

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD, METROPOLITAN BRANCH BRIDGE 9A
(Talbot Avenue Bridge)

HAER No. MD-195

- LOCATION:** The Talbot Avenue Bridge crossed the CSX railroad tracks in Silver Spring, Montgomery County, Maryland. It was located at latitude 39.001986, longitude -77.044849. The coordinates were obtained in 2019 by plotting the bridge location in Google Maps.
- DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:** 1918
- BUILDER:** Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company
- PRESENT OWNER:** Montgomery County, Maryland
- PRESENT USE:** Removed from historic location, for future display in a public exhibit
- SIGNIFICANCE:** The Talbot Avenue Bridge was erected as a Baltimore and Ohio Railroad overpass. The bridge is significant as a well-preserved example of a railroad turntable recycled as a bridge. The bridge also is significant for its social history and as a cultural landscape element. The tracks beneath the bridge formed a dividing line separating segregated suburban communities. African Americans living west of the bridge in Lyttonsville relied on the structure as a vital link to jobs, shopping, and recreational opportunities unavailable in their community. People east of the bridge lived in what was historically a sundown suburb: a place where African Americans could not buy or rent homes and where Jim Crow segregation was rigidly enforced.
- HISTORIAN:** David S. Rotenstein, Ph.D., 2019
- PROJECT INFORMATION:** HAER recorded the Talbot Avenue Bridge in February 2019 prior to the bridge's removal in July 2019. HAER Architect Christopher H. Marston managed the project; Jarob Ortiz and Todd Croteau completed the photography. The Talbot Avenue Bridge is the subject of an independent research project by Dr. Rotenstein and he has conducted fieldwork in the neighboring Lyttonsville community.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1828 The Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad begins construction.
- 1853 Samuel Lytton buys four acres and begins farming there. Lytton's farm became the core of Lyttonsville.
- 1867 The B&O starts acquiring land and building the Metropolitan Branch linking Washington, D.C., and the railroad's main line in Frederick County.
- 1890 Perkins and Burrows platted a subdivision west of the Metropolitan Branch.
- 1891 The B&O begins acquiring land to build the Metropolitan Southern Railroad, a 6.7-mile freight-only line to Georgetown. The new line connects to the Metropolitan Branch at Georgetown Junction.
- 1918 The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad erects Bridge 9A to replace an existing timber bridge over the Metropolitan Branch near Georgetown Junction.
- 1948 The United States Supreme Court rules in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that racial restrictive deed covenants are not enforceable. Lyttonsville residents join other Montgomery County African American residents to form the Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement to demand better roads, schools, and water and sewerage.
- 1950s Montgomery County renames Railroad Avenue to Talbot Avenue and construction begins on the Rosemary Hills Elementary School.
- 1962 Montgomery County enacts an open accommodations law prohibiting discrimination in businesses on the basis of race.
- 1968 Montgomery County enacts an open housing law prohibiting discrimination in housing on the basis of race.
- 1969 Montgomery County undertakes surveys and begins planning for a countywide Community Renewal Program using federal urban renewal funds. Lyttonsville is selected as a project site.
- 1975 Urban renewal begins in Lyttonsville, installing utilities and paving roads.
- 1986 CSX abandons the Georgetown Branch freight railroad corridor. CSX also sells structures and abandoned rights-of-way to Montgomery County, including the Talbot Avenue Bridge.
- 1989 State of Maryland proposes constructing a light rail line in Montgomery County using the abandoned Georgetown Branch right-of-way
- 1997 The Capital Crescent Trail and the Georgetown Branch Interim Trail open on the former Georgetown Branch right-of-way between Georgetown, Bethesda, and Silver Spring.
- 2011 The United States Department of Transportation authorizes funding for the Purple Line light rail line.
- 2014 Maryland Transit Administration completes environmental impact statement for the Purple Line.
- 2019 The Talbot Avenue Bridge is removed as part of Purple Line construction in the CSX corridor, to be replaced by modern bridge. The central span is placed in storage for future display along the Georgetown Branch Trail.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Introduction

The Talbot Avenue Bridge was located in Montgomery County, Maryland. Built in 1918, it was an engineering structure in a cultural landscape with a long history of racial segregation. The bridge was intimately associated with the locality's development history and with the history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. By the last decades of the twentieth century, the bridge had become contested space and a symbol of uneven historic preservation practices in the suburban county — practices linked to the area's historical development that stigmatized one of the neighborhoods that the bridge connected as the wrong side of the tracks. For most of its history, the B&O and its successor, CSX Corporation, owned and maintained the structure before transferring it to Montgomery County in the last decades of the twentieth century. That transfer coincided with plans to construct the Purple Line, a new light railroad line using part of the existing rail right-of-way. Years of deferred maintenance by Montgomery County's Department of Transportation in anticipation of the Purple Line's plans to replace the bridge with a new structure resulted in the bridge being closed in 2017 to vehicular traffic. The bridge was demolished in July 2019, and the central span was moved and placed in storage.

A summary of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad's late nineteenth century expansion and the history of the bridge site and the neighborhoods it connected follows the structure's physical description. It is essential to understand how the bridge functioned as a transportation facility and as a symbol of racialized land use, segregation, and one community's resistance to anti-Black racism.¹ Lyttonsville is a historically African American community that was established in 1853 and it occupies much of the area west of the bridge. North Woodside, east of the bridge, is a neighborhood in Silver Spring, a sundown suburb where African Americans could not buy or rent homes or patronize many businesses for much of the twentieth century. The histories of the railroad that built the bridge, the communities that it connected, and the forces that led to Lyttonsville's stigmatization, erasure, and ultimately to the bridge's demolition are developed to contextualize the bridge as an engineering artifact and as an element situated within a historically significant cultural landscape.

DESCRIPTION

The Talbot Avenue Bridge is a three-span overpass spanning the CSX Railroad tracks. Surfaced

¹ The word "Black" is used interchangeably in this report to denote people of African descent or African Americans. Its capitalization and the use of lower-case "white" to denote people of European descent is intentional and in keeping with contemporary linguistics and cultural studies conventions. L.H. Burnett, "To 'B' or Not to 'B': On Capitalizing the Word 'Black,'" *Society for US Intellectual History* (blog), April 23, 2016, <https://s-usih.org/2016/04/to-b-or-not-to-b-on-capitalizing-the-word-black/>; Merrill Perlman, "Black and White: Why Capitalization Matters," *Columbia Journalism Review* (blog), June 23, 2015, https://www.cjr.org/analysis/language_corner_1.php; Lori L. Tharps, "Opinion | The Case for Black With a Capital B," *The New York Times*, December 21, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/19/opinion/the-case-for-black-with-a-capital-b.html>; Robert S. Wachal, "The Capitalization of Black and Native American," *American Speech* 75, no. 4 (December 1, 2000): 364–65.

local streets connected the bridge to 16th Street (Maryland State Route 390), a major highway to the east, and East-West Highway (Maryland State Route 410), a major highway to the south. Access to the Talbot Avenue Bridge from 16th Street was via Grace Church Road and access from East-West Highway is via Sundale Drive.

The neighborhood to southwest of the bridge, Lyttonsville, is an irregular-shaped unplanned suburban community of approximately 105 acres (0.16 square mile). Its primary streets include Brookville Road and Lyttonsville Road. North Woodside, the neighborhood north of the bridge, is an irregular unplanned suburban community of approximately 125 acres (0.19 square mile). North Woodside's primary streets include Second Avenue, Brookville Road, and Seminary Road. Divided by the CSX railroad tracks, both neighborhoods are near the District of Columbia-Maryland state line; the Talbot Avenue Bridge is 2,600 feet northwest of the North Corner Boundary Stone of the District of Columbia.

The bridge is 106' long by 18' wide carrying a 14'-6" roadway. There are two 22' approach spans constructed from steel I-beams anchored to by steel plates to reinforced concrete abutments and bolted to two steel bents supporting the 58' center span. The bents were constructed using two metal I-beams anchored in battered concrete footings with L-beam diagonals and an L-beam horizontal tie riveted to a gusset plate in the center. The bents were later reinforced by additional diagonals. The approach spans include lateral bracing that replaced original elements beneath wood floor beams supporting a wood deck. The original bents were broken in several places and heavily oxidized.

The through-girder center span consists of fourteen riveted panels, a center splice panel, and two end panels. Originally fabricated as a locomotive turntable, the girders were inverted with the flat flange on the bottom (lower) and bowed portion originally built to fit into a turntable pit on the top. The turntable girders were modified by removing the wheels that were located in the end panels and the center flange was cut to remove the pivot that would have anchored the turntable to its foundation inside a pit. Additional modifications, as indicated in railroad drawings, were the replacement of rivets in the lower flange with bolts, nine tie rods and two I-beam struts, and wood floor beams connect the girders and support a diagonally-laid wood bridge deck.

There are wood hand rails attached to the three spans; alloy W-beam guardrails were added later, probably after Montgomery County assumed ownership in the 1980s. The guardrails reduced the original 16' and two-lane roadway to a single lane. The bridge underwent substantial rehabilitations in 1987 and 1996, with bent reinforcements and replacement of the bottom laterals in the approach spans. The 1990s work included new top flanges attached to the center span girder, the replacement of rivets with bolts, and deteriorated floor beams.²

² Wilbur Smith Associates, "Bridge No. M-0085, Talbot Avenue Bridge over CSXT Railroad. 1997 Bridge Inspection Report" (Rockville, Md.: Maryland Department of Public Works & Transportation, December 1997).

THE TALBOT AVENUE BRIDGE

There has been a crossing at the site where the Talbot Avenue Bridge was located since ca. 1890. During its existence, the bridge evolved from a simple transportation structure into a landmark that served as a navigational aid and as a powerful symbol of segregation and resilience. The railroad tracks contributed to Silver Spring's segregation and the bridge became critical link between the Black and white communities and contested space within each community. The earliest references to a railroad crossing in the vicinity of the current bridge site occur in deeds transferring title to nearby properties. In 1890, Samuel Cissel transferred title to thirty-three acres south of the B&O Railroad line to Edwin Cissel. The metes and bounds memorialized in the deed included a right-of-way, "from said land to the bridge spanning the said rail road."³ The 25' right-of-way leading to the bridge site appears in subsequent deeds and is illustrated in maps published in the years bracketing the turn of the twentieth century.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad designated the structure that came to be known as the Talbot Avenue Bridge "Bridge 9A" and it was built at point 8.7 miles north of the Washington terminus. According to Interstate Commerce Commission railroad valuation records, the overhead bridge that immediately preceded the 1918 structure had two approach spans and a wood kingpost center span. The original bridge had a total length of 73'-8". Two wood bents constructed on stone foundations supported the bridge. The wood deck rose 22' above the railroad and carried a 12'-10"-wide road. At the time of the valuation inspection, in 1918, the substructure (masonry and bents) was 15-years-old. The inventory reflects that the trusses had been replaced seven years earlier and the floor six years earlier.⁴

The railroad replaced the kingpost structure in 1918. Construction drawings for the new overpass were completed in June 1918 and submitted to Montgomery County commissioners for approval. The drawings for the new Bridge 9A included the existing structure, approaches, and railroad cut. The drawings illustrate the new bridge carrying a 16-foot-wide road in a wider cut that would accommodate the east- and west-bound tracks and a siding (see figures 3-5). The new three-span bridge would be raised 2'-4" and the grade reduced and would include a through-girder center span and I-beam approach spans. The railroad's bill of material noted that the new structure would include two girders of "old material" stored at the company's Martinsburg, West Virginia, shops. Instructions to the erectors included "old matl [material] to be thoroughly cleaned and all damaged parts to be repaired and given one coat of paint."⁵ Construction on the new bridge began August 9, 1918 and was completed September 7, 1918.⁶

The "old material" described in the records are two 58' metal girders that railroad enthusiasts

³ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JA 17, folio 199.

