large profits. By 1773, Blacks consisted of approximately one-quarter of the population at the time of Baltimore's establishment, and most of them were free, which gave Baltimore the highest population of free blacks in the nation.⁵²

⁴⁶ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 9-10.

⁴⁷ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 10.

⁴⁸ "Baltimore's Landscape Legacy," *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

⁴⁹ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan* ed. Baltimore City Department of Planning and Planning Commission (2006), 26.

⁵⁰ "Baltimore's Landscape Legacy," *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

⁵¹ Antero Pietila, *The Ghosts of Johns Hopkins: The Life and Legacy that Shaped an American City* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 3.

⁵² Pietila, 3.

Baltimore’s urban structure traces back to the cash crop economy. While tobacco was Maryland’s primary industry since its settlement in 1634, it was grain that transformed Baltimore into a major port city. As tobacco prices fell, planters responded by diversifying their agricultural production. They prospered due to their investments in growing grain. In 1752, Dr. John Stevenson, a physician and merchant, began shipping flour to Ireland from Baltimore’s port.⁵³ Baltimore’s location served as its advantage, as it was ideally located on the coast and conveniently westwardly located in comparison to New York City and Philadelphia. The city was not far from the wheat growing in the countryside.

Wheat changed Baltimore’s economy and impacted the way in which the city was structured. Roads were developed toward the wheat-growing farmland, flour mills were built on the outskirts of the city along Jones Fall, Gwynns Fall, and the Patapsco River.⁵⁴ Jones Fall would later become Roland Park’s western boundary and supply critical water and power to the District. Warehouses were built inside Baltimore’s harbor to support the merchant’s products. The roads leading to Baltimore’s port extended to southern Pennsylvania and Frederick County. Soon, Baltimore was shipping flour further into Europe, the Caribbean, and South America. The grain market helped Baltimore’s infrastructure to develop inland—to the north and west of the city, widening the city's boundaries and footprint away from the coast.

While tobacco plantations aimed for self-sufficiency, grain stimulated businesses that helped shape Baltimore into a flourishing city. Grain stimulated Baltimore’s economy by creating new jobs and new infrastructure and opened Baltimore up for

⁵³ “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 26.

⁵⁴ “Baltimore’s Landscape Legacy,” *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

increased opportunities. Farmers in western Pennsylvania and other western areas found Baltimore's location to be more accessible and convenient for purchasing their grain than Philadelphia—as they did not need to cross the Susquehanna River. By 1745, a road connected Baltimore to the Monocacy Valley, on the western end of Maryland, extending the territory from which grain flowed into the city. Baltimore's location was ideal for water-powered grist mills. Since it was more efficient to ship grain as flour or baked rather than raw, flour mills emerged—along with bread and biscuit bakeries. Similarly, this produced the demand for wagon builders as they needed vehicles to carry the grain to the harbor. Grain incentivized migration to Baltimore.⁵⁵

The diversified agriculture led to investments in shipping, marketing, and processing in the colony. Grain generated a greater demand for shipping compared to tobacco, which was a low-volume crop. With a ratio one to six, the same amount of land could produce 100,000 pounds of tobacco or 600,000 pounds of grain.⁵⁶ High quantities of grain bolstered the shipping economy. The demand for ships led to the emergence of a large vessel port and the development of a strong shipbuilding industry in Baltimore. The ships were agile and fast, allowing for Baltimore's trading industry to remain largely uninterrupted during the period. The boost to Baltimore's industries encouraged the city's growth in terms of population and housing. By 1790, Baltimore contained over 3,000 residences.⁵⁷

Furthermore, grain impacted Maryland's relationship with slavery. The cultivation of grain was increasingly mechanized and reduced the demand for slaves.⁵⁸ Grain also

⁵⁵ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 13-15.

⁵⁶ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 16.

⁵⁷ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 27.

⁵⁸ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 163.

demanded significantly less intensive cultivation than tobacco. Marylanders had grown a vested interest in grain as it was less laborious and produced more product per square foot. While the grain industry distanced planters and merchants from the slave-based plantation economy, many still owned slaves and still engaged in the slave trade.⁵⁹ Frederick Douglass, an escaped Maryland slave turned activist and author who had worked along the shores of Maryland and in the City of Baltimore, recalls his varying experiences based on location in his autobiography: “A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation.”⁶⁰ Grain transformed industries with Baltimore City, which in turn placed less of an emphasis on the tobacco industry which consisted of nonstop back-breaking labor on plantations.

Wars in Europe boosted the demand for Maryland goods and also increased Maryland’s population as many Europeans immigrated to the colony seeking refuge. To meet the demands of the rising industries and population major public works projects occurred in this period. Baltimore’s city limits expanded, city streets were laid out and paved, a Board of Port Wardens was created to improve the city’s harbor and shipping channel, and street lighting was added. Baltimore’s port and its trade routes began to extend to the Ohio Valley in the early nineteenth century when the federal government authorized the building of the National Road. The National Road connected the Ohio River to Cumberland, Maryland, which was a short distance from Baltimore. The National Road effectively connected Baltimore to the land along the Ohio Valley,

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 34.

spurring the growth of its flour industry. Baltimore had become one of the fastest-growing cities and largest flour markets in the world. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Baltimore's industry shifted towards manufacturing. Many of the iron and grain mills were converted to textile mills. By 1827, the city had sixty flour mills, fifty-seven sawmills, thirteen paper mills, six foundries, and three powder mills. Baltimore was developing into a flourishing, self-sufficient city. In 1830, Baltimore had a population of 80,000—it was the second-largest city in the United States.⁶¹ Baltimore produced the greatest ships in the world, produced the largest quantities of flour in the nation, and enjoyed prime real estate, allowing for the growth and success of merchants in the city.⁶²

Canals, Railroad, And Immigration

The development of the Erie Canal threatened Baltimore's economy as Baltimore's economy was truly dependent on its commerce and shipping. Yet, canals were a better form of transportation out west compared to the road. Cities were drawing away from Baltimore as its port of trade as they were using more effective and improved methods of commerce. The Erie canal provided an alternate route for goods to be transported from the East Coast to the Midwest through the ports of New York. It was also the most cost-effective option compared to the use of the National Road to Baltimore ports. Freight rates from Buffalo to New York cost \$10 per ton by canal compared to \$100 by the National Road.⁶³ Many cities began to understand and seize the opportunities canals provided. Pennsylvania began to build canals with its judicial system of internal

⁶¹ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 28.

⁶² "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 27-29.

⁶³ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 30.

improvements.⁶⁴ Virginia began to construct proper canals through the valleys of the Potomac and James rivers.⁶⁵ Even Ohio had begun to construct water channels.⁶⁶ Soon, the use of Baltimore and the National Road for commerce would be obsolete. Maryland was unable to build a canal quickly and in a cost-effective manner due to the heavy cost, natural obstacles of the terrain, and lengthy process.⁶⁷

The Baltimore Ohio Railroad reasserted Baltimore as a top port city and commerce hub. In 1827, Baltimore merchants applied to the Maryland legislature to create the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a joint-stock company.⁶⁸ The merchants wished to expand Baltimore's shipping industry by developing railway tracks close to the shipyards. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad transformed Baltimore into an industrial hub on its southern peninsula, below the harbor. Philip E. Thomas, a Baltimore merchant, had seen England's use of short railroads, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, to transfer coal to canals and theorized about the potential use of rails for wider applications.⁶⁹ After convincing twenty-five prominent Baltimore merchants that an alternative method of trading and shipping was vital to Baltimore's economy to keep up with the Erie Canal and steam navigation, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was created. The "Act to Incorporate the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company" was passed on February 28, 1827, as a joint stock company with Isaac M'Kim, Thomas Ellicott, Joseph W. Patterson, John M'Kim, junior, William Stewart, Talbot Jones, Roswell L. Colt, George Brown, and

⁶⁴ Milton Reizenstein, *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1827-1853* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897), 9.

⁶⁵ Reizenstein, *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Reizenstein, *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 11.

⁶⁸ "Baltimore's Landscape Legacy," *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

⁶⁹ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 30.

Evan Thomas as the commissioners.⁷⁰ The railway was completed by December of 1852, connecting Baltimore to Wheeling, Virginia, successfully connecting Baltimore with the Ohio River.⁷¹ The railroad was the world's first long-distance railroad, the world's first passenger railroad, and the world's first railroad that climbed over mountain tops.⁷² The railroad stimulated progress and economic potential for Baltimore and the nation.

With the progress, commercialization, and industrialization Baltimore was experiencing in the late nineteenth century came societal changes. People wanted more space, better jobs, and more amenities. One significant factor was the influx of African Americans and immigrants. From 1850 to 1900, Baltimore's population grew from 169,000 to 508,957.⁷³ Significantly, Baltimore was America's third-largest port of entry for immigrants from 1830 to 1914.⁷⁴ The immigration population spiked during the railroad's first year of operation. From 1830 to 1832, immigration intake soared from two thousand to eight thousand.⁷⁵ Over two million immigrants entered Baltimore through its immigration entry point, Locust Point, from 1870 to 1920.⁷⁶ Baltimore is second only to New York as an immigrant entry port.⁷⁷ Immigrants arrived from Germany, Ireland, Poland, Lithuania, Italy, and Greece. This was largely due to employment opportunities offered by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Similarly, many immigrants from Bremen, Germany, started to settle in Baltimore. By 1970, over 25 percent of Baltimore residents

⁷⁰ "An Act to Incorporate the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company," *Maryland General Assembly* (1826).

⁷¹ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 30.

⁷² "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 30.

⁷³ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 33.

⁷⁴ "A City of Immigrants," *Baltimore National Heritage Area*, accessed January 20, 2024, <https://www.explorebaltimore.org/city-history/a-city-of-immigrants>.

⁷⁵ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 31.

⁷⁶ "A City of Immigrants," *Baltimore National Heritage Area*.

⁷⁷ "The History of Baltimore," in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 33.

were German-born.⁷⁸ Similarly, many immigrants to Baltimore came from Eastern Europe. Poles, Ukrainians, and Hungarians began immigrating to Baltimore from Bremen. Many Irish immigrants arrived to work on the railroads and stayed in Baltimore.

In 1820, Baltimore had the largest African-American community in the nation—free and enslaved.⁷⁹ Maryland accounted for one out of every five free Blacks in the country.⁸⁰ Yet, African American struggled in Baltimore. They often rented their skills and services for wages or food. Free Blacks competed with Whites for jobs in the harbor—fueling the existing racism present in the nation. As the population of African Americans grew in Baltimore, the White population’s fear and disdain of Blacks grew stronger. In 1810, Baltimore held the largest concentration of free Black population in the country; by 1830, Baltimore’s population of 80,000 contained 14,000 free Blacks, which was approximately four times the amount of the city’s slaves.⁸¹ By 1860, approximately ninety-two percent of all African Americans in Baltimore were free.⁸² Located just south of the Mason-Dixon line, Maryland was not unified on their stance on slavery. The state had begun with a strong tobacco economy had fully transitioned to an economy based on western trade by the nineteenth-century. While many of Baltimore’s elite did not own slaves, they did not outrightly condone the practice. Maryland’s complicated relation with slavery is highlighted by the state’s stance during the Civil War. Maryland wished for neutrality during the war, as a slave state that remained with the Union—it never succeeded. Therefore, when President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation,

⁷⁸ “A City of Immigrants,” *Baltimore National Heritage Area*.

⁷⁹ “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 32.

⁸⁰ “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 32.

⁸¹ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 166.

⁸² Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 166.

which freed slaves in the Confederate states, Maryland's slaves remained enslaved. It was only a year later in 1864 that Maryland's third state Constitution outlawed slavery as a legal practice in the state.

As the Black population began to grow, White Marylanders feared that African Americans would increase job competition, leading to social, economic, and political equality between the races. To combat this, the American Colonization Society was established. The goal of the American Colonization Society was to send free Blacks to Africa. The society believed that Blacks had no proper place in American society and encouraged the notion for all Blacks to relocate to Liberia. Instead of facing racial issues head-on, Whites used organizations like the American Colonization Society to escape dealing with race relations. The American Colonization Society acted as a solution to decrease the Black population to lessen the competition for jobs and economic opportunities for Whites in the city. By 1828, the American Colonization Society had only transported twelve Black Marylanders to Liberia—highlighting the organization's inability to appeal to African Americans. Many African Americans were generations removed from Africa and did not wish to return. Yet, in 1831, the Maryland Colonization Society emerged out of the American Colonization Society, its parent organization. Inspired by the Nat Turner Slave Rebellion in Virginia the Maryland chapter was established, as the rebellion heightened tensions between the races. Slowly, Baltimore's large population of free African Americans began to become an organized community with growing institutions. With such a large population, independent Black institutions were developed, supported, and sustained. Black churches emerged, then schools, businesses, social clubs, and charity organizations. The colonization movement allowed

White residents to escape hard questions about race while also deepening the divisions between White and Black communities in Baltimore.⁸³

The Great Migration occurred after the Civil War and significantly shaped the racial makeup of Baltimore—making it one of the United States' predominately Black cities. The Great Migration marked the period in which six million African Americans from the Southern migrated to more northern and western portions of the United States from 1910 to 1970.⁸⁴ Before this period of large migration, over 90 percent of African Americans lived in the South.⁸⁵ By 1970, approximately 50 percent of African Americans had moved to New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.⁸⁶ While considered Northeast, yet just under the Mason-Dixon line, Baltimore was considered “Up-South.” African Americans had migrated to northern and western cities in search of economic opportunities, jobs, education, and an increased acceptance of other races—compared to what many had experienced in the south. In Baltimore alone, the African American population tripled due to the Great Migration.⁸⁷

Industrial Growth and Diversification Brings Increased Population

Housing developments began to form among Baltimore’s harbor and followed among the turnpikes leading out west. In 1816, Baltimore had to increase its boundaries from three to ten square miles due to the population reaching over 46,000.⁸⁸ As Baltimore was growing in population and industry potential, the city needed a better housing

⁸³ Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, 166-173.

⁸⁴ Ron Cassie, “The Great Migration: How Black Families Came ‘Up South,’ Faced Down Jim Crow, and Built a Groundbreaking Civil Rights Movement,” *Baltimore Magazine* (2020).

⁸⁵ Cassie, “The Great Migration.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ The population of African Americans in Baltimore grew from 85,000 in 1910 to 420,000 by 1970.

⁸⁸ “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 28.

solution. Land surveyor Thomas Poppleton was hired to map the city, specifically focusing on a plan to control street expansion.⁸⁹ Responding to an advertisement by the Board of City Commissioners on April 10, 1812, Poppleton offered his artful surveying skills:

In pursuance of a notice date 3rd April which has appeared in the newspapers of this City, inviting proposals for “making a survey and correct plat of the City of Baltimore agreeably to an Ordinance passed 25th March last.” I offer myself to your notice as being disposed to exert my utmost abilities in performing all the duties imposed upon the artist by the above named ordinance; to attend with the necessary assistants and render every possible aid to the commissioners when making their establishments; to pay attention to the progress of the work as its importance requires as shall accord with the wishes of your Board; and generally to evince a disposition of proceeding hand in hand with the commission in pursuing such steps as may be deemed most eligible to facilitate the Business, and wind it up creditable and satisfactory to all parties. I beg further to submit that having had much experience in that particular branch of Surveying, I feel myself amply possessed with the requisite portion of skill.⁹⁰

Poppleton surveyed the city and created a socially stratified gridiron street design for the city.⁹¹ His hierarchical designed grid included main streets, side streets, and small alleys to cater to different social classes. The main streets intended for the large estates of wealthy planters and merchants, with the side streets and alleys intended for small, tightly-joined row homes of middle-class immigrants and laborers.

Baltimore’s business district began to transform due to the expansion of the city’s commerce and industry. In 1851, the Sun Iron Building was constructed using cast-iron. It was five stories, with iron post-and-beam construction. Within two years after the construction of the Sun Iron Building, twenty-two new downtown buildings in Baltimore incorporated cast iron into their structure. While many immigrants who arrived in

⁸⁹ “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 28.

⁹⁰ “Baltimore City Commissioners Correspondence 1812 Survey of the City,” *Maryland State Archives*, BRG3-1-16-289.

⁹¹ “Baltimore’s Landscape Legacy,” *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

Baltimore quickly boarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and settled out west—many immigrants stayed. The city needed to adjust to the constant influx of immigrants searching for housing, jobs, and food. To meet the demands of immigration growth, Baltimore City officials needed to upgrade the city’s infrastructure. To do so, the city participated in three major upgrades: it purchased the Baltimore Water Company, established tracks for the horsecar, and, in 1888, expanded the city limits to thirty square miles. Baltimore City invested in the city’s water supply by creating three reservoirs-- Lake Roland, Druid Lake, and Hampden Reservoir—using Jones Falls as its main water source. Having a stable and clean water source aided in the health and safety of the citizens of Baltimore. Additionally, horsecar companies began laying tracks around 1859. The tracks provided the city with true suburban potential.⁹²

In the 1890s, when the electric streetcar was introduced, Baltimore was already well-equipped to develop well-connected suburbs surrounding the city. The introduction of the streetcar in the 1910s allowed for the early development of Northern Baltimore, and the automobile introduced in the 1920s transformed the shape of Northern Baltimore’s roads, neighborhoods, homes, and lots.⁹³ The streetcar allowed Baltimore residents more freedom to determine where and how they could live. Prior to the development of the streetcar, residents typically lived no more than two miles away from their workplace.⁹⁴

The shift towards suburbanization in Baltimore occurring at the turn of the twentieth century impacted the city in many ways. It was primarily the wealthy and

⁹² “The History of Baltimore,” in *The City of Baltimore Comprehensive Master Plan*, 28-34.

⁹³ Eric L. Holcomb, *The City as Suburb: A History of Northeast Baltimore Since 1660* (Chicago: The Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago, 2008), 123.

⁹⁴ Holcomb, *The City as Suburb*, 123.

middle-class White population that moved out of the city and into the suburbs. Baltimore lost a large majority of their tax revenue when the classes moved out of the city. The city infrastructure and public works projects decreased, and many city streets were left abandoned. This was detrimental to the inner city, which is evident by Thomas H. MacDonald of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, who noted the city's stalling growth and decline:

An old city, growing by the coalescence of numerous ancestral villages, the irregular and discontinuous street plan of Baltimore is the despair of the stranger and the daily inconvenience of its own citizens. The City lies in the path of one of the heaviest highway traffic streams in the country, and by millions of travelers who have moved with that stream the difficulties of the Baltimore passage are well remembered. The old residential section of the City clustered closely about the central business section, which has grown little since the last fifty years. But, since 1900, the more well-to-do families that formerly lived in the older section have moved in large numbers to outlying suburban areas, some of which have been included within revised limits of the growing City. The old homes, vacated by this movement, have descended to the less well to do, and by stages large areas have finally reached a critical state of decay.⁹⁵

Transportation technology transformed American cities. Transportation technology enabled middle-class whites, who could afford it, to live in the suburbs on the outskirts of Baltimore—away from the slums, diseases, and sounds of the inner city. The idea behind Roland Park emerges out of the technological urban growth and population increase in Baltimore. Transportation technologies that were developed include the steamboat, omnibus, commuter railroad, horsecar, elevated railroad, and cable car.

City Growth Demands

By 1888, Baltimore had outgrown Thomas Poppleton's original city plan, it was no longer suitable due to the urban growth the city was experiencing so rapidly.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁵ Robert Moses, "Baltimore Arterial Report," (New York: Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Hogan & Macdonald, 1944), 15.

