

# RECOVERING LINDEN

## ABSTRACT

Title of Final Project: RECOVERING LINDEN

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Final Project Directed By: Dr. Donald Linebaugh, Interim Director and Professor, Historic Preservation Program

This project documents the history of Linden [Lyttonsville], an African American community founded in 1853 in Silver Spring, Maryland. One hundred years after its founding, Linden experienced the destructive effects of urban renewal policy. The impact of urban renewal had devastating political, social, and economic consequences for Black neighborhoods like Linden. Urban renewal led to the loss of not only the community's historic infrastructure, but over 60% of its residential area. This project specifically focuses on documenting the history of the community prior to urban renewal through oral histories and by reconstructing its spatial and historical landscape through the mapping of significant spaces and places associated with the community. This project draws on multiple sources including archival research and the oral histories of current and former Linden residents to make visible the spaces, stories, and histories of the Linden community prior to the devastation of urban renewal.

# RECOVERING LINDEN

by

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Masters Final Project submitted to the Historic Preservation Program of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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Preservation  
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## Dedication

This paper is dedicated to the Linden [Lyttonsville] community. This is their story.  
Thank you for trusting me with it.

## Acknowledgements

This research was written based on about nine months of archival research, interaction in the neighborhood, and oral histories conducted between February-March 2023. This research builds on the work of previous historians like David S. Rotenstein who have worked to document a more complete history of the Linden community. Some of the photos appearing in this paper come from the personal collections of long-time Linden residents— Charlotte Coffield and Patricia Tyson. I would like to thank all those who have made telling the story of Linden possible. First, Patricia Tyson who helped facilitate and guide the participation and engagement of the greater Linden community with this project. I am grateful for her enthusiasm, support and extensive knowledge essential to this effort's success. I would also like to thank my advisory committee (Dr. Don Linebaugh, Dr. Michelle Magalong, and Hannah Cameron) for their feedback on the various drafts of this paper with a special thank you to Don, who was always gracious with his time and support throughout this whole project. Another thanks to my former professor Jeremy Wells, who was instrumental in shaping my values, interests, and enthusiasm for the historic preservation field and first introduced me to the Linden community.

Special thanks to Curtis Crutchfield, Dwight “Skippy” Crutchfield, Henry Warfield, Ella Redfield, Theresa Saxton, Staley Jackson, Laurieann Duarte, Robin Redfield, and Tracey Frazier Akparawa for sharing their stories and wealth of knowledge with me. I’d also like to acknowledge the broader Linden community, both former and current residents, who were co-creators in this work, without whom none of this would have been possible. To all former residents of historic Linden, who for over a century have lived, loved, and learned in this beautiful old neighborhood. This is for you.

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## Introduction

One hundred years after its founding in 1853, Linden, an African American community in Silver Spring, Maryland (Figure 1), experienced the destructive effects of urban renewal policy.



*Figure 1. Map of Linden and the surrounding vicinity.* Source: Maps4News/HERE, Megan Kelly for *the Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/lyttonsville-one-of-montgomerys-oldest-neighborhoods-braces-for-change/2021/02/02/7341029c-60ff-11eb-9061-07abcc1f9229\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/lyttonsville-one-of-montgomerys-oldest-neighborhoods-braces-for-change/2021/02/02/7341029c-60ff-11eb-9061-07abcc1f9229_story.html) (Accessed September 2, 2022).

The impact of urban renewal had detrimental political, social, and economic consequences for Black neighborhoods like Linden. Urban renewal devastated the Linden neighborhood and community, resulting in social and economic consequences that altered the spatial landscape of the neighborhood. Urban renewal damaged the community infrastructure<sup>1</sup> and social and economic institutions that had been built and upheld by the community for decades.

This project focuses on documenting the history of the community prior to urban renewal through oral histories and by reconstructing its spatial and historical

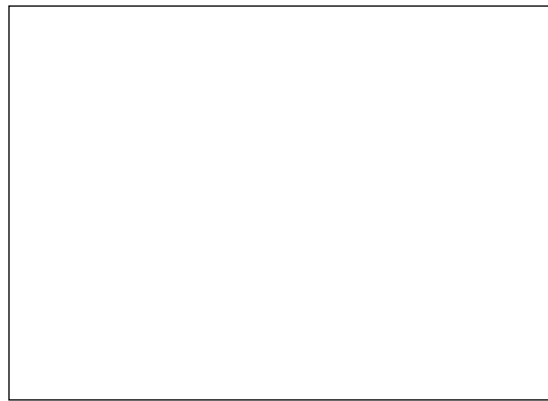
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<sup>1</sup> Community infrastructure refers to a “complex system of facilities, structures, and the environment of a neighborhood that contribute to the quality of life and overall safety and health of a community,” ([The Praxis Project](#))

landscape through mapping and presentation through StoryMap. The impact of urban renewal on Linden is examined to inform the reconstruction of the community and neighborhood. Exploring how urban renewal impacted Linden is critical for understanding how the discriminatory and destructive nature of urban renewal policies and actions devastated the community and ignited the impetus to recover their stories and places. This project draws on multiple sources including archival research and the oral histories of current and former Linden residents to make visible the spaces, stories, and histories of the Linden community.

Initial research on the Linden community began in 2021 as part of an internship with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. This internship focused on preparing case studies to illustrate how the National Register of Historic Places' integrity standards affected underrepresented communities in inequitable ways. One of these case studies focused on the Linden neighborhood, which received national attention in 2016, when the Talbot Avenue Bridge became the center of controversy as the Purple Line project was announced and included plans to demolish the bridge. The Purple Line project, led by the Maryland Department of Transportation Maryland Transit Administration (MDOT MTA) is a 16.2-mile light rail line that will extend from Bethesda in Montgomery County to New Carrollton in Prince George's County (Figure 2). The announcement of the Purple Line project and the potential demolition of the Talbot Avenue Bridge raised concerns within the African American community of Linden who felt that the significant cultural and social value of the bridge was not properly recognized by the preservation field. The announcement revealed the lack of an inclusive planning process, where Section 106 documentation

completely overlooked the community's understanding of the bridge's significance. The lack of investment in maintaining the bridge had resulted in a deteriorated structure with little integrity by the time it was considered for demolition, highlighting the inequity and discrimination that have historically plagued African American neighborhoods. This controversy and the eventual demolition of the Talbot Avenue Bridge demonstrated the urgent need to document and elevate the heritage of the Linden neighborhood and community.



*Figure 2. Map of the Purple Line project area showing all 21 stations.* Source: Maryland Department of Transportation. *Purple Line Alignment*. Map. 2022. <https://www.purplelinemd.com/component/jdownloads/?task=download.send&id=53&catid=16&m=0&Itemid=108> (Accessed April 7, 2023).

This project works to render visible the spatial landscape of Linden prior to urban renewal through ArcGIS StoryMap. Using the ArcGIS Story Map software, the significant social, historical, and cultural locations associated with the community will be mapped. The construction of the map is based on data gathered from historical maps, archival research, along with the local knowledge gathered from former and current residents. Local knowledge is gathered via oral histories and community mapping exercises conducted with current and former Linden residents. The Storymap details the heritage and history of Linden.



This project was co-created and produced with the Linden community and would not be possible without their expertise and passion for their neighborhood. The many challenges Linden has faced throughout its history including industrial rezonings, residential displacement, and environmental injustices have fractured its landscape, making it difficult to conform to orthodox preservation standards.

Orthodox preservation standards place an emphasis on the material, formal aesthetic dimensions of heritage, which often tends to exclude marginalized communities like Linden. The preservation movement has only recently begun to address the needs of underrepresented groups as it has been historically focused on the buildings and places associated with those who have had the wealth, privilege, and power to claim space. Preserving the memory and heritage of Linden will require challenging materiality and exploring how what has been rendered invisible can become visible through creative preservation tools.

The impetus for this project is partially motivated by the incomplete documentation of the community. Historically, African American institutions and stories have been undervalued in preservation efforts. Max Page and Marla R. Miller state, “From 1863-1964, a number of public records, private collections, lands, and buildings related to black history were ignored, destroyed, or manipulated.”<sup>2</sup> There is a critical sense of urgency as most of the historic population from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century is aging and dying out. The rich stories and knowledge of those who lived through and experienced the massive developments in the community will be lost if

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<sup>2</sup> Max Page and Marla R. Miller (eds.), *Bending the Future: 50 Ideas for the Next 50 Years of Historic Preservation in the United States*. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press), 85.

they are not captured and preserved for future generations to learn of the strong, resilient African American community that helped shape the history of Silver Spring and the greater Montgomery County area.

### **Problem Statement and Research Questions**

The problem statement around which this project is organized considers fundamental challenges faced by underrepresented communities in documenting and preserving their history, particularly those that were impacted by urban renewal.

Underrepresented communities have traditionally been left out and excluded from the benefit of preservation. One such community is Linden that experienced the destructive effects of urban renewal policy, losing over 60% of its residential area. How can we preserve the heritage of a community like Linden that's faced historic erasure, neglect, devaluation, discrimination, and structural racism?

To address the problem laid out above, this project will explore the following research questions:

- 1) What were the social, economic, and political effects of urban renewal on the neighborhood?*
- 2) How did urban planning policies shape the historic and contemporary landscape of Linden?*
- 3) How can we preserve the heritage community that's faced historic erasure, neglect, devaluation, discrimination, and structural racism?*
- 4) How can we establish a sense of place for Linden as it was pre-urban renewal?*
- 5) What are the ways we can take this recovered story and use it going forward?*

- 6) *What role can the historic preservation field, and its policies and practices have in preserving the Linden community in the future?*

### **Relevance and Value to the Historic Preservation Field**

This project contributes to historic preservation by documenting and elevating the story of an underrepresented community. The field is facing a reckoning today as it seeks to be relevant and accessible to underrepresented communities. In its history, preservation has long served those with the ability to control and own space, which in the United States are predominantly white property owners. Claiming space is critical in challenging the privileged geographies and legacies of structural racism and exclusion within preservation. While the field is shifting towards greater social inclusion and recognizing the ways it privileged the architectural and aesthetic values of historic resources over people, there is still much work to do. This is most evident in the National Register of Historic Places, the premiere roster managed by the federal government that lists the districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects deemed worthy of preservation. “These properties are meant to represent the major patterns of our shared local, state, and national experience.”<sup>3</sup> The historic places associated with marginalized groups are underrepresented within heritage rosters like the National Register, where less than 8% of listings represent the histories and contributions of marginalized groups and communities. Many heritage rosters, foremost the National Register, condition listing on meeting one of the four criteria

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<sup>3</sup> The National Park Service, “National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” accessed March 4, 2023, [https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15\\_web508.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf), i.

for significance evaluation – “properties significant for their association or linkage to events (A), or persons (B); design or construction value (C), i.e., properties representative of the manmade expression of culture or technology; informational value (D), i.e., properties significant for their ability to yield important info about prehistory or history.”<sup>4</sup> In addition to meeting one of the criteria listed above, a site must possess integrity. Integrity is basically the ability of a property to convey its significance. Integrity has seven aspects - location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. The use of National Register criteria or similar standards is common for U.S. municipal ordinances as about 86% either quote from the National Register directly for local designations or offer local protection for properties listed or eligible for the National Register.<sup>5</sup>

An insistence on original physical fabric and integrity is a racial equity issue in that “the physical vestiges of marginalized groups have been systematically devalued, destroyed or made invisible due to long-standing histories of bias.”<sup>6</sup> The focus on materiality and the visual qualities of historic resources heavily tilts programs and landmarks towards high-style buildings that were generally erected by and for affluent and white populations, while vernacular buildings which are often tied to the histories of marginalized communities are not considered.<sup>7</sup> Integrity

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<sup>4</sup> The National Park Service, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Avrami, Erica, Cherie-Nicole Leo, and Alberto Sanchez Sanchez, "Confronting Exclusion: Redefining the Intended Outcomes of Historic Preservation," *Change Over Time* 8, no. 1 (2018): 112, [doi:10.1353/cot.2018.0005](https://doi.org/10.1353/cot.2018.0005).

<sup>6</sup> Erica Avrami, “Introduction: Preservation’s Reckoning,” in *Preservation and Social Inclusion*, edited by Erica Avrami, paragraph 26, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

<sup>7</sup> Avrami, p. 4.

standards have affected the protection of places associated with underrepresented communities such as Linden, where destructive policies like urban renewal have severely altered its historic landscape. Linden's landscape, like other Black landscapes, is dynamic and ever-changing and cannot conform to traditional preservation standards that necessitate cultural resources remain intact, in their original location, and with their original features to be eligible for listing and protection.

This project challenges orthodox preservation standards that would pronounce the Linden neighborhood as lacking the integrity of physical, architectural resources necessary for celebration that comes with listing. Orthodox preservation's emphasis on the aesthetic elements of a resource and its integrity has inadvertently devalued and ignored marginalized communities and their histories. Thus, this project aims to use a more people-centered preservation approach to document, celebrate, and center the voices of those who traditionally have been denied agency and power in the preservation and planning process.

It has only been in recent decades that preservationists and practitioners from related fields have used a more people-centered approach to documenting and celebrating the histories of marginalized communities. Erica Avrami states how “even if largely dependent on oral traditions rather than historic buildings, the persistent relationship between people and place speaks to the power of space and spatial encounters for memory, recognition, and the recentering of dominant narratives.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Erica Avrami, “Introduction: Preservation’s Reckoning,” para 29.

Through oral histories and mapping, this project demonstrates the power of space by reconstructing the spatial landscape of Linden. Though Linden lost much of its historic homes and community institutions to urban renewal, this project aims to render visible the places of value and significance as determined by the community and elevate the stories and heritage connected to the neighborhood.

This project contributes to a more expansive preservation. Megan E. Springate, editor of the National Park Service (NPS) LGBTQ Theme Study, has advocated for an “expansive preservation” over an inclusive one. “Inclusive preservation suggests a gatekeeper who decides who gets to be included in any particular history and preservation, while expansive preservation eliminates the idea of a gatekeeper.”<sup>9</sup> Expansive preservation must be embraced in the field by listening to communities and allowing them to define what heritage means to them and the places that matter to them. The idea of expansive preservation is critical because it serves to empower communities whose voices have traditionally been silenced or erased.

The first chapter lays out the research design and methodology of the project. Chapter Two examines the historic federal, state, and local plans and policies affecting African Americans during the late 19<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the Linden community developed. Chapter Three develops the historic context of the Linden community from its founding in 1853 to the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter

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<sup>9</sup> Megan E. Springate. “LGBTQ History is American History: The NPS LGBTQ Theme Study.” In *Re-Centering the Margins: Justice and Equity in Historic Preservation Research Symposium*, YouTube Video, 1:43:51, February 5, 2021.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2TOi\\_FJV14&t=1248s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2TOi_FJV14&t=1248s)

Four examines urban renewal in Montgomery County and its political, social, and economic consequences on the Linden neighborhood. Chapter Five discusses the current conditions of the Linden neighborhood including demographics and recent plans and policies affecting the community including the Purple Line project. Chapter Six discusses the process and results of the project including the mapping and oral histories and addresses the following research questions: *how can we preserve the heritage of a community that's faced historic erasure, neglect, devaluation, discrimination, and structural racism? How can we establish a sense of place for Linden as it was pre-urban renewal?* Lastly, the conclusion addresses the following research question: *What role can the historic preservation field, and its policies and practices have in preserving the Linden community in the future?*

# Chapter 1: Research Methodology

## Research Design

This project's purpose is to recover the socio-spatial landscape and sense of place of the Linden community and neighborhood as it existed before urban renewal. It does so by harnessing the power of community mapping and oral histories to curate and explore the expertise, stories, and memories of former and current residents of the community.

Participatory action research (PAR) techniques were utilized throughout the project. PAR techniques can help “ensure that experts and citizens are interdependent by fostering the creation of spaces that nurture and legitimize situated and local knowledge. It also recognizes citizen’s power to define what place and heritage mean. It also values the principles of trust building, interdependence, and negotiation.”<sup>10</sup> Three organizational meetings were held with current and former residents of Linden. These meetings were organized with the author’s community liaison and contact – Patricia Tyson, who has extensive connections with former residents of Linden. This project was interdependent upon the local knowledge and expertise of Linden community members. The memories and experiences of Linden community members were instrumental in helping define the social and cultural landscape of Linden pre-urban renewal. The critical knowledge of community members helped fill in the gaps that is not found in archival research. Community members defined the meaning of

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<sup>10</sup> Andrea Roberts and Grace Kelly, “Remixing as Praxis: Arnstein’s Ladder through the Grassroots Preservationist’s Lens,” *Journal of American Planning Association*, 85, no. 3 (2019): 302. DOI: 10.1080/01944363.2019.1622439



heritage as it relates to Linden through the knowledge and expertise provided throughout the research process including the oral histories and community mapping exercises.

This project mainly employs qualitative research methods drawing on a group of primary and secondary documentary sources (Figure 3) and oral history interviews.

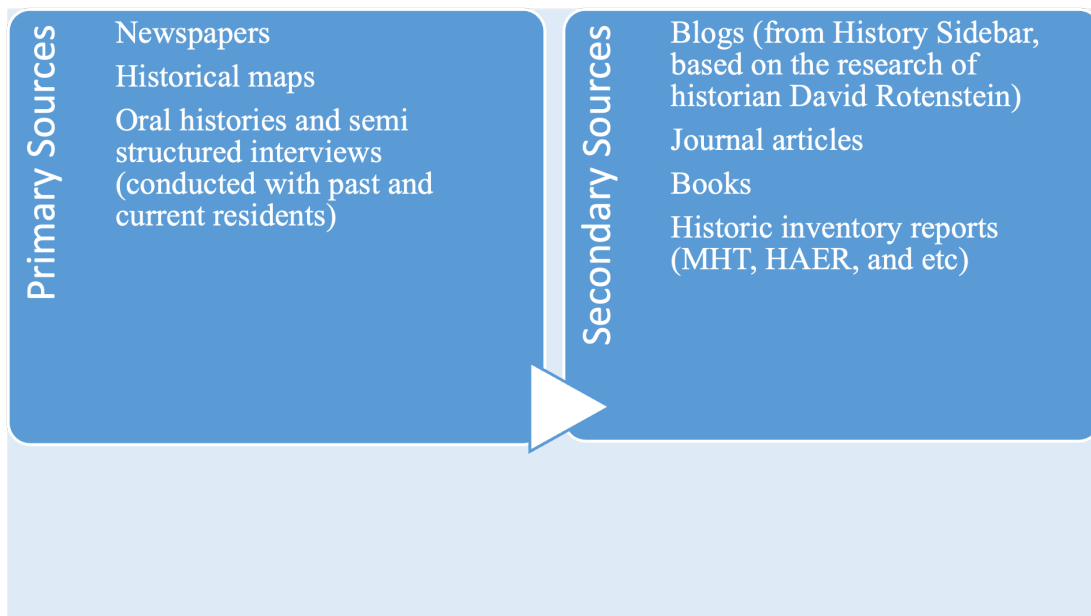


Figure 3. Primary and Secondary Sources.

Archival research was used to investigate the historical context of Linden, particularly the surrounding area and regions including Montgomery County, Silver Spring, and Washington DC. Archival research was also utilized to better understand the details of the urban renewal plan for Linden and its political, social, and economic effects. For example, newspaper articles were critical for understanding more about the stories, developments, and events in Linden as it evolved in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as to get a better understanding of how urban renewal came to Montgomery

County and its impact on the Linden neighborhood. Examples of the newspapers or collections used include the *Washington Post* and the *Baltimore Sun* collection.

Historical map research was helpful for building the spatial landscape of the Linden neighborhood later produced in ArcGIS StoryMaps. These maps were integral to supplementing what is gathered from current and former residents through community mapping. Examples of the types of maps used include subdivision plats, postal maps, Martenet maps, etc.

Secondary sources were helpful in preliminary research to understand the development of Linden. Secondary sources were also valuable in understanding the historic context of Linden and the surrounding region of Montgomery County, Silver Spring, and Washington DC. Examples of some of the secondary sources used include blogs, journal articles, inventory reports, etc.

This project began with organizing and designing the project with community leaders and members. This was followed by preliminary primary and secondary research to develop the historic context of the community. This research also focused on understanding and analyzing the political, social, and economic consequences of urban renewal. Next, historic maps were collected, and preliminary community mapping was done.

With the principal documentary research finished, work turned to collecting oral histories. Oral history was a valuable method for revealing the individual and collective memories of former residents of Linden prior to urban renewal, bringing forward stories that may not be located through archival research. Oral histories and meetings with community members and leaders were conducted online or in person to

ensure the comfort, flexibility, and preference of collaborators. All interviews lasted approximately 50 minutes. Interviewees were selected with assistance and guidance from Pat Tyson. With the help of Miss Tyson, the author arranged three different organizational meetings with interested members of current and former residents of the Linden community. At the third organizational meeting, Linden community members interested in participating in the project were then selected for an individual oral history interview. A total of 9 participants were interviewed:

1. Ella Redfield
2. Curtis Crutchfield
3. Theresa Saxton
4. Patricia Tyson
5. Laurieann Duarte
6. Robin Redfield
7. Tracey Frazier Akparawa
8. Martha Savoy
9. Staley Jackson

Depending whether the interview was conducted in person or virtually and based on the comfort of the interviewee, interviews were accompanied with a community mapping exercise. Community mapping is understood to mean a visual, geographic representation of community characteristics.<sup>11</sup> Community mapping can be an effective method of community engagement that allows for a better

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<sup>11</sup> “Community Mapping,” Enterprise Center, August 30, 2016, <https://enterprisectr.org/blog/community-mapping/>

understanding of the important assets and resources of a community. There are several forms of community mapping including conceptual mapping, cultural mapping, community relationship mapping, etc. Community mapping is not a new strategy or process and has been used for various purposes including economic and social development, and even for youth development.<sup>12</sup> “Community mapping is a tool and not an end product. Mapping is undertaken with a specific context – i.e., the question, purpose, mission, and strategy that mapping is designed to illuminate.”<sup>13</sup>

The author employed table top/google mapping with interviewees using a map of the Linden neighborhood. This exercise was used to mark places of interest and significance to later inform the reconstruction of the spatial landscape of Linden pre-urban renewal to illustrate the cultural and social infrastructure that shaped the community. Colored stickers with codes (worship/church, social activities, shopping/supplies, green space/recreation, groceries, and work) were used to mark these spots as they related to the experience of the interviewee growing up in the Linden community (Figure 4).

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<sup>12</sup> “The Several Forms of Community Mapping-2,” Michigan State University, 1998-1999, <https://outreach.msu.edu/capablecommunities/documents/CommunityMapping2.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> “The Several Forms of Community Mapping-1,” Michigan State University, 1998-1999, <https://outreach.msu.edu/capablecommunities/documents/CommunityMapping1.pdf>, 1-2.