⁴ Structural Notes, Valuation Sections 22,22,24, and 25. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Valuation Section 25.1, 1918. National Archives at College Park, Record Group 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

⁵ Bridge No. 9A Details, July 9, 1918. Construction drawing in the files of the Montgomery County Department of Transportation.

⁶ Bridge No. 9A Record Masonry Plan, October 16, 1918. Construction drawing in the files of the Montgomery County Department of Transportation.

first identified as a recycled railroad turntable: “Railfan legend has it that the girders themselves came from an old locomotive turntable. Somewhere on the B&O to be sure, but nobody seems to know where.”⁷ Existing records don’t document the turntable’s history before its arrival at the Martinsburg shops nor do they identify the turntable’s manufacturer and fabrication date.

There is abundant evidence of other turntables being recycled as bridges, however. These include the Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Railway’s Crain Highway Overpass (Anne Arundel County, Maryland); the Pennsylvania Railroad’s Dairy Road Overpass (Chester County, Pennsylvania); and the Boston & Albany Railroad’s Summit Hill Road Bridge (Berkshire County, Massachusetts).⁸ The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad rebuilt the Allender Road Bridge (Baltimore County, Maryland) in 1945 using two 54-foot metal turntable girders salvaged from a yard in Camden-on-Gauley, West Virginia.⁹ Another turntable bridge, located in Worcester County, Maryland, was built by the Pennsylvania Railroad to span the Pocomoke River and it remains in service.¹⁰

Recycling and reuse of rolling stock and infrastructure are common economizing strategies in the railroad industry. Rail that has outlived its life-cycle is recycled to lower-tonnage lines and ultimately it is sold as scrap; fasteners, tie plates, spikes, and anchors are reused and then used for scrap; wood ties are reused or sold to be incorporated into landscaping materials; and, “steel girders and associated structural components often are rehabilitated and reused directly in replacement structures.”¹¹ Flatbed railcars have been reused and recycled as bridges on farms in the American Midwest.¹² And, there is a long history of relocating bridges to accommodate larger or more modern structures.¹³ More recently, trends in historic preservation and urban planning have created recycling conduits for obsolete railroad infrastructure enabling historic bridges to be relocated and reused and historic rail corridors to be rehabilitated and reused (examples include Atlanta, Georgia’s Beltline and New York City’s Highline).¹⁴

⁷ John Teichmoller, “Re: Talbot Ave. Bridge,” August 23, 2017; “Talbot Avenue Overpass,” Bridgehunter.com, accessed July 3, 2019, <http://bridgehunter.com/md/montgomery/bh71996>.

⁸ These and others are aggregated by the website, bridgehunter.com, “Bridgehunter.Com | Recycled Turntable,” accessed June 1, 2018, <http://bridgehunter.com/category/tag/recycled-turntable>.

⁹ Marvin A. Brown, “Allender Road Bridge (Bridge No. 142),” HAER No. MD-124, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997.

¹⁰ Chris Dickon, *Eastern Shore Railroad*, Images of Rail (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2006), 24; John E. Jacob, Janet Carter, and Ellis Wainwright, *Worcester County*, Postcard History Series (West Columbia, South Carolina: Arcadia, 2000), 80; “NS - Pocomoke River Bridge,” Bridgehunter.com, accessed July 3, 2019, <http://bridgehunter.com/md/worcester/cr--pocomoke-river>.

¹¹ William C. Thompson and William H. Moorhead, “Railway Track and Structures: 99% Recyclable,” *TR News*, no. 184 (June 1996): 28–31.

¹² Justin D Doornink, Terry J Wipf, and F Wayne Klaiber, “Railroad Flatcar Bridges for Economical Bridge Replacement Systems,” in *Proceedings of the 2003 Mid-Continent Transportation Research Symposium* (Ames: Iowa State University, 2003), 1-13.

¹³ Henry Petroski, “Engineering: Reusing Infrastructure,” *American Scientist* 98, no. 3 (2010): 191–95.

¹⁴ Robert Lau, “From Eyesore to Urban Asset: The Transformation of Abandoned Railroad Structures in American Cities,” *CTBUH Journal*, no. 2 (2011): 42–45; Stephen Mikesell and ICF International, “Transferring Ownership of Historic Bridges Approaches and Challenges” (Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, August 2014); The SRI Foundation, “Case Studies on the Rehabilitation of Historic Bridges,” Report prepared for American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials (AASHTO) (Rio Rancho, New Mexico: The SRI Foundation, 2011).

The turntable that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad moved to Montgomery County in 1918 is similar in design to a turntable patented in 1887 by Frederick H. Saylor. Railroad turntables are fixed assets typically located in railyards. Built inside pits, they allow locomotives to be rotated and directed to repair facilities or to be turned at terminal points in operating rail lines.¹⁵ Saylor's railroad turntable consisted of eight iron plates riveted together to form a single girder with a bow shape. Saylor's turntable had wheels on its ends and it was mounted on a central pivot foundation.¹⁶ Saylor updated his design and received a second patent for it in 1889.¹⁷ The Talbot Avenue Bridge girders had no visible plates with fabrication dates, manufacturer, or patent information.

It is unclear when Bridge 9A became known as the Talbot Avenue Bridge. For many years, Lyttonsville residents simply called it "The Bridge." In 1944, about a decade after the adjacent North Woodside neighborhood was developed and its streets were renamed, the *Washington Evening Star* reported on a violent crime that occurred in Silver Spring. The newspaper described a search for an assailant "around the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks and the woods surrounding the Hanover Street Bridge."¹⁸ This is the only known instance where the structure was described as the "Hanover Street Bridge."

Few records appear to have survived to document the bridge's history in the mid-twentieth century. The Montgomery County Department of Transportation has no accessible records documenting the bridge's transfer from CSX to the county or when Talbot Avenue got its name. "According to M-NCPPC, the road name changed from Railroad Avenue to Talbot Avenue sometime between 1955 and 1976," Montgomery County Department of Transportation's chief of transportation engineering in response to a request for information about the bridge's history. "They have not found the specific records noting specific date or reasons."¹⁹

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

A rail line connecting Washington to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O) mainline was first conceived before the Civil War. In 1853, the State of Maryland approved a corporate charter for the Metropolitan Rail Road Company. Investors from the District of Columbia and Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington counties in Maryland had planned to raise two million dollars to survey and build a railroad from Georgetown in the District to Frederick and Hagerstown.²⁰

¹⁵ "The Development of the Locomotive Turntable," *Journal of the Institution of Locomotive Engineers* 27, no. 136 (March 1, 1937): 257–88.

¹⁶ Francis H. Saylor, Turn-Table, 356,162 (Philadelphia, Pa., filed May 7, 1886, and issued January 18, 1887).

¹⁷ Francis H. Saylor, Turn-Table, 396,118 (Philadelphia, Pa., filed December 1, 1887, and issued January 15, 1889).

¹⁸ "200 Hunt All Night for Man Wanted in Assault on Woman," *Washington Evening Star*, August 28, 1944;

"Marine Private Held, Another Man Hunted in New Attack Cases," *Washington Evening Star*, August 29, 1944.

¹⁹ Bruce Johnston to David S. Rotenstein, "RE: Talbot Avenue Bridge History Information Request," June 18, 2018. The name change is captured in fire insurance and real estate atlas maps published between the 1940s and 1960.

²⁰ "An Act to Incorporate the Metropolitan Rail Road." Maryland Acts of General Assembly, Laws of Maryland, Chapter 196, May 5, 1853; William E. Hutchinson and Carlos Avery, "Metropolitan Branch, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, 1979).

Unable to raise the necessary capital, the company only got as far as surveying the right-of-way before abandoning the project.²¹

The Civil War and new competitive pressures spurred the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to obtain authorization from the Maryland legislature to build a railroad from Point of Rocks in Frederick County to the District of Columbia line.²² The B&O incorporated in 1827 and the new company began construction in 1828. The company's first tracks two years later in 1830, becoming the first common carrier railroad in the United States and the first to begin providing commercial service.²³ As a common carrier, the railroad obtained the power of eminent domain to seize needed properties for rights-of-way in exchange for being subject to regulation.²⁴ The B&O's earliest charters authorized it to exercise eminent domain powers to acquire property if the company couldn't reach an accommodation with existing landowners.

By the Civil War, the railroad was in its fourth decade and it was competing with the Pennsylvania Railroad, New York Central Railroad, and Erie Railroad for passengers and freight in the eastern United States. The B&O's president at the time, John Garrett, envisioned building the Washington link to foreclose on a competitor beating the Baltimore-based company to securing the revenues from rail traffic into Washington.²⁵ The 1865 Maryland charter required construction to begin with a year and the first work began in 1866 near Point of Rocks.²⁶ In late 1867, the railroad entered Montgomery County buying and condemning a contiguous strip of land 66 feet wide from the District of Columbia line to Frederick County.²⁷

In the vicinity of the area now known today as Silver Spring, the railroad company acquired two acres from Margaret, Samuel and Edwin Cissel. The Cissels declined the company's original offer and the railroad exercised its authority under Maryland law to set a price and seize it for \$1,370.²⁸ The Metropolitan Branch was completed in 1873 and real estate speculators quickly seized on the opportunity to develop residential suburbs in proximity to the capital and within a short train ride.²⁹ The Talbot Avenue Bridge ultimately was constructed in the right-of-way that the railroad acquired from the Cissels.

In May of 1890, the State of Maryland issued a corporate charter for a new Baltimore and Ohio

²¹ Hutchinson and Avery; John F. Stover, *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1987), 142.

²² "An act to Authorize the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company to build a railroad from a point in the line of its road, within the State of Maryland, between Knoxville and the Monocacy Junction, through Frederick and Montgomery counties, to the boundary of the District of Columbia, so as to make a direct connection with the city of Washington." Maryland Acts of General Assembly, Laws of Maryland, Chapter 70, passed March 21, 1865.

²³ George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution 1815-1860* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1989), 77-78.

²⁴ Robert Britt Horwitz, *The Irony of Regulatory Reform: The Deregulation of American Telecommunications* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 12-13; Theodore E. Keeler, *Railroads, Freight, and Public Policy*, Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1983), 19-22.

²⁵ Stover, *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 142.

²⁶ Stover, 143.

²⁷ The railroad's acquisitions are recorded in Montgomery County land records and in circuit court proceedings.

²⁸ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber EBP31, folio 181.

²⁹ Steven Lubar, "Trolley Lines, Land Speculation and Community-Building: The Early History of Woodside Park, Silver Spring, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81, no. 4 (1986): 316-29.

Railroad subsidiary, the Metropolitan Southern Railroad. The new 6.7-mile line was conceived to carry freight from the Metropolitan Branch near Linden directly to the Georgetown waterfront in the District of Columbia.³⁰ The B&O conceived the Metropolitan Southern Railroad as a vital link to its expanding markets. “Its construction will give the Baltimore and Ohio the outlet they are said to be seeking to the South,” the Baltimore Sun reported shortly after the new company formed.³¹

Like the railroad’s earlier lines, the Baltimore and Ohio had the authority as a common carrier to exercise its eminent domain powers in the new Metropolitan Southern corridor. It used those powers with several landowners who declined to sell land for the right-of-way, including Samuel Lytton. Within a month of the public announcement that the new freight line would be constructed, real estate speculators began advertising properties near the new railroad junction. In early June 1890, classified ads began appearing in Washington newspapers touting the location and advantages for suburban development. The earliest ad appeared June 6, 1890, in the Washington Evening Star. “For Sale—Building Lots at Linden on the Metropolitan Branch of the B. & O. R.R. and right at the junction of said road with the new railroad to Georgetown and Virginia,” the ad copy read. It continued,

In addition to being the northern terminus of the proposed Metropolitan Southern railroad, Linden, by reason of its elevation and natural beauty and having a handsome railroad station and public hall, with churches and schools in close proximity, possesses superior advantages for suburban residence. . . . we prefer to sell to parties who want to come out to Linden to live and become citizens of Maryland.³²

Construction began in 1892 and only two miles of track were laid, from “Metropolitan Junction, now Georgetown Junction, to Chevy Chase, Maryland.”³³ The railroad had begun calling the northern terminus with the Metropolitan Branch “Georgetown Junction.” Though unknown to contemporary residents, the name is preserved in historical maps railroad documents. Construction to complete the freight line resumed in the twentieth century and it was completed in 1910. For much of its subsequent history, the line carried coal and building materials into the District of Columbia, yet it never fully achieved the significance first anticipated by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad when it was first announced in the 1890s.³⁴

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company made several improvements to its facilities and structures in the vicinity of Silver Spring. Suburbanization in the 1880s spurred the company to

³⁰ Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, ed., “A Corporate History of Metropolitan Southern Railroad Company as of June 30, 1918,” in *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Corporate Histories*, vol. 2 (Baltimore, Md: The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, Valuation department, 1922), 145.