⁹⁶ "Baltimore's Landscape Legacy," *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

rapid urban growth Baltimore experienced, as well as the emerging technological and industrial improvements, led to key developments to reform the declining city. The city established Baltimore's Municipal Art Society in 1889 to beautify the city and guide its process in expanding to meet the demands of long-term growth. It is interesting that Baltimore City officials were attempting to polish or beautify the city. It captures the shift in intention in terms of city growth. When Baltimore was first established as a city, its main goal was to stimulate its economy through its cash crop economy, which mainly consisted of tobacco. Slowly, to keep up with the other powerhouse East Coast cities, Philadelphia and New York, Baltimore invested in industries that generated profits, such as the port and the railroad—two unglamorous economic investments. Rather than focusing on fresh air, space, and nature, Baltimore City was prioritizing the growth of their industries and housing solutions that would cater to the thousands of workers and immigrants that lived near the city's harbor. Yet, the narrow-built streets and the tightly-joined row houses only opened the city up to more pollution, diseases, and unsanitary hazards. Baltimore's Municipal Art Society decided to tackle the city's growing problems of pollution by investing in parks like Wyman and Latrobe Parks, widening streets, adding sidewalks, and creating more open spaces.⁹⁷

In 1900, the Executive Committee of the Municipal Art Society wrote to the Board of Park Commissioners of Baltimore writing: "It had under consideration a recommendation to the city to purchase a belt of suburban property with a view to directing the city's growth into the suburbs, certain parts of such property to be retained as parks and other parts to be leased as the city grew up to them, the improvements to fall

⁹⁷ Ibid.

in eventually to the city.”⁹⁸ The executive committee realized the wealth was in the suburbs. Therefore, they suggested purchasing a large strip of suburban land to incorporate within the city limits. The city hired the Olmsted Brothers for “a careful general examination of the suburban portion of the City of Baltimore and such adjacent parts of the county as may seem to have a close organic connection with it.”⁹⁹ To which Baltimore’s Municipal Art Society, together with the Olmsted Brothers, published *The Report Upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore*. The firm recommended in the report that the city of Baltimore purchase numerous small tracts for squares, playgrounds, neighborhood parks, schools, and public buildings. It also recommended that three parkways be built and multiple boulevards be widened. The most important or stressed piece of advice from the Olmsted firm was that unoccupied land surrounding the city be swiftly purchased at their relatively cheap and low cost before its value skyrockets. The Olmsted’s Central Park project taught them this lesson as they saw the interest rate in the property rise from the initial build. In 1856, the land of Central Park cost \$5,028,844.10, and in 1904 was valued at \$200,000,000.00.¹⁰⁰ If they had not noticed already, the increasing value of Central Park captured the profitability of the garden city, garden suburb venture.¹⁰¹

The project came to a halt in February of 1904 when a fire broke out in Baltimore’s business district, burning one hundred and forty acres of land, fifteen hundred buildings, and four large lumber yards.¹⁰² Over thirty-five thousand Baltimore

⁹⁸ Qtd in Olmsted Brothers, *Report Upon the Development of Public Grounds For Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1904), 8.

⁹⁹ Qtd in Olmsted Brothers, *Report Upon the Development of Public Grounds*, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Olmsted Brothers, *Report Upon the Development of Baltimore*, 113.

¹⁰¹ Olmsted Brothers, *Report Upon the Development of Baltimore*, 111-113.

¹⁰² “The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives,” ed. William G. LeFurgy, *Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office* (1984): 34.

City residents were left jobless.¹⁰³ The damages were estimated to be between \$125 and \$150 million.¹⁰⁴ With businesses destroyed and residents rapidly fleeing from the city, Olmsted Jr. conducted a five-day study outlining recommendations for the post-fire rebuild of Baltimore.¹⁰⁵ Olmsted seized the planning opportunity offered by the fire catastrophe and used it to improve the heart of Baltimore City. He did so by recommending the widening of roads, new public markets, and by improving the developed wharves. He recommended that Pratt Street become a 120-foot to 150-foot-wide major thoroughfare and that Baltimore Street be widened by 52 feet with an additional 14-foot wide sidewalks.¹⁰⁶ He also recommended that Light Street, German Street, Lombard Street, Hopkins Place, Commerce Street, and Charles Street be widened, but the changes could only be applied to the areas of the streets destroyed by the fire.¹⁰⁷ Olmsted's proposal recommended additional space in the downtown district intended to improve the flow of traffic circulation. Later, the Roland Park Company would hire the Olmsted Brothers to design plots of their development.

Olmsted Brothers and The Garden Suburb Philosophy

The Olmsted Brothers were leaders in landscape architecture in America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The Olmsted name rose in recognizability

¹⁰³ "The Records of a City," ed. by William G. LeFurgy, 34.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "Baltimore Fire, 1904," *National Park Service*, accessed January 25, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/places/baltimore-fire-1904.htm?utm_source=place&utm_medium=website&utm_campaign=experience_more&utm_content=sm all.

¹⁰⁶ "The Great 1904 Fire: Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.'s Role in Rebuilding the Burnt District," *The Olmstedian* 15, no. 1 (004): 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

when the firm designed and planned Central Park in New York City known as the “Greensward Plan.” The Olmsted firm described their work in Central Park as:

This immense tract of squatters’ hovels on the far outskirts of the city soon became transformed into the social pleasure-grounds envisioned in the design, and as such the park became prey to repeated shrewd attempts to dismember and disfigure it. Today it still affords the crowded populace of our largest city the combined uniqueness of rustic vistas, submerged crossways, and recreational areas hardly ever equaled in any other city.¹⁰⁸

They became known for the way in which they balanced nature with industrialization by combining urban and rural aspects. Frederick L. Olmsted Sr. was behind the building of Central Park, for it was he who embraced a very democratic vision of parks.¹⁰⁹ It was Olmsted Jr., his son, who followed in his father’s vision, except with the addition of strong embracement of racial zoning in residential subdivisions, a practice of which his father had dabbled with in the development of Riverside.¹¹⁰ In his Riverside, Illinois suburb, Frederick L. Olmsted Sr. implemented deed restrictions making him the first, or rather earliest major designer, to use a set of restrictive covenants in American suburban subdivisions.¹¹¹

Olmsted Sr. was born in Hartford, Connecticut in 1822. He attended boarding school in Connecticut’s countryside and lived a mostly rural life.¹¹² He studied as a surveyor, clerk and accountant in New York City, where he became friends with Andrew Jackson Downing.¹¹³ In 1850, Olmsted Sr. traveled through Europe and was inspired by England’s use of nature and natural philosophy to which he published *Walks and Talks of*

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Hudak, “Nine Decades of Landscape Design: 1857, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. to Olmsted Brothers, 1955,” *Landscape Architecture Magazine* 45 no. 3 (1955): 122.

¹⁰⁹ Annie Schentag, “‘Designs for People Who Do Not Readily Intermingle’: Olmsted Jr.’s Use of Race-Restrictive Covenants, ca. 1900-1930,” *Journal of Planning History* 0 no. 0 (2024): 2.

¹¹⁰ Schentag, “‘Designs for People,’” 2.

¹¹¹ Schentag, “‘Designs for People,’” 2.

¹¹² Bryn Homsy, “Frederick Law Olmsted,” *Historic Gardens Review* no. 9 (2001): 4.

¹¹³ Homsy, “Frederick Law Olmsted,” 4.

an American Farmer in England. His experiences in England combined with his experiences growing up in Connecticut are reflected in Olmsted's philosophy upon nature which he writes in *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*:

After all here said, I feel that there is a fascination in the common-place scenery of this part of England, and generally of midland, rural England, which I do not fully comprehend. I have called it common-place, because there is nothing striking in it; no one point to be especially noted, or which can be remembered afterwards. Yet, though I have traveled far and wide, have visited scores of places greatly celebrated for the grandeur of their scenery, and have dwelt for months in the most beautiful purely natural scenes of a pastoral character in the world (in Western Texas), I have been no where else so charmed as I was continually while walking through those parts of England least distinguished, and commonly least remarked upon by travelers as beautiful. The scenery is beautiful without intention or artifice for the purpose of man, and yet is full of the convenience of man's occupation; and it is picturesque without being ungentle or shabby.¹¹⁴

Olmsted was fascinated with the British countryside as it was able to remain beautiful and picturesque without inconveniencing the common, working man. After the death of Downing, Olmsted Sr. replaced him as a partner at his firm, working alongside Calvert Vaux. Together, they submitted their plan for Central Park in a competition and won the project. Inspired by the public parks of England, Olmsted believed that parks should act as "the greatest possible contrast with the restraining and confining conditions of the town" and serve as "an antithesis to its bustling, paved, rectangular, walled-in streets."¹¹⁵ Olmsted stressed that cities needed to be more than just businesses, industries, and buildings by incorporating nature within industrialization.

The Roland Park Company seized the ideals set forth by the garden suburb movement and was deeply influenced by the Olmsted Brothers. The Olmsted Brothers were pioneers of the garden suburb movement, an off-shoot of the garden city movement.

¹¹⁴ Frederick L. Olmsted Sr., *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England* (Ohio: Jos. H. Riley and Company, 1859), 264.

¹¹⁵ Homsy "Frederick Law Olmsted," 4.

The garden city movement was originally a British concept. It was invented by Ebenezer Howard, an obscure English stenographer, who published *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in 1898, which republished in 1902 under the name *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.¹¹⁶ The garden city movement was in direct response to the urban and industrial rising conflicts of the nineteenth century in England. Howard was particularly interested in tackling the misery and sadness within a country that was prospering in urban and economic growth.¹¹⁷ His book proposes to solve the crisis of humans in the throes of industrialization. Howard suggests for communities to be preplanned, limited in population, with plenty of open space, unified landownership, and “internal colonization” that would make each city self-contained and well-defined.¹¹⁸ Essentially, Howard wished to blend the best quantities of the town and the country. While Howard’s ideas were not dramatic, unheard of, nor revolutionary, but he believed that the gradual and continuous implementation of garden city process would cure society. Initially, Howard lacked support, but with the help and investment of friends, the Garden City Association was established in 1899 and Howard accumulated enough capital to build his first garden city. The first garden city was Letchworth, in Hertfordshire, about forty miles north of London.¹¹⁹ Howard perceived the construction of a garden city as a steppingstone of significant social change on the national level.¹²⁰ Using the model of garden cities, city planners applied the same ideals to garden suburbs as they embraced romantic ideals of nature and the countryside.

¹¹⁶ Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 17.

¹¹⁷ Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America*, 17.

¹¹⁸ Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America*, 17.

¹¹⁹ Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America*, 20.

¹²⁰ Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America*, 22.

Walt Whitman, a poet in the nineteenth-century writes, “A man is not a whole and complete man unless he owns a house and the ground it stands upon.”¹²¹ The increase in transportation and technology flipped the realities of city upside down. There were much more opportunities, and potential for city residents. No longer were they confined to the polluted, crowded, and hazardous cities. The result of the technological changes was the inevitable outcome of the desirable segregation of commercial from residential areas and of the disadvantaged from the more comfortable.¹²² The Roland Park Company contacted the Olmsted Brothers in 1901. Olmsted Jr. took the lead on the project, following the visions of his father, which believed that a community was the extension of a family.¹²³ The main challenge with designing Roland Park was its hilly terrain, but its steep slopes and natural topography actually worked in its favor. Olmsted Jr. embraced the terrain and created dramatically sized lots, preserved the woodlands surrounding the community, built roads to follow the natural curvature of the land, and created cul-de-sacs on hill tops to embrace the natural way of the land.¹²⁴ By obeying nature, Olmsted was able to enhance the picturesque effect of his design.

Baltimore City Health and Aesthetic Hazards

Garden suburbs were successful in Baltimore due to the immense problems plaguing the inner city. Roland Park modeled itself as the solution to such problems. The Roland Park Company’s advertisements highlight how health and aesthetics were critical marketing aspects for the development’s success. Advertisements promoted Roland Park

¹²¹ Qtd in Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 50.

¹²² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 20.

¹²³ “Roland Park,” *National Park Service*, accessed January 22, 2024, <https://www.nps.gov/places/roland-park.htm>.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

as a neighborhood in which diseases were prevented due to the abundance of nature and the decrease of strangers. Furthermore, Roland Park Company advertisements also stressed critical amenities like fire safety, clean water, and climate controls.

One of the most prominent issues was the health of residents. With such tight quarters and living arrangements, diseases spread quickly and easily. Diseases like yellow fever, smallpox, typhus, dysentery, scarlet fever, typhoid, and cholera spread through the city between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was believed that diseases were coming from the cargoes of the ships entering the port.¹²⁵ In 1800, a major yellow fever outbreak killed over 1197 residents in Baltimore.¹²⁶ In 1811, cholera infantum killed 90 children in the summer.¹²⁷ Baltimore City attempted to provide solutions to the disease rampaging in the city by establishing the Baltimore City Health Department, authorizing a state-appointed quarantine physician for the port, and creating a city health board.¹²⁸ The department established ship quarantine procedures, eliminated potential threats such as rotting animals, vegetables, and foul water, and increased the city's medical supplies and providers.¹²⁹

Fire has always been a threat in Baltimore. While the Great Fire of 1904 was the worst fire Baltimore experienced, it was constantly facing small-scale fire-related issues. In 1747, the city passed a law to protect from the threat of fire by establishing fines for unsafe chimneys and homes that lacked roof ladders. Four volunteer fire departments

¹²⁵ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," ed. by William G. LeFurgy, City of Baltimore, Department of Legislative Reference, City Archives and Records Management Office (1984), 36.

¹²⁶ Eugene F. Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1903), 672

¹²⁷ Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland*, 678.

¹²⁸ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," 36.

¹²⁹ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," 36.

were established in the late sixteenth century. In 1787, Maryland passed a law requiring every household to have two leather buckets near the front door at all times. In 1799, a city ordinance prohibited wooden establishments from being built. The volunteer fire organizations grew in the nineteenth century, amounting to fifteen in 1834 and twenty-two in 1858. Yet, the fire companies were ineffective as the members were not trained, lacked the correct equipment, often refused to work together, and were constantly engaged in altercations. The fire department acted as rivals and fought over their city coverage. In an attempt to solve any strife, the city established the Baltimore United Fire Department in 1834, which joined representatives from each company to establish better fire regulations and relations in the city. In 1859, the city's municipal government established the Baltimore City Fire Department, a professional fire department.¹³⁰

Fresh water was a major issue for city residents. By 1850, many industrial steel factories were built along Baltimore's water suppliers. The by-products from the steel factories were dumped into the Chesapeake Bay and ran off into Baltimore's streams and waterways. By 1900, Jones Falls was an odorous and poisonous source of water.¹³¹ Sewage would run into the river, and factories and mills along the banks of the Chesapeake would pour industrial waste into the Jones Falls.¹³² Baltimore had the highest typhoid rate in the country in 1900.¹³³ With a growing population, Baltimore City prioritized the extension of its water system, not the safety of the water. It established the Water Board, which used special loans to fund water projects and extend water service

¹³⁰ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," 36-37.

¹³¹ "History of the System," *Baltimore City Department of Works*, accessed February 12, 2024, <https://publicworks.baltimorecity.gov/pw-bureaus/water-wastewater/surface/history#:~:text=By%20the%20turn%20of%20the,waste%20into%20the%20Jones%20Falls>.

¹³² "History of the System," *Baltimore City Department of Works*.

¹³³ "History of the System," *Baltimore City Department of Works*.

facilities in the city. The city began using the Gunpowder River, located north of the city in Baltimore County, to supply fresh water to city residents. This was completed in 1881, with reservoirs built at Loch Raven and Lake Montebello. In 1898, the Water Board was absorbed into the city's Department of Public Improvements.¹³⁴ As the city began to expand its city limits with the city annexations, the city needed to increase its water supply. It was not until 1910 that chlorination of the water supply was installed to help tackle water-related health concerns.¹³⁵ In 1912, the city began to expand its Loch Raven Reservoir and construct a city-wide conduit and filtration system. In 1925, when the Department of Public Works was created, the Bureau of Water Supply was created to supervise and control the city's water.¹³⁶

The Baltimore summer heat was brutal for inner-city residents. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Baltimore typically averaged seventy-five degrees in the summer months.¹³⁷ Since the city was located on the coast, it got the breeze from the Atlantic Ocean, but nothing could prevent the sickening humidity that residents were suffering from in their tiny apartments, narrow blocks that prevented air regulation. Augusta Tucker, in her novel *Miss Susie Slagle*, writes, "The Baltimore summer wore on and the city lay smothered in layers of a heat which sunset did not alleviate. By some quirk of mass insanity these [brick row] houses, so constructed that they should never have been permitted in a climate where the temperature rose above eighty degrees, stretch for miles in a city where it often soars above a hundred. And miles on square miles, the

¹³⁴ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," 44.

¹³⁵ "History of the System," *Baltimore City Department of Works*.

¹³⁶ "The Records of a City: A Guide to the Baltimore City Archives," 44.

¹³⁷ "Baltimore MD Temperatures," *National Centers for Environmental Information*, accessed February 18, 2024, <https://www.weather.gov/media/lwx/climate/bwitemps.pdf>.

bricks hold that head for weeks at a time.”¹³⁸ The most prevalent housing type in Baltimore was the rowhouses, which were narrow and conjoined townhouses consisting of two or three floors typically made of bricks. The brick homes and narrow quarters worsened the hot climate conditions.

Well-off city residents did not stay in Baltimore during the summer months. They had country houses up north in cooler-temperature climates or spent the summer in their homes on the shore. Furthermore, the wealthy adapted methods to deal with the heat and humidity:

This Baltimore of ours was ever a hot city in the summer months, and it was not everyone, like the Garretts, Jenkinsons, Wilsons, Browns and Thomases and other well-known families, who had country seats to which to retreat during the heated term; houses, therefore, were erected in the seventies and eighties with a view to coolness. Hence those high ceilings often on all floors, but always above the first. In these homes well-trained servants early in the day closed the windows and drew the shades so that when the tired business man of Baltimore's middle ages returned from his then electric-fanless office it was to find his house inside ten or more degrees cooler than the street. But at nightfall windows and doors flew open, hassocks, cushions and fans appeared and the whole block became a friendly gathering of step sitters who visited from door to door, chatting and fanning until later in the evening, when the men would stroll to the club for the day's last julep and the ladies and children, guided by the shining jars, filled with green, blue and yellow liquids, would visit the nearby drug store for mineral waters or soda.¹³⁹

The elite learned to build their homes facing away from the aggressive sun, planted trees and shrubs to provide themselves shade, and installed window shades and fans.

The lack of fresh air and green-grass spaces made Baltimore's summers unbearable. This came to a head in the 1870s when hundreds of children in Baltimore were dying from cholera infantum. One of the few neighborhoods in Baltimore with open green spaces was Mount Vernon, with its four green squares. Except the squares were not

¹³⁸ Augusta Tucker, *Miss Susie Slagle's* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 246.

¹³⁹ Meredith Janvier, *Baltimore in the Eighties and Nineties* (Baltimore: Roebuck & Son, 1933), 289.

open for public use. In 1845, an iron fence was erected around the four squares in Mount Vernon when the City Council appropriated \$600 for the project. Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe justified the installation of the fence since the gates prevented wild hogs from ruining the grass. It is more likely that the wealthy Mount Vernon residents did not want the public to use their green spaces. The residents who lived in the houses directly facing the squares regarded them as their front yard and supported the fencing. In 1870, there were support to have the railings removed due to the summer heat. The fences prevented the common children of Baltimore from playing in the grass as they were left to suffer in the intense and hazardous heat with very little fresh air. When children began increasingly dying from cholera infantum, Mayor Latrobe opened the gates, and children played in the squares.¹⁴⁰

With little room for open green spaces, trees, and flowers in the densely populated and narrowly constructed city, Baltimore was an odorous city. The smells of household wastes, animals, and discharges of fats, offal, and chemicals of the tanneries, canneries, slaughterhouses, and fertilizer plants were rampant.¹⁴¹ The city was often plagued with malodorous vapors from the thousands of privies in the city, of which there were approximately 90,000 privies in 1900.¹⁴² Furthermore, factories were spewing black smoke, fumes, and gritty residue into the air—affecting the lung and vision health of city residents.