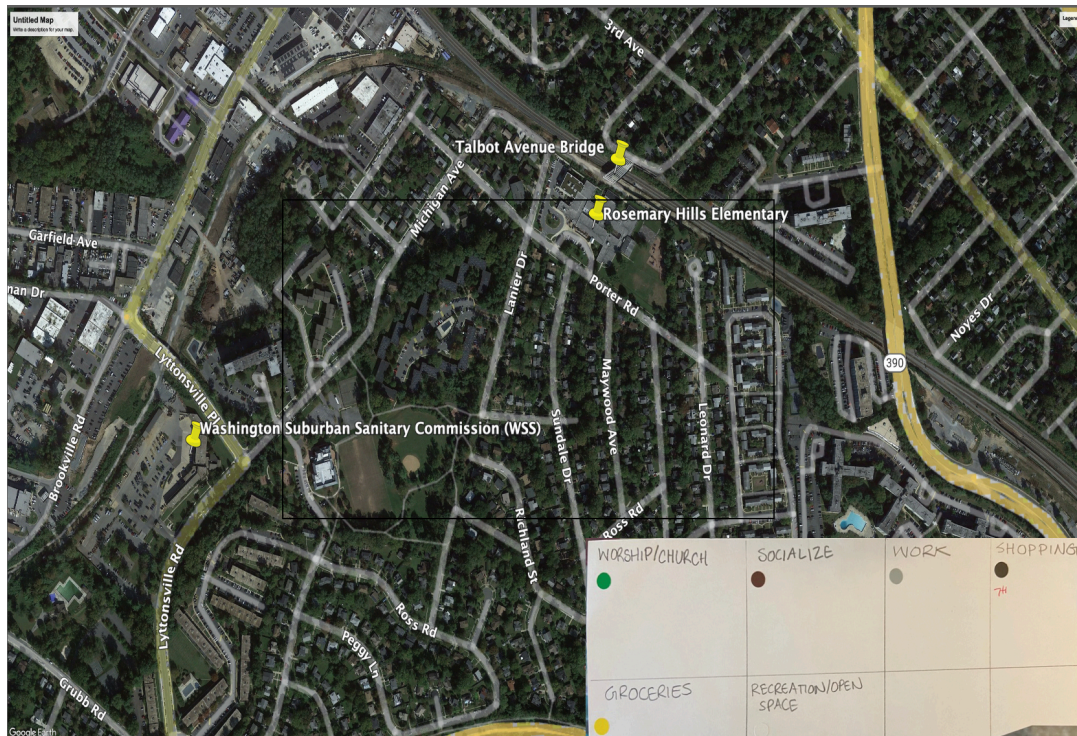


Figure 4. Sample community mapping exercise map with color codes. Source: Google Maps (edited by author).

Interviews held in person were recorded using a video camera and the Audio Recorder software app available on the Apple App Store. Transcriptions for the in-person and virtual interviews were produced using Otter AI software. After the author completed the interviews, the author then used the transcriptions to code and synthesize the oral histories. The interviews were coded for key points and themes, specifically social activities, church and experiences with religion, school experiences, shopping and dining, and urban renewal. Interviews were also coded for references to places and streets to later inform the mapping done on ArcGIS StoryMap.

The StoryMap was used to build the socio-spatial landscape of Linden pre-urban renewal. This entailed using the MapTour feature to mark the locations of significant cultural and historical spaces and places that shaped the lives of Linden

residents of the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. These spaces and places were taken from the information provided in archival research, the oral histories, and the community mapping exercise. In addition to the mapping, the StoryMap includes features such as a timeline and photos to present the history, memories, and stories attached to the Linden neighborhood.

## Chapter 2: Race and Space –The Plans and Policies Affecting Linden

This chapter looks at the relationship between race and space to demonstrate how the culture of anti-Black sentiment in which Linden developed served to limit their political, social, and economic opportunities. These political, social, and economic limitations are explored through the historic late 19<sup>th</sup>-and-20<sup>th</sup> century federal, state, and local policies like Jim Crow, racial zoning, the 20<sup>th</sup>-century federal homeownership programs, and racially restrictive housing covenants. All these formal and informal laws served to disempower and discriminate against the stability, wealth, and prosperity of African Americans and their neighborhoods. This chapter also examines the efforts to secure equality in education, housing, employment and more.

The Washington DC-Maryland line where African American communities, like Linden, formed were spaces shaped by anti-Black racism, discriminatory housing practices, and Jim Crow segregation. Historian David Rotenstein explains the white spatial imaginary as one based on “exclusion and exclusivity where white people through segregation created spaces free from African Americans.”<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, the black spatial imaginary were spaces defined by “congregation,” where African Americans thrived through the establishment of close networks and their own social,

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<sup>14</sup> David S. Rotenstein, “Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Metropolitan Branch Bridge 9A (Talbot Avenue Bridge) HAER No. MD-195.” Historic American Engineering Record report transmitted to the National Park Service. Transmitted to the Library of Congress, December 2019, [https://blog.historian4hire.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/HAER-MD-195\\_History-low.pdf](https://blog.historian4hire.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/HAER-MD-195_History-low.pdf)

economic, and cultural institutions.<sup>15</sup> Residents have often described the Linden community along those lines as a “close-knit group that lived as a sort of large extended family.”<sup>16</sup>

The white and black spatial imaginary display the critical differences between race and space in the United States, differences that translated into communities of color’s historical lack of power to control, manipulate, and own space the way white people have. This has resulted in disparities and inequitable outcomes that communities of color face in health, education, homeownership, entrepreneurship, wealth, income, and more. George Lipsitz affirms this relationship when he writes, “the lived experience of race has a spatial dimension, and the lived experience of space has a racial dimension.”<sup>17</sup> This means that race has a direct connection to where one resides and since neighborhoods are defined by various planning, zoning, and housing policies this then shapes if and where people of different races can buy a house, where and what kind of school they can go to, and how they can access transportation.<sup>18</sup> The white spatial imaginary pursued an ideal, pure, and homogenous space, free from communities of color; it was grounded in *de jure* segregation, which manifested in residential segregation that defined the spatial landscape of America

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<sup>15</sup> Rotenstein, 14.

<sup>16</sup> Amy Reinink, “Neighborhood Profile: Linden,” *The Washington Post*, July 27, 2012, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/neighborhood-profile-Linden/2012/07/25/gJQAfgNICX\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/neighborhood-profile-Linden/2012/07/25/gJQAfgNICX_story.html)

<sup>17</sup> George Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape,” *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43323751/>

<sup>18</sup> Lipsitz, 12.



beginning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Residential segregation was just one aspect of the white spatial imaginary that also included separate educational systems, segregated transit, and separate restaurants and parks for African Americans.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, the black spatial imaginary was built “based on sociability and augmented use value.”<sup>20</sup> Due to discriminatory policies and practices, Black people had limited power in controlling and owning property and so they boosted the value of their own neighborhoods by working together to advocate for improved conditions and services; they also created an environment where people could depend on each other for whatever they needed.<sup>21</sup> This was true for Black neighborhoods throughout the country, who established their own schools, businesses, and benevolent organizations that provided for the physical, social, and economic needs of its community members. For African American communities like Linden in Montgomery County, churches, schools, and benevolent organizations were their main anchors. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Montgomery County had several active lodge-based fraternal organizations in the northern and western parts of the county like Morningstar lodges, masonic lodges, and the Ancient United Order of Sons and Daughters, and Brothers and Sisters of Moses.<sup>22</sup> “Fraternal and benevolent organizations gave African Americans agency and ownership over their own

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<sup>19</sup> Rotenstein, 14-15.

<sup>20</sup> Lipsitz, 13-14.

<sup>21</sup> Lipsitz, 14.

<sup>22</sup> Rotenstein, 20.

institutions while also providing a safety net and economic security.”<sup>23</sup> The exclusion of African Americans from the white spatial imaginary meant institutions like these benevolent organizations became integral for building wealth and social capital.<sup>24</sup> Linden, a tight-knit, multigenerational community driven by their own agency, built its own social infrastructure to support the health and quality of life of its residents.

To better understand the development of Linden and the lives of its residents, it’s important to examine the legal and social-spatial context of Maryland as many informal and formal laws, policies, and practices shaped the lives of African Americans. As Connolly explains, “When Maryland joined the Union in 1788, no law outright restricted Blacks from voting. After 1803 though, no intentional effort was made to give Blacks the right to vote until the 15th Amendment was passed.”<sup>25</sup> In 1851, Maryland limited the right of suffrage to “every free white male person of twenty-one years of age or upwards.”<sup>26</sup> Until 1867, Blacks were denied the ability to testify in court and to serve on juries.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the marriage of a white person and a Negro or mulatto was prohibited in Maryland.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Rotenstein, 21.

<sup>24</sup> Rotenstein, 21.

<sup>25</sup> John J. Connolly, ‘Racial Laws in Maryland, 1776-1864 (and what they mean for me),’ Baltimore Bar, accessed November 14, 2022, <https://www.baltimorebar.org/UserFiles/files/Racial%20Laws%20in%20Maryland%20and%20What%20They%20Mean%20for%20Me.pdf>

<sup>26</sup> Connolly, 25.

<sup>27</sup> Connolly, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Konvitz, 427.

Despite the end of slavery in Maryland in 1864, the resistance against equality persisted and racism stayed embedded in Maryland's laws and policies. In the years following the Civil War, amendments to the United States Constitution were adopted. For example, the Fourteenth Amendment provided citizenship while the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed the right to vote. A notable statute adopted in 1875 provided "that all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States [of every race and color] shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances."<sup>29</sup> However, this statute was declared unconstitutional, meaning that any civil right statutes would be in the hands of the states.<sup>30</sup> While the three constitutional amendments added after the Civil War promised freedom, equal protection, and political power, local, state, and federal elected officials failed to protect the civil rights of Blacks.<sup>31</sup> African Americans were in a constant battle for civil rights. For example, Blacks in Maryland were subject to occupational discrimination. Under Maryland's Act of 1876 (Chapter 246, Section 3) the privilege to practice law was reserved for "white male citizens at least 21 years old."<sup>32</sup> Additionally, the state's Bastardy Act prohibited interracial marriage and "entitled [only] unmarried white women to seek financial support from a child's

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<sup>29</sup> Milton R. Konvitz, "The Extent and Character of Legally-Enforced Segregation," *The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 3 (1951): 425–35. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2966015>

<sup>30</sup> Milton R. Konvitz, 425.

<sup>31</sup> Baltimore Heritage, "1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment." Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage. Accessed December 1, 2022, <https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/>.

<sup>32</sup> Henry J McGuinn, "The Courts and the Occupational Status of Negroes in Maryland," *Social Forces* 18, no. 2 (December 1, 1939): 256–68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2570779>.

father but did not offer the same to unmarried Black women.”<sup>33</sup> This law and other discriminatory state policies originated from the laws that governed enslaved and free Black residents before the Civil War. In early 1888, the Maryland legislature updated the State Bastardy Act, and eliminated the word “white” from it and got rid of the requirements for jury service.<sup>34</sup> This same year, the Supreme Bench of Baltimore overturned Section 3 of Chapter 246 of the Act of 1876 that only allowed white male citizens to practice law. The Supreme Bench of Baltimore declared there was no reason for excluding ‘qualified men’ from practicing their profession within its jurisdiction.<sup>35</sup> One of the most harmful policies to emerge in the post-Civil War era was Jim Crow.

Jim Crow was a collection of state and local statutes legalizing racial segregation that began in the post-Civil War era and did not formally end until 1968.<sup>36</sup> Jim Crow contributed to the marginalization of and widespread discrimination against Blacks in housing, jobs, education, health, and other opportunities, turning them into second-class citizens, devaluing them and their neighborhoods. The Baltimore Civil Rights Heritage project explains how Jim Crow contributed to a culture of white supremacy that shaped American society in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Further, “White Democrats in Maryland sought to disenfranchise Blacks and create a culture of segregation.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Baltimore Heritage, “1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment.”

<sup>34</sup> Baltimore Heritage, “1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment.”

<sup>35</sup> McGuinn, 257.

<sup>36</sup> History.com Editors, “Jim Crow Laws,” History, January 11, 2022, <https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/jim-crow-laws>

<sup>37</sup> Baltimore Heritage, “1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment.”

The white spatial imaginary was built on exclusion manifested through Jim Crow. Jim Crow meant that public places of accommodation like parks, theaters, public halls, etc. maintained separate facilities for Blacks and whites. Because of the limited social and economic opportunities, African American communities not only fought and advocated for more equal treatment but built their own institutions to support and sustain the physical, spiritual, and social wellbeing of its residents. The marginalization and segregation of African American communities meant these communities suffered from subpar resources and infrastructure. Linden, for example, was without water, sewer, and paved streets, until urban renewal came along. African American communities also did not have the same access to wealth and fiscal resources to maintain their historic and significant buildings and spaces the way white, wealthy communities could.

Further, colleges and universities were segregated as well as public schools in Maryland. Constitutionally, states like Maryland that had segregated educational institutions were required to furnish separate but equal facilities for African Americans but “this requirement was honored in the breach rather than in the observance.”<sup>38</sup> Jim Crow operated in intrastate travel as well and was more “entrenched than the separate school system.”<sup>39</sup> Myrdal had stated that “it is a common observation that the Jim Crow car is resented more bitterly by Negroes than

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<sup>38</sup> Konvitz, 428.

<sup>39</sup> Konvitz, 430.

most other forms of segregation.”<sup>40</sup> In the landmark case *Henderson v. United States* (1950), the Supreme Court abolished segregation in railroad dining cars with an 8-0 ruling.<sup>41</sup> In general, Jim Crow wouldn’t begin to loosen its grip in Montgomery County until the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision passed in 1954. Montgomery County schools began desegregating in 1955 but wouldn’t confront the widespread discrimination in public areas until late 1961. As Rotenstein has observed, “Linden and its residents played key roles in dismantling Jim Crow in Montgomery County.”<sup>42</sup>

The culture of segregation and the anti-Black sentiment that characterized the Jim Crow period did not keep African Americans from attempting to defy, protest, and advocate for better treatment. For example, the NAACP, which formed in 1909, was at the forefront of fighting the discrimination and segregation faced by African Americans; the organization focused on cases that violated the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments with the intent to set “legal precedents and ultimately secure the constitutional rights of African Americans.”<sup>43</sup>

In the early-to-mid-1910s, many prominent Black lawyers including W. Ashbie Hawkins, Warner T. McGuinn, and George W.F. McMechen participated in legal campaigns that fought against housing discrimination, the disenfranchisements of Blacks, and lynching. During this period, Black women would take on key leadership

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<sup>40</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944) quoted in Milton R. Konvitz, *The Extent and Character of Legally-Enforced Segregation* [*The Journal of Negro Education* 20, no. 3 (1951)], 430.

<sup>41</sup> Konvitz, 431.

<sup>42</sup> Rotenstein, 34.

<sup>43</sup> “Brown v. Board at Fifty: ‘With an Even Hand,’” Library of Congress, November 13, 2004, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/brown/brown-segregation.html>.

roles as both volunteers and as paid staff of philanthropic groups and mutual aid organizations. For example, the Maryland Suffrage League was established in 1905 and organized Black voters across the state to challenge the repeated attempts at disenfranchisement.<sup>44</sup> When it came to suffrage for women, white suffragist organizations like the Montgomery County branch of the Just Government League, nearly always excluded Black women, who had to form their own organizations. In Baltimore, Estelle Young, a Black suffragist established the Progressive Women's Suffrage Club. Black suffragists not only fought for voting rights but other civil rights legislation.<sup>45</sup> The inability to vote and the exclusion from the lawmaking process made it extremely difficult for Blacks to receive equal protection and treatment under the law.

In addition to Jim Crow, other legal and informal practices of racial discrimination played significant roles in the lives of African Americans. For example, residential segregation, which manifested through explicit governmental policies (*de jure* segregation) on the federal, state, and local levels led to the isolation, neglect, and devaluation of communities of color. One explicit policy that allowed for residential segregation was racially restrictive housing covenants. These legal covenants restricted the sale of a property or home based on an individual's race. Racial covenants began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and spread throughout the country in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>44</sup> Baltimore Heritage, "1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment."

<sup>45</sup> Nicole Diehlmann, "Women's Suffrage in Maryland (Guest Blog)," The Maryland Historical Trust Blog, August 18, 2020, <https://mdhistoricaltrust.wordpress.com/tag/just-government-league/>

As early as the 1920s, racially restrictive subdivisions began appearing around Linden. In *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), the Supreme Court ruled municipally mandated, race-based housing unconstitutional, but did not address private agreements. This created a ‘loophole’ that allowed for the creation of racially restrictive housing covenants that became “legally enforceable private contracts within property deeds.”<sup>46</sup> Racially restrictive covenants were common throughout Silver Spring and perpetuated racial segregation even after these restrictions became outlawed. The white spatial imaginary in Silver Spring, like other areas throughout the country, established these “deed restrictions as supreme authorities.”<sup>47</sup> Racially restrictive covenants could be found in the suburbs near the Washington DC-Maryland border, which was made possible by the phenomenon of white flight. As streetcars and automobile use became more common, wealthy whites left the city to live in the suburbs. These suburbs became segregated, enforced through methods like racially restrictive covenants.<sup>48</sup> David Rotenstein found that more than 50 residential subdivisions in approximately 10 square miles next to Washington DC held racially restrictive covenants from circa 1904 to 1948.<sup>49</sup> One example includes North Woodside, a subdivision established around the same time as Linden in 1890 and

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<sup>46</sup> Justin Mohammadi, “Mapping Racially Restrictive Covenants in Prince George’s County, Maryland.” PG Parks, 2021, <https://www.pg parks.com/DocumentCenter/View/20019/Racially-Restrictive-Covenants>

<sup>47</sup> Lipsitz, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Mohammadi, 15.

<sup>49</sup> David Rotenstein, “Racial Restrictive Covenants Renounced at Celebration,” History Sidebar blog, September 24, 2018, <https://blog.historian4hire.net/2018/09/24/racial-restrictive-covenants-renounced/>



located east of the Talbot Avenue Bridge. North Woodside was a residentially segregated, all white neighborhood, where property owners used racially restrictive covenants to keep African Americans from residing there unless they were live-in domestic servants.<sup>50</sup>

Linden and North Woodside, neighborhoods separated by the B&O Railroad tracks and connected by the Talbot Avenue Bridge and the racist policies of their time, display vastly different lived experiences of their residents. The Linden community did not have any running water, paved roads, and other important utilities and its residents were restricted in the shops and businesses they could frequent in Silver Spring, while North Woodside residents enjoyed all these amenities, benefitting "from the association of whiteness with privilege and the neighborhood effects of spaces defined by their racial demography."<sup>51</sup>

Racially restrictive covenants were used not only to maintain residential segregation but as tools that developers implemented to increase and maintain property values. This is reflected in *The Evening Star*, a popular Washington DC and Maryland newspaper, which reported in 1926 that every house in North Woodside was developed as a neighborhood of "superior character, protected by such restrictions as prevent invasion of deteriorating influences."<sup>52</sup> The language in this quote indirectly refers to its status as a segregated neighborhood.<sup>53</sup> North Woodside

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<sup>50</sup> David Rotenstein, "Racial Restrictive Covenants Renounced at Celebration."

<sup>51</sup> Lipsitz, 13.

<sup>52</sup> Mohammadi, 15.

<sup>53</sup> Mohammadi, 15.

deeds were more explicit in stating that this neighborhood was just for whites: “for the purpose of sanitation and health [no] party will sell or lease land to any whose death rate at a higher percentage than the white race.”<sup>54</sup>

In 1948, the Supreme Court in *Shelley v. Kraemer* ruled that racially restrictive covenants were legal, but their enforcement was unconstitutional. Despite the decision of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, most of Montgomery County’s residential subdivisions and apartment buildings remained segregated. When Montgomery County’s population began to grow rapidly after WWII, the demand for housing rose exponentially due to the growing DC federal workforce. In 1953, the Rosemary Village apartments, located north of Linden opened and was only for whites. In 1959, the Glen Ross Apartments attracted a large population of Jewish people from Washington DC. By 1966, all the apartments surrounding Linden were for white residents only.<sup>55</sup> Racially restrictive covenants would not become illegal until 1968 when Congress passed the Fair Housing Act.

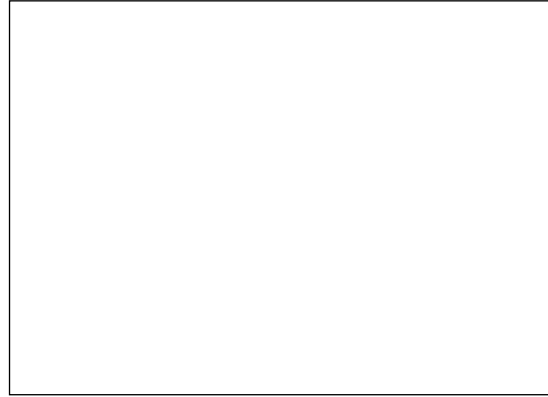
Prior to Congress’ Fair Housing Act, many civil rights activists were advocating to end suburban segregation, including the Action Coordinating Committee to End Suburban Segregation (ACCESS). ACCESS was led by J. Charles Jones, a civil rights activist and attorney who had also found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). ACCESS held several protests and demonstrations to end

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<sup>54</sup> “North Woodside History,” North Woodside, accessed March 10, 2023, <https://northwoodside.org/history/>

<sup>55</sup> David S. Rotenstein, “Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Metropolitan Branch Bridge 9A (Talbot Avenue Bridge) HAER No. MD-195,” 36.

housing segregation. The most famous ACCESS-led protest was held in early June 1966, which consisted of a 64-mile march around the Capital Beltway (Figure 5).



*Figure 5. Charles Jones, right, leads ACCESS on the Beltway march in June 1966. Source: Steve Szabo, *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/i-feel-as-if-i-own-this-road-a-civil-rights-figure-who-was-in-it-for-the-long-haul/2016/10/11/40f55c7> (Accessed October 2, 2022)*

“The march lasted four days as protestors marched around the Beltway with the intention to shame landlords who were refusing to rent to African Americans. The segregated apartment complexes around the Beltway, Jones said, amounted to a ‘white ghetto surrounding the black ghetto.’”<sup>56</sup> ACCESS along with Jews United for Justice would protest segregated apartments in Silver Spring like the Glen Ross Apartments and Summit Hill Apartments. Additionally, they also protested at the Carl M. Freeman offices. Freeman, a devout Jew, was one of the largest apartment community builders and managers in the Mid-Atlantic. Freeman absolutely refused to integrate his apartment properties. Another Jewish developer who also segregated his properties in Montgomery County was Sam Eig. After building his wealth in the

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<sup>56</sup> John Kelly, “‘I Feel as If I Own This Road’: A Civil Rights Figure Who Was in It for the Long Haul,” *Washington Post*, October 11, 2016, sec. Local, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/i-feel-as-if-i-own-this-road-a-civil-rights-figure-who-was-in-it-for-the-long-haul/2016/10/11/40f55c72-8f0b-11e6-9c85-ac42097b8cc0\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/i-feel-as-if-i-own-this-road-a-civil-rights-figure-who-was-in-it-for-the-long-haul/2016/10/11/40f55c72-8f0b-11e6-9c85-ac42097b8cc0_story.html).

grocery business, Eig explored working in the Washington real estate market but as a Jewish man was “denied access to some of Washington’s most desirable neighborhoods.”<sup>57</sup> Eig was determined though and he ventured into the Montgomery County housing market instead. Eig ended up attaching racially restrictive covenants to Montgomery County subdivisions like Rock Creek Forest, near Linden. By the mid-1960s, Washington and Montgomery County Jews operated all the segregated apartments bordering Linden.<sup>58</sup>

Racially restrictive covenants also worked against the housing rights of African American military personnel. ACCESS worked on this issue as many African American military men struggled to locate off-base housing in the Washington area. In February 1967, ACCESS members tried to meet with Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, aware of the fact that the Pentagon had the authority to ban all segregated apartments as off limits to all military service members.<sup>59</sup> A spokesman for ACCESS quoted in *The Afro-American* described the racially segregated housing near military bases as "an insult to every American."<sup>60</sup> J. Charles Jones would go on to meet with McNamara later that year and McNamara banned service members from renting at

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<sup>57</sup> Rotenstein, 35-36.