³¹ “The Thrifty B. and O.,” *The Baltimore Sun*, May 22, 1890; the railroad’s strategy was widely reported, “A Southern Connection,” *The Pittsburgh Dispatch*, May 23, 1890.

³² “For Sale—Building Lots at Linden,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 6, 1890.

³³ Company, “A Corporate History of Metropolitan Southern Railroad Company as of June 30, 1918,” 145–46.

³⁴ Margaret Slater, “Georgetown Branch, B & O Railroad,” Maryland Historical Trust NR-Eligibility Review Form (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, 2002).

double-track the Metropolitan Branch to Gaithersburg in Montgomery County.³⁵ In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the railroad increased the capacity on the Metropolitan Branch by adding additional tracks. This work required widening some cuts and the replacement of bridges, including the structure near the Georgetown Junction that became known as the Talbot Avenue Bridge.³⁶

In the 1980s, the railroad abandoned the Georgetown Branch (as the Metropolitan Southern Railroad was called) and in 1988 it sold the right-of-way to Montgomery County.³⁷ County leaders and a coalition of recreation activists seized on the opportunity to convert the corridor into a shared-use trail facility, the Capital Crescent Trail. Plans for a trail were hatched to prevent private-sector development.³⁸ Montgomery County leaders eager to reduce traffic congestion in the Washington suburbs added a request to construct a trolley or light rail line within the corridor alongside the proposed trail's paths, new bridges and underpasses, lighting, and increased access points.

As competing interests over the abandoned right-of-way clashed in the media, public meetings, and the courts, Montgomery County officials moved forward with developing the Capital Crescent Trail (CCT). Built in cooperation with the National Park Service, the CCT was paved from Bethesda to Georgetown, and dedicated in December 1996.³⁹ A temporary gravel trail segment, from the Georgetown Junction to Bethesda, was called the "Georgetown Branch Interim Trail" and it opened for use in 1997.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the former Metropolitan Branch remained in service as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad sold its assets to the company that ultimately became the CSX Transportation Company. The former Metropolitan Branch currently is used by CSX freight trains, MARC regional passenger trains to Martinsburg, West Virginia, and AMTRAK passenger trains to Chicago. The right-of-way also accommodates the new light rail line conceived in the 1980s connecting four DC Metro lines, from New Carrollton in Prince George's County to Bethesda. Dubbed the Purple Line, the new line enters the former B&O corridor near the Silver Spring Transit Center in downtown Silver Spring and it shares the right-of-way until Georgetown Junction where it diverges into the former Metropolitan Southern corridor.

³⁵ Stover, 143.

³⁶ The improvement projects are described in Interstate Commerce Commission valuation reports, Record Group 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Bureau of Valuation.

³⁷ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 8613, folio 497.

³⁸ Ann Mariano, "Developers, Agencies Eye Rail Right of Way: Tracks Link Silver Spring, Georgetown Chessie Plans to Seek Right to End Coal Runs County Would Like to Add Transit System on Site," *The Washington Post*, October 26, 1985; Ann Mariano, "Montgomery Asks ICC for Rail Land: Montgomery County Asks For Chessie Right of Way," *The Washington Post*, July 19, 1986; Coalition for the Capital Crescent Trail and Greater Bethesda-Chevy Chase Coalition, "Concept Plan for the Capital Crescent Trail," 1988, <https://www.waba.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/CCTConceptPlan.pdf>.

³⁹ Coalition for the Capital Crescent Trail, "Milestones: 1996-2001," February 2002, <https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/cctrail/pages/38/attachments/original/1462560934/Milestonesupdate.pdf?1462560934>.

⁴⁰ Barbara Saffir, "Saturday Debut for Bethesda-Silver Spring Trail Link," *The Washington Post*, May 15, 1997.

Though the railroads played important roles in suburbanizing southern Montgomery County, the space was by no means a greenfields blank slate. Rural crossroads communities and agricultural hamlets had punctuated the landscape for decades before the railroad arrived. The corridor dissecting the area that became Silver Spring served a dual function as a permeable boundary for segregation, demarcating white residential suburbs from majority-African-American Lyttonsville.

LYTTONSVILLE

Samuel Lytton

Samuel Lytton (ca. 1830-1893) was a free man of color who in the 1840s and 1850s worked for the journalist (and later presidential advisor) Francis Preston Blair. In 1841, Blair began buying property just north of the Washington, D.C., line. Blair's property became the core of a 300-acre plantation that included a resident population of enslaved workers (20 in 1850).⁴¹ There are no known surviving records documenting what work Lytton did for Blair while living at the plantation Blair called "Silver Spring Farm." The 1850 census simply identified Lytton as a 23-year-old laborer who was born in Maryland and who was unable to read.⁴²

In 1849, Lytton married Kentucky native Phyllis Cosberry (ca. 1809-1908) in Washington, D.C.⁴³ Even less is known about Phyllis than her husband. A non-relative provided information to complete her death certificate; her parents were not identified and an incorrect birthplace was given.⁴⁴ She may have travelled to Washington as an enslaved part of Blair's household and Samuel might have met her there. Less than a year after their September 1849 marriage, they were not occupying the same household, according to the U.S. Census. Phyllis may have been listed as one of Blair's five adult enslaved women enumerated in 1850.

On January 15, 1853 Samuel Lytton bought four acres from Leonard Johnson (1812-1878). It was one of several transactions in which Johnson and his heirs sold parcels from their large landholdings straddling the District of Columbia and Montgomery County border. Lytton paid Johnson \$96 in cash for the irregularly-shaped parcel in an area still known by its Colonial-era patent name: Joseph's Park.⁴⁵ Lytton's purchase made him one of Montgomery County's earliest free Black landowners.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Richard K MacMaster and Ray Eldon Hiebert, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland* (Rockville, Md.: Montgomery County Govt, 1976), 124–25; U.S. Census, Montgomery County Slave Schedules.

⁴² U.S. Census, Population Schedule for 1850, Berry's District, Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁴³ Marriage Records of Washington, D.C., p. 786. Ancestry.com.

⁴⁴ Phillis Litton death certificate. Maryland Archives.

⁴⁵ Montgomery County Land Records, deed from Leonard Johnson to Samuel Litton [Lytton], January 15, 1853. Liber JGH 2, folio 33.

⁴⁶ Nina Honemond Clarke, "Free Black Property Owners of Montgomery County, Maryland 1793-1863," *Black History in Montgomery County. Excerpts from The Flower of the Forest—Black Genealogical Journal*, n.d., 132–45.

By the 1860 census, Lytton had established his own household in the four-acre tract and was making a living there as a farmer with his wife and eight-year-old daughter, Joanna. The census enumerator spelled Lytton's name "Samuel Little" and his wife's name, "Fillas."⁴⁷ Three years later, during the Civil War, Lytton registered for the newly enacted federal draft. The entry identified Lytton as a "colored" farmer who was married.⁴⁸

Census records and maps published after 1870 that illustrate lower Montgomery County show the area where Lytton lived remaining mostly agricultural and sparsely developed for the remainder of the nineteenth century. In 1870, the census recorded Lytton's household with him identified as a farm laborer and Phyllis as "keeping house." That year, their two daughters, Joanna and Alice were living with them.⁴⁹ A decade later, only Alice (age 14) remained at home with her parents.⁵⁰

By 1880, additional African Americans were living in proximity to the Lyttons. During the first part of Reconstruction (1863-1877) and the decades afterwards, dozens of small African American communities formed in the rural parts of the District of Columbia and in Montgomery County. Some, like the community that emerged around Samuel Lytton's farm, crystallized around a small number of early landowners. Others, like several early Northwest Washington neighborhoods, emerged out of settlements known as Contraband camps that were formed by Blacks fleeing the Confederacy and looking for refuge near United States military forts.⁵¹

Collectively, the communities that formed on both sides of the Maryland and District of Columbia line formed a single extended borderlands community, with places like Lyttonsville as integral nodes in a network bound by kinship, church, business, recreational, and fraternal organization ties. These communities became some of the Washington metropolitan region's earliest suburbs.⁵² It is essential to explore how this network formed to develop an understanding for how Lyttonsville developed during Samuel Lytton's life and how it matured after his death (see figure 2).

Borderlands and Hamlets

Lyttonsville was one of more than sixty unincorporated Montgomery County hamlets and urban neighborhoods and District of Columbia neighborhoods founded in the nineteenth century by African Americans. Native Americans affiliated with the Piscataway Nation lived in the area

⁴⁷ U.S. Census Population Schedule for 1860, Fifth District of Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁴⁸ Montgomery County, Maryland, Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865. Ancestry.com.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census Population Schedule for 1870, Fifth District of Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁵⁰ U.S. Census Population Schedule for 1880, Bethesda District of Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁵¹ Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: a History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), 61-74; Judith Beck Helm, *Tenleytown, D.C., Country Village into City Neighborhood* (Washington, D.C.: Tennally Press, 1981), 45-59; Joel W Shinault, "Camp Life of Contrabands and Freedmen, 1861-1865" (Thesis, Atlanta University, 1979), Robert W. Woodruff Library (ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library. Paper 3127).

⁵² Anneli Moucka Levy, "Washington, D.C. and the Growth of Its Early Suburbs: 1860-1920" (Thesis, University of Maryland, 1980), 135-37, University of Maryland Libraries.

now known as Montgomery County when Europeans first colonized the area in the seventeenth century. In 1688, the earliest colonial land grants began to carve up the land and names were attached to large tracts that formed the spatial basis for a plantation economy reliant upon enslaved African labor that lasted until the Civil War. In 1776, the newly established Maryland Constitutional Convention divided Frederick County in two: the western half became Frederick County and the eastern half became Montgomery County.⁵³

In 1790, Montgomery County ceded Georgetown and its agricultural periphery to the newly created District of Columbia.⁵⁴ Montgomery County had 18,003 people living there at the time: “About two-thirds of the residents were white; one third was non-white (primarily slaves).”⁵⁵ Tobacco was the dominant crop and a local transportation network combined with the emergence of small towns and hamlets helped to support the antebellum economy. The Civil War and the subsequent collapse of the plantation system reconfigured the county’s space and economy. Racially- and class-segregated communities began emerging throughout the county, which remained mostly rural and agricultural well into the twentieth century.

White towns with names like Rockville, Poolesville, and Gaithersburg developed while a small network of African American communities composed of people of African descent who were free before the Civil War and formerly enslaved people emerged in the former plantation landscape. Social and economic ties connected these communities dispersed over a large area (e.g., Montgomery County’s 491 square miles and the entire District of Columbia). The communities developed in proximity to the District of Columbia’s border with Montgomery County occupied a space best understood as borderlands. Free and formerly enslaved African Americans established this borderlands community starting in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Its population grew during Reconstruction as people of African descent displaced during the Civil War sought to establish homes, families, and communities in and around Washington.