Streetcars also had negative impacts on the city. While the streetcar was an important innovation that led to tremendous suburban development, it was not the most

¹⁴⁰ Power, "High Society," 199-200.

¹⁴¹ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 31.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

glamorous innovation. The streetcar was awfully noisy, unattractive, and caused pollution. In 1893, the Baltimore column of *The American Architect and Building News* highlighted the negative impacts the streetcar had on Baltimore, which read, “Many of these streets are those upon which are located the most attractive residences and many churches and other buildings for which a comparatively quiet, well-paved, and unobstructed street is essentially desirable. The rapid-transit lines have totally destroyed these important features, and in addition have made things hideous to look upon with their poles and wires.”¹⁴³ Furthermore, the streetcars also caused harm to pedestrians, especially in harsh weather conditions. The garden suburbs were able to provide services that Baltimore was not well-equipped in or fast enough to provide. This includes well-functioning electricity and telephone service. In the 1880s, public demand for electricity and telephone service significantly increased. The city began constructing above-ground wires and support poles throughout Baltimore, which were hazardous and unsafe.¹⁴⁴

Roland Park was designed to be an antithesis of the inner city. The neighborhood embraces and blends the ideals of garden, romantic, railroad, and streetcar suburbs. Olmsted Jr. designed it as a detachment from the workplace—essentially the city. Olmsted described his neighborhoods as “detached dwellings with sylvan surroundings yet supplied with a considerable share of urban convenience.”¹⁴⁵ While distant from the city, the neighborhood still had access to gas and electric power, sanitary sewer, and easily accessible to public transportation. Roland Park was intended to be an escape from

¹⁴³ *The American Architect and Buildings News* (Boston: Ticknor & Co, 1939), 246.

¹⁴⁴ This changed in 1890 when the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company constructed underground electrical conduits in Baltimore’s downtown district. The success of the underground electrical conduits and the safety issues of the above-ground poles led to the establishment of the city’s Electrical Commission in 1894.

¹⁴⁵ Qtd in John Archer “Country and City in the American Romantic Suburb,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 no. 2 (1983): 139.

Baltimore's inner city, particularly for the affluent members and the upper-echelons of society. In Roland Park, residents would find road curvilinear and winding, unlike the standard grid of city roads. In Roland Park, residents would find an abundance of grass, trees, and plants, unlike the iron-clad buildings of the city. In Roland Park, residents would be able to enjoy the fresh air, unlike the putrid smells of the inner city. In Roland Park, residents would be able to reside in cottage-like villas, unlike the narrow-width rowhomes of the city.

People want what they cannot have. The Olmsted Brothers capitalized on that notion by developing a beautiful garden oasis a stone's throw away from city limits. Baltimore was an ideal location as it enabled Roland Park to be a combination of desirable suburbs. Blending railroad suburb, streetcar suburb, romantic suburb, and garden suburb into one. Furthermore, Baltimore was an ideal suburb as the city's history with slavery, immigration, and race contributed to the tools of exclusion Roland Park would utilize and profit off of in their suburb. Roland Park was successful to do its ability to feed the already circulating and progressively growing social norms condemning racial integration. The biggest tool of exclusion was Baltimore, the city itself. Baltimore was among many prominent industrial cities that experienced a transition period between the city and the suburbs—other cities and suburbs similar to Roland Park, and Baltimore include Riverside in Chicago, Hyde Park in Kansas City, and Forest Hills Park in New York City.

CHAPTER 2: LEGAL UNDER THE LAW, RESTRICTIONS UPON BALTIMORE

The turn of the twentieth century was a turbulent time in Baltimore. Post-Reconstruction, Baltimore was experiencing Jim Crow, rapid industrialization, open-door immigration, technological advancements, middle-class emergence, and heightened racial tensions in a very short span of time. The nation was growing more and more polarized in terms of race, class, ethnicity, and religion. Baltimore is unique in its Jim Crow and segregation policies as it was a border state during the Civil War. White residents and Black residents often lived among each other—they were neighbors. Limited availability in residential downtown produced a “salt and pepper” settlement pattern.¹⁴⁶ As Baltimore City continued to expand, neighborhoods became more divided. High costs kept Black residents away from affluent and middle-class Whites. As African Americans began to accumulate wealth, attend institutions of higher education, and obtain white-collar jobs, affluent Whites began to feel more and more threatened. Segregation laws and deed restrictions emerged in Baltimore to create spaces for Whites only.

The Roland Park Company embraced deed restrictions tightly, creating a legacy of housing segregation that persists in northern Baltimore today. Their tools of exclusion shifted. Roland Park only catered to the wealthy, the White, and the Protestant. The company restricted residence on the basis of social status, ethnicity, and religion and limited the use to residential purposes. Blending the natural park-like setting of a garden suburb with luxury accommodations and amenities, racial and usage deed restrictions, and a tight-knit community association contributed to the development and nurturing of

¹⁴⁶ Thomas W. Hanchett, an urban historian, deems this settlement as a “salt and pepper” pattern in *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

Roland Park into a unique neighborhood within Baltimore City.¹⁴⁷ The restrictions were purposeful, as they restricted certain demographics from purchasing.

Secondly, property covenants were regarded as a means for the Roland Park Company to maintain or gain a competitive edge over the rival suburban neighborhoods beginning to spring up on the outskirts of the city. One prominent competitor was Forest Park, a suburb with values similar to those of the Roland Park-Guilford District. Forest Park advertised on the same appeal and was expanding just like the Roland Park Company: “West Forest Park: A beautiful wooded restricted property. A continuation of the conservative development by the founder of FOREST PARK.”¹⁴⁸ *The Baltimore Sun* began its 1908 series on Baltimore suburbanization with a description of Roland Park, calling it the “most fashionable and, undoubtedly, the most pretentious suburb of Baltimore.” It regarded the “mad, mad rush to get to Roland Park in the last few years” as appalling. Capitalizing on the growing racial tensions and the desire of the Baltimore elite to establish some type of racial and income buffer zone, the Roland Park Company structured its neighborhoods as a safe haven and sweet escape from the negatives of city life.

This chapter will explore Roland Park Company’s investors and the methods by which the company attracted and restricted its residents. It will examine the impact of race, culture, and religious identity on property value. It will also explore how Roland Park attempted to separate from Baltimore City through the use of restrictive boundaries—whether they be racial, economic, or physical. Roland Park stimulated the development of the Baltimore Country Club, prestigious neighborhoods, and private

¹⁴⁷ “Greater Roland Park Master Plan,” *The Communities of the Greater Roland Park* (2011), 2.

¹⁴⁸ “West Forest Park,” *Baltimore Sun*, 9 September 1910.

schools—while also strengthening racial differences and residential segregation in the city.

In 1910, when asked about an African American family moving into a White neighborhood, an unnamed Baltimore woman told the *New York Times*, “The idea of their assuming to live next door to me is abhorrent. I am sure no good can come of it to them. They will be lonesome up here away from the rest of their kind. It is a sad thing, and I do hope there will be found some way to put a stop to it. I would hate at my time of life, after living so many years in such pleasant relations with the darkies, as all my family always have, to be compelled to change my ideas upon the subject.”¹⁴⁹ Profiting off the growing prejudices and racial tensions, the Roland Park Company structured the Roland Park-Guilford District to be everything Baltimore was not.

Roland Park’s Beginnings:

While the Roland Park Company imposed restrictions from the onset, economists have determined that two generalized mechanisms typically generate American segregation. Either through collective actions by Whites to raise the cost of living to Blacks migrating into White neighborhoods or the process of White flight—when Whites vacated neighborhoods experiencing Black migration by moving into expensive and exclusive neighborhoods, generally unaffordable for Blacks.¹⁵⁰ During the early waves of the Great Migration, segregation was rooted in Whites restricting the location choice of Blacks. Many scholars focus on racial segregation, primarily post-World War II, but

¹⁴⁹ “Baltimore Tries Drastic Plan of Race Segregation: Strange Situation Which Led the Oriole City to Adopt the Most Pronounced “Jim Crow” Measure on Record,” *New York Times*, 25 December 1910.

¹⁵⁰ Allison Shertzer and Randall P. Walsh, “Racial Sorting and the Emergence of Segregation in American Cities,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 101 no. 3 (2019): 415.

patterns similar to White flight have been demonstrated as early as 1910.¹⁵¹ The Roland Park Company combined the two generalized segregation mechanisms in order for the District to profit.

Named after Roland Thornberry, an English landowner in Baltimore County, Roland Park was developed in 1891. Roland Park owes its success to Edward Bouton, the Roland Park Company's general manager. Bouton, a native of Kansas City, became a leader in developing garden suburbs—most notably Roland Park and Forest Hills Gardens, Queens. First venturing into law, Bouton settled on real estate and began his career in Kansas City, where he supervised the construction of homes in the affluent and prestigious neighborhoods of Hyde Park and Kenwood. While on the project, he met Charles Grasty, a newspaper owner; and Samuel Jarvis and Ronald Ray Conkin, the developers of the Jarvis-Conklin Mortgage Trust Company.¹⁵²

The Jarvis-Conklin Mortgage Trust Company was described as “the preeminent institution serving as a conduit for the capital financing white settler colonialism in the U.S. West.”¹⁵³ Richard Capron, the owner of the Woodlawn estate just north of Baltimore City, began negotiating with Bouton, Grasty, Jarvis, and Conklin in 1891. Capron often purchased and resold property in areas of Baltimore that were steadily growing in interest and popularity—particularly purchasing in areas that attracted White affluent buyers.¹⁵⁴ They Kansas City developers desired to work with affluent White Protestants as they were the demographic with the most wealth and could generate the developers the most profits.

¹⁵¹ Shertzer and Walsh, “Racial Sorting,” 415.

¹⁵² Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 43.

¹⁵³ Qtd in Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 43.

¹⁵⁴ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 43.

In agreement with the Kansas City developers, Richard Capron and his wife, Laura Lee Capron, began purchasing estates surrounding Woodlawn, which they would sell to Jarvis and Conklin for a fifty-five percent stake.¹⁵⁵ On July 30, 1891, Jarvis and Conklin sold their land to the in exchange for stock, and the Roland Park Company was established. Roughly triangular, the site's eastern boundary runs northward along Greenmount Avenue and York Road. Its western boundary runs along University Parkway and Jones Fall, bordering Johns Hopkins University. The northern boundary is just south of Wyndhurst Avenue.¹⁵⁶ The homes range from brick homes to grand mansions with Georgian, Tudor, French, and Spanish inspirations, as well as expensive and clean green lawns filled with trees, flowers, and shrubs, all of which are well-cared for. Paths wind through trees. Roads follow the natural contours of the domain. The winding roads, country-like estates, and natural landscapes are unimaginable for a city.

In 1907, the Roland Park Company grew to incorporate sister companies and communities, which include Guilford, Northwood, and Homeland. The beginnings of Guilford occurred during the colonial period when Lord Baltimore was distributing land patents to British colonists. In 1780, Guilford was sold to Lieutenant Colonel William McDonald of the Revolutionary War.¹⁵⁷ McDonald named his property Guilford after the Battle of Guilford Court House in North Carolina. In 1872, Guilford was sold to Arunah S. Abell, the founder of *The Baltimore Sun*. Abell valued the country estate for his own enjoyment and as an investment. Baltimore City was growing and industrializing in the

¹⁵⁵ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 43.

¹⁵⁶ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill: A History of the Roland Park–Guilford–Homeland District* (Baltimore: Maclay and Associates, 1987), 11.

¹⁵⁷ Jacques Kelly, "Guilford Reservoir Will be Safer for Water Customers, Less Picturesque for Walkers," *Baltimore Sun*, 13 April 2019, accessed February 25, 2024. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/2019/04/13/guilford-reservoir-will-be-safer-for-water-customers-less-picturesque-for-walkers/>.

late nineteenth century. In 1907, Abell sold the Guilford estate to the Guilford Park Company, the sister company to the Roland Park Company.¹⁵⁸ As a whole, the neighborhoods managed by the Roland Park Company became known as the Roland Park-Guilford District, or the District for short.

Over four hundred British investors funneled money into the Lands Trust Company, which did its business in land speculation. The Lands Trust Company attracted investors with their advertisements that promised that the settlement of White people would increase the value of empty land—drawing on language and concepts used to justify colonialism.¹⁵⁹ British investors saw the profit in the settler colonial mindset—a shared vision of how racial hierarchy, land, and property equaled higher value and more profits.¹⁶⁰ This idea stemmed from Colonial America as well as in the Antebellum period, during which there was a racial and social imbalance in the economy and social structure of Maryland. The colonial attitudes were continuous during these periods and were reflected in the British desire to invest in land that largely utilized Black labor to benefit the White population.

The high-end residential development in Kansas City, Missouri, heavily influenced the Roland Park-Guilford District. The RPC hired George Kessler, a landscape architect who previously worked in Kansas City, to design the Plat One of Roland Park. Bouton hired the Olmsted Brothers, who were prominent in city planning and landscape architecture, to design the rest of Roland Park and the subsequent neighborhoods later purchased by the Roland Park Company. Kansas City symbolized America’s success in

¹⁵⁸ Kelly, “Guilford Reservoir Will be Safer for Water Customers.”

¹⁵⁹ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 30.

¹⁶⁰ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 30.

westward expansion and became notable for its residential communities and the influence of the City Beautiful movement.¹⁶¹

Inspired by Kansas City's land boom from 1886 to 1887, in which spurred Americans the idealization of the West and the economic success involved in Western developments, Roland Park Company developers believed they could make a large profit in Baltimore.¹⁶² In Kansas City, designers attempted to use parks and nature to counteract the negatives of living in an urban area.¹⁶³ Bouton, Kessler, and Olmsted carried over many of the beliefs of Kansas City's design movement. In 1893, Kansas City released the "Report of the Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners of Kansas City, MO," which suggested the best ways to establish parks and roadways in the city and the importance of installing parks and greenery in the city. The report captures how park-like surroundings can be beneficial for health: "Many of the ills of mind and body that are the direct outcome of life in a crowded city can be avoided, or palliated by access to surroundings completely differing from those found in the city, surroundings that invite to rest and quiet contemplation and the dropping of all business cares."¹⁶⁴ Kansas City Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners believed that beautifying the city was worth the cost as it would bring warm attachments, promote civic pride, and draw business into the city.¹⁶⁵ The Roland Park Company saw the success in the City Beautiful movement and desired to create something similar in Baltimore.

¹⁶¹ Antero Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010), 33.

¹⁶² William S. Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 28.

¹⁶³ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 33.

¹⁶⁴ "Report of the Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners of Kansas City, MO: Embracing Recommendations for the Establishment of a Park and Boulevard System for Kansas City," *Office of the Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners*, (1893): 7.

¹⁶⁵ "Report of the Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners of Kansas City," 9

Why Roland Park?

Before the District was developed, most of Baltimore's upper class lived in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. The neighborhood is approximately two miles north of Baltimore's downtown district. It is named after George Washington's estate and features a monument dedicated to Washington. Mount Vernon provided a good distance from the "slums" of the city without being significantly far removed—unlike the countryside manors and plantations on the northernmost outskirts of the city. Mount Vernon is often loosely compared to New York City's Fifth Avenue. While not as grand and luxurious as Fifth Avenue, Mount Vernon only catered to the upper echelon of Baltimore's elite and provided a clear separation between classes due to its distance from the city's industrial and working areas and its steep prices.

There was a small-scale flight of elite city residents to Mount Vernon between 1830 and 1850 when Baltimore received hundreds of thousands of Irish, German, and Polish immigrants.¹⁶⁶ The rich and the prominent left the downtown area and moved to Mount Vernon due to its desirable distance; it was not very far but not very close. In a city filled with concrete and steel, Mount Vernon had spaces of green grass and fresh air. The first to move there was Charles Howard, a man of high prominence and sociability as he was the son of General John Eager Howard and the husband of Francis Scott Key's daughter.¹⁶⁷ At the time, city residents found the neighborhood rather remote and lacked faith in its success. Howard's friends would joke that his house was so far away and commented, "That the Howard House 'was quite in the country, with Howard's woods

¹⁶⁶ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 26.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

forming a dark mysterious forest as far to the north as the eye can reach.”¹⁶⁸ Yet, it did not take long for other elites to follow. The grandest home belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Garret—it contained over forty rooms and sixteen fireplaces.¹⁶⁹ The most prominent men in society who moved to Mount Vernon included Dr. John Hanson Thomas, a leading physician, and politician; John Work Garrett, the president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.¹⁷⁰ Soon, the area was well-populated with the White and the well-off, and the landscaped squares represented luxurious and extravagant uses of urban space.¹⁷¹

Mount Vernon began losing its appeal with the emergence of the middle class. The multi-leveled middle class developed out of the century’s industrialization and urbanization. Middle-class Baltimore residents tended to be clerks, officer workers, manufacturers, and successful farmers. There were very few avenues in which men were accepted into the upper class of society. The typical business leader in Baltimore was natively born in either Baltimore or Maryland, whose family had been in the country for at least three generations, and was of British descent.¹⁷² The upper elite of society was deeply rooted in Anglo-Americanism. Upper elites include businessmen, attorneys, bankers, and accountants. The lowest level of society included immigrants, African Americans, and unskilled workers. The elites clustered in certain regions for a reason. They were attempting to differentiate themselves, and through physical location, they could do so by establishing themselves as a class.

¹⁶⁸ Qtd in Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 26.

¹⁶⁹ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 26.

¹⁷⁰ Garrett Power, “High Society: The Building. Height Limitation on Baltimore’s Mt. Vernon Place,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 79, no. 2 (1984): 198.

¹⁷¹ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 26.

¹⁷² Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 32.

The land the Roland Park Company purchased was north of Baltimore City. Before the District was developed, the land was comprised of country estates and plantations. The region largely consisted of tobacco plantations, which had large ties to slavery and indentured servitude. When the economy shifted in the nineteenth century, the tobacco plantations dwindled. Man-made ponds were no longer needed to power the mills on the property, and meadows and fields were no longer needed to grow crops. Previous plantations transformed into large, grand country estates. In the estates, the ponds became ornamental boating lakes, and the meadows became beautifully landscaped works of art.¹⁷³ The ponds and expansive meadows became symbols of prestige, class, and wealth. While just a few miles south, city residents fight for more space; the country estates had all the space a man could desire. The Roland Park Company purchased large stretches of the country estates intentionally to build neighborhoods. Some of the largest estates purchased included Captain Charles Ridgely's Oakland, a 263-acre property granted to Charles Merryman by Lord Baltimore, Hiram Wood's Woodlawn estate, Judge Robert Gilmore and Charles O'Donnell's Vauxhall, David M. Perine's Homeland and A.S. Abell's Guilford estates.¹⁷⁴

The Social Register was an exclusive magazine that listed members of a particular city's high society. It began in New York in 1888, and by 1892, Baltimore had its own edition of the *Social Register*. It also became known as the *Blue Book* or the *Visiting List*.¹⁷⁵ It appealed to the high class as the list only selected people based on prestige and societal status. Not only did the register list the names of the high-class residents, but it

¹⁷³ William B. Marye, "Stony Run, Its Plantations, Farms, Country Seats and Mills," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 58 no. 4 (1963): 370.

¹⁷⁴ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 13.

¹⁷⁵ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 33.

also listed the clubs and associations they were affiliated with, including Bachelor Cotillion, Colonial Dames of America, Country Club, University, Merchants, Daughters of American Revolution, Harvard University Graduate, Johns Hopkins Graduate.¹⁷⁶ Achieving *Social Register* status was more than just lineage; it concerned social circles, education, and community ties—as well as business, commercial, and legal connections. It worked to motivate the upper class, promoting exclusivity and accomplishment. In 1900, only eight listed members of the Social Register lived in Roland Park—out of the eight, only two had previously lived in Mount Vernon.¹⁷⁷ By 1910, sixty listees of the *Social Register* lived in Roland Park—twenty-five of them had moved from Mount Vernon.¹⁷⁸ Roland Park was attracting the elites of Baltimore City. The elites living in Mount Vernon twenty years prior, by 1910, were living in Roland Park.