<sup>58</sup> Rotenstein, 35-37.

<sup>59</sup> John Kelly, “I Feel as If I Own This Road.”

<sup>60</sup> “Protests Housing Bias to Pentagon,” *Afro-American Newspaper*, February 25, 1967, [https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2211&dat=19670304&id=\\_d4mAAAIBAJ&sjid=7gIGAAIAIBAJ&pg=866,816675](https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2211&dat=19670304&id=_d4mAAAIBAJ&sjid=7gIGAAIAIBAJ&pg=866,816675)

any segregated apartments within 3.5 miles of the Andrews Air Force Base control tower.<sup>61</sup>

The Montgomery County Human Relations Commission, conceived during the national civil rights movement, worked to address many of the civil rights issues affecting African Americans residents of the county. The County Council established the Commission in the aftermath of the 1960 demonstrations protesting segregation at Glen Echo amusement park. The County intended the Commission to act as a ‘sounding board for interracial discussion and as a release of tension that characterized the early 1960s.’<sup>62</sup> The Commission would act as an enforcement agency that would also “investigate, hold hearings, and adjudicate complaints of discrimination in public accommodations, housing, and employment.” During the fall of 1960, the Commission was given authority to conduct surveys and studies and make recommendations about interracial issues. The Commission’s study of the County Government revealed explicit discriminatory hiring practices. As a result, the County code was amended.<sup>63</sup>

The Commission received frequent complaints of discrimination in public accommodations. This would typically happen when a racially mixed group of people entered a restaurant, and Black people were barred from entry. The community insisted that the Commission pass a public accommodation law, knowing that without

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<sup>61</sup> John Kelly, “I Feel as If I Own This Road.”

<sup>62</sup> David Brack, “Twenty Years of Civil Rights Progress: A History of the Human Relations Commission of Montgomery County Maryland,” Montgomery County, accessed December 24, 2022, [https://montgomerycountymd.gov/humanrights/Resources/Files/civil\\_right\\_progress.pdf](https://montgomerycountymd.gov/humanrights/Resources/Files/civil_right_progress.pdf)

<sup>63</sup> Brack, 2.

a legal statute, equal treatment for Blacks would be nearly impossible to achieve. On January 16, 1962, the Council passed legislation that prohibited racial and religious discrimination in public accommodating places. “This was a monumental step as it made the County the first Maryland County to prohibit discrimination in public places, even *preceding the federal government*.<sup>64</sup> This law gave the Commission the authority to investigate any infractions and hand them over to attorneys. The penalty for breaking the law included up to six months in jail and a \$1000 fine. Enforcement of the public accommodation law was unsuccessful at times as there was a ‘tavern exemption’ that forced the Commission to drop several cases. Overall, though, the legislation was described as having an “undeniable progressive effect.”<sup>65</sup> The Commission was able to successfully deal with cases that were not related to the tavern exemption.<sup>66</sup> When the new open housing law was enacted in 1968, County Council unanimously voted to repeal the tavern exemption to the public accommodations law.<sup>67</sup>

When the public accommodations law initially passed, it was debated and contested for the next couple of years when new County Councilman John Hiser sought to repeal the law. Hiser’s motion to repeal the law met with severe opposition as “more than 1000 citizens turned out for a public hearing and expressed

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<sup>64</sup> Brack, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Brack, 2.

<sup>66</sup> Brack, 2

<sup>67</sup> Brack, 2-3.

overwhelming disapproval of the motion.”<sup>68</sup> The Montgomery County Council held a hearing on April 24, 1963, to address the possibility of repealing the law. The hearing received national attention with the *Washington Post* reporting on the outcome of the Council’s decision to reject the motion to repeal the law; the *Post* also detailed the sharp split the motion to repeal the law revealed among the five members of the GOP majority.<sup>69</sup> A new and equally strong Public Accommodations Law was passed November 1969, banning discrimination in public accommodations based on race, religion, and also national origin.<sup>70</sup>

The Human Relations Commission also worked to address problems and issues related to housing inequities faced by African Americans, not unlike the work of J. Charles Jones and ACCESS. In 1963 and 1964, African Americans in Montgomery County advocated at Commission meetings for equal access and opportunity in housing. African Americans faced discrimination in acquiring loans and due to the economic limitations of Jim Crow did not have the purchasing power or wealth to renovate or remodel homes. Additionally, the County’s slumlords charged high rents for rundown buildings and unjustly evicted Blacks because of rezoning.<sup>71</sup> Fair housing was the topic of Commission meetings in 1964 and Atlee Shidler, president

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<sup>68</sup> Thomas R Kendrick, "County Defeats Move to Repeal Rights Lash: Jail Term Penalty," *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Sep 11, 1963. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/county-defeats-move-repeal-rights-lass/docview/142003030/se-2>.

<sup>69</sup> Kendrick, B1.

<sup>70</sup> Brack, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Brack, 3.

of the Suburban Maryland Fair Housing, testified on how Blacks were being “squeezed out of the County...and the power of the government should be used to counteract that trend.”<sup>72</sup> Shidler identified the lack of initiative and neglect on the part of Montgomery County to address the housing needs of Blacks.<sup>73</sup>

The pressure from civil rights protests combined with the leads of federal agencies who were struggling to hire and retain African American employees who could not get from their homes to workplaces in Montgomery County, forced the County to pass an open housing law.<sup>74</sup> On January 30, 1967, the Commission passed draft fair housing legislation. Following about a week of public hearings and demonstrations, the County Council passed their Open Housing Law in the summer on July 20, 1967.<sup>75</sup> Before the law could pass, the Council gathered votes with the inclusion of a “presumptive clause that shifted the burden of proof of compliance from the landlord or owner if ten percent of the units in an apartment were occupied by non-whites.”<sup>76</sup> The Open Housing Law was one of the *broadest* laws in the nation prohibiting the discrimination in the sale or rental of virtually all housing except owner-occupied housing of two rented units or less.<sup>77</sup> The Open Housing Law was vehemently opposed by some County residents including developer E. Brooke Lee,

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<sup>72</sup> Brack, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Brack, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Rotenstein, 37.

<sup>75</sup> Montgomery County Proclaims Open Housing Day,” Montgomery County, July 31, 2018, [https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press\\_Detail.aspx?Item\\_ID=22322](https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press_Detail.aspx?Item_ID=22322)

<sup>76</sup> Brack, 3.

<sup>77</sup> “Montgomery County Proclaims Open Housing Day.”



who viewed it as a threat. Lee was quoted in the *Bethesda-Chevy Chase Advertiser* in March 1967 stating, “Since law-enforced opening of homes and home communities is only aimed at White owned homes and White occupied communities, ‘the law-enforced open housing statutes are Anti-White laws.’”<sup>78</sup> In December 1967, the Open Housing Law was ruled invalid by the Maryland Circuit Court.<sup>79</sup> The following year in March, “the Maryland Court of Appeals upheld the lower court’s ruling that enactment procedures were impermissible.” County civil rights activists, under the direction of the Commission’s Housing Committee worked together to pass another fair housing law without the presumptive clause. The new open housing ordinance was approved by the County Council in May 1968.<sup>80</sup>

Twentieth-century federal homeownership programs also contributed to the disparities between Black and white communities. Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro discuss how African Americans were “stripped of wealth and stability through their systematic exclusion from federal homeownership programs through predatory lending practices.”<sup>81</sup> The National Housing Act of 1934 was another discriminatory policy that worked against the prosperity of black communities. President Franklin Roosevelt sought to bring housing reform to the

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<sup>78</sup> Eugene L Meyer, “A Shameful Past: A Look at Montgomery County’s History of Racism.” *Bethesda Magazine & Bethesda Beat*, March 29, 2021. <http://bethesdamagazine.com/2021/03/29/a-shameful-past/>.

<sup>79</sup> Brack, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Brack, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, “Systemic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation,” Center for American Progress, August 7, 2019, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/systemic-inequality-displacement-exclusion-segregation/>.

federal level and in 1933 the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) was created to provide mortgage relief to homeowners. With the passing of the National Housing Act, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created. The FHA had the ability to insure banks, mortgage companies, as well as other lenders, which encouraged lending to build new homes and address repairs of existing ones.<sup>82</sup> The purpose of the Act was to help prevent foreclosures and make renting and homeownership more accessible and affordable for Americans. Solomon, et al. discuss how HOLC created maps assessing risk of mortgage financing, which would then be used by the FHA to determine which areas would receive guaranteed mortgages. Risk was partly determined based on an area's racial demographics, which labeled Black neighborhoods as hazardous, marking them in *red*, a process known as redlining. Redlining denied African Americans equitable access to mortgages and other lending opportunities that provided their white counterparts homeownership and wealth-building opportunities.<sup>83</sup> This process of redlining added to the idea that communities of color were a financial risk and a threat to property values. This notion is largely tied to the general devaluation of Black neighborhoods that would spread across the country and continues today.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, commonly known as the GI Bill, was another critical housing policy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that did not benefit African Americans like their white counterparts. The GI Bill provided benefits like

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<sup>82</sup> "FDR and Housing Legislation," FDR Presidential Library & Museum," Accessed December 2, 2022. <https://www.fdrlibrary.org/housing>.

<sup>83</sup> Ira Katznelson quoted in Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, "Systemic Inequality."

guaranteed mortgages, funds for college education, and unemployment insurance to veterans of World War II. Historian Ira Katznelson describes the GI Bill as “deliberately designed to accommodate Jim Crow. For example, local banks denied Black veterans home loans even though the federal government would guarantee their mortgages.”<sup>84</sup>

The legacy of these discriminatory housing policies resulted in decades of lower homeownership rates for people of color. These policies affecting the housing opportunities for Blacks are important to examine in the context of the development of Linden because they display the limitations and various formal and informal legal policies and practices that affected where Blacks could settle and the barriers that existed for them in terms of homeownership and wealth building.

The devaluation of Black neighborhoods and their properties has led to disinvestment and loss of generational wealth. Andre Perry discusses the negative economic and social effects of the deliberate devaluation of Blacks and their communities. Through his research, he calculated that “owner-occupied homes in Black neighborhoods are undervalued by \$48,000 per home on average, amounting to a whopping \$156 billion in cumulative losses nationwide.”<sup>85</sup> Devaluation leads to disinvestment which leads to people moving out of the community, thus creating a vicious cycle.<sup>86</sup> Devaluation is evident throughout Linden’s development in the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, “Systemic Inequality.”

<sup>85</sup> Andre M. Perry, *Know Your Price: Valuing Black Lives and Properties in America’s Black Cities*. (Washington DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2020), 54.

<sup>86</sup> Perry, 57.

century even prior to urban renewal. Structural racism, the culture of white supremacy, and the negative perceptions of Linden and Black neighborhoods in general resulted in Montgomery County's deliberate neglect of the community throughout the years. This neglect is manifest in the County's lack of investment in Linden's infrastructure needs like paved streets, and water and sewage connection. This contributed to its devaluation, 'slum-like' conditions, and the white Montgomery County resident's negative perceptions of the neighborhood. Linden's slum-like conditions inevitably led to the County's desire to target it for urban renewal.

Moreover, an informal discriminatory practice that affected Linden and Black neighborhoods across the country is environmental racism. Environmental racism is historically rooted in spatial inequity and residential segregation so that low-income, marginalized communities of color frequently deal with increased exposure to harmful environments. Even though the term environmental racism was not coined until the 1980s, environmental racism has impacted communities of color for centuries. "Environmental racism impacts these communities through health hazards introduced by policies and practices that force them to live in proximity to sources of toxic waste such as sewage works, landfills, power stations, major roads, and emitters of airborne particulate matter."<sup>87</sup> Linden has dealt with the consequences of environmental racism for decades. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Montgomery County built a trash incinerator in the neighborhood and permitted light industrial development in

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<sup>87</sup> Peter Beech, "What is Environmental Racism and How Can We Fight It?" World Economic Forum, July 31, 2020, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/07/what-is-environmental-racism-pollution-covid-systemic/>

and west of Linden.<sup>88</sup> The incinerator, placed on Brookville Road, processed all the trash collected in southern Montgomery County by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC). The WSSC burned 40% of the trash collected from more than 55,000 county homes at the incinerator in Linden.<sup>89</sup> The incinerator remained in the community for 20 years, from 1945 until it finally closed in 1965. Even the closing of the incinerator was fraught in that it brought rats into the street searching for food. One resident is quoted in the *Washington Post* saying she had seen rats “running around like cats.”<sup>90</sup> Prior to its closing, expansion of the Linden incinerator and construction of a new incinerator on the old County Poor Farm near Rockville was considered by the Montgomery County Council. The proposal was turned down after wealthy, white Silver Spring and Rockville residents pleaded against the building of the facility so close to a residential area.<sup>91</sup> Incinerators are not only dangerous but pose a significant health hazard. They have social and economic impacts. For example, the increased amounts of toxins and air pollution can result in a range of health problems like heart attacks, respiratory diseases, birth defects, lead poisoning, and asthma. Another consequence of environmental racism is noise pollution. A Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Policy and Health and the

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<sup>88</sup> David S. Rotenstein, “HAER Documents the Talbot Avenue Bridge in Silver Spring, MD,” *Society for Industrial Archaeology Newsletter* 48, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 1-4.

<sup>89</sup> Alan L. Dessoiff, “Incinerator is Planned by County,” *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Dec 20, 1961, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/incinerator-is-planned-county/docview/141423613/se-2>.

<sup>90</sup> “Incinerator Closing Stirs Rat Protest.” *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Nov 06, 1965. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/incinerator-closing-stirs-rat-protest/docview/142560799/se-2>.

<sup>91</sup> Dessoiff, C2.

University of California, Berkley study found that segregated cities and communities of color in the United States have a higher risk of noise pollution. The effects of noise pollution can include loss of sleep, high blood pressure, and hearing loss.<sup>92</sup> Linden was exposed to noise pollution with all the nearby industrial facilities, including the incinerator. Pat Tyson discusses how the trash trucks from the incinerator would run through their neighborhood streets as a shortcut. She notes how it was not only dangerous as kids were playing in the streets but a disturbance to the community. The community civic association sought to keep them off the streets, taking a survey of how many trash trucks came through and at what time of day.<sup>93</sup>

Placing an incinerator in the Linden neighborhood was a deliberate decision by Montgomery County and speaks to the lack of agency communities of color historically have had in the planning process. “Cities that zone land for industries too close to residential areas not only degrade property values but risk exposing households to health hazards.”<sup>94</sup> Zoning, one of planners' most powerful tools, is designed to protect public health, safety, and welfare, but has ultimately failed to equally protect all people and groups. Planners use land use zoning to determine which areas allow for certain uses like industrial, commercial, residential, etc. This then permits certain uses for properties depending on their designated zoning.

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<sup>92</sup> “Noise Pollution More Common in Communities of Color and Racially Segregated Cities,” Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, accessed March 20, 2023, <https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/news/hsph-in-the-news/noise-pollution-segregated-cities/>

<sup>93</sup> Patricia Tyson, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

<sup>94</sup> Andrew H. Whittemore, “Racial and Class Bias in Zoning: Rezoning Involving Heavy Commercial and Industrial Land Use in Durham (NC), 1945–2014.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 83, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 235–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2017.1320949>.

Zoning was validated in 1926 with the *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.* case which gave planners the ability to use zoning ordinances to “organize cities into discrete-use districts for the benefit of all.”<sup>95</sup> Residential communities can be exposed to detrimental consequences if they are placed in proximity to heavy commercial and industrial uses. Racial and class bias have historically influenced zoning policies and planners and local elected officials have specifically targeted communities of color with zoning for industry.<sup>96</sup> This is evident in Montgomery County, where the government has been responsible for the heavy industrial rezonings that have defined the landscape of Linden. For example, in 1955, Joseph Wells Sr. of Chevy Chase, Maryland, purchased a seven-acre tract, and received permission to eventually subdivide it among three other associates for various industrial uses.<sup>97</sup> In 1975, a contract was awarded for a new field service center for Washington Suburban Sanitary Commissions on Brookville Road.<sup>98</sup> Through these actions, the devaluation of the Linden neighborhood and its residents display the anti-Black sentiment and white supremacy that stigmatized the area as little more than “cheap negro residences.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Whittemore, 236.

<sup>96</sup> Whittemore, 236.

<sup>97</sup> “Subdividers Buy Former Transit Land.” *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954 – 1959), Feb 04, 1955, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/subdividers-buy-former-transit-land/docview/148615168/se-2>.

<sup>98</sup> “Kettler to do \$2.5 Million WSSC Job,” *The Washington Post* (1974-), Oct 11, 1975. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/kettler-do-2-5-million-wssc-jobb/docview/146384113/se-2>.

<sup>99</sup> Rotenstein, 35.

Starting in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of Linden was shaped by the national spatial imaginary that reveal the critical connection between race, power, and space. White Americans held the power to control, manipulate, and own space, disempowering African Americans and impacting their ability to define the future of their neighborhoods. While the white spatial imaginary was built on exclusion, seeking to create spaces free from African Americans, the black spatial imaginary built resilient, close-knit communities, with their own social and cultural institutions. African American borderland communities that formed on the Washington-DC Maryland line were defined by the anti-Black racism, segregation, and discriminatory policies of the time. Policies like racially restrictive covenants and racial zoning served to isolate, neglect, and devalue Black neighborhoods like Linden. The devaluing of the Linden neighborhood was evident in Montgomery County's lack of investment in its community infrastructure, which led to its slum-like conditions that later encouraged the County's targeting of the neighborhood for urban renewal. Despite the limitations imposed by various discriminatory laws and practices, civil right activists and organizations sought for the equal treatment and opportunities for African Americans.



## Chapter 3: Historic Context

This chapter covers the historic context and development of Linden from its origins in the late 19th century through the mid-20th century (pre-urban renewal). Linden's history begins with Samuel Lytton, who is known as one of Montgomery County's earliest free Black landowners. At this time, many African American hamlets were forming in the rural areas surrounding the DC and Maryland line. As explained in Chapter 2, these hamlets were formed in response to the racial segregation and discriminatory policies that sought to retain the white spatial imaginary. As Linden developed in the late 19th and early 20th century, its proximity to the DC line and the railroad helped incentivize development of residential suburbs. Linden's social infrastructure was defined by its churches and schools, while its informal illicit economy was tied to local and regional organized crime networks, the making and serving of alcohol, and numbers gambling.

### *The Early Development of Linden (1850-1900)*

Before examining urban renewal, it is important to investigate the larger spatial and historic context that set the stage for the development of African American borderland settlements like Linden on both sides of the Washington DC line and Maryland line. Located in west Silver Spring, Maryland, Linden today encompasses 68 acres and is bordered by Lanier Drive on the east, Brookville Road on the west, Talbot Avenue on the north and East-West Highway to the south. The neighborhood encompasses Michigan Avenue, Maine Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, Kansas Avenue, Talbot Avenue, Lanier Drive, Linden Lane, Albert Stewart Lane, and

Young American Court (Figure 6).

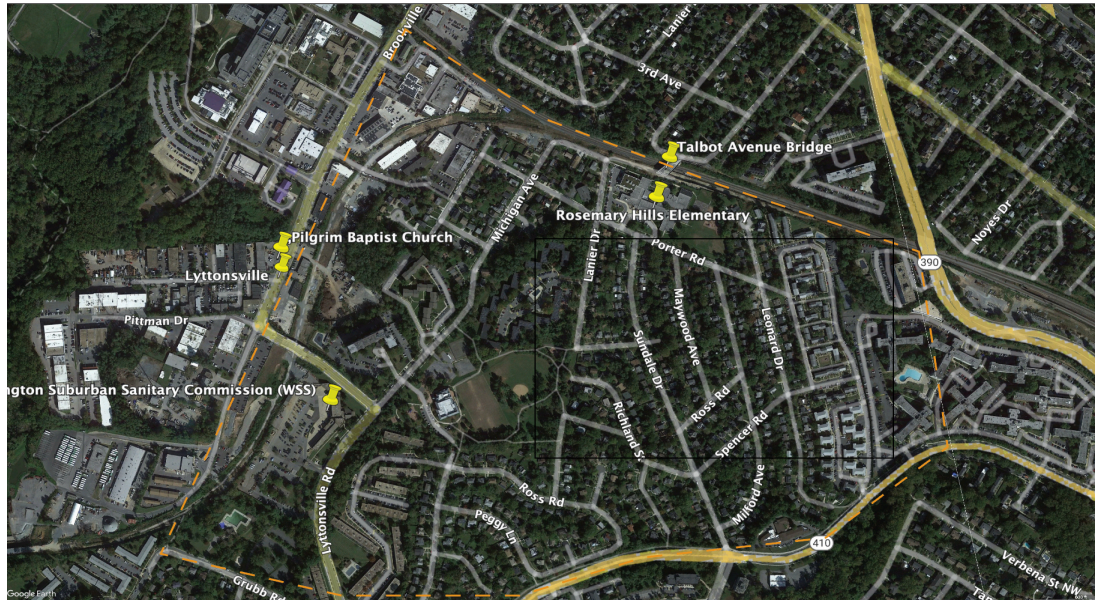


Figure 6. Map of Linden neighborhood. Source: Google Maps (edited by author)

Historian David Rotenstein has examined the early development of Montgomery County, which included about sixty unincorporated African American hamlets like Linden that were established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Before European colonization, the Piscataway Nation occupied the area that is now Montgomery County in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The area contained rich forests with plenty of game including deer, buffalo, bears, wild turkeys, and fish. The first colonizers of the area were from England, Ireland, and Wales. Settlers cleared much of the forests and grew tobacco. In 1695, the land now Prince George's, Montgomery, and Frederick counties, and Washington DC was designated as Prince George's County. In 1748, the area was divided, and the western portion became Frederick County. Twenty years later, a bill was passed by the Maryland Constitutional Convention that divided Frederick into three counties –

Frederick, Montgomery, and Washington.<sup>100</sup> The development of the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal was important to the commercial development of the region. The C&O Canal, completed in 1850, stretched from Washington to Cumberland, Maryland, and cost about \$11 million dollars to build.

Eventually the heavy farming and clearing of forests depleted the area's soil and new land became scarce. Slavery played an important role in the development of the County. As the county shifted from tobacco production to dairy and more diversified crops, the use of slave labor declined.<sup>101</sup> "By 1790, Montgomery County had about 18,003 people living in the area where two-thirds of residents were white; one-third was non-white, mostly slaves."<sup>102</sup> After the Civil War and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Montgomery County would remain mostly an agricultural and rural area.<sup>103</sup>

Samuel Lytton is known as the founder of Lyttonsville and one of Montgomery County's earliest free Black landowners. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Samuel Lytton, worked for Francis Preston Blair, an acclaimed journalist and later presidential advisor to Abraham Lincoln.<sup>104</sup> In 1830, Blair found the *Washington Globe* newspaper and was its editor for 15 years. Francis was the father of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, and had considerable influence in

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<sup>100</sup> Montgomery County and the Montgomery County Historical Society, "Montgomery County Maryland: Our History and Government," Montgomery County, 1999, <https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/cct/Resources/files/history.pdf>

<sup>101</sup> Montgomery County and the Montgomery County Historical Society, 5-7.

<sup>102</sup> Rotenstein, 13.

<sup>103</sup> Rotenstein, 13.