Lyttonsville’s place within this larger spatial context is key to understanding the cultural landscape and power relationships that emerged through time in the space where the Talbot Avenue Bridge was located. The African American communities that developed between Washington’s urban core and Montgomery County’s degraded plantation landscape fit well within a borderlands spatial model. The borderlands was a space where African Americans were pushed by anti-Black racism that included discriminatory housing practices and Jim Crow segregation. The spaces Blacks were pushed out of comprised a white spatial imaginary: spaces free from people of color.⁵⁶ These spaces became restricted residential subdivisions, stores and restaurants that wouldn’t serve African Americans; parks where African Americans were excluded; separate school systems; public transportation that forced African Americans into

⁵³ MacMaster and Hiebert, *A Grateful Remembrance*, 3–19.

⁵⁴ MacMaster and Hiebert, 65–66.

⁵⁵ City Planning Associates and Montgomery County (Md.), eds., *Montgomery County Community Renewal Program, Maryland, R-39 (CR): Physical Inventory and Structural Conditions* (Bethesda, Md: The Associates, 1968), 48.

⁵⁶ George Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 25–70; Thomas W. Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

separate train cars and towards the back of the bus; and, cemeteries where even the dead were segregated by skin color.⁵⁷

Just as African Americans were pushed out of the white spatial imaginary, they were pulled towards a Black spatial imaginary: spaces bound by mutual cooperation in which the residents converted segregation into congregation.⁵⁸ Though they were established on the margins of white society, these places and spaces ultimately became resilient and proud communities. Pushed by segregation and compelled by a strong sense of independent agency, the residents in these communities founded their own schools, businesses, and the social infrastructure necessary to sustain the community and support its residents through good times and bad. Key institutions in these communities besides schools included churches and benevolent organizations that cared for the sick, buried the dead, and provided economic support to their members.⁵⁹

Residential options dwindled in the twentieth century through the use of racially restrictive covenants. Greater numbers of African Americans were pushed into increasingly concentrated spaces that became pockets of poverty. In the District, these became the infamous alley dwellings. Montgomery County's historically Black communities became rural ghettos that lacked running water, sewerage, and paved streets. Like their densely-packed urban equivalents, single-family homes became tenements and apartment buildings. And, as property values increased because of Montgomery County's proximity to the nation's capital and available land became scarce, county leaders exacerbated the environmental racism baseline created by infrastructure inequality by zoning areas in African American communities for industrial uses and by placing nuisance facilities like county dumps and incinerators in places like Lyttonsville.⁶⁰

Pressured by encroaching white suburbanization and industry, many rural African American communities began disintegrating like their urban counterparts and these rural ghettos experienced disinvestment and displacement.⁶¹ During the 1960s, Montgomery County embarked on a countywide initiative to remediate the poverty its leaders had created. After decades of requests from residents in African American communities for basic infrastructure, better schools, and more equitable treatment by county leaders, Montgomery County began urban renewal programs to make more land available to real estate speculators intent on building

⁵⁷ Angelika Kruger-Kahloula, "On the Wrong Side of the Fence: Racial Segregation in American Cemeteries," in *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, ed. Geneviève Fabre and Robert G. O'Meally (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1994), 130–49.

⁵⁸ Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place*, 51–69; Clyde Woods, "Sittin' On Top of the World: The Challenges of Blues and Hip Hop Geography," in *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, ed. Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods (Toronto, Ont.: Cambridge, Mass.: Between the Lines; South End Press, 2007), 73.

⁵⁹ John Kellogg, "Negro Urban Clusters in the Postbellum South," *Geographical Review* 67, no. 3 (1977): 310–21; John Kellogg, "The Formation of Black Residential Areas in Lexington, Kentucky, 1865-1887," *The Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 1 (1982): 21–52.

⁶⁰ Yale Rabin, "Expulsive Zoning: The Inequitable Legacy of Euclid," in *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep*, ed. Charles M. Haar and Jerold S. Kayden (Chicago, Ill.: Planners Press, American Planning Association in association with the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1989), 101–21.

⁶¹ Leonard Blumberg and Michael Lalli, "Little Ghettos: A Study of Negroes in the Suburbs," *Phylon* (1960-) 27, no. 2 (1966): 117–31.

even more residential subdivisions, apartment communities, and strip malls.

The District's large-scale slum clearance, urban renewal, and gentrification cycles are better documented than Montgomery County's. In the District's rural Northwest, displacement began with the founding of the Chevy Chase Land Company in 1890. Suburban encroachment pushed into the racially mixed Reno subdivision founded in the 1860s with a vengeance as white real estate speculators conspired with government officials to turn Reno white.⁶² Massive displacement began in the 1920s with the development of Fort Reno Park and Alice Deal Middle School. Spreading out from Tenleytown into Chevy Chase, remaining African American residents were displaced by efforts to create the Lafayette Elementary School and the Chevy Chase Recreation Center.

Collectively, these formerly Black spaces turned white through aggressive settler colonization and labeled white suburbanization fit well within a borderlands spatial model. White suburbanization in the area around the District-Maryland line was a form of settler colonization because it sought to supersede established African American residents by removal: displacement and erasure by disrupting established relationships people have with land.⁶³ The use of space by settler colonizers is highly intentional because it enables land and demographic conversion, but it also ensures that the displaced people remain available as a source of labor. Pushed into urban and rural ghettos, many of these former landowners and their descendants became renters and the labor pool from which domestic servants and wage workers were drawn.

Geographers define borderlands as space split by a geopolitical boundary. They are peripheral, ambiguous spaces where multiple ways of life come into contact.⁶⁴ Borderlands, according to Edward Soja, are "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 intimacy."⁶⁵ Such was the space divided by the Maryland-District boundary. It was a space between urban and rural, Black and white, wealthy and poor. It was a space where residence, work, worship, and play were fluid and not constrained by the boundary.

Crossing the boundary in some cases became an act of resistance: an assertion of agency and intent to own land, enjoy economic independence, and be (relatively) free in life and death from white surveillance and violence. Or so many people of African descent thought as they pursued

⁶² Neil P. Heyden, "The Fort Reno Community: The Conversion and Its Causes" (Unpublished paper, April 1981), Rock Creek Park records, National Park Service.

⁶³ Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 1–12; Ingrid Waldron, *There's Something in the Water: Environmental Racism in Indigenous and Black Communities* (Winnipeg, M.B.: Fernwood Publishing, 2018), 37–38.

⁶⁴ Julian V. Minghi, "Boundary Studies in Political Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 53, no. 3 (1963): 407–28; 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; Matthew Sparke, "Borderlands," in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. Derek Gregory et al., 5th Edition (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 53.

⁶⁵ Soja, "Borders Unbound: Globalization, Regionalism, and the Postmetropolitan Transition," 39.

the suburban dream inside the Black spatial imaginary. The Talbot Avenue Bridge occupied contested space within this borderlands community. It pierced the Black and white spatial imaginaries erected in the two communities it connected: Lyttonsville and North Woodside/Silver Spring. Like the District of Columbia and Maryland border, the railroad tracks beneath the bridge were a permeable physical and symbolic boundary.

The Lyttonsville Community

Samuel Lytton only voluntarily sold just one parcel from his original four acres. In April 1890, he sold one acre to an African American couple, George and Mary Washington. The Washingtons paid Lytton \$200 in cash and Lytton held a note for another \$100.⁶⁶ George Washington, like Lytton, was a farmer. Washington was born in 1840 in North Carolina. A decade after he bought his land, the census reported that he was living with his wife Mary (b. 1852) and twin stepsons, David and Isaac Young (b. 1880).⁶⁷ David Young's daughter, Daisy, married George Shackelford. The Shackelfords remained in Lyttonsville until their deaths. Isaac Young in the mid-twentieth century opened a beer garden on Brookville Road called Ike's Blue Moon. "You've probably heard of Ike's Blue Moon? Okay, that's all the same family, the Young family," recalled Lyttonsville resident Charlotte Coffield.⁶⁸

Daisy Shackelford told an interviewer in 1974: "There's a little bungalow back there ... and that's my grandmother's place. It's still over there. My grandmother ... was married to George Washington and that's the name the place is in ... George and Mary Susie Washington."⁶⁹ Another longtime Lyttonsville resident, Elmore Stewart (1920-2004), remembered Washington. In the 1970s, Stewart told an interviewer that Washington owned a store and a truck was known as the "fish man": "He was a huckster who would load his truck with herring and go about the neighborhood selling fish. He would ask how many fish, then string them through the gills and tie them to a stick."⁷⁰

Besides the community that bears his name, Samuel Lytton left few traces from his decades in Montgomery County. Samuel Lytton died in intestate in 1893; no inventory was filed in the slim probate record filed in Montgomery County court records. His widow and daughter renounced their positions as administrators for Samuel's estate and Thomas Smith was appointed. George and Mary Washington are identified as sureties with an outstanding debt of \$50 to the estate.⁷¹

Less than a year after Samuel's estate was settled, Phyllis and Alice needed money. They used

⁶⁶ Deed from Samuel and Phyllis Lytton to George and Mary Washington. Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JA 17, folio 446; Mortgage, Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JA 18, folio 155.

⁶⁷ U.S. Census Population Schedule for 1900, 13th District, Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁶⁸ Interview, July 19, 2017. The oral history interviews quoted in this report were conducted between 2016 and 2019. The interviews were recorded and verbatim transcripts were produced. Written or verbal consent to be interviewed was obtained from each participant.

⁶⁹ Dolores P. Dickerson, "An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland," Unpublished undergraduate paper. Copy in the collection of Charlotte Coffield, 1977, 3.

⁷⁰ Dickerson, 10.

⁷¹ Estate of Samuel Lytton. Montgomery County Register of Wills, Docket GCD 1, folio 40.

the remainder of Samuel's property to secure an \$800 mortgage from the United Banking & Building Company. Headquartered in Richmond, Virginia, the company was established in 1890 and it quickly opened divisions throughout the mid-Atlantic. In 1891, the bank was advertising for agents to manage its work in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware. United Banking and Building expanded to Baltimore in 1893 and began doing business in Montgomery County the following year.⁷² The company originated seven mortgages between 1894 and 1896, all of them to African American property owners.⁷³

Samuel's heirs defaulted on the United Banking and Building loan and foreclosure proceedings began. Our understanding of the foreclosure episode is complicated by a deed executed between Alice Lytton and Arthur Harris in November 1894, transferring title to the property in exchange for \$75 cash and the assumption of the United Banking and Building Company mortgage. Harris was a Washington resident and stable employee who had money problems of his own: In March 1895, he used the Lytton property to secure a second mortgage to settle a debt with another Washington resident. The surviving records are unclear whether the Harris transaction was legal, based on the subsequent foreclosure proceedings.

Montgomery County historians have long tried to learn what happened to Lytton's property after his death.⁷⁴ The answers may be found in instruments filed in Montgomery County land records and the legal record created by the foreclosure proceedings. Washington lawyer Frank Higgins was the United Banking & Building Company's attorney for its Montgomery County business. "We will foreclose the mortgage on Alice Litten's property," United Banking and Building Company secretary and treasurer Samuel Elam wrote to Higgins on August 23, 1895.⁷⁵

Higgins was required schedule a public auction for the property and to advertise for three weeks prior the impending sale in a Montgomery County newspaper. The sale was scheduled for Saturday September 21, 1895, and the advertisements began running in the Montgomery County Sentinel the last week in August 1895.

The advertisements Higgins placed contain tantalizing clues about the area that soon became known as Lyttonsville. According to the advertisements, the 3.28-acre property contained a "1½ story log dwelling house and a commodious dancing pavilion." Curiously, according to the court records, it appears that Lytton had called his property "Butler's Park."⁷⁶ This brief text is the only known surviving description of Lytton's home and property.

The auction was held at the premises at noon. Washington attorney Landon Cabell Williamson placed the successful bid: \$50 on the spot for the property and another \$515 once the court

⁷² "Agents Wanted," *The Baltimore Sun*, April 18, 1891; "Robbed of \$840," *The Baltimore Sun*, February 8, 1893.