Moving to Mount Vernon, or later moving to the Roland Park-Guilford District and through the publication of the *Social Register*, the upper class was physically removing and distinguishing themselves from the common folk living in the inner city. Furthermore, Roland Park appealed to the middle class as it catered to the upper-middle class, as well as the wealthy—a happy medium that Mount Vernon did not offer.

Roland Park Company's Successful Edge

While Baltimore City residents were suffering from excessive heat, smells, dirty water, and predisposed to disease, the Roland Park Company aimed to solve the problems within and only for their residents. The Olmsted Brothers were pioneers in landscape architecture. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were the best

¹⁷⁶ *Social Register: Baltimore, 1912*, The Social Register Association 26, no. 12 (1912): 10.

¹⁷⁷ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 67.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

firm one could hire. The firm made it clear that the Olmsted Brothers were consultants—not landscapers. They were artists in their design but not physical laborers: “Our business is the supplying of professional advice.”¹⁷⁹ When inquired about, the firm would respond with their “Circular as to Professional Methods and Charges,” which they created in 1897. The circular included the firm’s areas of expertise and the types of designs they were willing to offer their skills. The firm’s involvement began with a preliminary visit, a topographical map, and a preliminary plan. Before Frederick Law Olmsted, landscape architects rarely required topographical maps, nor did they work intimately with the area’s natural topography.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, after the design plan was finalized, the firm required supervised follow-up visits to check in on attention to the plan’s details at the client’s expense. It was a hefty fee to work with the Olmsted Brothers. Initial visits cost \$200 daily on-site, not including the necessary expenses like the site inspection, written reports, work assistants, and travel—the firm would charge \$5000 to cover the additional fees.¹⁸¹ The Roland Park Company was willing to pay the large costs as they saw the market need and demand for properties in Baltimore that aligned with Olmsted ideals.

The Olmsted Firm wished to provide urban convenience by providing amenities like gas and electric power, sanitary sewers, and rapid transit to the city, which were amenities that transformed the lives of those who could afford the advanced technology. The garden suburb was only for the upper echelons of society. The model for the garden suburb was the country estate. The garden suburb served as a large country estate in which families shared—modeling a private residential park. Peter J. Schmitt labeled this

¹⁷⁹ Susan L. Klaus, “All in the Family: The Olmsted Office and the Business of Landscape Architecture,” *Landscape Journal* 16 no. 1 (1997): 86.

¹⁸⁰ Klaus, “All in the Family,” 86.

¹⁸¹ Klaus, “All in the Family,” 86.

ideal as “the Arcadian myth,” describing the desire of wealthy city residents to escape from the grit, artificiality, and grueling workday in the city and escape to an idealized and romantic scene of nature.¹⁸² It was observed that the “country” residents, in comparison to city residents, had better health, were cleaner, and fuller of life. They were not constantly falling ill from the diseases spreading throughout the city. They also were not filthy from doing dirty and tiresome work all day.¹⁸³ They could also afford a well-functioning telephone, gas, and electrical services.

The most popular architectural style in the Roland Park District is the Colonial, featuring a central hall with a staircase and two rooms on either side of the staircase. It is typically a two-story rectangular home with a compact shape and a flat façade. Second, the Tudor Revival style was a widely occurring housing style. This style features asymmetrical windows, various gables, and a mixture of bricks, wood timbers, and stucco. Together, the features enhance the beauty and picturesqueness of the natural surroundings. While the Tudor and the Colonial were the most popular, many early twentieth-century revival styles were featured in the district. These style revivals include Jacobethan, Classical, Italian Renaissance, French Renaissance, Spanish Colonial, and English Craftsman.¹⁸⁴ Culturally, these were tasteful styles that enhanced Roland Park’s core values—picturesque, exclusive, and upscale.

The Roland Park District features very few main thoroughfares. Running north to south, the main parkways include Greenway, St. Paul Street, Charles Street, Cold Spring Lane, and York Road. The roads were wide, providing a convenient connection to every

¹⁸² Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 36.

¹⁸³ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 12.

¹⁸⁴ “Guilford Historic District, B-3654,” NPS Form 10-900, (2001).

part of Baltimore. Of course, residents needed accessible street access to travel or commute, but the Roland Park Company designed the limits purposefully. The most common roads found in the district are narrow and winding, purposeful in the sense that they do not invite commercial traffic. Rather instead, the curvilinear streets are intended to slow traffic. Narrow streets allowed more space to be provided for sidewalks and front lawns. The roads were intended to be for residents only. By limiting major thoroughfares and intentionally designing roads based on natural topography and beauty, Roland Park was designed to be a closed community with as little disruption from the outside environment as possible. While necessary for a city, heavily used roads disrupted garden suburbs. Adjusting to the frequently used main roads coursing through the district, Olmsted advised using the “back-turning” technique, which looped homes away from the busy roads, ensuring that no homes faced the chaotic intersection.¹⁸⁵ While planned at a time when automobile ownership, Olmstead ensured the value of his properties by only building on side streets that had more character and less traffic.

The Roland Park Company paid very close attention to its infrastructure. In order to be the best suburb in Baltimore, Roland Park needed to provide the best amenities the Company could offer. This included continuously maintained roads, curbs, and sidewalks. Shallow street gutters were installed to ensure streets have a pleasing appearance. Sidewalks were made of treated concrete mixed with colorful gravel and crushed stones, resulting in textured and naturally stone-colored sidewalks.¹⁸⁶ Storm sewers, sanitary sewers, underground electric and telephone wires, water and gas

¹⁸⁵ “Guilford Historic District, B-3654,” NPS Form 10-900 (2001).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

distribution systems, street lighting, and street signage.¹⁸⁷ The water is supplied by artesian wells at depths between 180 and 500 feet. In 1888, when the City of Baltimore began building the five-acre Guilford Water Reservoir, the Roland Park Company worked closely with the city to ensure the reservoir met the company's standard—even though the company did not acquire Guilford until 1911.¹⁸⁸ The city's investment in such a large public works project outside of the boundaries of the city line highlights the city's desire to expand its city limits and the region's value. Roland Park's sewers emptied downhill into a popular swimming location for Black children in the Cross Keys neighborhood, contaminating their water and their joy.¹⁸⁹

Regarding leisure and aesthetics, the Roland Park Company developed public and private parks filled with open green spaces, flowers, shrubs, and trees. Guilford was unique in that it contained residents-only private parks; they could only be reached by neighborhood sharing adjoining lots.¹⁹⁰ Eighteen narrow footpaths were designed throughout Roland Park for easy-access pathways and shortcuts for residents. Developed when cars were very rare, the pathways helped residents reach their desired locations faster, as the picturesque roads were winding and often inconvenient to walk. The pathways were designed with occasional signs, handrails, and lampposts. As cars grew in popularity the rugged paths were reminders of the woodsy country estates that came before the neighborhood while allowing residents to gaze at the ornate architecture and

¹⁸⁷ The Roland Park Company laid 50,000 feet of water mains and constructed 60,000 feet of sewers. "Guilford Historic District, B-3654," NPS Form 10-900 (2001).

¹⁸⁸ The reservoir held a capacity of 40,000,000 gallons of water from the Gunpowder River. "Guilford Reservoir," *Baltimore Sun* July 15, 1893.

¹⁸⁹ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ "Guilford Historic District, B-3654," NPS Form 10-900, (2001).

beauty of the neighborhood homes.¹⁹¹

Roland Park Social Life

Roland Park contained three churches: St. David's Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Church. It was also associated with two clubs: The Baltimore Country Club and the Roland Park Woman's Club. In 1908, the Country Club had 2,200 members and extended 135 acres. It featured a clubhouse, golf course, and bowling alley. The clubhouse sits upon an elevated hill, giving members an exclusive view of the Jones Falls Valley. The Woman's Club began in 1896 in the parlor of 401 Woodlawn Road when female residents began to meet inside each other's homes.¹⁹² Luella Bouton, the wife of Edward Bouton, helped establish the club by securing a lot for the club's building to be built. The club had a constitution and by-laws, along with a President and Vice-President to govern. Club fees were \$2 in annual dues, 25 cents initial fee, 10 cents fine for absences, and 5 cents for lateness.¹⁹³ Furthermore, the club was involved in a network with women's clubs nationwide. To further express Anglo-American, American lineage associations began to emerge.¹⁹⁴ The social amenities of the District helped facilitate common school loyalties, church memberships, club memberships, charity involvements, professional interests, and family ties.

The Country Club served as Roland Park's most prized and profitable amenity. Men could play golf, cricket, tennis, bowling, and tobogganing. Women could participate

¹⁹¹ Brandon Weigel and Lauren Schiszik, "The Olmsteds' Historic Footpaths Wind Through Roland Park," *Baltimore Sun* June 14, 2016, accessed February 20, 2024, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/2016/06/14/the-olmsteds-historic-footpaths-wind-through-roland-park/>.

¹⁹² Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 65.

¹⁹³ Paige Glotzer, "Roland Park Company: The Critical Planning Role of the Olmsted Brothers," *The Olmstedian* 21 no. 1 (2015): 2.

¹⁹⁴ Organizations included the Sons of the American Revolution, the General Society Sons of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Colonial Dames of America.

in and organize dinner parties, teas, and debutantes.¹⁹⁵ Playing golf and joining a women's club were only opportunities for the wealthy and the privileged. Both organizations required a certain amount of wealth. Golf required a membership to a club, expensive supplies, and time away from work. Women's clubs required women to pay expensive dues and hire household help, allowing them to fulfill their club's duties and social obligations. The Baltimore Country Club was the center of communal activity in Roland Park and likely an informal hub of legal, business, and commercial power. It was created by the Roland Park Company to foster congeniality and homogeneity.¹⁹⁶

The Roland Park Country School and the Gilman Country School were established in the neighborhood by 1910. Both were established as private schools—a symbol of a wealthy and privileged upbringing.¹⁹⁷ The Calvert School and the Friends School were soon established as private schools in the area. In 1885, Bryn Mawr and in 1890, Girls' Latin schools were opened as college preparatory education for girls. Since housework has decreased with the introduction of technology and industrialization, girls went to school to learn skills outside of the home. The elite used education as a tool to accentuate their class standing further and distinguish themselves from the immigrants.¹⁹⁸

In 1909, when Roland Park was mostly completed, the Roland Park Company established the Roland Park Roads and Maintenance Corporation, known as the R&M. The R&M's duties included maintaining common lands, enforcing covenants, and collecting maintenance fees from residents.¹⁹⁹ The responsibility was soon transferred to

¹⁹⁵ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 69.

¹⁹⁶ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 34.

¹⁹⁷ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 68.

¹⁹⁸ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 33.

¹⁹⁹ "Guilford Historic District, B-3654," NPS Form 10-900, (2001).

the Roland Park Civic League, established in 1895 and incorporated in 1907. The Civic League was created to help city buyers cope with suburban living. It was a major appeal to potential residents as it acted as Roland Park’s “watchdog.”²⁰⁰ The Civic League also captures how a large and plentiful social community was forming in Roland Park. The social elements of Roland Park were as important as the natural: Norman G. Rukert, a member of the Baltimore Country Club, wrote, “It became apparent that no matter how fresh the air, how scenic the winding paths, how varied and exquisite the individual miniature estates, what the new development needed was a comfortable gathering place around which social and particularly recreational activity could revolve.”²⁰¹ The Civic League began a self-governing tool for Roland Park, where residents would meet weekly for town hall meetings. It also bought the fire company’s steam engine, installed a fire alarm system in the neighborhood, and hired a night watchman to supplement the lack of county police patrol.²⁰² The Civic League of Roland Park acted as a municipal board and self-government as it collected fees for park land upkeep and the shared, common utilities. Each property owner contributed annually to the general maintenance fund managed by the Company.

The Roland Park Company attempted to make it so the District never had to be left. Roland Park built one of the first shopping centers in the nation. Built-in 1895 at 4800 Roland Ave, the shopping center features half-timbered framing and Flemish gables inspired by the style of English Tudor.²⁰³ The first floor of the center housed neighborhood shops and medical offices, which were operated on the second floor. The

²⁰⁰ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 68.

²⁰¹ Qtd in Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 68.

²⁰² Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 72.

²⁰³ “Guilford Historic District, B-3654,” NPS Form 10-900, (2001).

shopping center was also set back from the street, allowing for parking spots when automobiles were readily purchased and available.²⁰⁴ The commercialization of shopping centers would seem like an unwelcome intrusion into Roland Park's garden and picturesque ideals. In the late nineteenth century, commercial development was held in such low regard that the residential area's reputation or stature could be calculated by the degree of absence of such commercial facilities.²⁰⁵ Commercial developments were outlawed in Roland Park's deed restrictions, which stated, "No store, shop, saloon, or business house of any kind will be permitted; the occupancy of all lots being restricted to residential purposes solely."²⁰⁶ Yet, in 1870, a block of stores was built by the Olmsted Brothers in Riverside, Illinois—a similar restrictively exclusive garden suburb. The shops harmonized well with the surroundings and catered to the direct needs of the residents. It included small food stores, a pharmacy, and a post office. Inspired by Riverside, Bouton carefully designed the Roland Park shopping center as an asset, not an intrusion.²⁰⁷ The shopping center is obliged by all the design and architectural deeds set by the Roland Park Company. The center looks like an English Tudor-style home, and it adhered to the street set-back requirement. Bouton carefully chose the first merchants to cater to his community's upper-class clientele. Dr. George W. Truitt's drug store, Jordan Stabler's grocer, Heinmuller's Bakery, and a post office first opened in the center.²⁰⁸ Located near Roland Park, many residents were able to walk or take public transportation.

²⁰⁴ Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930-1941," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51, no. 1 (1992): 8.

²⁰⁵ Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center," 8.

²⁰⁶ Qtd in Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center," 8.

²⁰⁷ Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center," 8.

²⁰⁸ Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 74.

Baltimore’s annexations impacted Roland Park due to the responsibility of amenities like water, gas, and electricity. Due to continuous population increases, Baltimore City expanded its boundaries in annexations in 1817, 1888, and 1918.²⁰⁹ Baltimore Town was originally sixty acres when first established, and the 1918 annexation expanded Baltimore to 91.93 square miles.²¹⁰ The 1888 annexation added two-thirds of the suburban area resulting from horsecar lines into Baltimore City—narrowly missing the area that would be developed into Roland Park.²¹¹ Beginning on January 1, 1919, Roland Park was annexed by Baltimore City. Before the annexations,

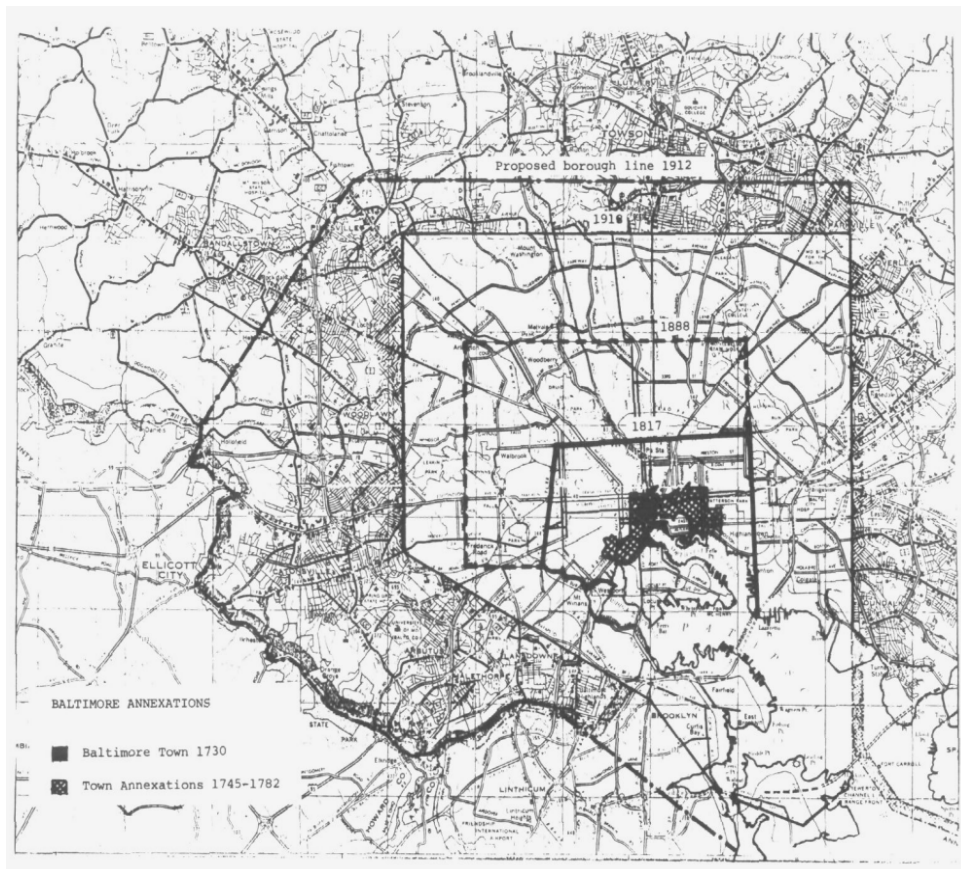


Figure 2: Map of Baltimore’s Expanding Annexations Boundaries. Courtesy of the City of Baltimore

²⁰⁹ Joseph L. Arnold, “Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745-1918,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 no. 2 (1978): 112.

²¹⁰ “City of Baltimore,” Bureau of Engineering Surveys and Records Division, (1970). Accessed February 22, 2024. <https://msa.maryland.gov/bca/research-at-the-baltimore-city-archives/the-geography-of-baltimore-city-sources/index.html>.

²¹¹ Arnold, “Suburban Growth,” 117.

residents were expected to pay dues for the Company's maintenance of their streets, sanitary and storm sewers, water system, street lighting, and trash removal. Roland Park would later deed the streets, water, and gas systems to the city and grant them responsibility for amenities such as street lighting, street service, and trash removal.

Living in Roland Park provided amenities and restrictions. The restrictions in Roland Park governed sanitation, design, aesthetics, resident demographics, and land use. Deed restriction included uniform lot setbacks of either forty, fifty, or sixty feet from the road, dependent on location; a minimum cost of building to be \$5,000 on Roland Avenue or a minimum of \$3,000 on side streets; the Company's right to supersede the builder's architectural and color decisions; barred operation of saloons; banned cesspools and privies; restricted commercial enterprises—excluding the Roland Park shopping center; and prohibiting private stables. The full list of nuisances outlawed by the Roland Park Company stated:

There shall not be erected, permitted, maintained or operated upon any of the land included in said tract any brewery... slaughterhouse...hospital, asylum, sanatorium or institution of like or kindred nature...cattle yard...nor any plant, manufactory or establishment for the purpose of making or preparing soap...gunpowder...fertilizer...nor shall any noxious, dangerous or offensive thing, trade or business whatsoever be permitted or maintained on said property; nor shall any live poultry, hogs, cattle or other livestock except draft animals in the above stables be kept thereon.²¹²

Roland Park Company's deed restrictions included rules as little and simple as the use of garages to the number of cats allowed in a residence. Inspired by Kansas City's policies, Roland Park wished to have a neighborhood solely used for residential purposes: "The man desiring to build a handsome residence will expect to be able to select a street which

²¹² "Deed and Agreement between the Roland Park Company and Edward H. Bouton Containing Restrictions, Conditions, Charges, etc. Relating to Guilford," Johns Hopkins University Special Collections Archive, (1913).

is sure to be used for residence purposes only, and for residences of the same class as that which he intends to build. It is such uniformity of use in a restricted territory that gives special value to lands.”²¹³

Guilford is a unique Roland Park community, as it contains some of the wealthiest homes built by the Roland Park Company—yet it borders York Road, a street that was becoming increasingly traveled in the early twentieth century. While building Guilford, the company used Olmsted’s “back-turning” technique to ensure that the homes were not facing the busy road, along with additional infrastructures that kept non-residents away. This included one-way streets that only led out to the main roads, instead of in. Furthermore, to separate the backyards of Guilford homes and York Road, the Roland Park Company built a stone wall, and “back-turned” townhomes to create a boundary between Guilford and the hustle and bustle of typical city residents.