<sup>104</sup> Rotenstein, 11.

Missouri and Maryland. Both Montgomery and Frank Blair began their careers as lawyers in Missouri; while Montgomery moved back to Maryland, Frank stayed in Missouri becoming an influential politician there. Blair bought property north of the Washington DC line,<sup>105</sup> including the core of a 300-acre plantation with about 20 enslaved workers in 1850. No surviving records document what work Lytton provided for Blair, but by the 1850 census Lytton was identified as an illiterate 23-year-old laborer, born in Maryland. In September 1849, Lytton married Phyllis Cosberry (ca. 1809-1908) in Washington DC. Phyllis may have traveled to Washington as part of Blair's household where she may have met Samuel. Less than a year into their marriage, the 1850 census indicated that Samuel and Phyllis were no longer part of the same household. Phyllis may have been listed as one of Blair's five adult enslaved women freed in 1850.<sup>106</sup>

Lytton bought four acres of land from Leonard Johnson on January 15, 1853, for \$96. Lytton's four acres were part of an area known as Joseph's Park. Johnson and his heirs held large landholdings between Washington DC and the Montgomery County border. By 1860, Lytton had been making his living as a farmer and had two children with Phyllis: Joanna and Alice. Other African Americans started settling near Lytton's farm in 1880. The area of lower Montgomery County where Lytton's farm was located, would stay largely undeveloped and mostly agricultural until the end of the century.

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<sup>105</sup> "Notable Visitors: Francis P. Blair, Sr. (1791-1876), Mr. Lincoln's White House, accessed October 3, 2022, <http://www.mrlincolnwhitehouse.org/residents-visitors/notable-visitors/notable-visitors-francis-p-blair-sr-1791-1876/>

<sup>106</sup> Rotenstein, 11.

At this time and for decades after, many small African American communities were forming in the rural areas around Washington DC and in Montgomery County.<sup>107</sup> “These communities were formed by contraband camps of Blacks escaping the Confederacy or around a small group of early landowners like Lytton.”<sup>108</sup> These communities on the Maryland and Washington DC line became a single extended borderlands region. Linden, one of these a borderland communities, was an “integral node in a network bound by kinship, church, business, recreational and fraternal organization ties.”<sup>109</sup>

Racial segregation began to define communities as white towns like Rockville and Gaithersburg were established, while a small network of African American communities made of free Blacks and the formerly enslaved “emerged in the former plantation landscape.”<sup>110</sup> The communities that developed next to Washington DC’s border and Montgomery County became known as borderlands. Borderlands can be defined as a “space split by a geopolitical boundary.”<sup>111</sup> Edward Soja defines borderlands as “physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with

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<sup>107</sup> Rotenstein, 12.

<sup>108</sup> Rotenstein, 12.

<sup>109</sup> Rotenstein, 12

<sup>110</sup> Rotenstein, 13.

<sup>111</sup> Rotenstein, 15.

intimacy.”<sup>112</sup> Soja’s definition speaks well to the Maryland-Washington DC boundary that was considered a fluid space somewhere between “urban and rural, Black, and white, wealthy, and poor.”<sup>113</sup>

In 1890, Samuel Lytton sold one of his four original acres for \$200 in cash to George and Mary Washington, an African American couple. A decade after he purchased his acre from Lytton, Washington was noted as living with his wife, Mary, and twin stepsons, David, and Isaac Young (born 1880). David Young’s daughter Daisy married George Shackleford and the couple lived the rest of their lives in Linden (Figure 7). In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Isaac Young opened Ike’s Blue Moon, a popular beer garden on Brookville Road.<sup>114</sup> Young most likely rented the building that housed Ike’s Blue Moon from E.C. Keys, the coal and lumber dealer.<sup>115</sup>

Samuel Lytton died in 1893, leaving little evidence of his time in Montgomery County. Lytton had no will or inventory in the county’s land records. At his death, his widow Phyllis and daughter Alice “renounced their positions as administrators of Lytton’s estate and Thomas Smith was appointed. George and Mary Washington are identified as sureties with a debt of \$50 to the estate.”<sup>116</sup> Less than a year after

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<sup>112</sup> Edward W. Soja, “Borders Unbound Globalization, Regionalism, and the Postmetropolitan Transition,” in *Bordering Space*, ed. Henk van Houtum, Olivier Thomas Kramsch, and Wolfgang Zierhofer, Border Regions Series (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005), 39 quoted in David Rotenstein, “Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Metropolitan Branch Bridge 9A (Talbot Avenue Bridge) HAER No. MD-195,” (Library of Congress, December 2019), 15.

<sup>113</sup> Rotenstein, 15.

<sup>114</sup> Rotenstein, 16.

<sup>115</sup> Rotenstein. 26.

<sup>116</sup> Rotenstein, 16.



Lytton's death, Phyllis, and Alice in need of money, used the remainder of Lytton's property to secure an \$800 mortgage from the United Banking & Building Company.<sup>117</sup>



Figure 7. George and Daisy Shackleford in front of their home on Michigan Avenue, 1979. Source: Joel Richardson for *the Washington Post*. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tiny-lyttonsville-worried-residents-question/docview/147207054/se-2>

Lytton's heirs eventually defaulted on the United Banking and Building loan and the property was foreclosed on. A deed between Alice Lytton and Arthur Harris, a Washington resident was recorded in 1894. The title of the property was transferred in exchange for \$75 cash and the assumption of the United Banking and Building Company mortgage. Harris had money problems and in March 1895 used the Lytton property to acquire a second mortgage to settle a debt with another Washington resident. Frank Higgins, the attorney to the United Banking & Building Company for its Montgomery County business received a letter on August 23, 1895, stating that the Company would foreclose the mortgage on Alice Litten's property. Beginning in August 1895, the Lytton property was advertised for sale in the *Montgomery County*

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<sup>117</sup> Rotenstein, 16-17.

*Sentinel*. The advertisement detailed the property that would become Linden as a 3.28-acre tract containing a 1 1/2 story log dwelling house and a commodious dancing pavilion. The court records note that Samuel Lytton had called his property “Butler’s Park.”<sup>118</sup> Landon Cabell Williamson, a Washington attorney, purchased the property with an auction bid of \$50; he paid another \$515 once the sale order was approved. He’d subdivide the farm, platting and naming it “Littonville.”<sup>119</sup>

The Lytton property was one of several properties Williamson bought in the Linden vicinity around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area around Lytton’s farm would go through major changes during the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>120</sup> At this time, the Baltimore and Ohio’s (B&O) Railroads Metropolitan and Georgetown Branch, and the nearby Forest Glen Trolley line incentivized development of residential suburbs.<sup>121</sup> “In 1890, Republican legislators Julius C. Burrows (a Michigan representative) and Bishop W. Perkins (Kansas senator) platted a subdivision between the B&O Metropolitan Branch and Lytton farm.”<sup>122</sup> In 1892, they platted another subdivision, west of Brookville Road, that attracted African Americans to settle there.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Rotenstein, 17.

<sup>119</sup> Rotenstein, 17-18.

<sup>120</sup> Rotenstein, 18.

<sup>121</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” Montgomery Planning, May 2017, <https://montgomeryplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Lyttonsville-Approved-and-Adopted-5-29-2017-WEB-MASTER.pdf>.

<sup>122</sup> Rotenstein, 18.

<sup>123</sup> Rotenstein, 18.



Linden's proximity to the Washington DC line and access to the railroad made it an attractive settlement. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, schools, churches, and businesses were in operation.<sup>124</sup> The two main churches that served the Linden neighborhood were the Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church and the Pilgrim Baptist Church. Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church (originally Sligo M.E. Church), located on Georgia Avenue, was established in 1866 (Figure 8). Since the 1890s, a white congregation occupied the church. By 1909 though it turned into an all-Black institution with the church trustees living in Linden. The congregation was incorporated under Maryland state law in 1908. One of the church's charter trustees was Simon Deloatch, who was also a trustee of the Linden school.<sup>125</sup>



*Figure 8. Mt. Zion Methodist Church on Georgia Avenue at Brookville Road. Source: Courtesy of Patricia Tyson.*

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<sup>124</sup> Rotenstein, 18.

<sup>125</sup> Rotenstein, 20.

In 1892, the Pilgrim Baptist Church relocated from nearby Capitol View to a lot in Linden known as the “Pilgrim Church Tract.” The church paid for the property with a \$300 mortgage. Henry Newman would become the new Pilgrim Baptist Church’s president and the first pastor in the hamlet. Newman was described as one of Montgomery County’s ““most prominent colored men.””<sup>126</sup> He lived in a rented home near the church and ran a grocery store in the community.

Another major institution, important economically to the Linden community, was the National Park Seminary. The National Park Seminary was established in 1894 on the campus of what had been the Forest Glen Inn, a resort hotel founded in 1887. The Seminary’s campus was large and about a mile from Lytton’s farm. Originally, the Seminary was conceptualized as a regional resort, benefitting from its prime location near the B&O Railroad’s Metropolitan Branch. The resort enjoyed only brief success until the depression of 1893, when its owners had to sell the property.<sup>127</sup> The Seminary was purchased and converted into a women’s finishing school by John and Vesta Cassedy (Figure 9).

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<sup>126</sup> Rotenstein, 18.

<sup>127</sup> Rotenstein, 22.



Figure 9 . National Park Seminary Campus. Source: Ament, James E., Cynthia Ott, and Catherine C. Lavoie, Jack E. Boucher. *National Park Seminary, Chateau Causeways, Between Linden Lane & Beach Drive, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, MD*. Photo. Silver Spring, MD: Historic Americans Building Survey. From Library of Congress: Historic Americans Building Survey, 1933. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.md1526.photos/?sp=5>

The school, with a tuition of \$1200 a year, was attended by wealthy women from across the country.<sup>128</sup> The Cassedy's embraced the philosophy that art and culture were "integral to the new school's curriculum and used architecture, landscaping, sculpture, painting, and stained glass to create a uniquely beautiful educational environment."<sup>129</sup> Later in 1936, the Seminary was renamed the National

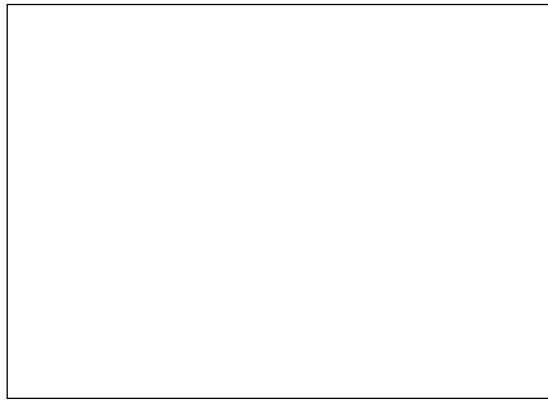
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<sup>128</sup> Marlena Chertock, "National Park Seminary Neighborhood Homes Offer a Cultural Smorgasbord," *Washington Post*, August 1, 2013, sec. Local, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/national-park-seminary-neighborhood-homes-offer-a-cultural-smorgasbord/2013/07/30/fb5b28d6-f926-11e2-a954-358d90d5d72d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/national-park-seminary-neighborhood-homes-offer-a-cultural-smorgasbord/2013/07/30/fb5b28d6-f926-11e2-a954-358d90d5d72d_story.html).

<sup>129</sup> Save Our Seminary at Forest Glen, "History," February 13, 2014, <https://saveourseminary.org/history/>.

Park College. The College would be condemned in WWII “to create an annex for the Walter Reed American Hospital.”<sup>130</sup>

When patient care was discontinued, the property was used for various purposes including medical research, military housing, and administrative purposes. The Seminary eventually fell into disrepair. In the early 2000s, the excess property was transferred through the county to a development company (The Alexander Company) that worked to adapt and transform the seminary into “a unique residential community of apartments” (Figure 10).<sup>131</sup>



*Figure 10. National Park Seminary Apartments*, n.d. Source: National Park Seminary Apartments. <https://nationalparkseminaryapts.com/> (Accessed March 28, 2023).

The Seminary was located a mile from the Linden neighborhood and there was a large group of African Americans that worked throughout the complex.<sup>132</sup>

By 1897, the Linden community’s core was composed of a row of houses across Brookville Road from the church. Some of the earliest and most complete descriptions of Linden come from newspaper accounts tied to the story of fugitive

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<sup>130</sup> Rotenstein, 22.

<sup>131</sup> Save Our Seminary at Forest Glen, “History.”

<sup>132</sup> Rotenstein, 22-23.

Dorsey Foultz, who allegedly murdered a man in May 1897 in Northeast Washington. He had fled to Linden, where he had ties to some members of the community and stayed there briefly before leaving the region.<sup>133</sup> Foultz may have sought refuge in Linden partly due to the weekend parties held at the dancing pavilion built by Lytton himself. Around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Washington newspapers reported on alcohol-induced crimes and assaults related to large groups of people going to Linden during the 4<sup>th</sup> of July parties and smaller events involving music and dancing.<sup>134</sup>

The name of the community would vary in spelling (Littonsville, Linden, etc.), and the community also had several nicknames, one particularly racist name was ‘Monkey’s Hollow.’ Rotenstein discusses how this nickname came about due to “the large gatherings of people in Linden and the stigma attached to the community by whites in Montgomery County.”<sup>135</sup> Washington newspapers first used the name “Monkey’s Hollow” to describe Linden in 1900, often followed by a line describing the place as a “negro settlement not far from Linden.”<sup>136</sup> Monkey’s Hollow became so synonymous with Linden for white Montgomery County residents that the 1910 census used it as a descriptor for the community.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Rotenstein, 18.

<sup>134</sup> Rotenstein, 18-19.

<sup>135</sup> Rotenstein, 19.

<sup>136</sup> Rotenstein, 19.

<sup>137</sup> David S. Rotenstein, “An Early History of Linden, Maryland,” The History Sidebar, July 25, 2017, <https://blog.historian4hire.net/2017/07/25/early-history-of-Linden/>

Histories of the county often stigmatize Linden as a rural ghetto, an impoverished neighborhood, critical elements that compelled government officials to target it for urban renewal later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The racist stigma and perceptions of Linden contributed to the county's neglect of the neighborhood and its community infrastructure needs, and ultimately to its devaluation. Linden remained a small community but beginning in the twentieth century experienced new development. The Linden community continued to strengthen its social infrastructure in support of its community members as well as remain active in fighting to better the conditions of its neighborhood in the pursuit of equity and justice.

*The Development of Linden through the Mid-Twentieth Century (Pre-Urban Renewal)*

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the community was described both as Linden after the nearby B&O Railroad station and 'Littonville.' As mentioned previously, the community had several different monikers throughout its history, but the name and spelling of "Linden" began appearing during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on legal documents. The Linden community had different names for it as well. For example, Linden was referred to as Lytton's 'Butler Park.' One unique name, 'The People's Co-operative League of Linwood, Maryland' derived from a group of residents who had purchased a parcel in 1919 from attorney Williamson. Williamson sold several parcels in the area, starting with the first sale of the former Lytton property, specifically a small portion of lot 12, in 1901. He sold the portion of lot 12 to several area residents for \$365, most likely the home site of Samuel Lytton himself and containing the 'dancing pavilion.' Four parcels, Lots 3-6, were sold

between 1911 and 1920. In 1934, the remaining lots (lots 9-12) were sold after the taxes became delinquent (Figure 11).<sup>138</sup>

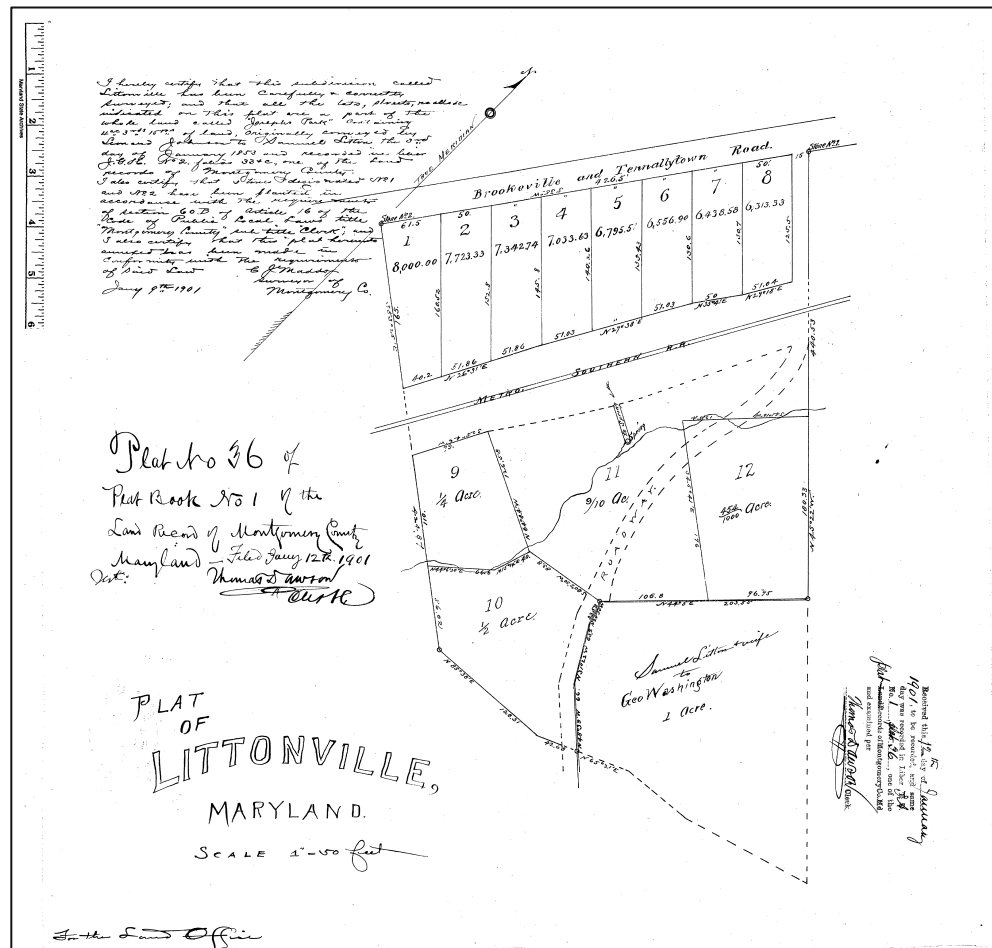


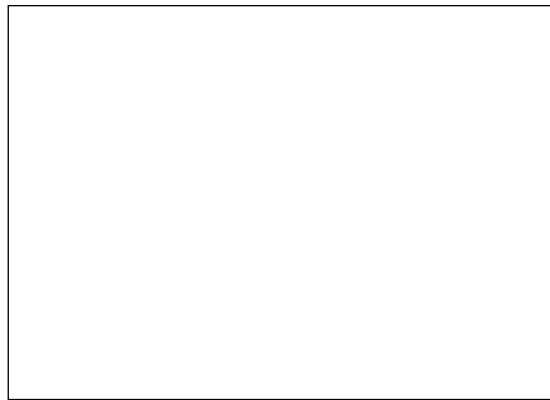
Figure 11. Plat of Littonville, 1901. Source: Montgomery County Circuit Court via Maryland Land Records.

Phyllis and Alice Lytton continued to live in Linden amidst all the new developments. In June 1900, Phyllis was 90 years old and no longer working. Alice was 33 and was a housekeeper. Phyllis would live the rest of her life in Littonville until her death at age 99.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Rotenstein, 19.

<sup>139</sup> Rotenstein, 19-20.

In 1872, Montgomery County operated two school systems: one for white children and the other for colored children, including a school in Linden (1889). The Linden school, located on Garfield Avenue, is described as a two-room school with a potbelly stove and an outdoor toilet. Students received hand me down books but as Charlotte Coffield, long-time Linden resident and activist states, “the teachers took a great interest in the kids and we learned.”<sup>140</sup> Besides the Linden school in the neighborhood, kids attended various schools around Montgomery County and in Washington DC. For example, Pat Tyson and her sister, Theresa discuss how they attended school in the District at Military Road School (Figure 12) and a Catholic parochial school called St. Cyprian in Southeast DC.



*Figure 12. Military Road School, Street View.* Source: DC Preservation League Photo Repository. <https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/383#&gid=1&pid=4>

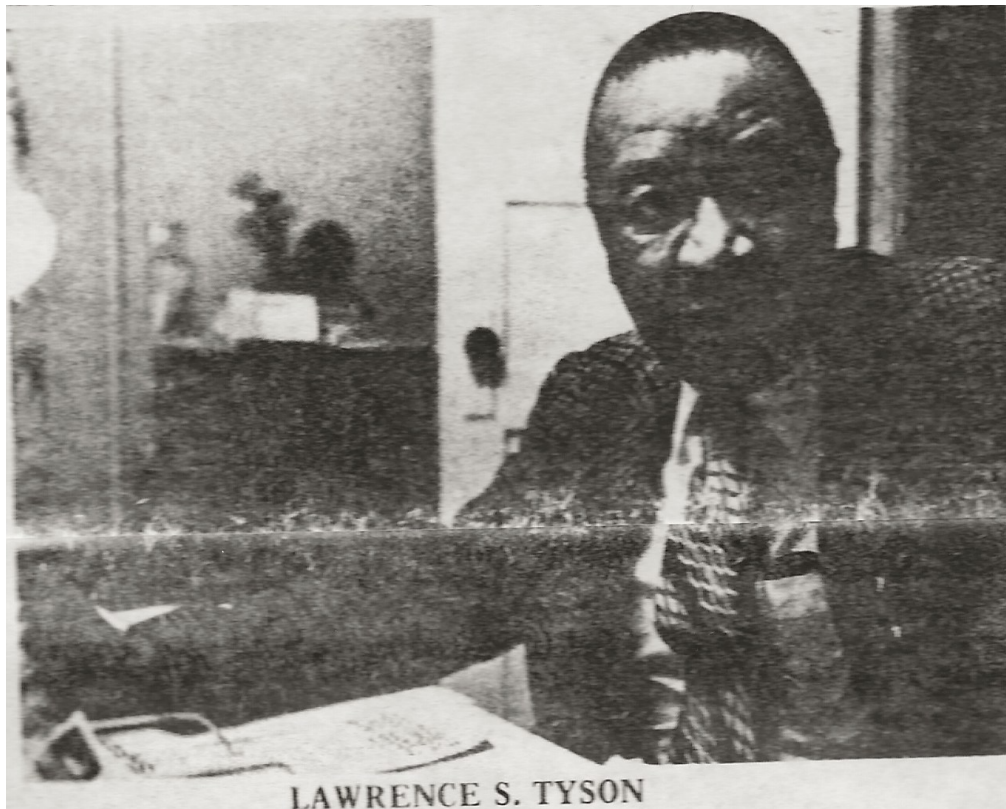
The Military Road School was attended by generations of Linden residents, including Pat and Theresa’s father Lawrence Tyson (Figure 13). Many people from

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<sup>140</sup> Eugene L. Meyer, "Ethnic Enclave's Hidden Appeal Emerges," *The Washington Post* (1974-), May 04, 2002, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/ethnic-enclaves-hidden-appeal-emerges/docview/2075190728/se-2>.



Black neighborhoods like Takoma Park attended the school as well.<sup>141</sup> Linden residents also attended various Montgomery County schools including Montgomery Hills Junior High, Montgomery Blair High School, Lincoln Elementary, Rollingwood Elementary, Rosemary Hills Elementary, and Woodlin Elementary.