⁷³ Data obtained by reviewing instruments recorded with the Montgomery County Recorder of Deeds.

⁷⁴ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan" (Silver Spring, Md.: Maryland-National Capital Planning Commission., Montgomery County Planning Department, July 2016), 28, https://www.montgomeryplanning.org/community/lyttonsville/documents/LyttonsvillePBD_web.pdf.

⁷⁵ *United Banking v. Litten*, Equity No. 339. Montgomery County Circuit Court, Equity Papers, 1800-1984, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

⁷⁶ *Montgomery County Sentinel*, August 30, 1895. Clipping in *United Banking v. Litten* case file, Equity No. 339.

approved the sale order. Williamson subdivided Lytton's farm and named it "Littonville" in the plat filed with the Montgomery County Recorder of Deeds.⁷⁷

Williamson was a leader in Washington's masonic community and he was president of the Washington Grove Association when he died in 1922.⁷⁸ The Lytton property was one of several that the attorney bought in the Linden vicinity in the years around the turn of the twentieth century. Linden, just north of Lyttonsville, was the first station along the B&O Railroad outside of Silver Spring.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, major changes began taking place where Lytton's farm was located. In 1890, a pair of Republican legislators, legislators Julius C. Burrows (a Michigan Representative) and Bishop W. Perkins (a senator from Kansas), platted a subdivision between the B&O Railroad's Metropolitan Branch and Lytton's farm.⁷⁹ Two years later, the pair platted another subdivision west of Brookville Road and opposite Lytton's farm.⁸⁰ Burrows and Perkins rented and sold lots to African Americans where homes, a school, and businesses were established.

In 1892, the Pilgrim Baptist Church relocated from nearby Capitol View to a lot in the subdivision which subsequently became known as the "Pilgrim Church Tract." The church obtained a \$300 mortgage to pay for the property.⁸¹ Housed in a "little frame church on the north side of the village," the church held open-air religious services. By 1897, the community's core included "a row of houses which are occupied by colored people" across Brookville Road from the church.⁸²

Henry Newman was the new Pilgrim Baptist Church's president and first pastor in the hamlet.⁸³ A newspaper article published in 1897 described Newman as one of Montgomery County's "most prominent colored men." He lived in a rented house near the church; it might have been the same one in the original Littonville [Lyttonsville] plat he bought from Williamson in 1911. And, according to the same 1897 article, Newman supplemented his clerical income by running a grocery store in the community.⁸⁴

The hamlet's proximity to the District of Columbia line and the railroad tracks made it an attractive location for people to settle and for transients. After allegedly murdering a man in May 1897 in Northeast Washington, a fugitive with ties to people living in the community briefly hid there before leaving the region altogether. Newspaper accounts of the search for him contain some of the earliest and most complete descriptions of Lyttonsville.

⁷⁷ Montgomery County Land Records, Plat Book 1, Plat No. 36.

⁷⁸ "Masonic Rites Today for L. C. Williamson," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1922.

⁷⁹ Montgomery County Land Records, Plat Book A, Plat No. 58.

⁸⁰ Montgomery County Land Records, Plat Book B, Plat No. 39.

⁸¹ Deed, Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JA 34, folio 15; Mortgage, Liber JA 32, folio 296.

⁸² "Fugitive Dorsey Foulz," *Washington Evening Star*, September 14, 1897.

⁸³ "History," *The Pilgrim Baptist Church*, n.d., <http://pbc-ss.com/our-history.html>. Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JA 32, folio 296, Pilgrim Baptist Church at Linden mortgage, July 26, 1892.

⁸⁴ "Fugitive Dorsey Foulz." Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 218, folio 305.

Dorsey Foultz likely sought refuge among people he believed to be sympathetic to his plight, but he also might have been attracted to the weekend parties held at the dancing pavilion that Samuel Lytton built. By the turn of the twentieth century, Washington newspapers were reporting on crimes involving liquor and assaults stemming from the large number of people flocking to Lyttonsville for Fourth of July celebrations and lesser events where music and dancing occurred.⁸⁵

The large number of people assembling in Lyttonsville and the stigma attached to the community by whites in Montgomery County likely contributed to its acquisition of the racist sobriquet “Monkey Hollow.” The name first appears in Washington newspapers in 1900 and is usually followed by some permutation of, “a negro settlement not far from Linden.”⁸⁶

The name “Monkey Hollow” became fixed in the minds of white Montgomery County residents to the point where in 1910 it was used to describe the community in U.S. Census population schedules. In 1928 a Lyttonsville resident was arrested and *The Washington Post* wrote, “Isaac Young, 46, colored, of Monkey Hollow, near Silver Spring, was remanded to jail.”⁸⁷ Young, as noted earlier, was George Washington’s stepson and he had been accused of murdering someone in front of his home “during a drunken brawl.” The “Monkey Hollow” toponym persisted well into the twentieth century.

By 1900, the community now known as Lyttonsville was described variably as “Linden” (for the nearby B&O Railroad station) and “Littonville.” The name “Lyttonsville” began appearing during the first decade of the twentieth century in maps and some legal instruments. There are hints that the people who lived in the small hamlet had other names for it as well, like Samuel Lytton’s “Butler’s Park,” for instance. In 1919, Williamson sold a parcel to a group of Lyttonsville residents calling themselves “The People’s Co-operative League of Linwood, Maryland.”⁸⁸

Williamson’s first sale of the former Lytton property was made in 1901: a small portion of lot 12 that he sold to several area residents for \$365. This might have been the Samuel Lytton homesite or the site where the “dancing pavilion” was located. Williamson also sold four of the “Littonville” parcels (lots 3-6) between 1911 and 1920; in 1935 the remaining lots (lots 9-12) were sold after the taxes became delinquent.⁸⁹

Phyllis and Alice Lytton lived to see all of this new development begin all around them. The 1900 census captured them living in the community, presumably in their original homesite,

⁸⁵ “Prettyman Dies Of His Wounds,” *The Sun (1837-1991); Baltimore, Md.*, July 17, 1906; “HIST! Dorsey Foultz: Detective Barbee Sees Negro Murderer in a Dream. Tells of Long, Hard Chase,” *The Washington Post (1877-1922); Washington, D.C.*, September 7, 1909.

⁸⁶ “Colored Man Charged with Murderous Assault Held for Grand Jury,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 23, 1903; “Robbed a Store,” *The Evening Times*, March 2, 1900.

⁸⁷ “Bethesda Citizens Seek Franchise for Bus Line,” *The Washington Post; Washington, D.C.*, February 22, 1928.

⁸⁸ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 289, folio 233.

⁸⁹ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 592, folio 251. Harriet Freebey bought the parcels. Freebey was a Washington attorney who also began speculating in real estate during the early twentieth century. She continued renting the Lyttonsville properties to African Americans after buying the lots.

though they told the census taker that they still owned the property. Phyllis was 90 years old and no longer working in June 1900 when the census was taken. Alice was 33 and employed as a housekeeper.⁹⁰ The 1900 census is the last known record for Alice Lytton. Phyllis lived another eight years and she died at home in “Littonsville” at age 99 from a cerebral hemorrhage and heart failure after being ill for one week.⁹¹

For much of the twentieth century, Lyttonsville remained a small community centered on Lytton’s former farm and Brookville Road. In 1914, a group of residents calling themselves the “Trustees of Lyttonsville School” bought a lot in the Pilgrim Church Tract next to the church. The trustees included Tandy Scott, Charles Leon Bullock, and Simeon Deloatch. Montgomery County in 1872 created two school systems: one for white children and the other for African Americans. The county operated the “colored” schools until 1955, shortly after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. Supreme Court decision ending school segregation in the United States. According to a history of the county’s segregated school system, there had been a county-operated school in Lyttonsville (Linden) since 1889.⁹²

The school and Pilgrim Baptist Church were among the earliest Lyttonsville institutions. An earlier church that served the community was located about 0.85-mile northeast of Lytton’s farm. The Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church was established in ca. 1866.⁹³ Originally known as the Sligo M.E. Church, the congregation was incorporated under Maryland state law in 1908.⁹⁴ That name, and the church site on Georgia Avenue, had been used by a white congregation since the 1890s. Legal instruments filed in 1909 clearly indicate that by then it was an all-Black institution with trustees living in Lyttonsville. Simeon Deloatch, a Lyttonsville School trustee was among the group of the church’s charter trustees. The historical record is unclear when the congregation adopted the name, “Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church.” The 1964 deed conveying the Georgia Avenue church site to a supermarket indicated that the property owner was, “the Trustees of Sligo Methodist Episcopal Church (also known of record as Mt. Zion M.E. Church).”⁹⁵

Churches and schools formed two of the three legs supporting Montgomery County’s African American communities; fraternal organizations comprised the third. In the years bracketing the turn of the twentieth century, there were several active lodge-based fraternal organizations operating in Montgomery County. These included the Morningstar lodges, masonic lodges, and the Ancient United Order of Sons and Daughters, Brothers and Sisters of Moses, which had lodges in northern and western Montgomery County. Fraternal organizations also were called benevolent or secret societies. These organizations first appeared in the United States before the Civil War, as free Blacks established Prince Hall Masons and Grand United Order of Odd

⁹⁰ U.S. Census Population Schedule for 1900, 13th District, Montgomery County, Maryland.

⁹¹ Phyllis Lytton death certificate.

⁹² Nina Honemond Clarke and Lillian B Brown, *History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1872-1961* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 190.

⁹³ Dickerson, “An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland,” 16–17.

⁹⁴ Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland for the Year 1908, p. 396; Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 208, folio 29.

⁹⁵ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 3296, folio 52.

Fellows lodges. After the Civil War, these organizations and others spread from northern cities into the South, giving African Americans agency and ownership over their own institutions. Black benevolent organizations provided African Americans a safety net and economic security. They provided burial and health insurance and were vehicles for accumulating wealth and social capital.⁹⁶

Several fraternal society organizational models emerged in the nineteenth century. There were small local orders that were not affiliated with national organizations. There also were individuals in cities and rural communities that formed subordinate orders that paid dues and followed rules established by the national organizations. Both models gave Blacks opportunities for self-help, power, and wealth. Small monthly dues paid by many members in a community helped defray the costs for funerals and burials. Sick members could rely on assistance during convalescence. With members who possessed organizing and entrepreneurial skills, these organizations became effective vehicles in the struggle for civil rights. Fraternal organizations also channeled civic participation and racial uplift by organizing participation in such celebrations as Emancipation Day parades. They also instituted educational programs in their lodges, teaching members such things as clerical skills.⁹⁷

Scholars have written extensively about the ways African American benevolent organizations emulated their white counterparts. These include ritual structures and naming patterns. Yet, there were several significant factors that distinguished the Black organizations. One was the frequent use of names drawn from biblical figures. Another was the prominent and equal leadership positions that women held in these organizations. Women played important roles in these organizations in part because of the positions they held in Black society: as key connections in kinship networks, as vital members in Black churches, and as the principal breadwinners in families hamstrung by male unemployment, imprisonment, and absence.⁹⁸

There was at least one early twentieth century effort to establish a fraternal lodge in Lyttonsville. 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 and Burrows “Pilgrim Tract” (Pilgrim Park) subdivision.⁹⁹ Three years later, another deed was recorded transferring title to the lot from the Star of Bethlehem lodge to the trustees of the Supreme Lodge Independent Order of Mutual

⁹⁶ Theda Skocpol, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz, *What a Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality*, Princeton Studies in American Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1–20; W. E. B. Du Bois, *Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment: Report of an Investigation under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Third Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, May 25-26, 1898*, Atlanta University Publications, no. 3 (Atlanta, Ga.: Atlanta University Press, 1898); W. E. B. Du Bois, *Economic Co-Operation among Negro Americans. Report of a Social Study Made by Atlanta University under the Patronage of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.; Together with the Proceedings of the 12th Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May the 28th, 1907*, The Atlanta University Publications, no. 12 (Atlanta, Ga.: The Atlanta University Press, 1907).