Black Communities and the Legalization of Jim Crow

The Roland Park Company issued deed restrictions in the unlikely event that a minority family would seek to purchase one of its lots and houses, the likelihood of Black families moving into the land would be almost impossible as very few Blacks were homeowners, had accumulated enough wealth, or would even be granted the opportunity to buy as many real estate agents refused to sell to Blacks. Yet, the fear of an “invasion” of Blacks—and a little less significant immigrants motivated middle-class and elite Whites to move into the suburbs.

In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* upheld state-imposed Jim Crow laws. “The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to

²¹³ “Report of the Board of Park and Boulevard Commissioners of Kansas City,” 15.

enforce the equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color or to endorse social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either,” wrote Justice Henry Billings Brown in the majority opinion in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, confirming the legality of African Americans being “separate but equal” with the Constitution as it did not violate the “equal protection clause” of the Fourteenth Amendment.²¹⁴ In 1910, Baltimore City took the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling further by legalizing racial segregation.

The slow emergence of wealthy, white-collar African Americans was the catalyst of the development of strict racial housing segregation in Baltimore. In 1910, Baltimore legalized racial segregation. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, on June 10, 1910, Margaret G. Franklin Brewer, a White woman, sold her house at 1834 McCulloh Street to W. Ashbie Hawkins, a Black attorney.²¹⁵ The home was a typical rowhouse. It was a three-story townhome made of brick with a width of only thirteen feet wide. Realistically, the home was not very grand or spacious; it was a house that many Whites did not wish to purchase. Yet, it was not the selling of the house that sparked controversy—the selling went almost unnoticed.²¹⁶ When Hawkins leased the home to George W. Mechen, an African American partner at the law firm, chaos erupted on the all-White block. After Hawkins became the first minority to purchase a home on the White residential road, three more Black families bought homes on McCulloh Street.

²¹⁴ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163, #15248, Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, National Archives.

²¹⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1910.

²¹⁶ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 6.

The White residents on the street took collective action and tried to buy the families out with low offers. When the Black homeowners refused the offers, they became victims of an organized campaign of terrorism to drive them away. Neighborhood residents—including children who smashed windows, dumped tar on the front steps, threw bricks through skylights, and formulated plans to bomb and burn the homes.²¹⁷ On December 19, 1910, Baltimore City Ordinance No. 610 was passed by J. Barry Mahool, the city mayor, which prohibited African Americans from moving into predominately White neighborhoods as well as prohibiting Whites from moving into predominately African American neighborhoods. The city legally justified the ordinance through their right to use “police power,” which meant that the city could utilize implied powers to maintain the peace and good of the city when needed.²¹⁸

The significance of the ordinance did not go unnoticed by the nation. By December 25, 1910, *The New York Times* published on December 25, 1910, an article underscoring Baltimore’s strong position on segregation: “The Mayor signed what was probably the most remarkable ordinance ever entered upon the records of town or city of this country; certain it is that it is unique in legislation. Federal, State, or municipal—an ordinance so far-reaching in the logical sequence that must result from its enforcement that it may be said to mark a new era in social legislation.”²¹⁹ No state or city in the nation had outright legalized segregation based on race. What made the ordinance so historic was the nature in which Baltimore’s segregation stretched: “Herein lies the difference between such laws and the Baltimore ordinance: The former are special

²¹⁷ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 8.

²¹⁸ “Baltimore Tries Drastic Plan of Race Segregation: Strange Situation Which Led the Oriole City to Adopt the Most Pronounced “Jim Crow” Measure on Record,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

²¹⁹ “Baltimore Tries Drastic Plan,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

designating certain places of particular character; the Baltimore ordinance includes everything, without regard to the character.”²²⁰ The ordinance was crafted for consistency with the constitutional requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment. Furthermore, the ordinance satisfied the “separate but equal” standard set by *Plessy v. Ferguson*.²²¹ Baltimore inspired other like-segregation ordinances spread to other Southern states and cities such as Winston-Salem and Asheville, North Carolina; Richmond, Roanoke, and Norfolk, Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; St. Louis, Missouri; and Louisville, Kentucky.²²²

Baltimore’s Mayor J. Barry Mahool strongly defended the passing of the ordinance, citing the reason to be Black “encroachment” and “invasion,” highlighting the uniqueness of Baltimore’s population of African Americans, as well as the immense support for the ordinance from Baltimore institutions, citizens, and newspapers:

Here in Baltimore we have a large colored population—approximately one-sixth of the whole, which would make their number close on to 100,000. Many blocks of houses formerly occupied exclusively by whites have now a mixture of colored—and the white and colored races cannot live in the same block in peace and with due regard to property security. Therefore this ordinance was proposed.²²³

It was believed that African Americans depreciated property values—this heavily influenced Roland Park Company’s policies. Mayor Mahool asserts the justification of the ordinance as a fear of the depreciation of housing value and the deterioration of White neighborhoods. *The Baltimore Sun* reasserted these claims by consistently publishing articles on how Blacks destroyed property values and constantly posting false

²²⁰ “Baltimore Tries Drastic Plan,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

²²¹ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163, #15248, Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, National Archives.

²²² W. Ashbie Hawkins, “A Year of Segregation in Baltimore,” *The Crisis* 3 no. 1 (1911): 27

²²³ “Baltimore Tries Drastic Plan,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

information about false payments.²²⁴ While the *Afro-American Ledger* denied that Blacks were the cause of falling values, the *Sun* was more widely read and supported in the city. The *Sun* supported residential segregation, as the writers believed it would benefit taxpayers.²²⁵

African Americans in Baltimore mostly had their homes, churches, and business places in the central, southern, and eastern portions of the city. Only a few Black residents lived in the north and western portions of the city, which were predominantly White neighborhoods, with the Black residents living on very narrow alleys. In the 1880s, more and more Black institutions began to settle quietly in the northwestern portion of Baltimore, which was solidified by the establishment of the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in 1898 on the corner of Dolphin and Etting Street. Soon, the colored high school was moved from the inner city to the corner of Dolphin Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Furthermore, Union Baptist Church opened a few blocks away on Druid Hill Avenue.

When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad condemned large areas of African American residential property in South Baltimore. Black residents sought housing elsewhere.²²⁶ White immigrants from Europe that settled in East Baltimore, drove African Americans out. With limited options, Blacks struggled to find suitable homes. When Whites began migrating to the suburbs up north, Black families began buying their unwanted and empty homes. Hawkins, an African American lawyer who suffered from discrimination and housing segregation, wrote, “When the great northwest with its

²²⁴ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 18.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Hawkins, “A Year of Segregation in Baltimore,” 26-27.

splendid houses on wide streets, amid sanitary surroundings, were opened for rent and purchase, the opportunity was eagerly grasped.”²²⁷ The migration of Whites to the suburbs increased the housing market and availability in the inner city. Yet Baltimore’s 1910 city ordinance challenged this housing succession: “Ten idle houses in the same block [McCulloh Street] and hundreds in other “mixed” blocks are eating up their values in taxes, ground rent, insurance, etc., waiting for white tenants who won’t come, and colored tenants who are doubtful about any attempt on their part to test the merits of the new Segregation Law.”²²⁸ The city ordinance prevented African Americans from moving into homes unwanted by Whites. White residents feared that by allowing Black families into their neighborhood, Black institutions would quickly follow and seize the entire neighborhood.

City officials repeated many times that the segregation ordinance was intended for the benefit of Whites and Blacks—stressing that it was not intended to harm non-whites, yet, it directly did so. *The Baltimore Sun* constantly published articles reasserting the key principles in the ordinance: “Our colored folks will come to see in time that the line of residential demarcation thus established will be as much for their benefit as for the rest of the community, both by its development of their own self-respect and by the removal of the causes which are used by the unscrupulous to produce friction and to create a race hostility that would not otherwise exist.”²²⁹ Furthermore, writing, “The white race is the dominant and superior race, and it will, of course, maintain its supremacy. But that does not mean that Baltimoreans desire to treat the negro with injustice or unkindness, or that

²²⁷ Hawkins, “A Year of Segregation in Baltimore,” 27.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ “No Real Race Hostility in Baltimore,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 23, 1913.

there is any real hostility between blacks and whites. A large majority of the white people of Baltimore have nothing but the most friendly feeling for the ‘colored man and brother.’”²³⁰

In 1916, the constitutionality of Baltimore’s 1910 segregation ordinance went to the U.S. Supreme Court, not due to a case in Maryland, but in Louisville, Kentucky. Louisville had patterned its segregation law based on the legality of Baltimore’s 1910 segregation ordinance.²³¹ In 1917, the Supreme Court made a unanimous decision in *Buchanan v. Warley* nullifying Louisville’s segregation law—hence nullifying Baltimore’s as well. While the ordinance satisfied *Plessy v. Ferguson* “separate but equal,” it still violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

The right which the ordinance annulled was the civil right of a white man to dispose of his property if he saw fit to do so to a person of color and of a colored person to make such disposition to a white person... We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the State, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law. That being the case the ordinance cannot stand.²³²

The due process clause was violated as the seller was deprived of his right to alienate his property. It established that it was an owner’s right to sell real estate to whomever they wished.²³³ *Buchanan v. Warley* established that segregation could not be set by public law, not private. Yet, private covenants could be legally enforced to impose racial segregation.

²³⁰ “No Real Race Hostility in Baltimore,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 23, 1913.

²³¹ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 31.

²³² *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60, 81-82, (1917).

²³³ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 31.

Racially Restrictive Deeds Continue

Roland Park Company's interest in racially restrictive covenants dates to 1893 when Bouton wrote to Roland Park Company's lawyers Schmucker & Whitelock inquiring about legally prohibiting Blacks from purchasing property in Roland Park:

Schmucker & Whitelock
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
10 E. Lexington Street

October 5, 1893

Edward H. Bouton Esq.,
Gen. Mangr. Roland Park Co.,
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Sir,

You have asked our opinion as to whether or not your Company can legally insert a provision in deeds to purchasers of its lots of land at Roland Park, that the title thereto shall at no time be conveyed to negroes or persons of African descent, or be used or occupied by such persons. We have deferred writing you upon this subject until we could give to it the time and consideration demanded alike by its novelty and its importance to your Company.

Such a provision would not, in our opinion, be the mere imposition of an easement, charge or restriction in the manner of the use of the land to be sold by your Company, which would be valid against parties purchasing the land with notice thereof, as already determined by our Court of Appeals. (*Newbold vs. Peabody Heights Co.* 70 Md. 493; *Halle vs. Newbold* 69 Md. 265). It would rather be a condition of partial inalienability annexed by the vendor of land in fee-simple to prevent the transfer thereof to a class of persons because deemed objectionable. General restraints on the alienation of fee-simple property are void, but it has been said by various writers that a grantee of such land might be restrained from assigning it to a particular person or class.

The decisions of leading courts upon this subject are not uniform. We are, however, of opinion that the weight of authority clearly sustains the conclusion that even a restriction as to the persons or classes of persons to whom the estate may be aliened is invalid.

This seems, moreover, to be the view of the Maryland Court of Appeals, who in the recent case of *Stansbury vs. Hubner* (73 Md. 228) in which we ourselves represented the appellee, quoted with approval the proposition of Chancellor Kent, that conditions in conveyances will not be sustained when they are repugnant to the nature of the estate granted, or infringe upon the essential enjoyment and independent rights of property, and tend manifestly to public

inconvenience. A condition annexed to a conveyance in fee, or by devise, that the purchaser or devisee should not alien, is unlawful and void.

The difficulty of maintaining such a restriction would be greatly enhanced by the fact that the class intended to be excluded from interest in the land is not a limited number of persons, but a whole race of people, who are in Maryland numbered by thousands.

This embarrassment would also be further increased by the fact that the race intended to be excluded is the African or colored race, who as Justice Strong of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Strauser vs. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 103, says, were designed to be assured by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution the enjoyment of all the civil rights that are enjoyed by white persons. While it is true that individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject-matter of the Amendment (*Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3) the significance of this constitutional provision is too great to be overlooked in this connection.

The Supreme Court has declared the amendment to mean that all persons shall be equally entitled to pursue their happiness and acquire and enjoy property. (*Barbier's case*, 113 U.S. 27) and Congress in a law sustained by that Court, (*Ex parte Virginia* 100 U.S. 313) has enacted that in every State all citizens shall have the same right as is enjoyed by the white citizens thereof, to inherit and purchase real estate (*Rev. Stat. U.S. Sec. 1978*).

We are, therefore, of the opinion that the proposed provision in deeds to be made by your Company would be illegal.

Yours respectfully,
/s/ Schumcker & Whitelock²³⁴

The lawyers advised against such a proposal. Calling it “[an] embarrassment,” “invalid,” and “difficulty of maintaining.”²³⁵ Carefully examining the Supreme Court’s interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, while not exactly unconstitutional, the lawyers advised against private racial restrictions as they would interfere and restrict alienation. Bouton followed the advice of the Company’s lawyer and did not include a racial clause in the Company’s deed and agreements—until 1913. A racially restrictive covenant was included in Sub-Division II of The Roland Park Company’s “The Deed and Restriction Agreement for the Guilford” of 1913. Among a list of nuisances restricted in

²³⁴ Letter from the law firm of Schumcker & Whitelock to Edward H. Bouton, General Manager of the Roland Park Company, October 5, 1893, Johns Hopkins University Special Collections Archive.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

the neighborhood, a provision prohibiting African Americans is included, which reads, “At no time shall the land included in said tract or any part thereof, or any building erected thereon, be occupied by any negro or person of negro extraction. This prohibition, however, is not intended to include the occupancy by a negro domestic servant or other person while employed in or about the premises by the owner or occupant of any land included in said tract.”²³⁶

Likely encouraged by Jim Crow laws, Baltimore City Ordinance No. 610, residents of the Roland Park-Guilford District, *The Baltimore Sun*, and the threat of constantly emerging rival suburbs, Bouton included the racial covenant. Guilford’s deed and restrictions were the only neighborhood in which the Roland Park Company inserted the deed prohibiting African Americans. Guilford consisted of mostly mansion-sized homes—a little more luxurious than Roland Park. Frederick L. Olmsted described his new communities as “detached dwellings with sylvan surroundings yet supplied with a considerable share of urban convenience.”²³⁷ Roland Park embraced that vision, targeting both the upper and the new middle-class communities, while Guilford was a little more elevated, targeting only the upper crust of elites. The deed was inserted to make Guilford distinct from the rest of the Roland Park District.

Anti-Semitism

While never written in the District’s deeds, the Roland Park Company also discriminated against Jewish people. Roland Park sales personnel followed the strict, yet unwritten, rule against selling to Jews. If a Company salesman believed an interested

²³⁶ “Deed and Agreement between the Roland Park Company and Edward H. Bouton Containing Restrictions, Conditions, Charges, etc. Relating to Guilford,” (1913), Johns Hopkins University Special Collections Archive.

²³⁷ Qtd in Waesche, *Crowning the Gravelly Hill*, 35.

buyer to be Jewish, they would investigate the family and exclude the buyer from purchasing if proven Jewish. Bouton believed that Jews would drive Christian folks away from the District.²³⁸ Roland Park was intended to be White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Furthermore, the Roland Park Company believed that Jews would depreciate their properties by “thirty-three and three percent.”²³⁹ Jewish families who had already lived or purchased property in Roland Park were allowed to remain, but they had to sell to non-Jews upon their departure. In 1921, an exception was made for George Boas, a faculty member at Johns Hopkins University, who was a non-practicing Jew with no associations with Jewish people or synagogues in Baltimore.²⁴⁰ Not a single home was purchased by a Jewish family for the next fifty years in any region of the Roland Park-Guilford District.²⁴¹ Appealing to those who wanted to live among their likeness and kind, Bouton wanted the Roland Park-Guilford District to be the most exclusive in the city. By instituting deed restriction into the property deed, Bouton ensured there would be no “invasion” in his garden suburb, which *The Baltimore Sun* began outrightly supporting in 1910: “The only method of preventing the invasion of negroes is to have a covenant placed in the sale of property which will prevent the new owners from leasing, renting or selling it to negroes. This plan has been embodied in the sale of land and property at Roland Park.”²⁴²

The Roland Park Company modeled the Roland Park-Guilford District to be the antithesis of Baltimore City. No more iron-grid lock streets. No more polluted air,

²³⁸ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 126.

²³⁹ Quoted in Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 127.

²⁴⁰ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 133.

²⁴¹ Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood*, 47.

²⁴² “Suggests Law Against Invasion,” *The Baltimore Sun*, (9 Sept 1910), 14.

odorous smells, and loud noise. The Company strived to create a well-built socially elite community and to do so, it needed to be designed by the best, built by the best, and have the best amenities technology had to offer. The District provided residents an escape from the danger, poor health, and social unrest of living in Baltimore. Roland Park acted as a return to harmonious nature and drew residents in by strictly enforcing residential deeds and racial covenants.

CHAPTER 3: ROLAND PARK'S RIPPLE EFFECT

Homeownership is one of the most prominent ways Americans have traditionally acquired wealth and financial capital. Tax advantages, the accumulation of equity, and increasing property values enable homeowners to build economic assets, which, in turn, provides them with more opportunities in terms of business ventures, educational opportunities, and savings.²⁴³ Lack of equal housing opportunities impacts an American's ability to navigate through their lives—whether that be academically, health-wise, or simply personally. The patterns of racially divided cities that exist today are legacies of past discriminatory policies that determined where non-whites could and could not live. After *Buchanan v. Warley*, the decision that outlawed private racial residential covenants, Baltimore continued to deepen residential segregation through clearance and containment.²⁴⁴ In the early twentieth century, more than two-thirds of Baltimore's 33,000 Black families lived in four of Baltimore's twenty areas.²⁴⁵ No more than seventeen percent owned homes and eighty-three percent were renters.²⁴⁶ Yet, class and racial differences did not emerge suddenly or all at once. Rather, it was gradual, and institutions and developments like Roland Park furthered racial and class tensions. Racial segregation was established during the Jim Crow era that embraced the *Plessy v. Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court decision of separate but equal. *Plessy v. Ferguson* deepened and furthered racial and class divisions until it was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. The Roland Park Company took the *Plessy v. Ferguson* a

²⁴³ "Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," Clearinghouse Publication 42 (1973): 1.

²⁴⁴ Power, "Apartheid, Baltimore Style," 316.

²⁴⁵ Reid, *The Negro Community*, 15.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

step further by intertwining class differences in segregation policies that were implemented in Baltimore.

The Roland Park District contributed to the furthering of housing segregation through its racially restrictive covenants, which underscored the belief that properties owned by Whites were the most desirable and most valuable. In the mid to late twentieth century, federally funded Urban Renewal projects were captivating American cities dealing with growing populations. The renewal projects were intended to create more parks and parking lots for the increasing number of automobiles and widen city streets to create better traffic flows. Yet, most cities used renewal projects as the opportunity to destroy, replace, and erase Black neighborhoods that were poorly built or too close in proximity to White neighborhoods. Urban Renewal projects became known as “negro removal” or “slum clearance projects.”