*Figure 13. Photo of Lawrence S. Tyson from a newspaper clipping. Lawrence Tyson was an active member of the Linden community and activist who worked to secure equal treatment for African Americans. Source: Courtesy of Patricia Tyson.*

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was an effort to establish a fraternal lodge in Linden. “In 1905, Simon Hyson, Henry Brown, Henry J. Lewis, John R. Myrick, Samuel Riggs, Allen Gray, and William Eaglen, trustees of the Star of Bethlehem Lodge Progressive Union No. 2 of Montgomery County, bought a lot in the Perkins

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<sup>141</sup> Patricia Tyson and Theresa Saxton, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

and Burrows ‘Pilgrim Tract’ (Pilgrim Park) subdivision.”<sup>142</sup> In 1908, the title of the lot was transferred from the Star of Bethlehem lodge to the trustees of the Supreme Lodge Independent Order of Mutual Helpers of the World. In 1943, Hyson, Lewis, and Grey sold the property. Beyond this, there is no surviving documentation of the lodge and what became of it. Linden residents have attended lodge meetings in the Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church near Wheaton Lane and the Moses lodge near Emory Grove.<sup>143</sup>

In addition to the National Park Seminary, men from Linden worked for smaller local businesses, while the women often did domestic work as nannies or housekeepers in the surrounding white neighborhoods with racially restrictive covenants. Many Linden residents, depending on the season, worked multiple jobs. Some community members worked for federal and local government agencies. The Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission hired many African Americans as drivers and sanitary engineers.<sup>144</sup> Some men of Linden worked for E.C. Keys, a coal and lumber dealer, who owned a place on Brookville Road with a rail siding close to “where the Metropolitan Southern Branch crossed.”<sup>145</sup> The socioeconomic development of Linden is not well recorded in historical or archival records. Linden’s informal economy was both legal as well as illicit. Linden’s illicit informal economy was tied to “local and regional organized crime networks. Playing the numbers,

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<sup>142</sup> Rotenstein, 21.

<sup>143</sup> Rotenstein, 21-22.

<sup>144</sup> Rotenstein, 22-23.

<sup>145</sup> Rotenstein, 23.

making, and serving illegal alcohol, prostitution, and other activities were part of the everyday life in urban and rural Black communities.”<sup>146</sup>

Linden’s illicit informal economy contributed to white Montgomery County residents’ perception of the community as “polluted.”<sup>147</sup> For example, numbers gambling played a critical role in Linden’s informal economy. In the United States, numbers gambling goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, beginning with placing side bets in lotteries. In the 1920s, it was replaced by daily numbers calculated from the New York Clearing House transaction totals.<sup>148</sup> Matthew Vaz discusses how numbers gambling was first made popular in Harlem during the 1920s but was played across the country in major cities including Baltimore, Washington DC, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Chicago. For the poor and working class, the reasonable betting odds, and cheap bets “held out the possibility of turning small change into a useful sum of money.”<sup>149</sup>

Dr. Stephen Robertson explains how numbers gambling worked, which involved people wagering on which number between 0 and 999 would be the chosen day’s number. People could bet in many ways but in the 1930s, the box play was the most common. Box play allowed one to gamble on all the different combinations of the three digits in a number. Another way to bet was numbers play, where an

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<sup>146</sup> Rotenstein, 25.

<sup>147</sup> Rotenstein, 31.

<sup>148</sup> Rotenstein, 29.

<sup>149</sup> Matthew Vaz, “The History of Gambling and the Future of Marijuana,” The Gotham Center for New York History, July 22, 2021, <https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/the-history-of-gambling-and-the-future-of-marijuana>

individual would bet just on one digit – the first, middle, or last digit. Another way to play was with the bolita bet, where the bet was on the last two digits of the three-digit number. The probability of any number ‘hitting’ was one in one thousand. A winning individual was paid off from pennies to a few dollars, at the rate of six hundred to one. Daily numbers were randomly generated every day at 10am.<sup>150</sup> LaShawn Harris, a Michigan State University professor, delineates how “numbers gambling enabled many African Americans to supplement low wages and [attain] economic security.”<sup>151</sup> In Linden, there were number players and number runners. One of the best number runners pre-WWII was Lawrence Tyson, who would later get arrested in 1940 for his numbers running.<sup>152</sup>

Additionally, in Linden, there was a juke joint, owned by a Miss Hassie Bates that offered gambling and drinking. Bates lived with her husband where Michigan Avenue once ended, an area colloquially called “down in the woods,” a name used by residents to define their space. Other parts of the neighborhood had their own names. For examples “over in the field” was the area near the railroad tracks; “over on the road” was the area along Brookville Road.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Dr. Stephen Robertson, “The Game,” Digital Harlem Blog, accessed November 12, 2022, <https://drstephenrobertson.com/digitalharlemblog/playing-the-numbers-the-book/learn-more-about-numbers/the-game/>

<sup>151</sup> LaShawn Harris, *Sex Workers, Psychics, and Numbers Runners: Black Women in New York City’s Underground Economy*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016) quoted in Farrell Evans, “This Woman Built a Formidable Gambling Empire in 1920s Harlem” (History.com, May 9, 2022).

<sup>152</sup> Rotenstein, 30.

<sup>153</sup> Rotenstein, 28.

Linden's social infrastructure was also characterized by camp meetings in Emory Grove in north Montgomery County. Another social outlet was watching movies, which were shown in church social halls and in Black high schools in Rockville or in D.C. venues. Staley Jackson talked about how on Saturday nights a man from DC known as Mr. Queens would come and set up a projector at the Linden school and show movies: “And so the public, we could come down to the school, pay a quarter and go see different movies....and I never forgot um the first time we saw uh Frankenstein. The Frankenstein movie really scared the life out of us.”<sup>154</sup>

Residents also went to the Roth Theater in Silver Spring for movies.<sup>155</sup> Linden residents could also catch the buses across from the Talbot Avenue Bridge to go into Washington DC and Georgia Avenue corridors for entertainment and shopping.<sup>156</sup>

The Talbot Avenue Bridge was an important part of the social and physical infrastructure of the Linden neighborhood and community. The Talbot Avenue Bridge was a 3-span, single-lane combination metal girder bridge that was completed by the B&O Railroad in 1918 (Figure 14).

In 1867, the B&O Railroad began working on the Metropolitan Branch, which would connect Washington DC and the B&Os mainline in Frederick County, Maryland. Near Silver Spring, the Metropolitan Branch would open in 1873 and cut through farms, leading to DC’s early suburbanization. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, “real estate speculators were consolidating former agricultural properties next to the

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<sup>154</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>155</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>156</sup> Rotenstein, 29.

railroad into residential subdivisions. In 1891, the B&O began work on a new freight-only branch line originating in Georgetown and joining the Metropolitan Branch near Silver Spring.”<sup>157</sup> The Georgetown Branch ended up cutting through Lytton’s farm. In 1881, a railroad subsidiary, the Metropolitan Southern RR Co., condemned a right-of-way through his land to build the Georgetown Branch.<sup>158</sup>



Figure 14. Talbot Avenue Bridge, 2015. Photo Credit: Austin MacDougall.  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2f/Talbot\\_Avenue\\_Bridge\\_%2820855505174%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2f/Talbot_Avenue_Bridge_%2820855505174%29.jpg)

The Talbot Avenue Bridge replaced an earlier wood, king post truss overpass over the B&O’s Metropolitan Branch tracks, near the Washington DC line in Silver Spring.<sup>159</sup> “The new bridge allowed for the construction of a third railroad track and

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<sup>157</sup> David S. Rotenstein, “HAER Documents the Talbot Avenue Bridge in Silver Spring, MD.” *Society for Industrial Archaeology Newsletter* 48, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 1-4.

<sup>158</sup> Rotenstein, 2.

<sup>159</sup> Rotenstein, 1.

increased the clear height above the railroad line by 2.5 feet.”<sup>160</sup> The structure was 106 feet long and had a roadway width of 14.5 feet from timber curb-to-curb and out-to-out width of 18 feet. A new deck was added in 1986. Metal girder bridges were first introduced and made popular in Maryland by the state’s major 19th-century railroads – the Baltimore and Susquehanna, the Northern, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that followed. As seen across the nation, metal girder bridge technology in Maryland was adapted to cope with the increasingly heavy traffic demands. These heavy traffic demands of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were caused by auto and truck traffic.<sup>161</sup>

The Talbot Avenue Bridge linked the African American residents of Linden to adjoining white neighborhoods like North Woodside. The bridge was considered a “lifeline” to Linden residents, as it was their gateway to the amenities that lay on the other side.<sup>162</sup> Katherine Shaver quotes long-time Linden residents in a *Washington Post* article discussing the bridge as a gateway to reach bus services nearby Georgia Avenue, or to get to work, offices, and businesses in Washington DC and Silver Spring. Shaver notes how residents would also go to downtown Silver Spring for shopping trips, where Blacks were permitted but were not allowed to try on hats or clothes in the stores.<sup>163</sup> Residents would also go into the District on the U Street

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<sup>160</sup> Maryland Historic Trust, “Talbot Avenue over CSXT Railroad,” accessed December 25, 2022, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2036-30.pdf>

<sup>161</sup> Maryland Historic Trust, 883.

<sup>162</sup> Katherine Shaver, “A Montgomery Bridge that Linked Black and White Neighborhoods During Segregation Soon Will Be Lost to History,” *The Washington Post*, September 24, 2016.

<sup>163</sup> Shaver, 2.

corridor and F Street to patronize shops, and restaurants and find entertainment.<sup>164</sup>

The bridge was a critical part of Linden residents' lives not just in terms of the access and beneficial services it provided, but its value as a place to watch fireworks during Independence Day, a place for children to play on and under, and "whose rattling wood deck signaled to people when family members were returning from work."<sup>165</sup>

The bridge held tremendous value and meaning to the residents of Linden and has been described as a "symbol of a time in life of survival...a passage to people's livelihoods and a passage back to their refuge, to their homes and families."<sup>166</sup>

In 1948, a group of Montgomery County residents organized a local civil rights coalition called the Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement. "The group appealed to the county demanding equity and an end to Jim Crow."<sup>167</sup> The group included Linden resident Lawrence Tyson as well as other prominent members including Washington attorney Romeo W. Horad Sr. and his wife Elsie S. Horad. The organization was largely interested in improving the conditions in county schools and adding much needed infrastructure to their neighborhoods including paved streets and utilities. A report published by the group in 1948 noted the inequitable treatment and facilities and services for African Americans. The report also emphasizes the need for

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<sup>164</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>165</sup> David S. Rotenstein, "HAER documents the Talbot Avenue Bridge," 3

<sup>166</sup> Shaver, 8.

<sup>167</sup> Rotenstein, 33.



adequate provision for medical care, recreation, better housing, equality in public spaces, employment, and more.<sup>168</sup>

Montgomery County would not *begin* to address the prevalent discrimination, structural racism, and unequal treatment of African Americans until the passing of the seminal case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 that declared racial segregation in public schools as unconstitutional. Even with the passing of *Brown v. Board of Education*, Linden among other African American neighborhoods throughout the country would continue to be devalued and neglected leading to the county's destructive urban renewal program. Around the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Montgomery County began pursuing The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funding for urban renewal projects. The County would target Black neighborhoods like Linden for slum clearance.

The Linden community, founded by free Black laborer Samuel Lytton developed slowly in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Originally purchasing four acres, Lytton's farm developed in an attractive area due its proximity to Washington DC and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. At this time, several African American communities had formed along the borderlands of Washington DC and Maryland. The development of the Linden neighborhood was largely shaped by the national spatial imaginary that was built on racial segregation and a culture of white supremacy. Jim Crow segregation along with other discriminatory policies like racial zoning and racially restrictive housing covenants served to oppress and disempower African Americans

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<sup>168</sup> Rotenstein, 33-34.

and their communities. As a result, African American communities like Linden not only advocated for justice and equality but built their own social, cultural, and economic institutions to support the prosperity of its community members. Linden's social infrastructure was built on its two churches, Pilgrim Baptist Church, and Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, and along with schools, served the educational and social needs of the community. Additionally, Linden's social and cultural infrastructure was built around the Talbot Avenue Bridge that served as a 'lifeline' to the amenities and services offered on Georgia Avenue and Washington DC, where they could go shopping, eat out at restaurants, and access entertainment they were excluded from in the segregated section of Silver Spring. Although community members worked in various industries and professions, Linden's formal economy was shaped by the National Park Seminary, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) and E.C. Key's coal and lumber company due to their proximity to the neighborhood. In contrast, Linden's informal economy was built on its ties to local and organized crime networks, the production and distribution of illegal alcohol, and numbers gambling. Linden's illicit economy and the stigma attached to the community contributed to white residents' negative perceptions of it, who characterized the neighborhood as 'polluted,' a 'rural ghetto, that was often prejudicially described as Monkey's Hollow.

## Chapter 4: Urban Renewal and its Impact on Linden

Initially, urban renewal inspired the imagination of the country and its leaders who saw the opportunity to eliminate blight and substandard housing. Urban renewal though often resulted in the displacement and erasure of African American neighborhoods, weakening the businesses, networks, and institutions that held these communities together. In the 1950s, about a decade before Montgomery County received urban renewal authority and pursued federal funding for their community improvement program, they sought to address the basic infrastructure needs of Linden, including bringing water and sewer connections. Prior to HUD's approval of the County's urban renewal bid, Linden, along with African American neighborhoods were already being targeted for slum clearance. Urban renewal had devastating consequences for Linden as it disrupted their community infrastructure, displaced long-time residents, caused psychological trauma, and contributed to the loss of generational wealth.

### *Urban Renewal in Montgomery County, Maryland*

In the 1960s, Montgomery County began a countywide initiative to address the poverty in the county. For decades African American communities had pleaded “for basic infrastructure, better schools, and more equitable treatment.”<sup>169</sup> The County pursued urban renewal to give real estate speculators more land to build “more residential subdivisions, apartment communities and strip malls.”<sup>170</sup> Through

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<sup>169</sup> Rotenstein, 14.

<sup>170</sup> Rotenstein, 14.

aggressive settler colonization, white suburbanization disrupted formerly Black spaces in the borderlands. In the area around the Washington DC-Maryland line, white suburbanization was made possible through a process of displacement and erasure.<sup>171</sup> Urban renewal became a tool that contributed to the process of displacement and erasure of Black communities like Linden. The physical and cultural landscape of Linden was already fragile, as systemic racism disempowered Black communities in the planning and preservation process.

Federal urban renewal legislation in the United States began with the 1949 Housing Act, which provided for the “wholesale demolition of slums and the construction of some eight-hundred thousand housing units throughout the nation. The goals of the program included eliminating substandard housing, constructing adequate housing, and revitalizing city economies.”<sup>172</sup> Mindy Thompson Fullilove discusses the initial perceptions of urban renewal as something that “inspired the imagination of the country, a broad coalition of industry, labor, and community groups supported the program.”<sup>173</sup> Municipalities were provided grants and loans through the urban renewal program, which underwrote “much of the cost of site acquisition and clearance.”<sup>174</sup> The urban renewal program compelled many city

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<sup>171</sup> Rotenstein, 15

<sup>172</sup> “Urban Redevelopment,” Encyclopedia.com, accessed September 21, 2022.  
<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/united-states-and-canada/us-history/urban-renewal>

<sup>173</sup> Mindy Thompson Fullilove, “Root Shock: The Consequences of African American Dispossession,” *Journal of Urban Health* 78, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 72–80.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jurban/78.1.72>.

<sup>174</sup> “Urban Renewal,” *The Inclusive Historian’s Handbook*, November 12, 2019.  
<https://inclusivehistorian.com/urban-renewal/>.

leaders to participate as it seemed to be the solution to “declining tax revenue and because the federal government defrayed two-thirds of the cost.”<sup>175</sup> Urban renewal may have begun with such imagination and wonderful prospects, but there is a reason James Baldwin would go on to refer to urban renewal as ‘negro removal,’ as it disproportionately fell on African American communities and resulted in the displacement of thousands of families and destroyed many Black neighborhoods. Urban renewal projects, like the one in Linden, have dispersed neighbors to far flung destinations, undermined collective and individual equity in homes and businesses, reduced the political power of black voters, and disrupted the routines of neighborhood social and support groups.

Urban renewal was made possible in Maryland through the approval of the Maryland Municipal Urban Renewal Projects Amendment also known as Amendment 5. Amendment 5 gave the Maryland General Assembly the ability to empower any county or municipal corporation to carry out urban renewal projects involving slum areas.<sup>176</sup> At this time, many parts of Maryland were suffering from deterioration and needed rebuilding. Thus, the State Legislature gave urban renewal authority to Montgomery County as well as Rockville and Takoma Park. Two years later, the Maryland Legislature gave the same urban renewal authority to Prince George’s County, the city of College Park, Hyattsville, Mt. Rainier, Laurel, and Glen

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<sup>175</sup> “Urban Renewal.”

<sup>176</sup> “Maryland Municipal Urban Renewal Projects, Amendment 5 (1960),” Ballotpedia, accessed September 14, 2022, [https://ballotpedia.org/Maryland\\_Municipal\\_Urban\\_Renewal\\_Projects,\\_Amendment\\_5\\_\(1960\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Maryland_Municipal_Urban_Renewal_Projects,_Amendment_5_(1960))

Arden.<sup>177</sup> The Human Relations Commission initially called for a County urban renewal program after the Montgomery Education Association described the need for an "attack on the pockets of Negro housing in the prosperous suburbs."<sup>178</sup> The Association, which spoke for 3,200 teachers, noted the "squalid conditions" in Linden along with the Ken-Gar and Scotland neighborhoods. The Association's perspective was based on a concern with the health and sanitary problems that these neighborhoods had on the students.<sup>179</sup>

Author Rick Shaffer discusses the zoning changes and proposed development threatening the Linden community in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1951, the state adopted a commercial zoning plan for the area. A survey determined that all the homes in Linden were substandard, with many homes without electricity, antiquated or unsafe wiring, and none were connected to the public sewer system. About 34 homes used wells for water and 70 had no water. At this time, the neighborhood included "six pigpens and numerous chickens, goat pens, and sewage was flowing into Rock Creek. Authorities told owners to pay for upgrades or sell the homes for commercial development."<sup>180</sup>

In 1954, the County Council determined that a program to clean up the substandard health and sanitation conditions in Linden was not "economically

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<sup>177</sup> "Urban Renewal," Montgomery County Planning, accessed September 14, 2022. [http://www.montgomeryplanning.org/community/general\\_plans/wedges\\_corridors/part2-6.pdf](http://www.montgomeryplanning.org/community/general_plans/wedges_corridors/part2-6.pdf)

<sup>178</sup> Anti-Bias Law Backed for County," *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Jan 07, 1961, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/anti-bias-law-backed-county/docview/141515778/se-2>.

<sup>179</sup> "Anti-Bias Law Backed for County."

<sup>180</sup> Rick Shaffer and Ric Nelson. *Forest Glen*. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 128.

feasible."<sup>181</sup> Edward T. Beale, the County Manager at the time, reasoned that to prepare the community for installation of sewage and water would cost \$100,000 or approximately \$1,086,447 in 2023 dollars. This expenditure was considered "out of the question."<sup>182</sup> The Council was considering applying for federal aid and rezoning the area for industrial use and only "installing sewers on a front-foot benefit basis."<sup>183</sup> At that time, the Maryland-National Capital Parks and Planning Commission (MNCPPC) was in the process of making its new master plan for the area and promised to keep the Council updated so that their decisions on zoning would conform with the long-range plans for the County's development.<sup>184</sup>

The following year in late April, preliminary steps had been taken to address the infrastructure needs of Linden. The County Council approved the preparation of a resolution that would establish street grades and property lines. A survey would prepare the 111-home area, long condemned for its hazardous health conditions, for water and sewer installation. At that time, only seven homes in the Linden neighborhood were connected to municipal water facilities while no homes had sewage connections.<sup>185</sup> Around the same time, *The Post* reported on several

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<sup>181</sup> "Lyttonsville Water, Sewer Cost Ruled Prohibitive," *The Washington Post* (1923-1954), Mar 10, 1954, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/lyttonsville-water-sewer-cost-ruled-prohibitive/docview/152612548/se-2>.

<sup>182</sup> "Lyttonsville Water, Sewer Cost Ruled Prohibitive," 9.

<sup>183</sup> "Lyttonsville Water, Sewer Cost Ruled Prohibitive," 9.

<sup>184</sup> Linden Water, Sewer Cost Ruled Prohibitive," 9.

<sup>185</sup> "Sewer, Water Nearer for Lyttonsville." *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954-1959), Apr 20, 1955. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/sewer-water-nearer-lyttonsville/docview/148704452/se-2>

improvement measures proposed by the County Manager. These improvements included a trash removal program, project funds from the County Council, and temporary “proper privies” until sewer installations could be completed. Additionally, the County Manager also proposed holding a meeting with property owners to explain the improvement program and get a better idea of how many could help share in the cost of hiring an engineer consultant to help manage the program. Establishing property lines and completing the necessary roadwork was estimated to cost \$50,000, not including the \$301 cost per home to connect to water and sewer.<sup>186</sup> In January 1956, the Council authorized grading of six streets in Linden (Stewart Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, Kansas Avenue, Maine Avenues and Michigan Avenue, and Lanier Drive) to pave the way for the sewer and water facilities.<sup>187</sup> In 1958, MNCPPC planners proposed street and zoning changes for the Rosemary Hills-Linden area. “The proposal included the building of a new major roadway called Linden Road that would provide access to the industrial area and relieve residential streets of heavy traffic. The purpose of the plan was to remove heavy industrial traffic from streets running north from East-West highway.”<sup>188</sup>

Before it could even break ground on any slum clearance projects, Montgomery County’s journey to receiving aid and approval for its urban renewal

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<sup>186</sup> "Sewer, Water Nearer for Lyttonsville."

<sup>187</sup> "PEPCO to Tell Site for Plant." *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954-1959), Jan 11, 1956. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/pepco-tell-site-plant/docview/148867025/sc-2>.

<sup>188</sup> "Suburban Zoning Plan Presented." *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954-1959), May 08, 1958. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/suburban-zoning-plan-presented/docview/149044887/sc-2>.



program would go through a long, drawn-out process. In October 1961, the County Council voted to apply to the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency for up to two-thirds of the funds needed to conduct a survey to better understand the County's urban renewal needs. The survey was intended to help the County identify any likely projects, so they could later apply for Federal aid. At this point, Council members were already eyeing certain areas for possible urban renewal projects, like Linden, which they noted as showing 'signs of deterioration.'<sup>189</sup>

In July 1965, the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency approved federal aid for Montgomery County's community improvement program. This approval would allow developers to "obtain low-interest federal financing for housing and apartments to address the housing shortages for low- and moderate-income families."<sup>190</sup> Montgomery County's Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Commission estimated that developers would be able to use this aid to build between 3,000-6,000 housing units in the upcoming years. According to the 1960 census, 1 in every 11 Montgomery County families earned less than \$4000 a year. It was estimated that the cheapest two-bedroom apartments constructed under the urban renewal program would cost about \$85 a month. When federal aid was approved in 1965, Montgomery County became the fifth Washington DC suburb to obtain approval for a workable urban renewal program. At the time of federal aid approval, the County had yet to

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<sup>189</sup> "Montgomery Eyes Urban Renewal Plan," *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Oct 18, 1961. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/montgomery-eyes-urban-renewal-plan/docview/141429864/se-2>.