⁹⁷ Skocpol, Liazos, and Ganz, *What a Mighty Power We Can Be*.

⁹⁸ See Skocpol, Liazos, and Ganz, 77–81.

⁹⁹ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JLB 180, folio 496.

Helpers of the World; the officers of the latter organization were the same as the earlier one.¹⁰⁰ No documentation about the Lyttonsville lodge appears to have survived. Current and former Lyttonsville residents do not remember the organization — “That was long gone before I came along”; instead, they recall going to lodge meetings in the Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church near Wheaton Lane and the Moses lodge near Emory Grove.¹⁰¹ The Lyttonsville lodge’s surviving trustees, Simon Hyson, Henry J. Lewis, and Allen Grey, sold the property in 1943.¹⁰²

Ella Redfield and members of the Hyson family who lived in and who spent time in Wheaton Lane recalled parents and grandparents making monthly contributions to the Morningstar Lodge. “What they did was somebody got sick, they’d give them a card with a couple of dollars in it,” said Redfield. “I was a kid and this man would be coming to the house every week and little did I know that he was coming to the house to get fifteen cents.”¹⁰³ When members died, their benefits included burial and survivors got an envelope containing amounts ranging from \$100 to as much as \$330. That lodge met in the basement of Allen Chapel, the building where Redfield now has her church congregation. Like its counterparts throughout the nation, women shared leadership roles with the men. “I know my mama was the secretary,” recalled Nancy Hyson Johnson.¹⁰⁴

Formal and Informal Economies

Lyttonsville grew slowly during the first half of the twentieth century. Men who lived there farmed, worked for the nearby National Park Seminary, or for smaller local businesses. Women who worked outside the home were employed as nannies and housekeepers in nearby racially restricted suburban subdivisions. Census data provide a limited and biased snapshot of the local economy. Many of Lyttonsville’s residents had multiple jobs depending on the season and sometimes they simultaneously worked more than one job at a time. Oral histories conducted with longtime residents offer some insights into this complicated economy.

The National Park Seminary was established in 1894 on the campus of a resort hotel founded seven years earlier: The Forest Glen Inn. The seminary was located in a sprawling campus about a mile from Samuel Lytton’s farm. Originally conceived as a regional resort capitalizing on the proximity of the B&O Railroad’s Metropolitan Branch, the resort enjoyed a brief lifespan before competition from nearby establishments and the national depression of 1893 forced its owners to close up and sell the property in 1894. Local investors purchased the campus and quickly converted to a women’s school: the National Park Seminary. In 1936, the institution was renamed National Park College and during World War II, the property was condemned to create an annex for Walter Reed Army Hospital.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JLB 198, folio 475.

¹⁰¹ Dickerson, “An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland,” 20; Charlotte Coffield, Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹⁰² Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 915, folio 338.

¹⁰³ Interview, May 1, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Interview, May 1, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Cynthia Ott, “National Park Seminary,” HABS No. MD-1109, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998-99.

The National Park Seminary's proximity may have been a draw for some of Lyttonsville's residents to move to the area. Though the school was segregated, a large African American workforce tended the grounds and worked throughout the complex. Charlotte Coffield's maternal grandparents, Mildred and Simeon Deloatch, moved to the area from Orange, Virginia, around the turn of the century. "I think they came to this area because they heard that there was work at the Seminary," Coffield recalled. "And so both of them got jobs at the Seminary. So my grandmother brought her brother up from Orange, Virginia, and he raised his whole family here. And he also worked at the Seminary and members of his family worked at the Seminary as well."¹⁰⁶

Manuscript census schedules offer an incomplete view into the lives of Lyttonsville's residents. Census enumerators passing through the community in 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 identified many laundresses, laborers, cooks, and servants but these generalized labels fail to capture the complexity of Lyttonsville's economy and the diversity of its community.

There are few surviving sources accessible to historians interested in Lyttonsville's economic history. Though current and former residents recall with some specificity what their parents did to make money, memories are less reliable when they are asked about what their neighbors did. When asked about where a neighbor worked when she was a child, Charlotte Coffield replied, "Everybody knew everybody else. Being children, we didn't pay any attention to what he was about or how he worked or where he earned his money or anything like that."¹⁰⁷

Federal and local government agencies were reliable employers. Charlotte Coffield's father, Earl Coffield, worked at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington. The Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, Montgomery County's water authority and the agency responsible for trash collection also hired many Blacks as drivers and sanitary engineers. Some of Lyttonsville's men worked for E.C. Keys, a coal and lumber dealer who had a place with a railroad siding in Brookville Road near where the Metropolitan Southern Branch crossed. Very little information is available about the economies of Montgomery County's African American hamlets and neighborhoods and this subject is ripe for future research.

Histories of Montgomery County tend to treat Lyttonsville as a rural ghetto where everyone was poor. This practice reproduces the same devaluation urban neighborhoods throughout North America experienced as white business leaders and government officials sought to justify largescale redevelopment efforts under the guise of slum clearance and urban renewal.¹⁰⁸ Yet, Lyttonsville's socioeconomic reality was much more complex. Published historical accounts have overlooked such residents as Albert Stewart (1883-1966). Stewart was born in the Layhill area in northern Montgomery County. His father Henry worked on a farm and owned about one

¹⁰⁶ Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹⁰⁸ William Hollingsworth Whyte, ed., *The Exploding Metropolis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mabel Louise Walker and Henry Wright, *Urban Blight and Slums: Economic and Legal Factors in Their Origin, Reclamation, and Prevention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938); Robert M Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 347-53.

acre. By 1919, Albert Stewart had accumulated sufficient capital to begin buying land in Lyttonsville. He bought five acres that had been in the Marsh family since the late nineteenth century. The Marshes had rented the large home with sprawling orchards and fields to a family named Appleby before selling it to Stewart.¹⁰⁹ Over the next several years, Stewart bought additional parcels and in 1946 he filed a subdivision plat with the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. With the creation of the Albert Stewart Subdivision, he became one of a few African Americans with similar ventures.¹¹⁰

Stewart became Lyttonsville's wealthiest resident, yet little is known about his life. He is absent in published and unpublished histories, historic preservation documents, and planning studies documenting Lyttonsville history. Besides Samuel Lytton, Stewart was the only African American to have his name inscribed on the landscape via the subdivision plat and roads named for him: Stewart Avenue and Albert Stewart Lane.

Stewart's granddaughter, Elmorina Stewart, remembers her grandfather as a dark-skinned man of modest stature. "I understood he was a landscaper because my father worked over at the club that was over in Chevy Chase or Bethesda," she said in an interview conducted in 2018.¹¹¹ "'Boss' Albert Stewart and his family lived in a large frame house" that his son Elmore in 1974 told an interviewer had nine rooms.¹¹² Elmorina Stewart remembers a little more about the homeplace:

He had a parlor with a piano and the benches and extra chairs. So I'm assuming somebody must have played the piano. I never heard it. The front room, there was a fireplace and in fact I have the outer part of that fireplace. It's made of oak, has a mirror to it. Several chairs in that front room. Then he had this gorgeous, where the dining room was, banister coming down into the dining room. Absolutely — I wanted to slide down it but never did. And then you went out to the kitchen and off to the side there was a front entrance.¹¹³

Charlotte Coffield also remembers Albert Stewart and his home. Coffield also called Stewart "Boss" when speaking about him. "Albert Stewart is the one that Stewart Avenue is named for. And the Albert Stewart cul-de-sac is named for him," Coffield said in a 2017 interview. "The house set up on a big hill, a high hill. You could look from Brookville Road across at it. He had this beautiful rolling lawn that went down to the creek with a milk house that they would put the milk and so forth in there to cool it." Coffield recalled that some folks used to call the Stewart place "Twelve Oaks" because of its majestic oak trees.¹¹⁴

Albert Stewart's biography remains shrouded in mystery, especially because of his wealth. "I don't know how Mr. Boss Albert got his money but he was able to buy that property," Coffield

¹⁰⁹ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 290, folio 112.

¹¹⁰ Montgomery County Land Records, Plat No. 1822. In River Road, William E. Smith had filed a plat in 1940 for a subdivision in his name, Montgomery County Land Records, Plat No. 1294.

¹¹¹ Elmorina Stewart, Interview with David Rotenstein, July 28, 2018.

¹¹² Dickerson, "An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland," 24.

¹¹³ Interview, July 28, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Charlotte Coffield, Interview, July 19, 2017.

explained in 2017. Elmorina Stewart, who still lives in Lyttonsville in a home her brother built, recalls school teachers telling her about her grandfather and his land. Elmorina kept to herself about what she had learned because few folks put stock in stories about wealthy African Americans in Jim Crow Montgomery County:

Mr. Jarboe who was my seventh-grade teacher who told me who my grandfather was, what he had done, as far as the property in here. He was telling me how large the property was but no one else believed me so I kept that to myself. Because they said that the property went to where the tracks were.¹¹⁵

Even in the second decade of the twenty-first century, few people know about the Stewarts and Albert's wealth or the socioeconomic stratification that characterized Lyttonsville and other African American communities. White residents (and some younger African Americans) who stigmatized Lyttonsville as an impoverished community lumped all of the people there into a single category: poor.¹¹⁶ In 2018, Elmorina Stewart bristled during a public meeting at a local school that was convened by state officials to discuss Purple Line construction. A woman at the meeting described Lyttonsville's residents as "lower socioeconomic" people. "I said, Excuse me? We have houses in here for over five hundred thousand dollars. Why are we low socioeconomic," Stewart recounted.

Though many of the community's residents worked as employees in the public and private sectors, like Albert Stewart they also had their own enterprises. Lyttonsville, like Black communities throughout North America, had thriving informal economies. These were legal as well as illicit revenue-making enterprises that were conducted off the books.¹¹⁷

Lyttonsville's illicit informal economies were inextricably integrated into local and regional organized crime networks. Playing the numbers, making and serving illegal alcohol, prostitution, and other activities were just part of everyday life in urban and rural Black communities. It was part and parcel of anti-Black racism and segregation throughout the United States.

Hints of some of the ways Lyttonsville residents adapted to being excluded from most jobs, from the financial system, and recreational facilities where Jim Crow's barriers were impenetrable appear in the 1890s. Advertisements for the sale of Samuel Lytton's property noted a dancing pavilion there. Lytton's place may have been a previously undocumented site within an emerging regional Black Map that included riverboat excursion lines, beaches, and amusement parks that began appearing in the Washington metropolitan area at the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Elmorina Stewart, Interview, July 28, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Silver Spring blogger Dan Reed, who frequently writes about life as a young Black Montgomery County resident, wrote about Lyttonsville for the blog, Greater Greater Washington. Dan Reed, "Scarred by Urban Renewal, Silver Spring's Lyttonsville Neighborhood Gets a Second Chance," *Greater Greater Washington* (blog), September 23, 2016, <https://ggwash.org/view/42962/scarred-by-urban-renewal-silver-springs-lyttonsville-neighborhood-gets-a-second-chance>.

¹¹⁷ Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *Off the Books: The Underground Economy of the Urban Poor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹¹⁸ Patsy Mose Fletcher, *Historically African American Leisure Destinations around Washington, D.C* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2015); Andrew W. Kahrl, *The Land Was Ours: How Black Beaches Became White Wealth in*

No current and former Lyttonsville residents can recall hearing about Lytton's dancing pavilion. Yet, several decades later, at least family living in nearby Wheaton Lane had an off-the-books business offering weekend dancing. Nancy Hyson Johnson grew up in Wheaton Lane; her extended family included grandparents and uncles who were early landowners in several Borderlands communities. "My father used to do the District line on the weekends and bring them sailors from the clubs to Wheaton Lane," she recalled in a 2018 interview. "They called it a pavilion," added, her sister, Doris Hyson Washington.¹¹⁹The Hysons' pavilion was a separate structure in the family home's yard and it would have operated in the 1940s and 1950s.