Roland Park Company’s properties remained untouched throughout the twentieth-century period of clearance. Residential developers claimed to serve the entire market of consumers adequately, yet instead, the developers targeted to benefit affluent, White consumers through their influence on emerging housing industry loans and policies.²⁴⁷ Intended to stress the contrast between the picket-fence White suburban communities and the Black urban communities, the term “blight” was used in twentieth-century politics to describe the substandard qualities of non-white neighborhoods. The codification of race-determinate property values impacted the credit, loan, and mortgage opportunities for

²⁴⁷ For more information, see David M. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

African Americans, hindering their ability to acquire affordable housing.²⁴⁸ In order to protect their properties, the Roland Park Company asserted control of northern Baltimore. The Roland Park Company acted as if it had municipal governing powers by making zoning decisions, approving urban renewal projects, and making key decisions in suburban communities developing nearby. While racially restrictive residential covenants are no longer legal, the legacy of their past and de facto segregation keep them alive in Baltimore City—even in 2024.²⁴⁹

HOLC Maps 1930:

In the 1930s, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation graded neighborhoods in 239 cities nationwide—the federal government supported and funded the project. The Roland Park District was included on the map. The HOLC was created in June of 1933 under the Home Owners Loan Act as part of the New Deal economic recovery and reform program legislation. The act intended to administer assistance in refinancing mortgages and was meant to aid homeowners who were behind on their mortgage payments, which would bail out their creditors and, therefore, reboot the housing market that was suffering from the Great Depression.²⁵⁰ In exchange for the mortgage, the government offered lenders bonds up to eighty percent of the property's value, up to \$14,000. The HOLC refinanced homeowner mortgages at a low five-percent interest to be paid in fifteen years, which was significantly more liberal than the typical short-term balloon mortgage, which had a two to five-year mortgage period with six to eight-percent interest.²⁵¹ Between 1933 and

²⁴⁸ For more information, see William A. Darity Jr. and Andrea K. Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2022).

²⁴⁹ Freund, *Colored Property*, 397.

²⁵⁰ Todd M. Michney, "How and Why the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Made Its Redlining Maps," accessed March 1, 2024, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/howandwhy>.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

1936, HOLC refinanced over one million mortgages, which was approximately one-fifth of homes in the nation—yet fewer than 25,000 of the one million homes refinanced went to non-whites.²⁵²

In 1935, the Mortgagee Rehabilitation Division of the HOLC began surveying cities across the nation to analyze the risks in their HOLC investments. The maps were intended to visualize where the mortgages were purchased, in what locations, and the likelihood of repayment. Neighborhoods were ranked by their degree of risk and were divided into four categories: A, which was the least risk; B, C, and D, which was the most risk. Factors that the city surveyors included were the age of the home, average home value, proximity to industrial areas, and demographics of the residents. The federal government used the color red to shade D areas, signifying that those areas were not worthy to participate in the homeownership program and receive loan assistance. While HOLC maps were not public, the lending data was released in the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975, and the first HOLC map was discovered by urban historian Kenneth T. Jackson in 1976 while researching St. Louis, Missouri. Yet, even without the public disclosure of the HOLC maps, Black residents realized that they were not receiving home loans from the government.

Baltimore's Residential Security Map divided the city's residential areas as follows:

²⁵² 1940 Housing Census.

| | |
|--|------------|
| A: Green Section (Best, Least Risk) | 7 percent |
| B: Blue Section (Still Desirable) | 40 percent |
| C: Yellow Section (Definitely Declining) | 27 percent |
| D: Red Section (Hazardous) | 13 percent |
| Other: Industrial and Commercial areas | 14 percent |

Table 1: Baltimore's Residential Security Map Division of House Ratings. Courtesy of the University of Richmond ²⁵³

The A, B, C, and D regions follow the natural course of Baltimore's settlement in an almost neat half-moon pattern. At the core of the map is Baltimore's industrial and

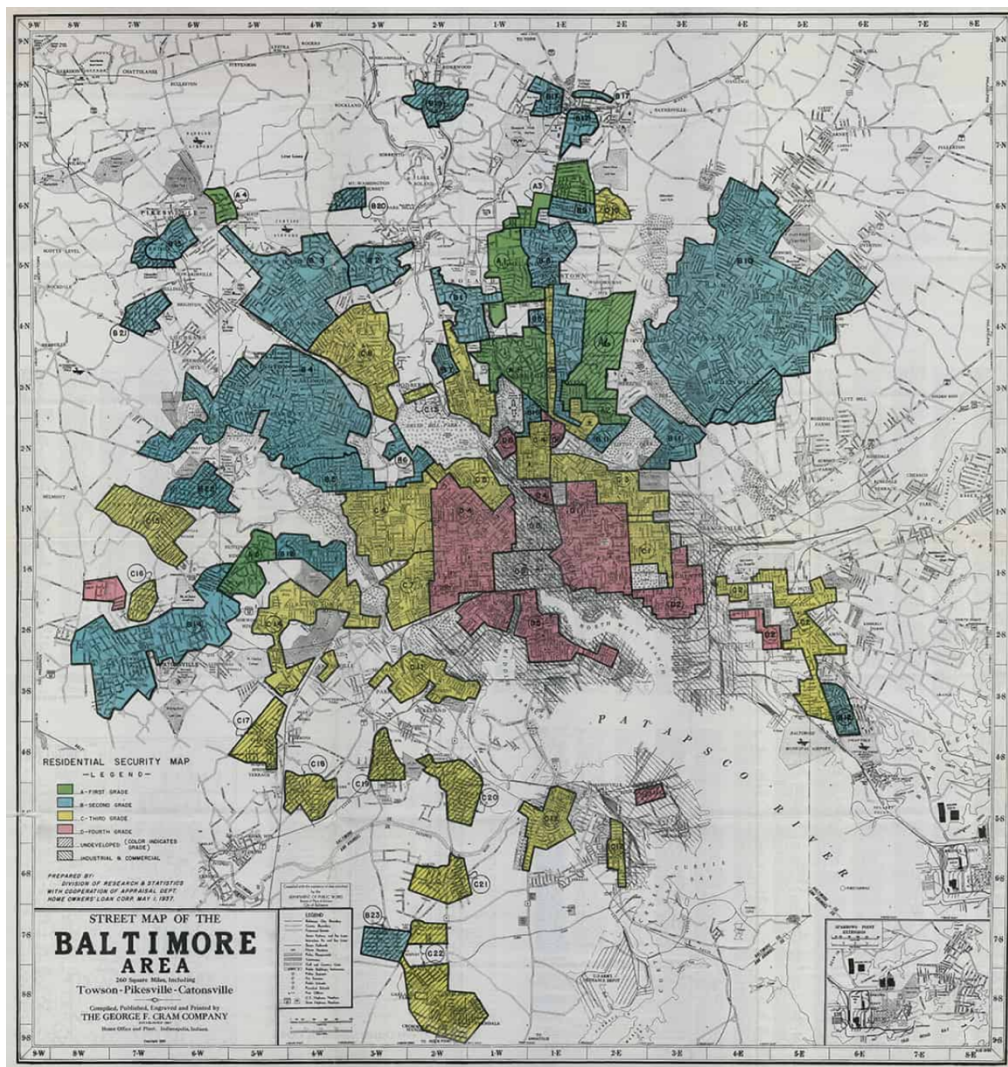


Figure 3: Home Owners Loan Corporation Map of Baltimore. Courtesy of the University of Richmond

²⁵³ “Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America,” University of Richmond, accessed March 1, 2024, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/MD/Baltimore/areas#loc=11/39.2929/-76.6331>.

commercial area, which directly surrounds the port. Above the industrial and commercial areas are the red regions, followed by the yellow regions, which are largely followed by the blue region mixed with a few green regions. The Roland Park Company properties make up much of the seven percent in category A, with the exceptions being very small neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city—Hunting Ridge, Pinehurst, Stoneleigh, and Dumbarton. Hunting Ridge, located partially outside of the city’s western limit in Baltimore County, was developed by George R. Morris in a similar fashion to Roland Park and was home to White executives and professional men.²⁵⁴ Pinehurst and Stoneleigh, two neighborhoods just outside of the city’s northern limit in Baltimore County, were also home to White executives and professional men. Lastly, Dumbarton was graded A as it was Baltimore’s most exclusive Jewish neighborhood.²⁵⁵ Homeland, Guilford, and Northwood were the Roland Park Company’s properties graded A on the HOLC maps.

Roland Park was rated B—mostly due to its age, as it was the first of Roland Park Company’s properties. The report praises Roland Park, noting its favorable influences as a “desirable old residential section. Principally large homes well restricted” and noted that it had no detrimental influences.²⁵⁶ Yet, Roland Park’s sales demand contributed to the neighborhood’s B rating, which the report reads, “Houses are hard to sell in this section, but character of area is good.”²⁵⁷ The HOLC notes the demographics of Roland Park, writing that the neighborhood consists of executive and professional men with an estimated annual family income of over \$4,000 with no immigrants and no African

²⁵⁴ HOLC Area Description Form of Hunting Ridge.

²⁵⁵ HOLC Area Description Form of Dumbarton.

²⁵⁶ HOLC Area Description Form of Roland Park.

²⁵⁷ HOLC Area Description Form of Roland Park.

Americans.²⁵⁸ By the 1930s, Guilford and Homeland had more appealing amenities compared to Roland Park—such as air conditioning and private parks.

Guilford and Homeland were jointly rated A. The form emphasized their favorable influences, such as their planned layout, sizeable homes, convenient location to city transportation networks, and proximity to business areas. The demographics of the residents included executives and professional men with an estimated annual family income of over \$5,000 with no immigrants and no African Americans.²⁵⁹ Guilford and Homeland differed from Roland Park in that their population was increasing moderately fast with good sales and rental demands. While not developed when surveyed, Northwood received a grade A rating since it was a Roland Park Company Property: “Owned and controlled by the Roland Park Company. Developers apparently intend to keep the section comparable to Guilford.”²⁶⁰ Since Northwood was being developed by a reputable development company, the HOLC was confident enough in the Roland Park developers to give the neighborhood the grade A rating based solely on its potential. Racial exclusivity was rewarded by the HOLC. The northernmost residential areas graded D on the HOLC map of Baltimore are just south of Guilford—they are the neighborhoods of Waverly and Remington. The HOLC report notes that the neighborhoods are near desirable properties, such as Johns Hopkins University and the Roland Park-Guilford District. With a relatively low estimated annual family income of \$700, the residents consisted mostly of laborers.²⁶¹ Thirty-five percent of the neighborhood were immigrants, an additional thirty-five percent were African American, homes were poorly constructed

²⁵⁸ HOLC Area Description Form of Roland Park.

²⁵⁹ HOLC Area Description Form of Guilford and Homeland.

²⁶⁰ HOLC Area Description Form of Guilford and Homeland.

²⁶¹ HOLC Area Description Form of Waverly and Remington.

and in poor condition, and the desirability of the community was predicted to decrease.²⁶²

The living conditions mostly consisted of narrow, brick rowhouses. Waverly and Remington capture how the HOLC factored more than just location but also wealth, occupation, and race—even noting the presence of immigrants.

Neighborhoods closer to the industrial regions and with higher concentrations of African Americans received harsh and crude comments from the HOLC surveyors. Region D4, a red district with a D rating on the HOLC map, encompassed a large grouping of neighborhoods, including Druid Heights and Bolton Hill. The area's detrimental influences were listed as "Obsolescence. Negro concentration. Excessive ground rents in many cases."²⁶³ The neighborhoods had an estimated annual family income of \$1000, with an eighty percent population of African Americans and a fifteen percent population of immigrants.²⁶⁴ Housing in the neighborhood consisted of two or three-story brick rowhomes in poor condition.

Yet, most African American neighborhoods were left off the map entirely. The HOLC city surveyors chose not to acknowledge them. Furthermore, the HOLC had many discrepancies and errors. For example, Cherry Heights, a planned community that is explored later in this chapter, had at least fifty African American residents in the 1930s, yet the HOLC map noted that the region had no African Americans and, therefore, received a rating of B—which eventually allowed African Americans living in Cherry Heights to receive HOLC loans and refinance their mortgages.

²⁶² HOLC Area Description Form of Waverly and Remington.

²⁶³ HOLC Area Description Form of Druid Heights and Bolton Hill.

²⁶⁴ HOLC Area Description Form of Druid Heights and Bolton Hill.

The HOLC maps capture how racial segregation, wealth disparities, and racial disparities still exist due to structural forms of racism that cities were built upon. The HOLC maps solidified the cusp of the garden suburb philosophy that Edward Bouton built into the foundation of the Roland Park Company—that Black residents depreciated the value of homes and spread the theory nationally. Making it so, the presence of Black families in any neighborhood throughout the United States was a sign of a decline in property value. Furthermore, the HOLC exacerbated racial inequality by federalizing the common and often-used discriminatory practices in the real estate industry, directly impacting the way in which home values were and still are calculated, thereby contributing to the wealth gap between Black and White communities as it hindered Black families from accumulating wealth throughout generations.²⁶⁵

The HOLC captures the beginnings of the segregation trend that led to the formation or solidification of “White L” and the “Black Butterfly”—terms coined by historian Lawrence T. Brown that capture present-day racial segregation that has persisted throughout decades in Baltimore. HOLC grades were used to guide the lending practices of most banks following 1940 and, therefore, directly impacted the real estate market and values. Furthermore, the HOLC’s Residential Security Maps contributed to the redlining and underdevelopment in African American communities in cities across the nation. The term redlining originated from the HOLC maps and was coined in the 1960s by sociologist John McKnight. The HOLC maps worked to contain the Black communities. They were very influential tools used in the formation of the federal

²⁶⁵ Todd M. Michney and LaDale Winling, “New Perspectives on New Deal Housing Policy: Explicating and Mapping HOLC Loans to African Americans,” *Journal of Urban History* 46 no. 1 (2020): 151.

housing industry. As well as contributing to the racial wealth gap by saving White homes from declining property values.²⁶⁶

Institutional Spread

The success of the Roland Park Company inspired suburban development among the African American communities in Northern Baltimore. At the turn of the nineteenth century, developers in Baltimore focused on suburbs for White and typically Protestant residents, but as the African American community continued to gain access to academic and employment opportunities, they began buying homes previously owned by Whites who had moved out to the suburbs. Yet, with such growth and a large population, there was no suburban development intended for the African American communities. That was until 1909 when the Cherry Heights community began in development. Cherry Heights was the first planned community for African American homeowners in Baltimore's suburbs. The land was purchased by Daniel Murray, designed by Ernest J. Jones, and developed by the Cherry Heights Realty and Construction Company. Murray purchased 156 acres in 1909 for the development and an additional 75 in 1918.²⁶⁷ Murray was an African American man who earned his wealth as the Assistant Librarian at the Library of Congress.

Influenced by the Roland Park Company, Cherry Heights Realty and Construction Company included deed restrictions intended to maintain the look and the character of the residential neighborhood. Restrictions included no alcohol sales, no slaughterhouses, no keeping of swine or other farm animals, all homes must be built fifteen feet from the

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Collin Bates, et al., "Woodland Garden and Cherry Heights: Cultural landscape Analysis," *NeighborSpace* (2023), 5.

street line, and all homes must obey a minimum cost.²⁶⁸ Cherry Heights was mostly advertised in the *Baltimore Afro-American*. In 1910, Baltimore City's segregation ordinance was issued, and Cherry Heights was able to capitalize on the fear of the increased spread of racial prohibition. Cherry Heights was advertised as "a new suburb for colored people," with streets and yards "equal to Roland Park in beauty."²⁶⁹ Roland Park served as the standard model of suburban development, and Cherry Heights intended to emulate the District in terms of its residential uses, restricted nuisances, and natural beauty. Even the name Cherry Heights has positive, natural connotations. Due to changes in zoning ordinances and a lack of available financing, many plots in Cherry Heights were not developed until the 1950s.

As the real estate industry was laying its foundation, integrating discriminatory and segregation policies into its standards, the Roland Park Company began spreading its influence in more covert ways—influencing projects and institutions without incorporating their name. The Roland Park Company had such a monopoly over northern Baltimore that they often had a voice in the final decision in matters concerning the area. Therefore, it is important to recognize that no community development was approved without the Roland Park Company's awareness, and no urban renewal project was approved without the Roland Park Company's support. The reason behind this is that Edward H. Bouton and other managers involved in the company were well-connected with the city municipal authorities. They were friends with the Baltimore City officials who made decisions impacting their District. Since Roland Park Company properties generated substantial tax revenue for Baltimore City, city officials often showed the

²⁶⁸ Bates, "Woodland Garden," 5.

²⁶⁹ *Baltimore Afro-American* December 25, 1909.

communities preferential treatment. This was a common practice in many growing cities across the nation.

The Roland Park Company played an influential role in the development of Loyola College, which is evident in the college's land deed. In 1921, Loyola College purchased land at the northwestern intersection of Cold Spring Lane and Charles Street from John W. Garrett and Katharine B. Garrett.²⁷⁰ The large estate featured a Tudor-style mansion built in 1895 that was intended as a gift to their child, who, unfortunately, died on a trip to England.²⁷¹ Loyola College was established by Rev. John Early S.J., the former president of Georgetown University, in 1852 as a Jesuit institution. The 1921 purchase relocated the college from Mount Vernon to the Evergreen neighborhood, which borders the Roland Park-Guilford District. The 1921 land deed captures the influences of the Roland Park Company and the promotion of institutionalized racial segregation as the land deed contains covenants, conditions, and restrictions. The deed states the college is “only for the purpose of conducting a private educational institution for the university collegiate or high school education of white persons,” and, “that at no time shall the land included in said tract or any part thereof or any building erected thereon be occupied by any negro or person of negro extraction.”²⁷² Loyola College’s Evergreen campus was built upon racially restrictive covenants outrightly prohibiting African Americans from learning or living at the school. The Jesuits obeyed the covenants provided by the Roland Park Company without issue, likely due to Jim Crow Laws and the upheld

²⁷⁰ Loyola College Land Deed, 1921. Courtesy of Loyola Notre Dame Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁷¹ “History and Traditions,” Loyola University Maryland, accessed March 2, 2024, <https://www.loyola.edu/about/history-traditions>.

²⁷² Loyola College Land Deed, 1921.

constitutionality of separate but equal. In 1949, when Loyola College admitted its first Black undergraduate student Charles Dorsey, the racial restriction remained on record.²⁷³

Furthermore, the land deed contains close to identical residential restrictions and covenants that are prohibited in the Roland Park Company’s “Deeds and Agreements,” capturing their influence in Loyola College’s decision to relocate across the street from the border of Guilford as only Cold Spring Lane separates the college from the neighborhood. The land deed prohibited the college from using church bells, chimes, or other bells, and building a power plant, boiler house, or smokestack—items that would disturb or disrupt the peaceful ambiance and carefully constructed aesthetic of the Roland Park-Guilford District. It carefully included that the college buildings must have at least a twenty-foot setback from the street line. Similarly, the land deed outlawed the items listed under nuisances in the Roland Park Company’s “Deeds and Agreements,” which included a brewery, slaughterhouse, correction hospital, asylum, hog pen, and stables. The covenants and racially restrictive deeds use the exact language of the Roland Park Company, capturing their influence. The Roland Park Company must have seen the profitable benefit of a private university exclusively for White men nestled in a residential neighborhood. Their covenants and deeds ensured that Loyola College would blend in with the District’s garden aesthetic. In 2013, Loyola University became an accredited arboretum with the land they acquired from the Garrett Family. The arboretum is located at the center of campus.

²⁷³ “President’s Task Force Examining Loyola’s Connections to Slavery,” Loyola University Maryland (2024).

Federal Policies

In 1948, the United States Supreme Court case *Shelley v. Kramer* ruled that explicit racial restrictions attached to property deeds were unenforceable. Despite the ruling, racially restrictive covenants persisted. This did not slow the use of racially restrictive covenants, which were very popular in the early 1900s; many people saw them as the “shield of honor” for a community and held an immense amount of pride.²⁷⁴ The Federal Housing Administration is an example of an organization that institutionalized racial segregation.²⁷⁵ In 1934, the Federal Housing Administration, or FHA, was established to help Americans with mortgage insurance and financing. Yet, the FHA played a powerful and influential role in furthering Baltimore’s racially segregated landscape by financing and promoting the White suburban sprawl, which in turn left lower-income and inner-city Black communities unsupported and in decline.²⁷⁶ The FHA gave working-class Whites subsidies by lending them mortgages, and it worked in conjunction with the Federal Highway Administration to facilitate transportation out of the city and into the suburbs.²⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Federal Housing Administration continued to the use and spread of racial covenants. FHA’s *Underwriting Manual* stated: “If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same racial classes.”²⁷⁸ In 1959, it was established that less than two percent of FHA-insured houses built post-war had been available to non-whites.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ “Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,” 4.