<sup>190</sup> Douglas, Walter B. "Montgomery Wins U.S. Housing Help," *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Jul 24, 1965, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/montgomery-wins-u-s-housing-help/docview/142592434/se-2>

establish any urban renewal and public housing project assistance.<sup>191</sup> This same year, Linden was named an urban renewal area.<sup>192</sup>

In December 1966, Montgomery County's urban renewal bid to HUD was experiencing a long delay. Montgomery County officials were trying to push the federal government to speed up the processing of the County's application for federal funds. Apparently, the delay was caused by the County's multiple rezoning requests, resulting in HUD freezing the County's application for \$6 million in open-space grants. HUD's Philadelphia office was also dealing with an overwhelming backlog of applications and with the complexity of the review procedures, it was significantly slowing the approval process.<sup>193</sup> The County's rezoning controversy was debated in the national media. In December 1966, *Washington Post* reporter Thomas W. Lippman wrote that HUD officials denied any link between the rezonings and the County's failure to obtain federal funds. That said, HUD worker Judy Blumberg was quoted in the same article that Montgomery County's aid would be frozen until the rezoning issue was resolved. The County Council was dealing with a zoning change for about 1189 acres, which the previous Council approved for two planned neighborhoods in the Upper Rock Creek watershed, but HUD protested these zoning

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<sup>191</sup> Douglas, Walter B. "Montgomery Wins U.S. Housing Help."

<sup>192</sup> Debbie Prager, "In Tiny Linden, Worried Residents Question the Price of Urban Renewal: Linden: What Price Urban Renewal?" *The Washington Post* (1974-), Aug 16, 1979, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tiny-Linden-worried-residents-question/docview/147207054/se-2>.

<sup>193</sup> Thomas W. Lippman, "HUD Says it Will Speed Processing of Montgomery Urban Renewal Bids." *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), Dec 15, 1966, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/hud-says-will-speed-processing-montgomery-urban/docview/142966807/se-2>

approvals. The Council had failed to agree to the applicant's attorney's condition to change/eliminate the planned neighborhood zone until they could rehear and make new decisions in the Upper Rock Creek rezonings.<sup>194</sup> Though Montgomery's urban renewal program was approved in 1965, the County was subject to an "annual reevaluation to receive Federal aid for urban renewal, low-income housing, and rent subsidies programs."<sup>195</sup> The urgency in the County officials pushing for processing its urban renewal bids was partially due to the Emory Grove urban renewal project, which had been held up for quite some time. A \$116,000 planning grant has been suspended due to the delay in the County's reevaluation.<sup>196</sup>

In 1967, it was estimated that Montgomery County had about 3,680 substandard structures in need of replacement and or rehabilitation. At that time, there were some federal projects underway addressing about a third of those structures. The County's coordinator of community development, S.W. Parrish reported in late July 1967 that the County Council had received a proposal for a three-year, \$6 million program to address the substandard housing. He stated that this specific program would depend largely on citizen contributions and not on Federal aid.<sup>197</sup> Parrish cited several challenges with relying completely on federally subsidized programs to

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<sup>194</sup> Thomas W. Lippman, "County Urban Renewal Freeze by HUD Alleged." *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973)*, Dec 14, 1966, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/county-urban-renewal-freeze-hud-alleged/docview/142728054/se-2>

<sup>195</sup> Lippman, C6.

<sup>196</sup> Lippman, C6.

<sup>197</sup> Claudia Levy, "Public Drive Proposed on Area Housing: Public Drive Proposed to Better Area Housing," *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973)*, Jul 26, 1967, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/public-drive-proposed-on-area-housing/docview/143123360/se-2>

address the substandard housing in the County. These challenges include the fact that program approval could take up to 18 months. Regulatory mandates on local governments and the uncertainty of receiving appropriations were also reasons for not completely relying on federally-subsidized programs. Another concern of Montgomery County was that 80% of the substandard housing was scattered in the rural, upper part of the County. This made it more difficult to develop housing projects with Federal aid. The remaining 20% of substandard housing concerned neighborhoods like Linden that were considered pockets of poverty "where generations of Negro families lived."<sup>198</sup>

Furthermore, Parrish reported that citizen involvement would be a key part of these urban renewal projects, specifically that citizens would bear equal responsibility to eradicate blight and poverty. Parrish did not detail the extent and parameters of this citizen involvement. It was noted that a policy of rehabilitation over demolition would be favored and that landowners would not be forced to relocate if they did not desire it.<sup>199</sup> Of course, this policy presented very little peace of mind for African Americans whose ability to control and own property was restricted and challenged by the racist housing policies that dominated the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1967, the community's civic association set up a committee known as "The Committee for the Redevelopment of Lyttonsville." At this point, the community had several problems including vacant lots riddled with trash and junk, run-down housing units, "blighting effects from unattractive industrial uses, and the isolation from the

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<sup>198</sup> Levy, B1.

<sup>199</sup> Levy, B1.

rest of the Silver Spring community, and encroachment by high rise apartments.”<sup>200</sup>

In 1968, a feasibility study was conducted to suggest alternative methods of dealing with Linden’s problems. A HUD representative and the county’s Department of Community Development staff members attended a meeting with the community’s civic association where they informed them that urban renewal was deemed feasible and desirable for the area. The budget approved by the County Council included the funds necessary for the County’s share of the project.<sup>201</sup>

In May 1969, HUD withheld funding for Montgomery County’s urban renewal projects because of their dissatisfaction with the County’s housing and fire codes. HUD mandated the County to change its housing code to require a complete private bathroom for each dwelling unit, a minimum temperature standard for apartments, and authority for code enforcements to act without notice. HUD was also requiring the County to include the minimum standards of the American Insurance Association fire code before aid would be approved.<sup>202</sup>

Two years into the renewal program in Linden, HUD scrapped the neighborhood development program that funded the urban renewal project for Linden (Figure 15). The project would resume with changes under the Community Development Block Grant program. Bill Owen, a Montgomery County planner, attributed these changes to the shift in the federal bureaucracy’s programs and the

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<sup>200</sup> S.W. Parrish, “The Lyttonsville Community – on the Map and on the Move,” Montgomery County Department of Community Development, April 1968.

<sup>201</sup> S.W. Parrish, “The Lyttonsville Community – on the Map and on the Move.”

<sup>202</sup> “HUD Aid Held Up in County,” *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (1959-1973), May 02, 1969, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/hud-aid-held-up-county/docview/147674752/se-2>.

‘nature’ of Linden itself. The project finally broke ground in the early 1970s, and the Montgomery County Office of Economic and Community Development began buying land and demolishing homes in the neighborhood that were deemed ‘substandard’ by county inspectors. The land was then resold to private developers to build new homes. Proceeds of the resale were applied toward the county share of the \$4 million project.<sup>203</sup> In 1974, the *Montgomery County Sentinel* reported that the end of urban renewal was years away, because of the state-imposed sewer moratorium. It was stated that at urban renewal’s end Lyttonsville would become a “bustling hamlet of about 280 detached homes, townhouses, and garden apartments.”<sup>204</sup> Lawrence Tyson was quite optimistic about urban renewal at this point and is quoted in the same article saying, “there still is optimism about urban renewal’s outcome. I’ve always liked it here and so have others.... that is why we have fought so hard to keep the area residential...now the dream is just coming true.”<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Prager, MD1.

<sup>204</sup> Bon Martin, “Now the Dream Is....Coming True,” *Montgomery County Sentinel*, March 14, 1974.

<sup>205</sup> Bon Martin, “Now the Dream Is....Coming True,” *Montgomery County Sentinel*, March 14, 1974.

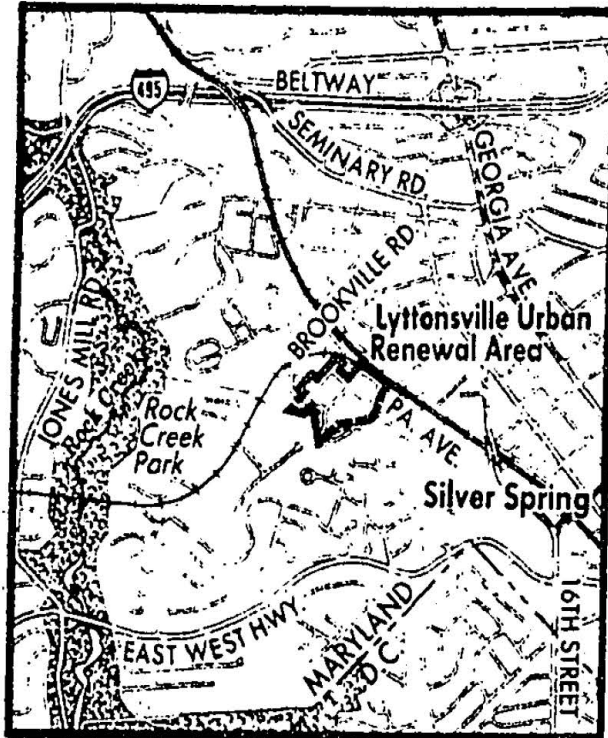


Figure 15. Furno, Richard. *Lyttonsville Urban Renewal Area*. Map. Washington DC: *The Washington Post*, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tiny-Linden-worried-residents-question/docview/14720705> (Accessed September 21, 2022)

By 1976, HUD funds, \$1.4 million, were distributed to Montgomery County for 24 community urban renewal projects. Block grant funding from fiscal year 1976 contributed to the relocation payments and assistance for three families in Linden and the demolition of three residences, totaling \$51,000. Relocation payments were provided to assist families who were renting and forced to leave their homes. Within the next year, the county would oversee an additional \$2.3 million for 35 projects.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>206</sup> Penelope Lemov, "HUD Money for Montgomery," *The Washington Post* (1974-), Jul 08, 1976, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/hud-money-montgomery/docview/146608154/se-2>

### *The Consequences of Urban Renewal*

The consequences of urban renewal were devastating for the Linden neighborhood, disrupting their community infrastructure, contributing to the loss of generational wealth, and displacing long-time residents. The intention of urban renewal was to help strengthen and improve the substandard conditions of the neighborhood but ultimately did little to help the original residents of the community. Many who were displaced and/or forced to relocate were later priced out of the neighborhood and unable to return. For example, the Shackleford's, long-time residents expressed their disappointment with urban renewal: "*We've lost our people. They can't afford these new houses. They've been frozen out...This urban renewal is very deceiving.*"<sup>207</sup> Many Linden members relayed similar sentiments as the promise of urban renewal had initially made people hopeful. Longtime community leader, Gwen Coffield expressed her disillusionment with the outcomes of urban renewal in 1979 saying, "*I would never recommend urban renewal for any community.*"<sup>208</sup>

Homeowners in Linden were paid sums ranging from \$6,000-\$50,000 for their property, plus a minimum of \$2,000 in relocation funds. Renters forced from their homes also received relocation payments but had no equity. From 1971-1979, sixteen homes in Linden were torn down, eight of which were owner occupied. Of the sixteen families displaced, only four bought new houses in the neighborhood. Others were forced to other communities or into Friendly Gardens (now right across from the Gwendolyn Coffield Community Center), a federally-subsidized apartment complex

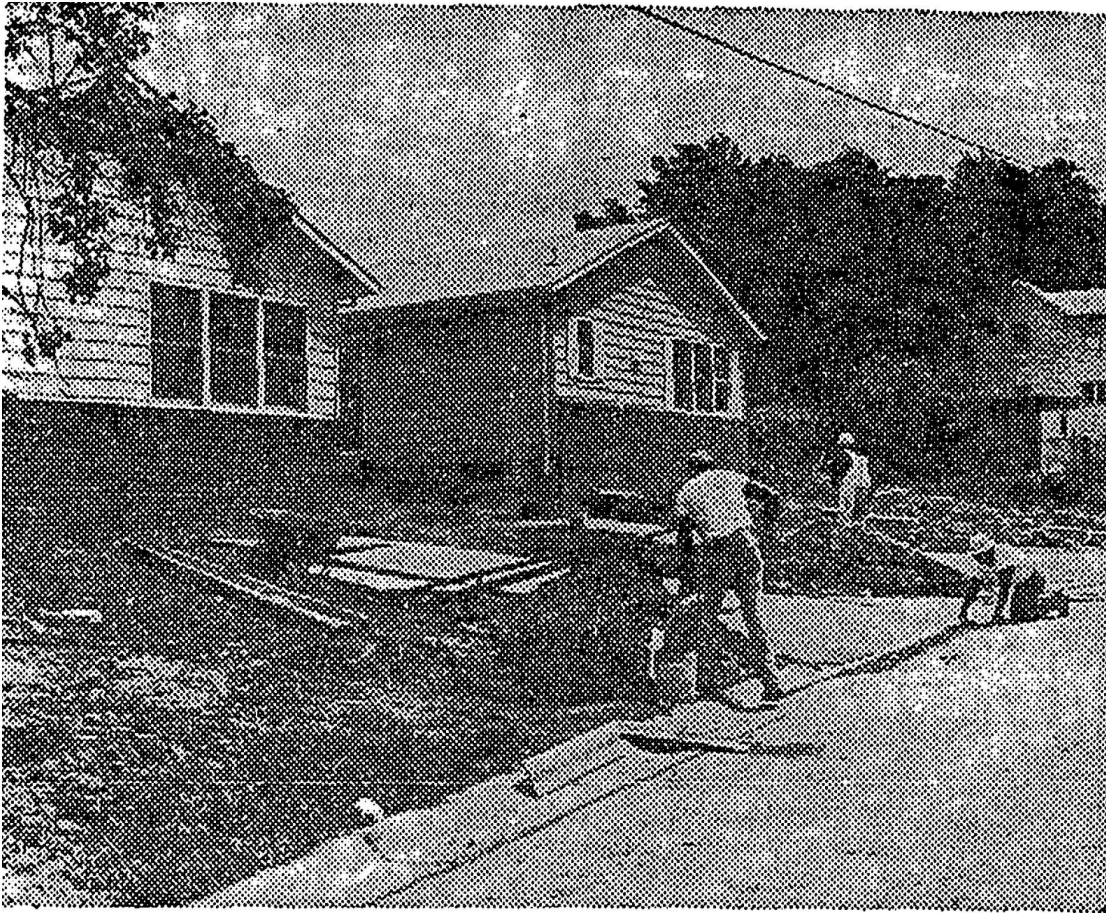
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<sup>207</sup> Prager, MD1,

<sup>208</sup> Prager, MD1.



on the edge of Linden. Some residents felt that displaced families, whether they owned homes or were renting should have received help to buy homes. Montgomery County officials had a different idea, stating that some did not have the income needed to maintain a home. Those judged by county officials as able to afford and maintain their property, were offered up to \$15,000 in aid. Prior to urban renewal, there were about 27 homes. New homes started springing up around 1977 (Figure 16).<sup>209</sup>



*Figure 16. New homes nearing completion in Lyttonsville, 1979. Source: Joel Richardson, The Washington Post.*

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<sup>209</sup> Prager, MD1.

Two out of the four families (the Johnsons and Stewarts) who were able to buy new houses struggled with structural problems in their new homes. Despite the structural problems, the Stewart family's new house on Talbot Street was an upgrade from their previous house. Their previous two-room house was not sufficient for their family of 12. Their new four-bedroom house provided more space for their family.<sup>210</sup>

Urban renewal had several short-term and long-term consequences that speak to the experiences of the Linden community and other Black communities similarly devastated. These consequences include the loss of money, psychological trauma, social paralysis of dispossession, collapse of political action, and more.<sup>211</sup> The displacement and removal of residents from their homes and communities speaks to the loss of wealth and opportunities. In displacing and forcing people to relocate, it forced them to “expend economic, social, and political capital on resettlement, placing them at a disadvantage relative to the rest of society.”<sup>212</sup> The resources used on resettlement could not be used to “buy other advantages, such as the creation of new enterprises, the acquisition of education, choices that those who were displaced were not free to make.”<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, displacement also had enormous social costs. Linden was a tight-knit community, where everyone knew each other and helped each other out. This community was now scattered, and social support networks were

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<sup>210</sup> Prager, MD1.

<sup>211</sup> Mindy Thompson Fullilove, “Root Shock: The Consequences of African American Dispossession,” *Journal of Urban Health* 78, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 72–80. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jurban/78.1.72>.

<sup>212</sup> Fullilove, 74.

<sup>213</sup> Fullilove, 74.

broken. Displacement also had political costs with the “loss of a concentrated voting block and in the growth of both intra and intercommunity tension.”<sup>214</sup>

The great stresses of urban renewal could be a direct cause of ill-health for those affected. The process was also traumatic for some, leading to trauma-related disorders, such as prolonged grief. Urban renewal could also indirectly cause illness. The countless people displaced by urban renewal often had to live in inadequate housing or in poverty-stricken areas. Additionally, urban renewal can act as a fundamental cause’ of disease, formed “by those factors in the environment that influence the distribution of and access to resources.”<sup>215</sup>

Urban renewal transformed the cultural and physical landscape of Linden and in many ways disrupted the years of determined effort by residents to improve the quality of life and prosperity of its members. Some, like county economic and community planner Tom Brown, saw the Linden urban renewal project as a success. Brown, who took over the Linden project in 1974 expressed his general satisfaction with how things unfolded in Linden stating, “*I’d say this is one of the better urban renewal projects. We didn’t tear everything down to put up condos. We tried to weave in the new with the old.*”<sup>216</sup>

Urban renewal in Montgomery County began as an initiative to address the poverty and substandard housing in various parts of the county. Beginning in the 1960s, Montgomery County would go through a slow, lengthy process before

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<sup>214</sup> Fullilove, 76.

<sup>215</sup> Fullilove, 74.

<sup>216</sup> Prager, MD1.

securing federal aid for its urban renewal projects, due to various factors including rezonings and updating issues with housing and firing codes. Before implementing its urban renewal project for Linden, the County sought to bring water and sewer connections and paved roads for the community. Despite these positive outcomes, the price of urban renewal was high for Linden as it resulted in the displacement of residents, fractured its community infrastructure, and destroyed 60% of its residential area.

## Chapter 5: Linden Today

In the past twenty years, the racial demographics of the Linden community have diversified. Linden has gone from an African American neighborhood to one with residents of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. One of the most recent major developments affecting Linden is the Purple Line project and the adoption of the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan. As explained in the *Introduction*, the Purple Line will include the construction of a 16.2-mile light rail line, linking several Maryland suburbs of Washington DC including Bethesda, Silver Spring, College Park, and New Carrollton. The Purple Line project rocked the Lyttonsville community when the potential demolition of the neighborhood's beloved Talbot Avenue Bridge was proposed. This chapter details how managers of the Purple Line project and the preservation field overlooked the social and cultural value of the bridge, which was initially documented as significant for its engineering and construction. Additionally, this chapter covers the implementation of the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan and how it will affect the future of the historic Linden neighborhood. Lastly, this chapter looks at how despite the demolition of the bridge, the Linden community and other invested stakeholders worked together to document and celebrate the values, heritage, and memories of the bridge and this historic Silver Spring community.

Linden today is an international community with families from diverse backgrounds including whites, Asian Americans, and Hispanic and/or Latino. The Linden neighborhood encompasses a portion of Montgomery County's Census Tract 7027 outlined in the map below (Figure 17).



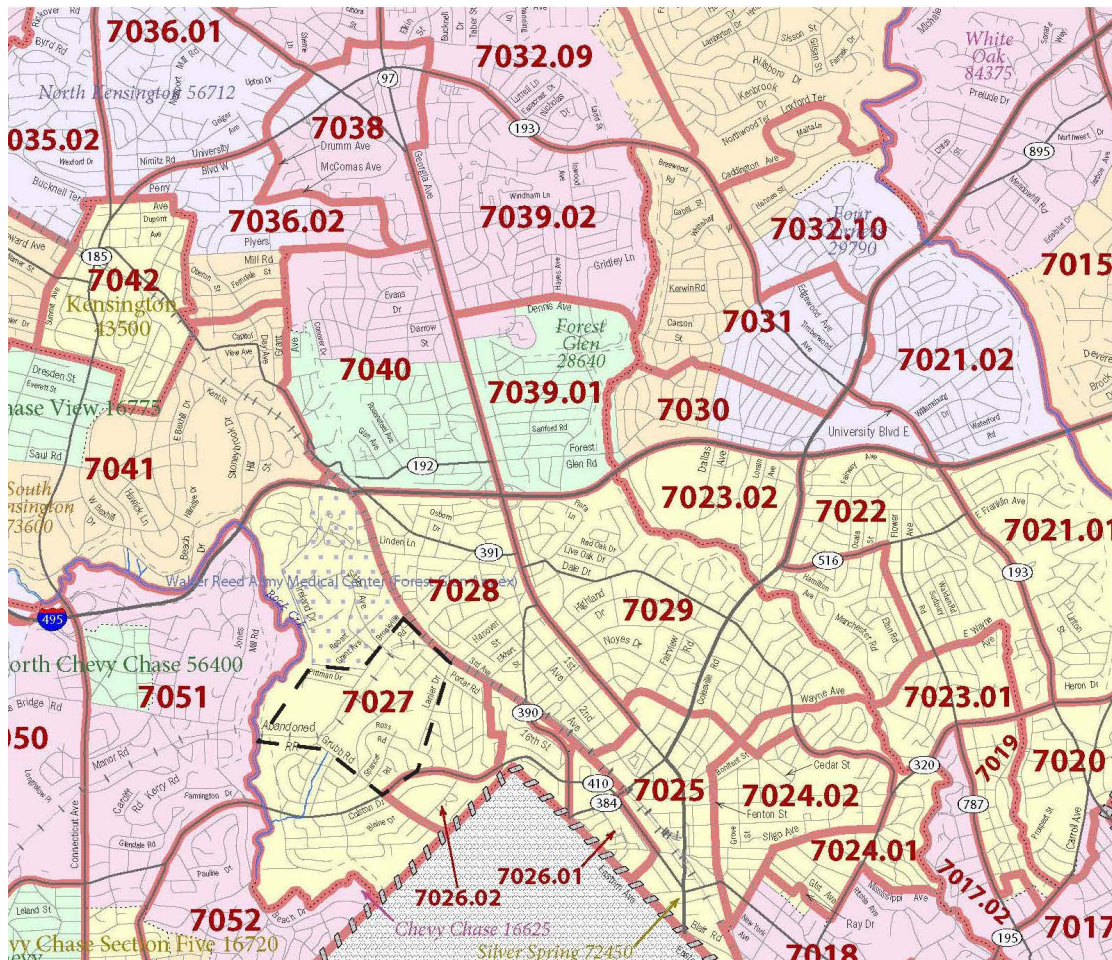


Figure 17. Linden's location in Montgomery County's census tract map (edited by author). Source: US Census Bureau. 2010 Census – Census Tract Reference Map: Montgomery County, Maryland. Map. Suitland, MD: US Census Bureau, 2010. [https://www2.census.gov/geo/maps/dc10map/tract/st24\\_md/c24031\\_montgomery/DC10CTC24031\\_004.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/geo/maps/dc10map/tract/st24_md/c24031_montgomery/DC10CTC24031_004.pdf) (Accessed April 6, 2023).

In the past twenty years or so, the racial demographics of the census tract is largely made up of whites and African Americans, though both the Asian and Hispanic or Latino population have increased slightly.