Most people who grew up in Lyttonsville and nearby communities recall Isaac Young's beer garden: Ike's Blue Moon. "There was a beer garden down in Linden [Lyttonsville]," said Dorothy Washington. "They called it a beer garden, I don't know what it was. I never went there but papa and them went down there." Dorothy and her siblings were too young to drink and do other things in the establishment. "They'd be playing cards and they'd put us in a room and give us junk to eat and stuff like that. Half the time mama didn't even know where we were," explained Doris Hyson Washington.

Ike's Blue Moon was located on the east side of Brookville Road and Young likely rented the building from E.C. Keys, the coal and lumber dealer who owned much of that area. Though Coffield knew the family that owned Ike's Blue Moon (they were nearby neighbors), she never went inside. "It was off limits for us," Coffield said in 2017.¹²⁰

Patricia Tyson knew a little more about Young's place. "Everybody knew about Ike's Blue Moon," she said in a 2016 interview. Tyson's mother used to tell her about it. "It had, I guess, a jukebox or live music," Tyson recalled. "And my mother said, she and my father when they were dating, whenever they went in there she said she'd always have him buy her a pork chop sandwich. They had the best pork chop and they had good food."¹²¹

Ike's Blue Moon was gone by the time Ella Redfield was growing up. She had lived in several Montgomery County communities, including Lyttonsville. She also had family in Wheaton Lane. Now a pastor with her own church in the building that once served Methodists living in Wheaton Lane, Redfield mused about what places like Ike's Blue Moon were called. "They would call it the beer garden," she said in a 2016 interview conducted in her church office. Redfield added,

Those places they called the beer gardens and I recall one day I was doing a bible study here at the church and I was giving analogies and telling stories. And I said something about a beer garden and one of the members said, "Oh pastor, wait a minute. What did you just say?" And I said, "beer garden." She had never heard that saying before.¹²²

the Coastal South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Rosa Pryor-Trusty, *African-American Community, History & Entertainment in Maryland*, First edition (Bloomington, Ind.: Xlibris, 2013).

¹¹⁹ Interview, May 1, 2018.

¹²⁰ Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹²¹ Interview, August 23, 2016.

¹²² Interview, October 4, 2016.

Elmore Stewart recalled a business operating in the 1930s at the end of Garfield Avenue, west of Brookville Road. Locals simply called it, “the Hole in the Wall.” Stewart told an interviewer in the 1970s that he had once worked in the store owned by John Burnett and that it had once included a jukebox and pinball machine. Other residents told the same interviewer that Burnett used to have concerts and dances in the 1910s and 1920s in a building or pavilion that burned in the 1920s.¹²³ According to the 1940 census, John Burnett lived in a rented home along Brookville road and his occupation was listed as “lunchroom manager.”¹²⁴

Ike’s Blue Moon and Burnett’s place before it likely were similar to other businesses in the borderlands. For a brief period in the 1930s and 1940s, William E. Smith (1899-1947) owned and operated a business called the Sugar Bowl. Smith was a Frederick County, Maryland, native who arrived in Montgomery County in 1919. At first, Smith worked as a driver for a prominent local doctor. By the late 1920s, Smith had saved up enough money to begin buying land and to open his first store in Bethesda. “I heard my parents talk about it. They had a little store in Bethesda, somewhere near Howard Road, up in that area,” Smith’s daughter, Jean Smith Seagears (b. 1933) said in a 2018 interview in her Rosemary Hills home.¹²⁵

Smith had bought a two-story home in River Road. He converted the first floor into a bar and restaurant and his family lived upstairs. Seagears recalled,

It was storefront. It had windows on each side, the windows that came out, you know they bulged out, and the door in the middle. And it was, you go inside and was like opening — it was very large, opening. He had a jukebox sitting in the middle like, in the middle of the back of the store ...

We lived upstairs over the top so I guess the establishment, the business, was downstairs and the living quarters was upstairs. We had three bedrooms on the front, dining room, a kitchen, and on the side was another bedroom. And we had — the porch ran, it was like alongside the home, you know.¹²⁶

The Sugar Bowl sold beer by the bottle and food. “Potato salad, chitlins, pigs feet, fried fish, pork chops,” Seagears recalled. The entire family chipped in to work behind the bar and in the dining room. Smith made enough money to employ a cook and a waitress; Seagears remembers that her mother also had a maid. “Her name was Miss Bea Wade,” Seagears said.

Bethesda historian William Offutt interviewed several former River Road residents. Many of them recalled the Sugar Bowl. Offutt presented Smith’s establishment as a caricature of Black life, a place run by a bootlegger, gambler, and someone who facilitated “sex parties.” Offutt had interviewed Cleveland Clipper and Pinkney Hatton, both of whom highlighted the more salacious aspects of Smith’s business, and he relied on press accounts documenting efforts by

¹²³ Dickerson, “An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland,” 20–21.

¹²⁴ U.S. Census, 1940 Population Schedule, Wheaton District.

¹²⁵ Jean Smith Seagears, Interview, May 18, 2018.

¹²⁶ Seagers Interview.

white neighbors to shut the Sugar Bowl.¹²⁷

As Clipper implied in his interview with Offutt half a century after the Sugar Bowl closed, Smith's establishment served more than beer and food. In some respects, as someone tied into local numbers gambling and other off-the-books enterprises, Smith was a sort of informal banker in the community.¹²⁸ "My father was a short man with a good heart and a lot of people used to come there and borrow money from him," Seagears explained. "They'd have tabs there, [pay] it when they got paid, whatever. They'd come and pay their bills because I used to have to write them in the records that we kept."

Ike's Blue Moon, like River Road's Sugar Bowl, operated more or less in the open. Other Lyttonsville enterprises in the informal recreational economy were more hidden. At least one woman living in Lyttonsville ran a juke joint that offered gambling and drinking. Many surviving Lyttonsville residents called her "Miss Hassie." Hassie Bates lived with her husband, Curly, where Michigan Avenue once dead-ended. They both were South Carolina natives who appear to have arrived in the Washington area just before World War II. Curly Bates was single and living in Kensington, Maryland, when he registered for the draft. Hassie doesn't appear in surviving records until the late 1950s, when both were living in Lyttonsville.

It is unclear how the Bateses came into possession of the home where they lived. The only Montgomery County legal instrument with their names on it is a quit claim deed filed in 1964 for a lot owned by Helen C. Hofberg, a Washington widow and entrepreneur who had owned several stores in the District during the twentieth century.¹²⁹ According to Charlotte Coffield, Hassie Bates lived at, "Michigan and Maine and it was woods from there. I mean the community stopped at the corner there and you went through a path down through the woods to get to her house."¹³⁰

Miss Hassie lived "down in the woods." Lyttonsville residents had divided the community into three named spaces: Over on the Road, Over in the Field, and Down in the Woods. Over on the Road was the space along Brookville Road; Down in the Woods was the area between Brookville Road and the Perkins and Burrows subdivision; and Over in the Field was the area in the subdivision near the railroad tracks.¹³¹

Miss Hassie operated what folks who remember it describe as a house of ill-repute. It was off-limits to most children, the girls at least, and a lot of the residents. "We were not allowed to go

¹²⁷ William Offutt, *Bethesda: A Social History of the Area through World War Two* (Bethesda, Maryland: Innovation Game, 1995), 249.

¹²⁸ LaShawn Harris, *Sex Workers, Psychics, and Numbers Runners: Black Women in New York City's Underground Economy*, Kindle edition, The New Black Studies Series (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Shane White et al., *Playing the Numbers: Gambling in Harlem between the Wars* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

¹²⁹ "Helen C. Hofberg, 95," *The Washington Post*, November 21, 1981 Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 4130, folio 351.

¹³⁰ Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹³¹ Dickerson, "An Oral History of the Community of Lyttonsville, Silver Spring, Maryland" Interviews with Charlotte Coffield, Patricia Tyson, and Ella Redfield also confirmed this spatial division.

into just anybody's house, especially houses that had doors wide open all the time, you know, kind of thing," Charlotte Coffield said in a 2017 interview. "I think all of the communities that we knew about had those kinds of houses, you know. People could go and come whenever they wanted to."

In 2018, Ella Redfield described Miss Hassie's place:

Miss Hassie, people would go down to Miss Hassie's house and when you walked in the door, everybody came in the back door. Nobody ever went in the front door. And when you come in the back door, you walk right into the kitchen. I remember it like yesterday. And right to the left was the living room. The only people that went in that living room were serious gamblers. Of course, Miss Hassie was cutting the table and Miss Hassie was also selling liquor and the young people like myself, which I knew I had no business down at Miss Hassie's, we in the living room — so it was the kitchen, dining room, living room. We in the living room, Miss Hassie had a jukebox in the place, just like the Idylwild. Jukebox in the place with no carpet on the floor, just wooden floor, and that was for the dancing... I mean every Friday and Saturday night that's where everybody was.¹³²

Miss Hassie's and Ike's Blue Moon weren't the only recreational outlets for Lyttonsville residents; they simply were the local ones, owned and operated by Lyttonsville residents. Camp meetings in Emory Grove, in northern Montgomery County, were a popular annual family destination.¹³³ And then there were the movies shown in church social halls and in the Black high school in Rockville or in Washington venues. For Lyttonsville residents who could afford them, the establishments in Washington's U Street and Georgia Avenue corridors also provided entertainment and recreational opportunities.

Numbers gambling occupied a prominent place in Lyttonsville's history and economy. Though many folks gambled in places like Ike's Blue Moon and Miss Hassie's, most of the gambling took place by playing the numbers. Numbers gambling has a long history in the United States, dating back to the eighteenth century and the practice of placing side bets (policy plays) in lotteries. In the late nineteenth century, policy became popular in many American cities. It was replaced in the 1920s by daily numbers calculated from New York Clearing House transaction totals published in daily newspapers. These three-digit numbers came from the daily clearances of Clearing House member banks and the Federal Reserve Bank credit balance. The daily numbers were the second and third digits in the member banks' daily clearances and the third

¹³² Interview, May 1, 2018.

¹³³ Alice Bonner, "Emory Grove Urban Renewal: Can the Community Survive?: Emory Grove's Heritage Lost to Urban Renewal," *The Washington Post*, March 21, 1974; Martha M. Hamilton, "Emory Grove: 'There Weren't a Lot of People but They Were Close-Knit,'" *Washington Post*, May 26, 1977, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1977/05/26/emory-grove-there-werent-a-lot-of-people-but-they-were-close-knit/6e080ac7-fb3d-4eec-90f4-f6eb8da01783/>; Paula Tarnapol, "Emory Grove Finds Urban Renewal Has Bittersweet Flavor," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1980, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1980/07/03/emory-grove-finds-urban-renewal-has-bittersweet-flavor/4b4fb7ce-66cb-4cf8-9da6-3122175d82c6/>.

digit of Federal Reserve Bank balance.¹³⁴ In 1930, the Clearing House stopped publishing its numbers in daily newspapers in response to their appropriation by organized crime and numbers entrepreneurs turned to daily horse racing results posted by selected tracks.¹³⁵

Numbers gambling had obtained a solid foothold in large urban neighborhoods in places like New York City, Chicago, and Detroit. Most histories credit West Indies immigrants with introducing the game to African American neighborhoods. Though the game of policy was popular in Washington, D.C., during the nineteenth century, numbers gambling arrived in the nation's capital and its suburbs in the 1920s.¹³⁶ Nationwide, the numbers had become “the Black business.”¹³⁷

But numbers gambling wasn't confined to big cities. Its history in rural communities like Lyttonsville remains poorly documented. In Montgomery County, former River Road resident Frank Lancaster recalled, “We had what we called the four pillars in the neighborhood, in my opinion. The four pillars of the neighborhood was: schoolteachers, doctor, preacher, and the numbers man.”¹³⁸ In Lyttonsville, Charlotte Coffield recalled that many people played the numbers. Her parents didn't, she said, but lots of others did. “People did things like that to survive, I think. To try to make money but it wasn't too cool,” Coffield explained in a 2017 interview. “I got the impression later on that they were doing that for survival, you know.”