²⁷⁵ For more information, see Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017).

²⁷⁶ Lawrence T. Brown, *The Black Butterfly: The Harmful Politics of Race and Space in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), 47.

²⁷⁷ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 47.

²⁷⁸ “Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,” 3.

²⁷⁹ “Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,” 5.

Major policies were passed in the 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement. In 1962, President John F. Kennedy issued an executive order on equal opportunity in housing. The order prohibited “discrimination in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of properties and facilities owned or operated by the federal government or provided with federal funds.”²⁸⁰ While a strong first step, the executive order was unenforceable. Next, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, which forbade discrimination in federally assisted programs, such as public housing and urban renewal projects. In 1968, Title VIII of the Fair Housing Act was passed, banning discrimination in housing. Furthermore, the 1968 Supreme Court case *Jones v. Mayer* ruled that the 1866 Civil Rights law passed under the authority of the 13th Amendment bars all racial discrimination in all housing, public and private.²⁸¹ Yet, residential segregation in cities still exists. While these acts and court cases have stopped de jure segregation, de facto segregation has remained and has been deepened throughout the decades.

In the 1960s, the federal government attempted to halt the discriminatory policies that they had helped codify and deepen. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, or HUD, established in 1965, was ordered to administer programs in a manner that affirmed fair housing for all races, yet it paid little attention to the provision. In July 1967, FHA Insuring Office Directors conducted a survey of the FHA subdivisions built after Kennedy’s orders. Of the 400,000 houses, only 3.3 percent had been sold to Black families.²⁸² The federal government sued HUD. Segregation policies had become institutionalized. Housing discrimination remained endemic in the United States since the

²⁸⁰ On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 11063, titled "Equal Opportunity in Housing."

²⁸¹ "Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," 7.

²⁸² "Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," 7.

1968 Fair Housing Act had no methods of enforcement.²⁸³ In 1988, to strengthen Title VIII's enforcement policies, the federal government added amendments to the 1968 Fair Housing Act, enforcing the law by giving Fair Housing Assistance Program agencies forty months to bring their laws into compliance with the Fair Housing Act.²⁸⁴ Yet, the amendments did not solve Baltimore's racially segregated reality; Black communities needed authentic desegregation of power, resources, and wealth—not just the halting of policies.²⁸⁵

Clearance

In 1914, Baltimore City began slum clearance programs, destroying African American neighborhoods as the city deemed them to be “blighted.” The city believed the slum clearance programs necessary to complete the Olmsted firm's suggestions in their 1904 *Report Upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore* and their 1905 post-Great Fire study. The main suggestions were to widen the narrow but popular streets and increase the number of parks in the city. In 1914, Mayor James H. Preston wished to widen St. Paul Street and build a park in front of the city courthouse—two suggestions from the Olmsted firm. The city bought properties lining St. Paul Street to build a parking lot, which was named Preston Gardens, and widened the boulevard.²⁸⁶ It was the first use of slum removal as the city deemed the properties third-rate rooming and cheap flats, thereby forcing the tenants out, with no additional money for moving expenses, to improve traffic flow as well as remove the downtown slum.²⁸⁷ Yet, slum

²⁸³ Michael H. Schill and Samantha Friedman, “The Fair Housing Amendments Acts of 1988: The First Decade,” *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 4 no. 3 (1999): 58.

²⁸⁴ Schill and Friedman, “The Fair Housing Amendments Acts of 1988,” 59.

²⁸⁵ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 107.

²⁸⁶ “The Birth of Preston Gardens,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 9, 1954.

²⁸⁷ Power, “Apartheid, Baltimore Style,” 316.

clearance had begun earlier than 1914 in the city when the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad used its condemnation powers to displace over one hundred Black families when it expanded its railyard in 1852, with no compensation fees due to their condemnation powers.

In 1917, after the city segregation ordinance was struck down, Baltimore's Mayor Preston pivoted "negro clearance" programs intended to eliminate densely populated areas of African Americans justified in the area's high death rates from diseases. Even seeking out advice from Dr. A.K. Warner in Chicago, a city performing similar tactics. "Blighted" areas were considered neighborhoods in which the condition of dwelling was beyond rehabilitation, with immense health and sanitary issues, and did not receive municipal services such as waste collection and water sewer services—these were neighborhoods that held majority African American residents. In 1934, Mayor Howard W. Jackson justified slum clearances by noting that blighted Black neighborhoods near White neighborhoods and downtown Baltimore caused tax revenues to decline.²⁸⁸ As a solution, Mayor Jackson suggested replacing slum areas with White housing. Seizing Black communities by removing them seemed like an inexpensive method in which Baltimore was able to deepen segregation in the city intended to benefit the majority of White neighborhoods please or economically.

In 1941, Baltimore's downtown properties lost over thirty percent of their value, which was a \$53,000,000 loss.²⁸⁹ This spurred an increased desire for urban revitalization projects. The projects would create new structures that were intended to keep the Black

²⁸⁸ Power, "Apartheid, Baltimore Style," 317.

²⁸⁹ Brandi Blessett, "Urban Renewal and 'Ghetto' Development in Baltimore: Two Sides of the Same Coin," *American Review of Public Administration* 50 no. 8 (2020): 844.

communities away and attract White middle-class residents.²⁹⁰ In 1953, the programs morphed into “urban renewal” programs under President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Urban renewal projects were advertised as solutions for cities in decline, but they were essentially a rebranding of Baltimore’s slum and “negro clearance” programs intended to hide their ill-intent and hidden agendas. In Baltimore, they were advertised as: “Urban renewal looks at miserable living conditions or strangling business districts, then calls for local initiative—public and private—to solve the problem. To us, that isn’t totalitarian or evil, but uniquely American.”²⁹¹ This inspired Baltimore’s first major Urban Renewal project, Harlem Park. In 1958, the Urban Renewal Administration in Washington granted Baltimore \$1,638,349 for the redevelopment of Harlem Park—which cost about three million dollars. The city would clear two hundred acres of land, including both residential and commercial properties, for the purpose of “rehabilitation” and “general neighborhood renewal.”²⁹² While Harlem Park residents protested, they did not have the economic ability to defend themselves, nor the law on their side. The *Baltimore Sun* deemed the Harlem Project to be the most advanced urban renewal project in the nation.²⁹³ The Harlem project displaced 13,700 Black Baltimore residents with no relocation plans for the residents. The project was completed in 1964.

By 1967, Baltimore had over twelve urban renewal projects in construction. Baltimore neighborhoods that experienced uprooting and displacement include Pigtown, due to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; Middle East, due to the Johns Hopkins Medical

²⁹⁰ Blessett, “Urban Renewal,” 844.

²⁹¹ Herbert B. Cahan, “The Philosophy of Urban Renewal,” History Exhibits from the Baltimore Studies Archives, accessed March 7, 2024, <https://ubarchives.omeka.net/items/show/16073>.

²⁹² *Baltimore Sun*, July 2, 1958

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

Institution; Poppleton, due to the expansion of the University of Maryland; and Waverly, Madison Park, Harlem Park, and Broadway East due to the BURHA.²⁹⁴ Black families became the scapegoats for deteriorating neighborhood conditions, the city's economic decline, and an overall increase in crime.²⁹⁵ Urban renewals justified themselves as projects to benefit the city of tomorrow: "Urban renewal does condemn and take homes and businesses away from private citizens. So do highways, schools, parks and public housing projects. But urban renewal is unique in that it assumes both a legal and moral obligation to seek new—and usually better—homes for the displaced, and new—and usually better—prospects for the businessman."²⁹⁶ Yet, by the way Baltimore and the real estate industry were led, retaining the value of downtown commercial property and business were top priorities for cities. There was truth and genuine concern for city investments and commerce in the Urban Renewal or "slum clearance" projects.

Baltimore's slum removal program had large implications. It was embedded into the *Principles of Real Estate Practice* published by the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB) in 1922: "The purchase of property by certain racial types is very likely to diminish the value of other property."²⁹⁷ Furthermore, in 1950, NAREB's code of ethics read: "The realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighborhood."²⁹⁸ In 1908, local city boards got together in Chicago to form NAREB.

²⁹⁴ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 98.

²⁹⁵ Blessett, "Urban Renewal," 844.

²⁹⁶ Herbert B. Cahan, "The Philosophy of Urban Renewal,"

²⁹⁷ Qtd in "Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," 3.

²⁹⁸ Qtd in "Understanding Fair Housing. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights," 3.

The leadership of the organization was comprised of suburban developers like those of Roland Park, who gave themselves the strongest influence.²⁹⁹ Between 1940 and 2010, 21,588 Black Baltimore households experienced displacement from large-scale displacement projects like the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, also known as BURHA.³⁰⁰

Cross Keys

While the Roland Park-Guilford District remained pristine, the community's neighboring areas did not have the same fate—most prominently was the neighborhood of Cross Keys. Cross Keys is the neighborhood that bordered Roland Park on its west end—only separated by Falls Road. Cross Keys began initially as an African American community. “Long before Roland Park thought of coming into existence, the village of Cross Keys, which skirts the Jones Falls base of the eminence upon which the Park is built, and is now given over chiefly to darkies, was living in quiet uninspiring fashion.”³⁰¹

Falls Road was developed in the eighteenth century to connect Baltimore's port to Pennsylvania. Due to the road's proximity to the Jones Falls, a community began to spring up. Soon, Cross Keys had a tollhouse, collecting tolls for the use of Falls Road, a tavern, and an inn. Cross Keys dwindled when the railroad replaced roads as the central method of shipping goods west. In the late eighteenth century, free Blacks began to develop a community in the abandoned Cross Keys Village, building churches, doctors' offices, schools, and grocery stores. The forge furnaces running the flour and cotton mills along the Jones Fall created unfavorable conditions—likely explaining why Whites

²⁹⁹ Glotzer, *How the Suburbs were Segregated*, 119.

³⁰⁰ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 97.

³⁰¹ *Baltimore Sun*, December 27, 1908.

abandoned the community. Cross Keys Village participated in the Underground Railroad in the nineteenth century, helping hide runaway slaves.³⁰² Many homes on Falls Road contain trap doors in the floors, and secrets rooms in the attic and basement as remnants of the neighborhoods part in helping slaves escape to freedom more north. As a border state containing such a high population of free Blacks, Baltimore was the prime destination for a runaway slave.

Many residents of Cross Keys worked in the Roland Park-Guilford District as cooks, butlers, maids, and gardeners. Due to the close proximity, Roland Park residents viewed Cross Keys with disdain but enjoyed the efforts of their hard work. *The Roland Park Review* in January 1919 published a passage about a fictitious traveler: “Among the rounded contours of the intervening slope he notes also an irregular assemblage of dwellings, barns and outhouses, which straggles up toward the hedge bounding the grounds above. The stately residents of the hilltop are those whose fronts border upon Ridgewood Road, the westernmost avenue of the suburb of Roland Park; the unpretentious buildings on the declivity belong to the adjacent village of Cross Keys.”³⁰³ *The Roland Park Review* used the nature-based metaphor to capture Roland Park’s elevated landscape, amenities, class, and wealth. The Roland Park Company used Cross Keys Village and its residents as accessible sources of cheap labor, often blamed the community for issues plaguing the District. The Civic League believed Cross Keys was to blame for their mosquito problem. Since they had no running water, Cross Keys residents collected water in rain barrels for their bathing and laundry. The Civic League

³⁰² James Holechek, *Baltimore’s Two Cross Keys Villages: One Black, One White* (New York: iUniverse, Inc, 2003), 24.

³⁰³ *The Roland Park Review*, January 1919.

complained about the mosquito problem in the Roland Park newsletter 1915 titled “Cross Keys in the Line of Progress.” Furthermore, the District’s septic tank dumped its not-so-filtered remains into the Jones Fall, which was essentially the neighborhood’s backyard. Roland Park recognized the need for improvements in communities like Cross Keys but found them to be unworthy of such amenities.

Yet in 1961, Baltimore’s urban renewal project erased the Cross Keys Village: “In the name of urban renewal the Jones Falls Expressway, Western High School and Polytechnic Institute, Falls Road community of Cross Keys must make way.”³⁰⁴ The west side and a small section of the southeastern portion of Falls Road were demolished to develop a large interchange for the Jones Falls Expressway, along with building a few new institutions—high school. The city chose to demolish Cross Keys since it was “dying fast.” Citing the introduction of the railroad as the community’s downfall—it did not acknowledge the thriving African American community that had built up the neighborhood with successful institutions like schools, churches, and cafes. Interestingly, White politicians would often visit Cross Keys Inn and Arthur and Bettie Scott’s beer garden café.³⁰⁵ Instead, a spokesman for the urban renewal project states, “There is not a single one [African American families] who is not far better off than in the old location.”³⁰⁶ The city allocated \$197,370 to purchase the properties to be demolished, and the urban renewal agency paid \$1,100 to each family for moving expenses.

Remarkably different and a little more north than Cross Keys Village, James Wilson Rouse, a World War II veteran, developed a new community and named it the

³⁰⁴ *The Baltimore Sun*, October 8, 1961.

³⁰⁵ Holechek, *Baltimore’s Two Cross Keys*, 75.

³⁰⁶ *The Baltimore Sun*, October 8, 1961.

Village of Cross Keys. Post-World War II, there was an increase in demand for housing. Rouse owned a mortgage banking business, the Moss-Rouse Company. When the city condemned Cross Keys Village and extended the expressway, the Baltimore Country Club's plan to expand was ruined. The project had also taken 37.5 acres of the club's golf course—leaving the club with the northern parcel on the western portion of Falls Road. The club members urged the country club to sell the land as they were already upset about paying higher taxes due to the Annexation Act of 1918. Furthermore, the Jones Falls often dumped silt onto the holes and the course required golfers to cross Falls Road, which was becoming heavily traveled. Rouse purchased the land west of Falls Road from the Baltimore Country Club in 1961 for \$25,000 an acre or \$1.7 million total. Roland Park residents were not pleased with the development of the Village of Cross Keys. Unlike the Roland Park-Guilford District, Cross Keys did not have any written or unwritten racial housing covenants restricting the aesthetics and residential demographics of the houses in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the development would attract more people, cars, and traffic to the area—ruining Roland Park's serene and quiet environment. Due to the complaints, Rouse intentionally did not align the streets in the Village of Cross Keys streets to the streets of Roland Park existing on to Falls Road. Rouse would later go on to design and develop Columbia, Maryland.

Roland Park influenced Rouse to create a village described as: “It will be our purpose to plan one of the truly great apartment communities in the country.”³⁰⁷ The Roland Park Company was heavily involved in the development of the Village of Cross Keys. The Company was involved in the purchasing of the land, the rezoning of the land,

³⁰⁷ Qtd in Holechek, *Baltimore's Two Cross Keys Villages*, 100

and often approved the design elements of the development. It was joked that “Land planning was being done by every executive in the Rouse Company and half the people in Roland Park.”³⁰⁸ The Village of Cross Keys even shares the same zip code with Roland Park, which is 21210. The Village of Cross Keys upheld the standards of the garden suburb. Influenced by Olmsted, the village follows the natural contours of the land, with many trees and flower gardens. Furthermore, Cross Keys’ hamlets, streets, and buildings were named after notable figures in the Roland Park Company—like Bouton, Olmsted, and Hollyday. The main distinction between the Village of Cross Keys and Roland Park-Guilford is that Cross Keys developed apartments and townhomes. A Village Square was also included in the development, which featured retail space for shops, offices, and restaurants. The Village of Cross Keys also featured an inn, a parking center, and a conference center.

In terms of advertising, the Village of Cross Keys struggled to market its development. While Roland Park relied on attracting residents through their rigorous standards and strong restrictions, the Village of Cross Keys lacked covenants—its main appeal was its fifteen-minute commute downtown, which did not have much pull as they city was declining in jobs, business, and wealth. Rouse sent a memo to the office reading, “I think it is VERY IMPORTANT that we really not accept an application from anyone outside of the Roland Park community and the Baltimore Country Club until the priority date (November 1, 1964) is expired.”³⁰⁹ Rouse believed Roland Park residents would comprise the large majority of those interested in leasing at the Village of Cross Keys, which was not true. It was only when they printed advertisements with photographs in the

³⁰⁸ Qtd in Holechek, *Baltimore’s Two Cross Keys Villages*, 109.

³⁰⁹ Qtd in Holechek, *Baltimore’s Two Cross Keys Villages*, 117.

rotogravure section of the *Sunday Sun* that leasing applicants began rolling in.³¹⁰

Furthermore, the apartments and townhomes of Cross Keys did not have the highest potential property values.

Lasting Impact

Baltimore’s racial makeup is divided into a “White L” and a “Black Butterfly” in shape. This racial makeup highlights the impact of redlining as it has cemented the privileges or the vulnerability in Baltimore neighborhoods—keeping the city’s neighborhoods segregated.³¹¹ Racial segregation practices in the twentieth century have impacted the building and the shaping of Baltimore City to a degree that affects the city’s population today. With such extremes of wealth and poverty, in addition to the influence of the federal government and city ordinances, Baltimore has become a city with impossible social mobility. The rich remain clustered in regions mostly supporting private institutions with great access to private schools, quality food stores, reliable transportation networks, and employment opportunities. The poor with limited opportunities have no choice but to send their children to the underfunded, understaffed, and overpopulated public schools. Having limited access to wealth and credit, they could only afford to live in homes with poor conditions that lacked ready access to parks, transportation, healthcare, nutritious food, and reliable work opportunities. Baltimore’s twentieth-century segregation tactics made quality schooling, adequate transportation networks, access to health care, and recreational activities a luxury only the White neighborhoods could afford.³¹²

³¹⁰ Holechek, *Baltimore’s Two Cross Keys Villages*, 118.

³¹¹ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 107.

³¹² For more information, see Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, and Brown, *The Black Butterfly*.