Year	Black or African American Alone	White Alone	Asian	Hispanic or Latino
2000	1803	3305	432	1534
2010	1512	3064	240	1622
2020	2605	3019	470	1712

Figure 18. Population demographics of Lyttonsville in Census Tract 7027 from 2000-2020. Data Source: Social Explorer

From 2000-2010, the African American population in Census Tracts 7027 decreased by about 3%. By 2020, the African American population had increased by 10%. In 2002, the community included 62 single family houses bordered on one side by the CSX train tracks. In 2000, the white population made up the largest percentage (50.02%) of total residents in census tract 7027, while the Asian population made the smallest percentage at 6.54%. From 2000 to 2020, the white population would decrease by about 10%. The Asian population continues to reflect the smallest percentage of residents at about 6.23% in 2020. The Asian population was cut in half from 2000 to 2010. The Hispanic or Latino population has steadily increased from 2000 to 2020. In 2010, the Hispanic or Latino population made up the second largest percentage of residents at 26.13% next to the white population.

In 2012, the Montgomery County Planning Department began working on the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan in anticipation of the two future Purple Line light rail stations proposed for locations in Greater Lyttonsville (Figure 19). The Department began the groundwork for the plan by gathering input from the community but was stalled when the Montgomery County Council reprioritized the department's work program. Work on the plan resumed in 2014 and was approved and adopted in May 2017 by the County Council.<sup>217</sup> The County Council also adopted design guidelines that build on the recommendations of the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan and provide a “framework for the design of new and improved streetscapes, buildings,

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<sup>217</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” Montgomery Planning, May 2017, <https://montgomeryplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Lyttonsville-Approved-and-Adopted-5-29-2017-WEB-MASTER.pdf>

parks and open spaces in the plan area.”<sup>218</sup> The vision of the sector plan is to “preserve the integrity of the area’s neighborhoods along with their special heritage and character, while strategically encouraging mixed-use development near transit and expanding parks, trails and open spaces.”<sup>219</sup>



*Figure 19. The boundaries (black dashed lines) of the Greater Lyttonsville sector plan area.* Source: Montgomery County Planning Department. *Concept Framework Plan 2014*. Map. Wheaton, MD: Montgomery County Planning, 2017. <https://montgomeryplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Lyttonsville-Approved-and-Adopted-5-29-2017-WEB-MASTER.pdf> (Accessed September 30, 2022).

The plan envisions that “in 20 years, Greater Lyttonsville will be “a cohesive community celebrating its diversity with its core strengths preserved, enhanced and expanded.”<sup>220</sup> The plan aims to get there by building a healthy ecology, great transit, and walkability as well as celebrating community identity, and embracing limited and responsible redevelopment.<sup>221</sup> Some critical recommendations that will serve to help elevate the rich history of Linden and its community include:

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<sup>218</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan Design Guidelines,” Montgomery Planning, March 2019, <https://montgomeryplanning.org/planning/communities/downcounty/greater-lyttonsville/greater-lyttonsville-design-guidelines/>

<sup>219</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” 1.

<sup>220</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” 5.

<sup>221</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” 5.



1. *“Establish a museum/interpretive space within the plan area where photos and artifacts from Linden’s rich history can be preserved and made available to the public.*
2. *Incorporate historically oriented interpretive signage, markers, and commemorative art throughout the planning area, including in Purple Line stations.*
3. *Establish a history and art advisory committee composed of Sector Plan area and vicinity representatives, M-NCPPC staff and other representatives of relevant organizations.”*<sup>222</sup>

These ideas are currently just *recommendations*, so their implementation will be critical to help preserving the unique character and history of the Linden neighborhood and community. The policies and strategies in the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan will be important in shaping the development of the community but have been made amidst recent critical developments that have changed the community infrastructure of the Linden neighborhood.

These recent critical developments include the Purple Line project and the controversy and eventual demolition of the Talbot Avenue Bridge, and the North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Citizens Associations Board’ renouncement of the racial covenants that preserved residential segregation.

The Purple Line project had to go through the Section 106 process, a process, which requires federal agencies to consider the effects on historic properties of

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<sup>222</sup> “Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan,” 7.

projects they fund, permit, or license. The Maryland Transit Administration's Section 106 assessment determined that their project would have an adverse effect on the Talbot Avenue Bridge. Even though most of the Metropolitan Branch, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad would remain unchanged, it was noted, "the removal and replacement of the bridge would alter the property and diminish its integrity."<sup>223</sup> This assessment determined the potential effects their project could have on the bridge using the historical significance and value determined by the initial documentation completed by the State Highway Administration (SHA). The evaluation relied on the National Register's criteria for eligibility focusing on its significance for architecture and engineering, overlooking the cultural and social significance of the bridge. The bridge closed to vehicular traffic in May 2017 due to safety concerns but remained open to pedestrians and bicyclists; it was blocked off completely by June 2019.<sup>224</sup> The Talbot Avenue Bridge was demolished later that year.<sup>225</sup> It will be replaced by a new two-lane bridge, which is currently under construction, carrying the Georgetown Branch Trail extension of the Capital Crescent Trail to Silver Spring.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Maryland Transit Administration, "Purple Line Section 106 Assessment of Effects for Historic Properties," Montgomery Planning, August 28, 2013, [http://www.montgomeryplanning.org/transportation/purple\\_line/mandatory\\_referral/documents/submissions/E%20-%20Historic%20-%20Section%20106%20Effects%20Tech%20Report.pdf](http://www.montgomeryplanning.org/transportation/purple_line/mandatory_referral/documents/submissions/E%20-%20Historic%20-%20Section%20106%20Effects%20Tech%20Report.pdf)

<sup>224</sup> Suzanne Pollack, "Residents Say Goodbye to the Historic Talbot Avenue Bridge," *The Sentinel*, June 6, 2019, [https://www.thesentinel.com/communities/montgomery/news/residents-say-goodbye-to-the-historic-talbot-avenue-bridge/article\\_7df6cca2-1d79-57e9-8dd3-f797a77b32bc.html](https://www.thesentinel.com/communities/montgomery/news/residents-say-goodbye-to-the-historic-talbot-avenue-bridge/article_7df6cca2-1d79-57e9-8dd3-f797a77b32bc.html)

<sup>225</sup> Suzanne Pollack, "Residents Say Goodbye to the Historic Talbot Avenue Bridge."

<sup>226</sup> Maryland Transit Administration, "Talbot Avenue Bridge Design Meeting," Purple Line MD, April 16, 2019, <https://www.purplelinemd.com/component/downloads/send/71-talbot-avenue-bridge-design-meeting-april-16-2019/335-talbot-avenue-bridge-design-presentation>

The Talbot Avenue Bridge exemplifies a predominant diversity issue in the application of National Register guidelines. By emphasizing the visual aesthetics and architecture associated with historic structures/places, the cultural and social history is often overlooked when determining the significance and eligibility of a site for the National Register. In the case of the Talbot Avenue Bridge, the bridge was determined eligible for the National Register under Criterion C as an excellent example of “metal girder construction.”<sup>227</sup> The Talbot Avenue Bridge was a replacement of a previous bridge that had deteriorated and was unfunctional by 1918. The Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) inventory form notes that the bridge was significant as a “representative of steel plate girder roadway bridges associated with the early 20<sup>th</sup> century transportation infrastructure of Maryland during the period between World War I and World War II. The bridge reflects civil engineering design and building technologies associated with expansion of transportation during the post-WWI period of economic expansion.”<sup>228</sup> At that time, the bridge was noted as possessing a high degree of integrity that made it eligible for the National Register as the “bridge retained its character-defining elements including plate and rolled girders, abutments, and column bents.”<sup>229</sup>

This eligibility determination completely overlooked the cultural and social significance of the bridge as the SHA documented the bridge’s area of significance as

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<sup>227</sup> Maryland State Highway Administration. Talbot Avenue Over CSXT Railroad,” Maryland Historical Trust, Historic Inventory of Historic Bridges, 2001, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2036-30.pdf>

<sup>228</sup> Maryland Historic Trust, 52.

<sup>229</sup> Maryland Historical Trust, 4.

pertaining only to engineering and transportation.<sup>230</sup> Though it was considered individually eligible for the National Register, the Talbot Avenue Bridge never went through the nomination and designation process, so the Purple Line project lead relied only on the SHA documentation whose significance didn't discuss any of the social and cultural history associated with the bridge. By relying on that limited finding, Purple Line planners failed to consider the bridge's value as the "connective tissue" between historically black and white communities.<sup>231</sup> In recent developments, the MHT in 2018, updated the inventory form to discuss the cultural and social significance of the bridge to the Linden community.

The Talbot Avenue Bridge had been in poor condition even before the Purple Line project began. Prior to its eligibility determination, "a 1993 inspection report found that the bridge was in fair to poor condition with cracking, corrosion and section loss."<sup>232</sup> By 2016, the bridge was rated the most deteriorated bridge in the county, thus local officials did not object to the state plan to demolish it. Charlotte Lattuca, Maryland's executive director of transit development and delivery is quoted in the *Post* noting that if it wasn't for the Purple Line project, the county would have replaced the bridge a long time ago.<sup>233</sup> At that point, the integrity of the bridge had been lost. The traffic and use of the bridge over the years may have decreased, which would have contributed to its poor maintenance by the Maryland Department of

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<sup>230</sup> Maryland Historical Trust, 53.

<sup>231</sup> Shaver, 4.

<sup>232</sup> Maryland Historical Trust, 882.

<sup>233</sup> Shaver, 4.

Transportation. In 2018, *the Baltimore Sun* conducted an analysis on Maryland bridges and found that about 5.4% of state bridges were determined to be in ‘poor’ and ‘structurally deficient condition. Officials and experts have stated that a bridge determined to be in poor condition, doesn’t mean its unsafe as any bridge deemed ‘structurally unsound’ would be closed. The deterioration of a bridge left in poor condition though will accelerate if left unrepaired or rehabilitated,<sup>234</sup> not unlike what happened with the Talbot Avenue Bridge. Rehabilitation of older bridges can be expensive, so neglecting the Talbot Avenue Bridge could be considered comparable to other bridges in the state.

The critical issue here though is that the cultural and social value of the bridge was not recognized or documented in the preservation process. If the bridge’s social and cultural value to the Linden community was recognized and documented, it may have resulted in a better outcome. For example, the bridge could have been rehabilitated or restored; or the design of the new bridge could have incorporated elements of the older bridge’s character. Marginalized communities have traditionally been excluded from the preservation process. In pursuing a more equitable preservation, the field must allow historically marginalized communities to define heritage and the places that matter to them. The Linden community’s relationship to the bridge was overlooked, where the bridge is located, where the power to define the value of the bridge itself should have originated.

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<sup>234</sup> Christine Zhang and Christina Tkacik, “How Safe are Maryland’s Bridges?” *The Baltimore Sun*, October 8, 2018, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/bs-md-bridge-collapse-maryland-20180815-story.html>

Heritage is not always about physical spaces. The Talbot Avenue Bridge for example, as described by Linden residents, was more than just a means of access to services, but a symbol, a place of gathering, celebration, play, and more. Jeremy Wells notes that “a lot of the language normalized in preservation planning treats heritage as an object while, in reality, heritage is connected to meanings that people have, the identity they derive from a place, and the overall process and the experiences people have embedded in a place.”<sup>235</sup> If this is true, prioritizing the values the community holds concerning the places that matter to them is imperative in the pursuit of preservation. This could be done by finding more ways to document and protect the intangible heritage of communities. For example, San Francisco has made an intentional effort to document and safeguard the cultural heritage of communities through various initiatives like their legacy business registry and the creation of their cultural districts. San Francisco’s Cultural Districts are areas defined by a specific cultural/ethnic group’s cultural and historical contributions to the city and are given financial support.<sup>236</sup> The cultural district program is tied to a specific cultural or ethnic group that has historically been oppressed, displaced, and discriminated against; the program was established as a corrective measure to the various historic inequitable practices that led to gentrification. The districts are distinguished by the activities that happen within them, including businesses, service,

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<sup>235</sup> Jeremy Wells, “Social Capital, Identity, Emotion and Dissonance” (lecture, University of Maryland, College Park, February 17, 2021).

<sup>236</sup> Meaghan Mitchell, “Here’s How San Francisco’s Cultural Districts Work,” *The San Francisco Standard*, March 18, 2021, <https://sfstandard.com/arts-culture/heres-how-san-franciscos-cultural-districts-work/>

arts, events, and social practices.<sup>237</sup> These cultural districts display how preservation practice is evolving from an architecture and aesthetic-focused field to one that prioritizes the needs of the living culture of communities and by focusing on strengthening and protecting cultural heritage (local businesses, arts, traditions, and practices).

Prioritizing the values that communities hold could also mean championing a more values-based approach to preservation. Value-centered planning and management emerged as a way of formalizing strategies for dealing with new challenges in preservation.<sup>238</sup> Value-centered planning can be a more equitable approach when working in marginalized communities. Values-centered preservation acknowledges the multiple valid meanings of a particular place and establishes a process where practitioners can track the changing meanings of a particular place.<sup>239</sup> This is important when it comes to addressing the heritage of underrepresented communities as it acknowledges that the values and meanings associated with heritage are constantly evolving. Value-centered preservation also emphasizes dealing holistically with sites and addressing both the historic *and contemporary* values of a place.<sup>240</sup> It also allows for a more inclusive planning process that not only ensures that all values of a site are recognized and implemented into the planning

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<sup>237</sup> San Francisco Administrative Code, Chapter 107, 2021.  
[https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/san\\_francisco/latest/sf\\_admin/0-0-0-59520](https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/san_francisco/latest/sf_admin/0-0-0-59520)

<sup>238</sup> Randall Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation,” *CRM Journal*, 3, no. 2 (2006), 21-48.  
<https://www.nps.gov/crps/CRMJournal/Summer2006/view2.html>

<sup>239</sup> Mason, 32.

<sup>240</sup> Mason, 21.

process but includes a greater range of stakeholders as it relies on the knowledge of both experts and lay people. In the case for Linden, a values-centered preservation would have allowed for various stakeholders in the Purple Line project to understand the multiple meanings and values associated with the bridge.

When it comes to prioritizing and celebrating the values and heritage of Linden, several efforts were made to do just that with the Talbot Avenue Bridge, prior to the HAER documentation and later demolition. In 2018, David Rotenstein curated a pop-up museum on the bridge with illustrated panels attached to the bridge rail and signposts. In addition, residents from both sides of the bridge collaborated to throw a centennial celebration with food, music, and an art exhibit. Artists have produced paintings and drawings of the bridge and a local filmmaker made a short documentary.<sup>241</sup> All these efforts to celebrate and document the significance of the bridge and its relationship to the Linden community display an effort to memorialize and preserve the meanings, values, and memories that the bridge held despite its demolition and the under appreciation of its cultural and social significance by the larger preservation field. The 100th anniversary of the Talbot Avenue Bridge celebration in 2018 also came with another historic moment. On September 15, 2018, the North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Citizens Associations Board renounced the racially restrictive deed covenants and the history of racial bigotry that prevented African Americans and others from owning property and living in their neighborhood. This resolution occurred a year before the destruction of the Talbot

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<sup>241</sup> Rotenstein, 4.



Avenue Bridge for the Purple Line project. The resolution specifically recognizes that the current and former residents of Linden – their next-door neighbors – have personally experienced racial bigotry within the bounds of North Woodside. It also acknowledges that the racially restrictive covenants were used to perpetuate North Woodside’s status as a racially segregated neighborhood as seen with the *Evening Star* article referenced earlier.<sup>242</sup>

As part of the Section 106 mitigation requirement, HAER photographed, researched, and documented the Talbot Avenue Bridge. The research for HAER documentation took place between 2016-2018, while photographs were taken in early 2019. The report also included archival research and oral histories to document Linden history, filling a gap in telling the stories of the Linden community.<sup>243</sup> Historian David Rotenstein, completed research on the history of the Bridge and the development of Linden for the HAER project.

In addition to the HAER documentation, mitigation for the Talbot Avenue Bridge demolition will include a new neighborhood park at 2205 Kansas Avenue. The purpose of the project is to create a “neighborhood green and a rest stop with amenities along the Capital Crescent Trail, while providing environmental benefits, accessibility, and social connections.”<sup>244</sup> Further, an exhibit highlighting the history of the Linden community is currently in development and will be displayed in one of

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<sup>242</sup> David Rotenstein, “Racial Restrictive Covenants Renounced at Celebration.”

<sup>243</sup> Rotenstein, 4.

<sup>244</sup> “Lyttonsville Area – Future Neighborhood Park,” Montgomery Parks, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://montgomeryparks.org/projects/directory/lyttonsville-area-future-neighborhood-park-project/>

the rooms at the Gwendolyn Coffield Community Center, located on 2450 Lyttonsville Road in Silver Spring.

Linden, one of Montgomery County's oldest neighborhoods has evolved significantly within the past twenty years. Linden today is a family-oriented, racially diverse community. The neighborhood includes families who have lived there their whole life and young, newer ones. Residents have noted how "welcoming" the neighborhood is and how it has retained a "good sense of community," with neighbors knowing one another and willing to help one another out.<sup>245</sup> The Purple Line project and the recent adoption of the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan in 2017 by the Montgomery County Planning Department will have a tremendous impact on the future of the neighborhood. The Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan will seek to preserve the unique character and assets of the area while also leveraging the new light rail transit stations to address the needs and amenities of the Greater Lyttonsville community. The Purple Line project revealed how the initial documentation of the Talbot Avenue Bridge, completely glossed over the cultural and social value and meanings associated with the bridge, revealing a critical issue in the preservation field today – the excess emphasis on the architecture and aesthetic elements of places at the expense of other values. When preservation practice places an unnecessary emphasis on the architecture and physical integrity of places at the expense of community-based social and cultural values, it excludes places that tell important stories about

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<sup>245</sup> Kathy Orton, "Lyttonsville, one of Montgomery's Oldest Neighborhoods, Braces for Change," *The Washington Post*, February 3, 2021, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/lyttonsville-one-of-montgomerys-oldest-neighborhoods-braces-for-change/2021/02/02/7341029c-60ff-11eb-9061-07abcc1f9229\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/realestate/lyttonsville-one-of-montgomerys-oldest-neighborhoods-braces-for-change/2021/02/02/7341029c-60ff-11eb-9061-07abcc1f9229_story.html)

our shared history. Despite its demolition, the history and meanings associated with the bridge have been celebrated and documented through a joint effort by the Lyttonsville community, surrounding neighborhoods as well as local partners and organizations.

The struggle to save the bridge shows the need for an inclusive planning process that recognizes the historical harm and trauma placed on ethnically marginalized communities like Linden, who have traditionally not been able to preserve the places that matter to them. The past disregard of Linden and the community's needs contributed to the diminution of the voices of the community in planning and designing the future they imagine for their neighborhood.

## Chapter 6: Recovering Linden

Underrepresented communities like Linden have faced erasure, devaluation, discrimination, and structural racism, which has made preserving the assets and landscapes associated with them difficult within the paradigms of orthodox preservation and its standards. Preserving the places and histories associated with underrepresented communities requires using heterodox preservation tools like oral histories, GIS mapping, showcases, storytelling, interpretation, and more.

Over the years, Linden has faced many challenges including railroad takings, industrial rezoning, multiple instances of residential displacement and negative environmental impacts from nearby industrial, military, and public facilities. By orthodox preservation standards, Linden lacks the historic and material integrity to qualify for landmark or historic district designation. Thus, the preservation of Linden must be approached differently. As discussed previously, several efforts have been made in the recent past to document and celebrate the significant places and history of the Linden community.

This research has sought to use mapping and oral histories to add to this effort and establish a sense of place for Linden as it was pre-urban renewal and the drastic erasure and destruction of its historic and cultural landscape. The oral histories have revealed a more complete and authentic understanding of what Linden was pre-urban renewal. The oral histories provided insight into the political, social, and economic conditions of the Linden neighborhood during the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Importantly, the oral histories provided a space in which current and former residents were able to reveal their local and situational knowledge/expertise of the cultural and

physical landscape of the community, filling in the critical gaps that were not documented and/or available in archival research.

As discussed in Chapter 1, nine interviews were conducted over February-March with current and former Linden community residents. The interviews were guided by an oral history protocol (see Appendix A). This protocol engaged interviewees with a variety of questions from family history and education to experiences with segregation and urban renewal. These questions aimed to get a better understanding of the neighborhood's community infrastructure and how residents navigated the different aspects of life, such as housing and schooling, while living under the white spatial imaginary that defined the experiences of African American borderland communities living on the Washington DC-Maryland line.

The oral histories revealed several key findings including that people's homes were often the setting for social activities and gatherings. The Linden neighborhood, an isolated and segregated community, did not have the same access to social amenities and services afforded to their white counterparts in Silver Spring. This was confirmed in seven of the nine interviews where interviewees explained how in their free time their social activities were largely tied to people's homes. For example, Ella Redfield describes hanging out at Miss Hassie Bates home as a teenager: "*she would have a jukebox at her house...and on Fridays and Saturdays [we would] listen to music, put money in the jukebox...and hangout.*"<sup>246</sup> Another home in the community that was a place of social gatherings was Moses Walker. Ella explains how Moses

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<sup>246</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

had built a one room building behind his house where there was a bar, pool table, and a jukebox. She along with her friends would go down there on the weekends to hang out as well.<sup>247</sup> Similarly, Robin Redfield recounts that a lot of their socialization was done at home: *“our cousins would come on the weekends and other family members. In the neighborhood we played games. We would listen to music.... would play card games, drink, and eat.”*<sup>248</sup>

Another finding confirmed that Linden residents often frequented Washington DC for entertainment, particularly watching movies or live shows. This was because Silver Spring, a sundown suburb would remain strictly segregated, resisting integration well into the 1960s.<sup>249</sup> Five interviewees discussed how they would go into DC for entertainment and shopping with friends and family. For example, Pat Tyson noted how her father would get tickets for her and her sister and they would go to the Howard Theater every Tuesday night: *“It was really nice. That was a lot of fun,”* she explains.<sup>250</sup> Similarly, Ella reflected on her experiences going to the Howard Theater: *“we would get a whole busload of Motown people...we were able to see Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Diana Ross and the Supremes, and Marvin Gaye, Mary Wells.... all five acts doing performances in one show”* (Figure 20).<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>248</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>249</sup> David Rotenstein, “Silver Spring, Maryland Has Whitewashed its Past,” History News Network, October 15, 2016, <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/163914>

<sup>250</sup> Patricia Tyson, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>251</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

Martha Savoy explains how she'd frequent several different Black theaters in DC including Dunbar Theater where she'd "stay all day."<sup>252</sup>



Figure 20. The Howard Theater. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Furthermore, sports like softball and football were common social activities that brought the community together. Eight interviewees discussed sports as one of their main social activities. For example, Curtis Crutchfield associates many of his social activities with friends often involving sports: "*You could walk through the woods towards the base [a military installation that used to be near Brookville Road] and there was a big field that we used to play football and just play games.*"<sup>253</sup> Robin Redfield recounted the spontaneous games they held in the neighborhood, where everybody participated: "*we played kickball, we played softball. It was adults. It was kids...People would come out and then more people would come.*"<sup>254</sup> She fondly

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<sup>252</sup> Martha Savoy, in discussion with the author, Washington DC, March 2023.