Roland Park’s Academic Advantage:

The Roland Park-Guilford District is densely concentrated with private schools. Private schools positively influence property value, attract new residents, and admit students based on factors like wealth, grade level, and social status. Roland Park contains Baltimore’s most prestigious private schools. Similar to Loyola College, one by one, private schools moved from the inner city of Baltimore to develop campuses in and around the District. Regarding private collegiate-level education, Johns Hopkins, Loyola College, and Notre Dame of Maryland are in or just about the District. Regarding elementary to secondary education, Bryn Mawr, Friends, Calvert, Boys Latin, Girls Latin, Gilman, and Roland Park Country are private schools established around the turn of the twentieth century in or just about the District—almost all the schools were initially begun downtown only Gilman and Roland Park Country excluded.³¹³

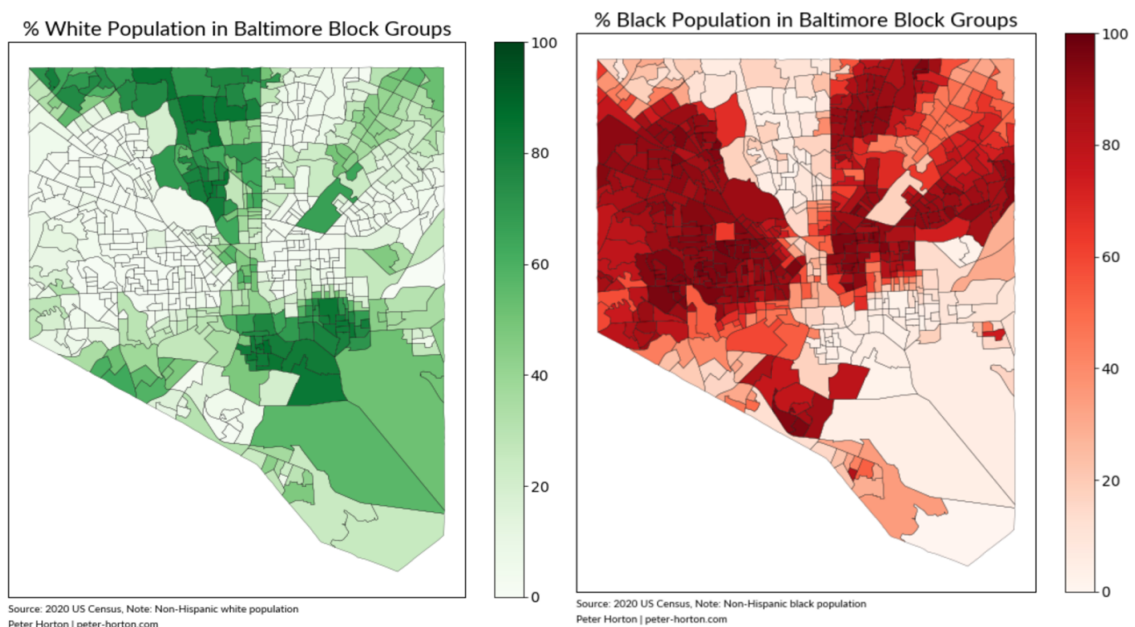


Figure 4: Two Corresponding Maps of Baltimore City Highlighting the Racial Demographics in Each Neighborhood.

³¹³ Kathy Hudson, “Small Businesses Bring Life To Community, Need To Be Preserved,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 31, 2016.

Roland Park’s first public school was Todd’s Academy, which was established shortly after the neighborhood was established—approximately in 1913. While never a private school, it was established to strictly educate the children living in Roland Park. It was located at the corner of Roland Avenue and St. Johns Road. In 1924, the school moved to a new, expanded location due to growing demand. It was renamed the Roland Park Elementary and Middle School and taught kindergarten through eighth grade. In 1986, the school was renovated to include a library, gymnasium, and a new wing was constructed. Using data from the 2023 to 2024 school year, the Roland Park Elementary and Middle School’s students were 47% Black and 31% White. Thirty percent of the students fell under the Title I eligibility poverty rate. To gain admission, eligible students must live within the school’s neighborhood and meet the composite score on an entrance exam. In all categories, Roland Park Elementary and Middle School outperform the Baltimore City School District’s average:

| | Math 3-5 | English Language Arts 3-5 | Math 6-8 | English Language Arts 6-9 |
|--|-----------------------------|---|---|--|
| Baltimore City School District Average | 12% proficiency | 22% proficiency | 6% proficiency | 28% proficiency |
| Roland Park Elementary and Middle School Overall Performance | 52% (Black: 19% White: 81%) | 62% proficiency (Black: 34% White: 88%) | 29% proficiency (Black: 13% White: 55%) | 66% proficiency (Black: 50% White: 84%) ³¹⁴ |

Table 2: Compares the Reading and Math Levels of the Roland Park Elementary and Middle School to the average of the Baltimore City School District

³¹⁴ “Roland Park Elementary Middle School,” Baltimore City Public Schools, accessed February 29, 2024, <https://www.baltimorecityschools.org/o/bcps/page/233>.

Two miles east of Roland Park Elementary and Middle School, just outside of Guilford, is Walter P. Carter Elementary and Middle School. Using data from the 2023 to 2024 school year, Walter P. Carter Elementary and Middle School’s students are over 95% Black. Eighty-two percent of the students fell under the Title I eligibility poverty rate. To gain admission, eligible students must live within the school’s neighborhood. The White population at Walter P. Carter Elementary and Middle School is almost non-existent.

| | Math 3-5 | English Language Arts 3-5 | Math 6-8 | English Language Arts 6-9 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Baltimore City School District Average | 12% proficiency | 22% proficiency | 6% proficiency | 28% proficiency |
| Walter P. Carter School Overall Performance | ~5% proficiency (Black: 5%) | 15% proficiency (Black: 15%) | ~5% proficiency (Black: 5%) | 27% proficiency (Black: 26%) ³¹⁵ |

Table 3: Compares the Reading and Math Levels of the Walter P. Carter Elementary and Middle School to the average of the Baltimore City School District

The distance between the schools highlights the drastic differences between the neighborhoods divided by York Road. The racial, wealth, and performance differences capture the disadvantages faced by neighborhoods east of York Road—economically, socially, nutritionally, and academically. Roland Park District and its schools are located within the “White L.” While Walter P. Carter Elementary and Middle School is located in the “Black Butterfly.”

Lastly, between 1978 and 1981, the Baltimore Neighborhoods Heritage Project conducted oral histories in seven Baltimore neighborhoods, including Highlandtown,

³¹⁵ “Walter P. Carter Elementary Middle School,” Baltimore City Public Schools, accessed February 29, 2024, <https://www.baltimorecityschools.org/o/bcps/page/134>.

Hampden, Park Heights, Little Italy, South Baltimore, Old West Baltimore, and East Baltimore. The oral histories provide insight into the lived experiences of Baltimore residents facing residential and school segregation and dealing with massive amounts of change over the span of their lives. Roland L. Bowers recollected Roland Park's restrictions and how they have changed over the years:

That's into Roland Park. Well, they [Black residents of Evan Chapel Road] worked in the park a lot of them people. But you see Roland Park and Guilford isn't like it used to be. No Jew could move in there. That was Gentiles only. Today anybody can move in there. I worked in Guilford and Roland Park and I can take you and show you a big, big, home with W. B. SWINDEL that owned the glass factory. Or course that's been sold. My uncle chauffeured for him and my other uncle chauffeured for his son on Club Road.³¹⁶

Discussing segregated schooling and forced containment, Carrie Jackson recalls the limited opportunities she had in school to excel academically:

I went to divinity school, because my mama came out of the hospital, we went back home 1344 Druid Hill Ave. and that's where we stayed until colored people had to move toward the West part of town and we bought a house in the 700 block of Dolphin St. in 1921, I'm just going into high school. Nothing but one colored high school, Penn. & Dolphin Sts. Everybody went to that one. That was the only colored high school there was. And you went to high school and you passed, you were going to school to learn, and learning was one of the things you had to do. Now your degree of learning depended on you and I don't even remember there being great emphasis on ability the tested program.³¹⁷

When asked how the Druid Hill area has changed over the years, Charlotte Harper mentioned the urban renewal projects:

Starting with something as simple as the change from a two-way street on Druid Hill Avenue to a one-way Street I have seen the many changes in ownership of property along there, I've seen the deterioration of property. Beginning to come back now with the Upton Renewal Program. We have lost as I said some family connections because among the minority races we are pretty well scatter throughout Baltimore. Those basically are the changes. I know at one point the

³¹⁶ Transcript of Bowers: #065 2:2:41, University of Baltimore Special Collections and Archives, accessed March 1, 2024, <https://archivesspace.ubalt.edu/repositories/2/resources/38>.

³¹⁷ Transcript of Jackson: #002 1:1:10, University of Baltimore Special Collections and Archives, accessed March 1, 2024, <https://archivesspace.ubalt.edu/repositories/2/resources/38>.

Druid Hill Avenue corridor experienced some of the effects of the establishment. By that, I am thinking of the high cost of insurance, for example, and in some cases the inability of people to obtain insurance because of where they were living. Many of the homes have been purchased now by the City. Many of the homes have been completely removed. Starting for example in the 1100 block of Druid Hill Avenue. They were private families there when I was a child. Now we have public housing.³¹⁸

William Perkins, while explaining the limited opportunities he had for recreation and leisure in Jim Crow, notes how the institutions he used to visit have been destroyed: “The Royal was a theater and I understand in the later years, it was a theater that was built by Blacks and it was originated and built by Blacks. Later on it changed from their hands to white, I think, then they ran it from so many years and finally the urban renewal come and they tore the Royal Theater down for a housing complex that they’re going to build in there.”³¹⁹

The oral histories are valuable for vividly capturing what it meant to live in Baltimore at the turn of the century. Baltimore developed as a city of neighborhoods. City residents identified themselves as belonging to their neighborhood (Roland Park, Hampden, Guilford, Mount Vernon, etc.), which you hear in the oral history interviews when the interviewees asked where the resident’s neighborhood ends—which tended to be a very fluid answer. The only borders most residents were able to identify concretely in the oral history interviews clearly were those of the Roland Park-Guilford District, which captures the air of exclusivity that residents of all classes and all races in Baltimore were able to pick up on.

³¹⁸ Transcript of Harper: #101 2:1:36, University of Baltimore Special Collections and Archives, accessed March 1, 2024, <https://archivesspace.ubalt.edu/repositories/2/resources/38>.

³¹⁹ Transcript of Perkins: #084 1:2:21, University of Baltimore Special Collections and Archives, accessed March 1, 2024, <https://archivesspace.ubalt.edu/repositories/2/resources/38>.

“The problem was not so much integration as such, but how it was mismanaged. It was mismanaged. You don’t make changes like that. You get people ready for change. You do education. For Black people, for White people, you don’t just throw people together who have historically believed that they were better than us and then expect a different result,” stated Evelyn J. Chatmon, a retired Assistant Superintendent of Education of Baltimore Country Schools in the documentary “Voices of Baltimore: Life Under Segregation.”³²⁰ Living in Baltimore in the twentieth century was challenging for all residents. Residents experienced both World Wars, the Great Depression, Jim Crow, constantly changing federal policies, the emergence of the middle class, the suburbanization of the United States, and the building up of racial tensions. In many ways, the housing policies reflect the period, and as the United States continues to grow as a nation, it’s time to make reparations for the damages done. Reparation organizations began to develop in the 2010s. In 2015, The City of Baltimore’s Department of Planning created the Equity in Planning Committee, or EPIC, to address and solve racial inequity in the city—particularly in fighting institutionalized discrimination in housing, education, employment, health, and welfare. Baltimore City’s Enoch Pratt Free Library offers services to aid in assisting city residents in job seeking and career training. Many non-profit organizations work in Baltimore to educate residents and youths and provide them with creative avenues in which to make an income, such as the Baltimore Black Worker Center, YouthWorks, One Hundred Black Men, and Next One Up. Well the past cannot be changed, the City of Baltimore is trying to make a better future for their residents of color.

³²⁰ *Voices of Baltimore: Life Under Segregation*, directed by Gary Homana (2019, Towson, MD: Towson University and the College of Education), 44:47.

CONCLUSION

Post-World War II, the Roland Park Company shut down. The company never financially recovered from expanding its development into Northwood during the Great Depression, and due to an overall decline in sales, the Roland Park Company closed in 1959. Similarly, the Olmsted Brothers began to receive fewer commissions post-World War II and ultimately closed in 1980.³²¹ The trends and living patterns shifted. Wealthy people were no longer gathering in urban enclaves; most people who could afford to do so left the city entirely. While the Roland Park Company was no longer in the business of development, its District continued to further the company's principles, thereby cementing its legacy.

Olmsted Jr. continued to be instrumental in the development of suburban and urban planning. Olmsted Jr. spread his ideologies on landscape architecture and urban planning by teaching at Harvard University from 1900 to 1915.³²² In 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Olmsted Jr. to serve on the Senate Park Commission, in which he contributed to the McMillan Plan, the designing of the White House grounds, and the National Mall.³²³ He spoke at the first National Association of Real Estate Boards in 1909 and served as the president of the National Conference on City Planning from 1910 to 1917.³²⁴ Edward Bouton would go on to become an advisor and consultant for suburban projects in Forest Hills Gardens, Queens; Shaker Heights, Cleveland; and River Oaks, Houston.³²⁵ Bouton's impact on Baltimore was commemorated by a memorial

³²¹ While not financially linked, the development of the garden suburb went out of style, which led to the downfall of the Roland Park Company and the Olmsted Brothers.

³²² Schentag, "“Designs for People Who Do Not Readily Intermingle,”” 2.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Bennard B. Perlman, "He Invented the Suburbs," *Baltimore Sun*, June 15, 1991.

constructed outside of the entrance to Guilford in his honor. It was built in 1941, fourteen years after his death.³²⁶

Post-war, the suburbanization trend shifted away from garden and landscape architecture and instead turned towards assembly-line, quickly produced, and pre-fabricated neighborhoods to please American suburban desires. The most well-known suburb of this type is Levittown, New York. Levittown was the first mass-produced suburb, built in 1947 for returning World War II veterans. Encouraged by the Federal Housing Administration's underwritten policies on how race affects property values and influenced by racially segregated communities across the nation, Will J. Levitt, the developer of Levittown, included racially restrictive covenants in the property deeds: "The tenant agrees not to permit the premises to be used or occupied by any person other than members of the Caucasian race. But the employment and maintenance of other than Caucasian domestic servants shall be permitted."³²⁷ Levitt defended his use of racial covenants by citing racial taboos and his main priorities of profits, not racial equality:

The Negroes in America are trying to do in 400 years what the Jews in the world have not wholly accomplished in 600 years. As a Jew, I have no room in my mind or heart for racial prejudice. But I have come to know that if we sell one house to a Negro family, then 90 or 95 percent of our white customers will not buy into the community. This is their attitude, not ours. As a company, our position is simply this: We can solve a housing problem, or we can try to solve a racial problem, but we cannot combine the two.³²⁸

Levittown highlights the legacy of the Roland Park Company as it showcases a planned community profiting off exclusivity and homogeneity. Racial covenants permeated

³²⁶ Bennard B. Perlman, "He Invented the Suburbs," *Baltimore Sun*, June 15, 1991.

³²⁷ Rachele Blindner, "Legacy of Exclusion is Tough to Shed," *Newsday*, November 17, 2019.

³²⁸ Bruce Lambert, "At 50, Levittown Contends With Its Legacy of Bias," *The New York Times*, December 28, 1997.

throughout the real estate industry in the twentieth century with no proper enforcement to halt the spread. The Olmsted Brother firm communities of Roland Park, Maryland; Riverside, Chicago; and Brookline, Massachusetts, all had established racially restrictive covenants within their property deeds—institutionalizing and popularizing the practice. The support and utter dismissal of the legality of racially restrictive covenants was already set in motion, making its continuation difficult to stop.

Housing is political. It is more than just where one resides; it also impacts the way in which one navigates the world. According to the 2020 United States Census, Roland Park contains 4,892 residents with a median household income of \$152,040.³²⁹ Roland Park's racial diversity consists of seventy-one percent Whites, ten percent Hispanics, eight percent Asians, seven percent African Americans, three percent mixed races, and one percent other.³³⁰ The neighborhood's White population remains the outstanding majority, and the median household income is more than twice the national median household income. While the racially restrictive covenants have been removed and legality voided, the most recent demographics of Roland Park capture the critical and long-term impact of the Roland Park Company. Roland Park remains an enclave for the affluent, White population of Baltimore City.

In Baltimore, many predominately African American neighborhoods experience food deserts, poorly-funded schools, and increased exposure to life-threatening diseases and health conditions, while the White communities in Baltimore excel in terms of wealth, education, and community health. It is the job of the community, municipal leaders, and the federal government to uplift African American communities in Baltimore

³²⁹ Data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau.

³³⁰ Data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau.

by giving them a voice, a chance, and equitable opportunities to succeed. African American communities need investments. They need to be given proper student-to-teacher ratios with well-funded resources to teach children how to read and write while exposing them to the immense opportunities offered by science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Furthermore, it is important to stress that approximately 22.5 million Black people live in the nation's top fifty largest cities while the White population lives more spread out across the nation, giving them an advantage in general elections due to the electoral college.³³¹ This captures the difficulty of Black Americans to have their voice reflected in American politics and local government elections.

Johns Hopkins University, on the southern boundary of the Roland Park District, has taken significant steps to improve Baltimore's community health and increase opportunities for people of color throughout the local area and the city at large. Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health established the Office of Inclusion, Diversity, Anti-Racism, and Equity to dismantle structural oppression and racial inequities with their university, Baltimore City, and public health. Merging racial inequities, diversity, and health, researchers at Johns Hopkins produce multiple studies each year analyzing the impact of certain policies and assessing how to promote inclusive and equitable communities.³³² Furthermore, Loyola University Maryland, located just across the road from Guilford, runs the Center for Community, Service, and Justice, which has developed service programs for university students and faculty to engage in acts of service for the betterment of their Baltimore community. The most notable

³³¹ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 18.

³³² "Office of Inclusion, Diversity, Anti-Racism, and Equity," Johns Hopkins University, accessed March 11, 2024, <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/offices-and-services/office-of-inclusion-diversity-anti-racism-and-equity-idare>.

program is the York Road Initiative, which helps clean the roads that border the Roland Park District with predominately African American communities and runs a community fridge that feeds residents who are in need.

“Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it,” was published by the Kerner Commission led by President Lyndon Johnson after a series of civil unrest and riots in 1968.³³³ Public solutions to fix the decline of cities, like urban renewal and public housing programs, only furthered the concentration of poverty. Roland Park contributed to the systemic inequities that Black Americans experienced in the twentieth century and continues to do so today. The legacy of Roland Park’s segregation policies is difficult to eradicate due to how the Federal Housing Administration operated and targeted White, Protestant middle- and upper-income customers during the early twentieth century. The Roland Park Company helped construct a real estate market in which high property values were associated with White planned suburban communities. Baltimore was the perfect location for the Roland Park Company to develop as it was a Southern city still well-connected with the Northeast. In the nineteenth century, Baltimore upheld Southern sentiments post-Civil War, particularly concerning the treatment and status of nonwhites intertwined with the rapid urban growth at the turn of the century, creating the ideal environment for racially restrictive communities.

³³³ “Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,” Eisenhower Foundation, accessed March 5, 2024, <https://www.eisenhowerfoundation.org/docs/kerner.pdf>.

The Kerner Commission’s statement remains today in Northern Baltimore. The African American neighborhoods that border the Roland Park District live fundamentally different lives than Roland Park residents—particularly concerning access to schools, jobs, and capital. Yet, there are viable solutions to change Northern Baltimore’s racially restrictive reality. Ways in which residential segregation can be altered are by raising the minimum wage, enforcing equal pay between races, and supporting the youth by increasing their access to social mobilizing opportunities like school, afternoon programs, and sports. Studies have shown that the environment in which children grow up is critical in shaping the outcomes of their lives.³³⁴ Neighborhoods impact education and extracurricular activities, which in turn influence college admissions and impact the job opportunities children will have access to in the future. Growing up in low-income, segregated neighborhoods directly affects upward mobility.³³⁵ Therefore, housing segregation directly affects an individual’s access to future opportunities.

The beginnings of Baltimore, the emergence of garden suburbs, the amenities of Roland Park, the health and environmental disadvantages of rapid industrialization, and the powerful effect Roland Park Company had on the surrounding areas capture how Roland Park was more than just restricted land. The Roland Park Company influenced the value determinants of the housing market, which were later cemented into national policy. At the turn of the twentieth century, exclusions and restrictions were profitable in Baltimore’s housing market as they acted as solutions for the rising populations and new urban social problems. When federal housing and loan agencies were initially developed,

³³⁴ Raj Chetty and Nathaniel Hendren, “The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility I: Childhood Exposure Effects,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economic* 133 no. 3 (2018): 1108.

³³⁵ Chetty, “The Impacts of Neighborhoods,” 1107.

the agencies reinforced the trend that property value was heavily influenced by race and class, making it difficult for ordinary wage-earners to afford or receive housing loans and mortgages. While the Roland Park District only occupied a few square miles of Baltimore City, it has dramatically deepened racial, class, and wealth divides, evident in the twenty-first century.

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HOLC Area Description Form of Druid Heights and Bolton Hill.

HOLC Area Description Form of Dumbarton.

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