<sup>253</sup> Curtis Crutchfield, in discussion with the author, Bowie, Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>254</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

added, “*this was probably one of my best memories, that kind of thing.*”<sup>255</sup> Ella echoed a familiar memory, explaining “*....in the summertime we used to have baseball games. That was real good fun and people from the neighborhood would bring their chair [and] it was like being at a ball game.*”<sup>256</sup>

An additional major finding was the two churches in the neighborhood – Pilgrim Baptist Church and Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal Church – were pillars of the community, bringing families together through social activity and fellowship (Figure 21). For example, Theresa Saxton noted, “*in those days there weren’t many places...that were open to us....so the church as in all communities of color...was the hub, basically the social life.*”<sup>257</sup> Similarly, Staley Jackson recalled the bus trips that Pilgrim Baptist Church organized every year: “*We used to have a trip to the beach....a trip to Atlantic City...My grandmother used to make sure I went.*”<sup>258</sup>



Figure 21. Sunday school children and their teachers of Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, c. 1914-1920. Source: Courtesy of Patricia Tyson.

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<sup>255</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>256</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>257</sup> Theresa Saxton, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

<sup>258</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.



Further, all interviewees emphasized the role the church played in their formative years of childhood. For example, Tracey Frazier-Akparawa stated: “*Sunday school was huge...I remember being in certain programs. Like we used to have to recite stuff. The church was a staple...*”<sup>259</sup> Specifically, Tracey notes how important the church was for her mother, who was heavily involved in church activities and how the Tyson family would often minister to her when she was younger. Staley explained the integral role Pilgrim Baptist Church played during his early childhood: “*We had Sunday school class and Sunday school teachers who were...eager to teach us...and they did a lot with us...our church experience was very good for us as kids because it was just like school*” (Figure 22).<sup>260</sup>

Attending church and participating in religious events/services contributed to creating a sense of community in Linden. Robin confirms this when she notes, “*The churches we went to there were mostly the people from our neighborhoods. It created like a sense of community.*” Pat Tyson expresses a similar sentiment stating that, “*those two churches...held families together.*”<sup>261</sup>

Moreover, the people interviewed spanned different generations, although almost everyone experienced segregated and integrated school systems. Under segregation, Linden residents had extremely limited if any interactions with white people. In many ways, Linden residents lived in their own world under segregation. Laurieann Duarte

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<sup>259</sup> Tracey Frazier-Akparawa, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>260</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>261</sup> Patricia Tyson, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

confirms this, noting how they rarely ever went outside of their segregated community. She stated: “*everything that we had was in that community.*”<sup>262</sup>



Figure 22. *Pilgrim Baptist Church Boys Sunday School.* Source: Courtesy of Patricia Tyson.

Although with integration this would change, especially for the younger generation who started attending school with white students. People’s experiences with the segregated and integrated school systems varied but there were some overlaps. For one, the transition from segregation to integration expanded the Linden youth’s world, who now were meeting and interacting with different people, particularly white people. This was confirmed with four interviewees. Laurieann Duarte and Tracey Frazier-Akparawa, who were both born in the 1960s had a different school experience than their older sister, Robin Redfield, who was born in the 1950s. Laurieann explained that when she and Tracey attended Rosemary Hills

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<sup>262</sup> Laurieann Duarte, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

Elementary School, it was “becoming known for its diversity,” even though it was still predominantly white. She exclaimed, “*I can recall being in classrooms with people who were Asian or Indian descent...Chinese, African...*”<sup>263</sup> Laurieann experienced several instances of re-districting and so attended multiple different schools including Rock Creek Forest Elementary School, Montgomery Hills Junior High, and Leeland Junior High. She explains that this re-districting occurred when “environments became predominantly diverse.” With all this redistricting, she remembers being one of the first Blacks to integrate Rock Creek Forest Elementary and Leeland Junior High. Robin’s school experience differed from her younger sisters. Robin explains, “*they probably felt a little more comfortable interacting with different races..., especially white people. But it was always uncomfortable even when I went to Rosemary Hills...we definitely did not get treated the same.*”<sup>264</sup> Robin explained how going outside of the community was not secure. She stated how “we definitely probably felt inferior” but that when her two sisters Laurieann and Tracey started going to school things started to change.<sup>265</sup>

Even with integration, Staley explained learning how to interact with white people did not come easy: “*I didn’t know how to interact with the white kids. We were always prohibited from interacting with white people. And so when we went there [school] we.... didn’t say anything much.... [made] sure we didn’t aggravate*

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<sup>263</sup> Laurieann Duarte, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>264</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>265</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

*anybody...So that you wouldn't get in any kind of trouble.*"<sup>266</sup> These statements display how Linden youth had greater interactions with white people when integration occurred, more so than the older generations. In segregation, most people from the neighborhood did not talk or interact much with white people, unless they were doing work for them. The nature of these increased interactions differed among interviewees though and were not always pleasant to say the least. For example, Ella Redfield discusses the difficulty she had in her integrated school experiences: *"In my entire school life experience I was always separated. It was integration in terms of... legally but we were challenged in school."*<sup>267</sup> She explained how her teachers were prejudiced and how Blacks were not given the same privileges of white children. For example, she noted how Black children were automatically put into occupational preparatory classes and were not given the option for college prep classes. Staley Jackson had a unique experience in that his eighth-grade math teacher pulled him aside one day and told him to sign up for college prep courses when he entered high school at Montgomery Blair the next year. *"I signed up for college prep. And I had no idea what I was getting into. And what it turned out was I was the only black student in college prep [laughs]...it became a pride thing with me...that I was able to do the work that the smartest kids in the school was able to do."*<sup>268</sup>

Another key finding was that schooling, especially after integration, provided new opportunities and experiences for Linden youth. This was confirmed in four

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<sup>266</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>267</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.

<sup>268</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

interviews. For example, Staley exclaimed: “*when they integrated the schools and I got to high school we were able to...join sport teams.*”<sup>269</sup> Staley would go on to wrestle, play football, and baseball, with his skills particularly in wrestling helping him get into Howard University. Additionally, schools like the churches in the neighborhood provided opportunities for social activity. This was verified with six interviewees. For example, Theresa, who attended Military Road School when she was younger explains how there were many extracurricular activities offered including Mayday celebrations, talent shows, hayrides, Christmas plays, and more.<sup>270</sup> These school activities didn’t always take place on school grounds. Tracey recalls a neighbor who had an agreement with the school system and hosted activities for kids at her house: “*She would do art. I remember being so excited. It was one of my favorite places because that’s where I learned how to do collages.*”<sup>271</sup> Similarly, Laurieann talks about how another neighbor/relative and community activist Gwendolyn Coffield had after school activities for kids in the neighborhood: “*she [Gwen] decided early on to have something structured for children...and every now and then we would go there....she started it like when we were young and then it actually grew and she transitioned actually into Rosemary Elementary School having programs there.*”<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>270</sup> Theresa Saxton, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

<sup>271</sup> Tracey Frazier-Akparawa, in discussion with the author, March 2023

<sup>272</sup> Laurieann Duarte, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

Furthermore, since interviewees spanned multiple generations, most of them had different memories about urban renewal and what it meant to them, their families, and the neighborhood. Most of the people interviewed did not have strong perceptions of what urban renewal would be. Pat explains how she didn't have any perception of what urban renewal was going to do for the neighborhood: *"I didn't have any real perception because you take it that your leaders know more than you do. And that they want to help...that they want to do the right thing, that they're going to look out for you."*<sup>273</sup> One key finding confirmed with six interviewees was that urban renewal was a time of great transition and change for the neighborhood. Staley who grew up on Brookville Road talked about the zoning changes that would occur around the time of urban renewal. Specifically, Brookville Road would be rezoned from residential to commercial. Talking about this change, Staley noted: *"There wasn't going to be any urban renewal for the people who lived over here. They were going to be tearing these houses down."*<sup>274</sup> Staley Jackson discussed how the families who lived "over in the field" were getting their homes renewed, which was not going to be the case for families who lived "over on the road." Curtis, along with several of his extended family who lived on Brookville Road, talked about coming back to Linden after his family had moved out and seeing the effects of the re-zoning: *"I think most of that area where we lived, I think was pretty much cleared out. And I think in subsequent years, the rest of the neighborhood was cleared out."*<sup>275</sup> Laurieann

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<sup>273</sup> Pat Tyson, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

<sup>274</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>275</sup> Curtis Crutchfield, in discussion with the author, Bowie, Maryland, February 2023.

likewise talks about how urban renewal would alter the fabric of Linden: “....it was the beginning of the families in the neighborhood beginning to feel like this loss of community because some families moved out...it was like the initiation of another sort of migration...”<sup>276</sup>

Another major finding was in the characterization of the Linden neighborhood and its residents. All interviewees confirmed that Linden is synonymous with family, home, a place where everybody looked out for each other. When characterizing Linden, Curtis exclaimed, “It was a big sense of family, never worried about being hurt...to me it was a nurturing environment.” The Frazier sisters talked about Linden in similar terms, noting how growing up there made them “feel secure.” Pat similarly characterizes Linden as a place of security as well: “I think that all the kids in Linden were really protected. It didn't have to necessarily be your parents, other people looked at for you in the neighborhood. And other people wanted to help you to do whatever they could.”<sup>277</sup>

Minor findings include that Linden had no easy, accessible grocery store so residents had to go to predominantly white areas like Montgomery Hills or downtown Silver Spring. This was confirmed by all interviewees who discussed catching a ride or a taxi to get groceries. For example, Staley explained that before Montgomery Hills got a grocery store, which was much closer to the neighborhood, his grandmother would go into Silver Spring to buy clothes or grocery shop.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Laurieann Duarte, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>277</sup> Pat Tyson, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, March 2023.

<sup>278</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

Additionally, Linden was a neighborhood of extended families, where different generations lived together. Four interviewees corroborated this when discussing their family and household. Many lived with extended families in homes that sometimes were not big enough for everyone who resided there. For example, Robin Redfield talked about how she lived in her grandmother's house with not only her immediate family but her grandparents, aunts, uncle, and cousin. This meant "*the families pretty much had to share bedrooms...*"<sup>279</sup> Likewise, Staley lived with a lot of his extended family, exclaiming, "*my grandmother had three other daughters who were still living there. And they had children who was still living there.*"<sup>280</sup>

Lastly, Linden did not have equitable access to transportation until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and so walking was the most common way to get anywhere. This was confirmed with all nine interviewees, who talked extensively about walking to go anywhere whether it was to school, to go shopping, or attend church. For instance, Martha noted all the walking she had to do growing up in Linden: "*We.... did a lot of walking. We'd walk to catch the bus. Walk to Georgia Avenue...to Grace Church Road.*"<sup>281</sup> Similarly, Ella noted: "*we walked because...until I got grown.... [was when] they put bus service in Lyttonsville. We had to walk either to Montgomery Hills...or to East-West Highway to get transportation.*"<sup>282</sup> Curtis Crutchfield likewise

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<sup>279</sup> Robin Redfield, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>280</sup> Staley Jackson, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>281</sup> Martha Savoy, in discussion with the author, March 2023.

<sup>282</sup> Ella Redfield, in discussion with the author, Silver Spring, Maryland, February 2023.



exclaimed: “*So far as getting around if we were going somewhere as kids we walked.*”<sup>283</sup>

All these findings provide a more complete picture of the Linden neighborhood. Silver Spring was a sundown suburb, defined by its collection of racially restrictive housing covenants and a culture of white supremacy, forcing African American residents to carve out their own spaces. Oral histories revealed that the Linden community was characterized as a place of security, a nurturing environment, where everyone looked out for one another. Linden was a place where people’s homes were often places of gatherings, where sports and church brought families together in fellowship and social activity.

The limitations of these findings include the time and capacity constraints of the author; these constraints meant only a small fraction of former residents could be interviewed and so cannot speak for a significant sample of the former population. Further documentation of Linden could benefit from additional interviews with former residents to help further define the social-spatial landscape of Linden before urban renewal. Also, additional interviews and research would provide the opportunity to delve deeper into specific subjects and topics as they relate to the story of Linden like Montgomery County’s transition from segregation to integration.

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<sup>283</sup> Curtis Crutchfield, in discussion with the author, Bowie, Maryland, February 2023.

## Conclusion

The field of historic preservation has been used to preserve historic sites and revitalize neighborhoods through various tools including rehabilitation, reuse, and landmark designation. Though preservation has championed many benefits, it has largely served white property owners, who have had the wealth and resources to preserve the places that matter to them. Underrepresented communities haven't been able to share equally in these benefits. Marginalized communities, who are often ethnically and racially marginalized have endured centuries of structural racism, including redlining, disinvestment, and race-based zoning that has affected their ability to control and own physical space as well as maintain and invest in their historic sites and neighborhoods. Additionally, orthodox preservation standards and tools has often valued the architectural and aesthetic dimensions of heritage over values like social and cultural significance. Scholars have delineated how this emphasis on architecture can be a barrier to inclusive preservation. For example, Randall Mason, Richard Longstreth, and Vincent Michael critique the high architectural standards informing the NHPA pointing out the way preservation regulations subordinate local and cultural significance rooted in architecture.<sup>284</sup> This overemphasis on architecture built into the field's regulatory policies have disproportionally impacted the preservation of marginalized communities and vernacular landscapes.

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<sup>284</sup> Randall Mason, Richard Longstreth, and Vincent Michael as cited in Andrea Roberts, "Preservation without Representation: Making CLG programs Vehicles for Inclusive Leadership, Historic Preservation, and Engagement," *Societies* 10, no. 3 (2020): 6.

The effects of over two centuries of structural racism continue today, where marginalized communities, particularly minority groups, are often on the lower end of the economic spectrum. For example, homeownership is often tied to American's net worth, where sharp disparities between marginalized communities and white households are apparent. Kijazaki et al. (2016) explored wealth disparities in Washington DC finding that "80 percent of whites with a high school diploma or less are homeowners, while fewer than 45 percent of all Blacks in the District are homeowners. Fifty-eight percent of Black households do not own homes."<sup>285</sup> This disparity is important to address as preservation policy has supported white supremacy in its relationship to property and white, high style visual culture.<sup>286</sup> Jeremy Wells explains "no aspect of preservation policy can be divorced from the treatment of property and its ownership."<sup>287</sup> The white homeownership rates and business and industrial property ownership are significantly higher than for other marginalized ethnic groups. Thus, preservation policy continues to benefit white people the most because of these high rates of ownership. The field must work to uplift underrepresented communities so the heritage, places, and stories attached to these communities can be documented and celebrated.

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<sup>285</sup> Kilolo Kijakazi, Rachel Marie Brooks Atkins, Mark Paul, Anne Price, Darrick Hamilton, and William A. Darity Jr. "The Color of Wealth in the Nation's Capital," The Urban Institute, November 2016, [https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/85341/2000986-2-the-color-of-wealth-in-the-nations-capital\\_8.pdf](https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/85341/2000986-2-the-color-of-wealth-in-the-nations-capital_8.pdf)

<sup>286</sup> Jeremy Wells, "10 Ways Historic Preservation Policy Supports White Supremacy," (Article Draft 5, 2021), 17.

<sup>287</sup> Jeremy Wells, "10 Ways Historic Preservation Policy Supports White Supremacy," (Article Draft 5, 2021).

The Linden community developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in the borderlands of the Washington DC-Maryland line, a space defined by anti-Black racism, discriminatory housing policies, and Jim Crow segregation. The discriminatory policies of the time contributed to inequalities in health, education, housing, income, wealth, and more. Linden's community infrastructure, like many segregated African American communities, was anchored in their churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. The socio-spatial landscape of the Linden neighborhood was defined by a culture in which people took care of one another, where fellowship and community were found in their homes, churches, and schools, and where residents alongside other African American advocates and groups fought for improved conditions and services.

The story of Linden is presented in a StoryMap called Recovering Linden (Figure 23).



*Figure 23. Recovering Linden StoryMap.*

<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/cf603dd2a4e4474e8b704d76d21fea38>

The research and story presented in this paper and StoryMap is not the ending point as there are countless more stories to be told and celebrated about this community. The heritage of Linden is not static and will continue to evolve as the community continues to grow and develop. To address the role the preservation field, its policies, and practices can have in preserving the Linden community in the future, it must work to challenge the ways its policies and practices have supported white supremacy. Preservation must also work to center the perspectives of underrepresented communities to better understand what matters to them. This process can start by:

- 1. Prioritizing citizen control in the preservation planning process.**

To protect the heritage and significant sites associated with the Linden community and other underrepresented communities, a more inclusive preservation planning process is needed. The Secretary of Interior Standards for Preservation Planning emphasizes the need for public participation and that it is most valuable “when it is used to assist in defining values of properties and preservation planning issues.”<sup>288</sup> In reality, a lot of the methods used in the field do not genuinely engage with communities to incorporate their perspective and values. For example, public meetings usually involve conventional preservation experts conveying information to stakeholders to distribute information not to necessarily encourage participate. Public hearings also do not require that the public’s perspective must be considered in the

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<sup>288</sup> “Preservation Planning Standards,” National Park Service, accessed April 29, 2023, [https://www.nps.gov/articles/sec\\_stds\\_planning\\_standards.htm](https://www.nps.gov/articles/sec_stds_planning_standards.htm)

process.<sup>289</sup> Another issue in preservation planning is it traditionally follows regulatory frameworks, which leaves all the power and authority in the experts, while the civil experts are ignored. Expertise can exist in multiple forms, meaning it can reside in communities and not just professional preservationists. Local knowledge, situational knowledge should be considered just as important as expert knowledge. This research for example was co-produced with the Linden community and reliant on the local knowledge and expertise that came from their collective memories and experiences growing up in the Linden neighborhood in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A planning process that is community-driven, embodies an expansive preservation that eliminates the idea of the gatekeeper and empowers the community to define heritage and the places they want to protect.

## **2. Enact policy changes that utilize a value-based approach to preservation.**

As discussed in Chapter 5, values-centered preservation, acknowledges the multiple valid meanings associated with a place, embraces approaching sites holistically to address historic and contemporary values, and includes a larger range of stakeholders, relying on both experts and the public.<sup>290</sup> This approach would help champion a more equitable preservation as it does not favor or emphasize one aspect of heritage over another, which has been discouraged in international conservation best practices. For example, the Burra Charter, adopted by the Queensland Heritage

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<sup>289</sup> Jeremy Wells, “10 Ways Historic Preservation Policy Supports White Supremacy,” (Article Draft 5, 2021).

<sup>290</sup> Randall Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation,” *CRM Journal*, 3, no. 2 (2006), 21-48.  
<https://www.nps.gov/crps/CRMJournal/Summer2006/view2.html>

Council in 1999, contains conservation policies that if embraced in U.S. preservation can begin to address the racial inequity issues inherent in its policy framework. The Burra Charter notes that conservation should recognize that significance is dependent just as much on the meanings associated with these places as in the physical fabric. This concept is emphasized in Article 5: “the conservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.”<sup>291</sup> As discussed earlier, U.S. municipalities’ preservation ordinances (which are heavily influenced by the National Register standards) often emphasize the value of historic integrity and the materiality of place before the consideration of other elements like social and cultural values. The Burra Charter shows that culturally significant places shouldn’t consider one value at the expense of others. Thus, giving equal weight to values in the preservation process is critical to a more equitable and just future in preservation. In addition, a values-centered preservation would recognize that heritage is a cultural process, more than something just concerned with the past. Jeremy Wells cites the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that recognize, “heritage is constantly created and defined by everyday people in response to their environment.”<sup>292</sup> L. Smith similarly defines heritage as a “cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and

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<sup>291</sup> Australia ICOMOS Incorporated International Council on Monuments and Sites. “The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance,” ICOMOS, 2013, <http://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/2145/1/ICOMOS-Australia-The-Burra-Charter-2013.pdf>

<sup>292</sup> Jeremy Wells. “Is There Such a Thing as Tangible Heritage?” *ForumJorunal* 32, no. 4 (2020): 17.

engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process.”<sup>293</sup>

These perspectives on what heritage means contradict how the field currently approaches heritage in the preservation planning process. It also does not align with how people understand heritage. In interviews conducted by anthropologist Laurajane Smith, “people overwhelmingly define heritage as meanings intertwined with their own identity and experiences rather than as in common belief some innate quality of objects.”<sup>294</sup> Thus, heritage is more than just something connected to buildings, objects, and sites. This research on the Linden community has revealed just that. Linden’s heritage, a community subjected to historic erasure, discriminatory policies, and devaluation, is not defined by physical buildings but in the individual and collective memories of its people, of their social ideals, values, and ways of life that created a community, an infrastructure that has endured for over a century.

By embracing a value-centered approach, planners and preservationists can collaborate with underrepresented communities to better understand the living culture of a site and how its meaning may have evolved from its historic significance. This is critical to a more equitable preservation because it acknowledges that these are living communities and that culture is a process not a static form. Also, it embraces a more inclusive planning process that ensures that all values of a site are recognized and implemented into the planning process.

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<sup>293</sup> Laurajane Smith, “Heritage as a Cultural Process,” in *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006): 44.

<sup>294</sup> Laurajane Smith as cited in Jeremy Wells, “Is There Such a Thing as Tangible Heritage?” *ForumJorunal* 32, no. 4 (2020): 18.



This research has sought to use mapping and oral histories to help establish a sense of place and define the socio-spatial landscape of Linden prior to the destructive effects of urban renewal. Embracing these heterodox preservation tools has helped produce a more complete picture of the Linden neighborhood and community.

# Appendix A

## Oral History Interview Protocol

1. Can you tell me a little about where you were born and raised?
2. Tell me a little about your family. Do you have brothers and sisters?
  - a. When did your family move to Lyttonsville?
3. What is the street address of where you lived in Lyttonsville?
  - a. Tell me about the house you grew up in? How many levels was it? How many rooms did it have?
4. What was your schooling like?
  - a. How did you get to school?
  - b. What classes did you take?
5. Did you and your family attend church? If so, where did you go?
  - a. How did religion affect your family and yourself?
6. When you were growing up, how did you get around? Did you use public transportation? What about your neighbors?
7. Where did most people go shopping for supplies (food, household items, etc.)?
8. What did you like to do in your free time?  
*Probe: What kind of social activities did you and other members of the community engage in?*
9. What were some of your favorite spots in the neighborhood?  
*Probe: What businesses or community institutions did you frequent the most? What are some of the memories you associate with these places?*
10. What did you do for work? What kind of jobs did your neighbors and other members of the community have?
11. How would you describe the general environment/atmosphere of the community when you were growing up?
12. Tell me about the level of political and social activism in the community?
  - a. Do you have any experience or memories of this activism? If so, how did this activism play out? Was there resistance?

13. I know Lyttonsville developed during the time of Jim Crow segregation and anti-Black sentiment. How did it shape your experiences growing up in this community?
  - a. Were there any sort of activities or facilities you could engage in Silver Spring during segregation? What if any were your interactions like with white members of the Silver Spring community?
14. I wanted to shift and discuss urban renewal and its impact on the neighborhood and community. First, were you still living in the neighborhood when urban renewal came around in the late 60s early 70s?
15. What was your initial perception of what urban renewal was when you first heard about it? Do you recall how Montgomery County painted what urban renewal would mean for Lyttonsville?
16. What if any expectations did you have about the urban renewal process?
17. What were your perceptions and feelings towards the County at that time of urban renewal?
18. How did urban renewal impact you and your family? Did you (could you) stay or leave?
  - a. How were other members of the community affected?
19. How did urban renewal transform the neighborhood (spatially, culturally, physically)?
20. How do you think the community has changed since your family first arrived? This could be in terms of demographics (race/age) of the neighborhood, of the community culture, the general atmosphere?
  - a. If you don't currently live in Linden, when did you move out of the neighborhood? Where did you move to? How long have you lived there?
21. When do you think of Lyttonsville today? What do you think of? What words come to mind?
22. Is there something else we haven't discussed that you'd like to share or talk about?

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