Two of the three strata within a numbers racket existed in Lyttonsville: numbers players and numbers runners. Lawrence Tyson was one of the community's best-known numbers runners in the years before World War II. “Mr. Tyson was arrested for number running, you know,” Coffield offered in 2017. “It was in the newspaper. He went to jail. They tell me that he was sitting on somebody's wood pile down there off of Brookville Road and the police came.”¹³⁹ Tyson's arrest happened in early 1940. It was part of an elaborate sting orchestrated by Montgomery County police using marked bills and cleverly marked numbers slips that when placed side-by-side spelled, “Montgomery Cop.” Tyson was in the county jail when census enumerators came through Rockville on April 17, 1940. He was one of 41 men being held and simply identified as “prisoner”; the census taker misidentified Tyson as a white man.¹⁴⁰

Coffield didn't remember the anagram part of Tyson's arrest. The story she tells, though, is just as amusing:

¹³⁴ Felicia Bridget George, “Numbers And Neighborhoods: Seeking And Selling The American Dream In Detroit One Bet At A Time” (Dissertation, Wayne State University, 2015); Don Liddick, *The Mob's Daily Number: Organized Crime and the Numbers Gambling Industry* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1999), 31–33; White et al., *Playing the Numbers*, 12–13.

¹³⁵ White et al., *Playing the Numbers*, 120–22.

¹³⁶ “The Wily Game of Policy,” *The Washington Post*, August 6, 1893; “Hearings Held by the Subcommittee on Crime Investigation of the Committee on the District of Columbia,” § Committee on the District of Columbia (1935).

¹³⁷ White et al., *Playing the Numbers*, 25.

¹³⁸ Interview, March 6, 2018.

¹³⁹ “Anagrams Game Aids Police in Montgomery County Numbers Drive,” *Washington Evening Star*, April 7, 1940; Coffield, Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹⁴⁰ United States Census, 1940 Population Schedule, Rockville, Maryland.

They tell me that he was sitting on somebody's wood pile down there off of Brookville Road and the police came and they were trying to accuse him of — and no, he [claimed that he] didn't do anything — and after a while they said take off your hat. He took off his hat and all these numbers slips fell down. I wasn't there but the boys in the neighborhood, they were always out and about and they saw what happened. And so there it was, all the evidence right there so off to jail he went.¹⁴¹

Ella Redfield's mother was a typical Lyttonsville numbers player. A runner named James Carter used to come by the house to collect. "He would come in the evening. I mean she was so faithful that she was trying to pick out a rhythm," Redfield remembered. "She'd buy the little cards down at the District line and she would buy the little cards and try to figure out the number. And James Carter would come religiously past the house and get her numbers that she would give."¹⁴²

Elmoria Stewart's mother also played. "I know my mother played the numbers. That I know because someone cheated her." Stewart also recalled how Lyttonsville residents learned each day's winning numbers. Folks would go down to a taxi stand at the District of Columbia line. "There were blinds and I remember looking up and my mother telling me what was going on. That's how they received the numbers. They would do whatever they did, you'd see the blinds shifting and so forth. And someone, she knew what the number was."¹⁴³

Collectively, the off-the-books ways Lyttonsville residents made money and entertained themselves contributed to the ways white Montgomery County residents and officials perceived the community and its residents. By carefully framing Lyttonsville as an unsafe and unclean community, whites made it possible to proceed with programs of expulsive zoning, urban renewal, and rezoning that many longtime Lyttonsville residents believed in the first decades of the twenty-first century would lead to gentrification, displacement, and the community's final erasure.

The Other Side of the Tracks

Lyttonsville became increasingly stigmatized during the twentieth century. Concentrated poverty, anti-Black racism, and the white community's reaction to the African American informal economy contributed towards Lyttonsville being perceived as polluted. By 1970, Lyttonsville was a rural ghetto. It was a space with no paved streets, no water, sewer, and utility infrastructure where poor people of African descent lived side by side with poor whites and middle-class Blacks.

White Montgomery County's stigmatization of Lyttonsville began around the turn of the twentieth century and it may be seen in the name whites had for the community: Monkey

¹⁴¹ Interview, July 19, 2017.

¹⁴² Interview, May 1, 2018.

¹⁴³ Interview, July 28, 2018.

Hollow. Other historically Black Montgomery County communities had similar names. Whites for decades called the Rockville neighborhood best known for being the place where George Baker Jr. (Father Divine) lived “Monkey Run.”¹⁴⁴ In Washington, in the late nineteenth century whites called one early African American neighborhood in the city’s Northwest “Crow Hill.”¹⁴⁵ Bethesda’s River Road community also was called “Crow Hill” by whites. “Well this is where Black people lived at and they considered us as being crows. That’s pretty much where it came from,” explained former River Road resident Harvey Matthews in a 2017 interview.¹⁴⁶ Even as late as 2017, white journalists uncritically wrote that “Crow Hill” was one of River Road’s widely accepted names while reporting on the community’s cemetery that since the 1960s had been buried beneath a parking lot.¹⁴⁷

The name that a place is known by — its toponym — and who has the power to apply the name are critical elements of a community’s identity.¹⁴⁸ Spatial or territorial stigmatization is a form of symbolic dehumanization and defamation.¹⁴⁹ The American sociologist Erving Goffman was one of the first researchers to dig into social stigma. Stigma, to Goffman, was a means of social identity control. That control relies on otherizing individuals by classifying and then discrediting them as tainted, deficient, dangerous, or weak.¹⁵⁰ Goffman originally addressed three types of social stigma: abominations of the body (perceived physical deformities); blemishes of individual character (perceptions of dishonesty, deviance, criminality); and, finally, tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Noelle Barton, “A Neighborhood Lost,” *Montgomery Gazette*, June 9, 2004, http://www.gazette.net/gazette_archive/2004/200424/rockville/news/220859-1.html; Anne Brockett and Judy Christiansen, “Historic Rockville African American Walking Tour Brochure” (Peerless Rockville, n.d.), <http://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/978/Historic-Rockville-African-American-Walking-Tour-Brochure?bidId=>; Brigid Schulte, “Keeping the Past in Plain View,” *Washington Post*, August 31, 2000, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/08/17/keeping-the-past-in-plain-view/203af2b3-9ade-4348-b059-93f4f06f6990/>; Jill Watts, *God, Harlem U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 1–13.

¹⁴⁵ “Broke Up A Ball Game,” *The Washington Post*, May 11, 1896; “Used Knife on Her Sister: Deadly Affray Between Negresses on ‘Crow Hill,’” *The Washington Post*, April 2, 1901.

¹⁴⁶ Interview, December 12, 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Steve Roberts, “Uncovering the ‘Lost Colony’ in Bethesda,” *Bethesda Magazine*, 2017, <http://www.bethesdamagazine.com/Bethesda-Magazine/May-June-2017/Uncovering-the-Lost-Colony-in-Bethesda/>.

¹⁴⁸ David J Madden, “Pushed off the Map: Toponymy and the Politics of Place in New York City,” *Urban Studies* 55, no. 8 (June 1, 2018): 1599–1614, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017700588>; Matthew L. Mitchelson, Derek H. Alderman, and E. Jeffrey Popke, “Branded: The Economic Geographies of Streets Named in Honor of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,” *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 1 (2007): 120–45; Nur Bahar Sakizlioglu and Justus Uitermark, “The Symbolic Politics of Gentrification: The Restructuring of Stigmatized Neighborhoods in Amsterdam and Istanbul,” *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 46, no. 6 (June 1, 2014): 1369–85, <https://doi.org/10.1068/a45638>; Tom Slater, “Territorial Stigmatization: Symbolic Defamation and the Contemporary Metropolis,” in *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies (Pre-Print Online Version)*, by John A. Hannigan and Richards Greg (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2017), 111–25, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412912655.n8>.

¹⁴⁹ Slater, “Territorial Stigmatization”; Loïc Wacquant, “Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality,” *Thesis Eleven* 91, no. 1 (November 1, 2007): 66–77, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513607082003>; Loïc Wacquant, Tom Slater, and Virgilio Borges Pereira, “Territorial Stigmatization in Action,” *Environment and Planning A* 46, no. 6 (June 2014): 1270–80.

¹⁵⁰ Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York: J. Aronson, 1974), 2–3.

¹⁵¹ Goffman, 4–5.

In recent years, geographers and sociologists have extended Goffman's pathbreaking work to spatial contexts.¹⁵² Loïc Wacquant added a fourth type of stigma to Goffman's model: the blemish of place.¹⁵³ Dominant ethnic and class group stigmatize space and the people within them as a means of physical and social control. These ethnic containers or social purgatories are set aside on the margins of more valued places (e.g., racially restricted residential subdivisions). Uneven access to municipal services (e.g., fresh water, sewerage, paved streets) contribute to physical deterioration. Railroad tracks and walls reinforce the spatial and symbolic marginalization in stigmatized spaces.¹⁵⁴ By reducing communities like Lyttonsville to places known for violent crime and poverty, and by applying pejorative and demeaning names to them, whites dehumanized and stigmatized them.¹⁵⁵

Resilience and Resistance to Segregation and Stigmatization

In 1948, a small coalition of Montgomery County residents calling themselves the Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement approached Montgomery County leaders with demands for equity and an end to Jim Crow in the county. Founded in 1946, the group's leaders included Lyttonsville resident Lawrence Tyson. Others identified among the leaders include Washington attorney Romeo W. Horad Sr. (1894-1968) and his wife, Elsie S. Horad (1898-1990). Elsie Horad's family had lived in the Wheaton area for a long time. Her relatives included one of Montgomery County's earliest Black medical doctors, uncle Webster Sewell (1901-1998), and her father, Edward B. Sewell, was an accomplished Washington educator. Romeo W. Horad was a Washington native and a graduate of Howard University Law School. Horad had worked in the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds before leaving that office to start his own real estate business. His collaboration with white Washington realtor Raphael Urciolo to help Black families buy homes in racially restricted subdivisions contributed to the 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, in which the court ruled racially restrictive deed covenants were not legally enforceable.¹⁵⁶ The Horads had lived since 1938 in the brick home they built on the south side of University Boulevard in Wheaton, Maryland, not far from Lyttonsville. In addition to being one of the Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement's leaders, Horad in 1948 became the first African American candidate for countywide office after Montgomery County passed a new charter creating a county council.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Imogen Tyler, "Resituating Erving Goffman: From Stigma Power to Black Power," *The Sociological Review* 66, no. 4 (July 2018): 744–65, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777450>; Wacquant, "Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality"; Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira, "Territorial Stigmatization in Action."

¹⁵³ Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira, "Territorial Stigmatization in Action."

¹⁵⁴ Kevin Michael Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3–5; James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: New Press : Distributed in the United States by Norton, 2005), Plate 30; Wacquant, "Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality."

¹⁵⁵ Wacquant, "Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality," 67–68.

¹⁵⁶ *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (United States Supreme Court 1948); Sarah Jane Shoenfeld and Mara Cherkasky, "'A Strictly White Residential Section': The Rise and Demise of Racially Restrictive Covenants in Bloomingdale," *Washington History* 29, no. 1 (2017): 24–41.

¹⁵⁷ John V. Horner, "Romeo W. Horad, Candidate for Council, Backs Equality," *Washington Evening Star*,

The organization that Tyson and the Horads led sought to improve conditions in county schools; to have streets paved and utility infrastructure added; to have Jim Crow signs removed from public property; and, to generally improve the lives of Montgomery County's approximately 8,400 African American residents. The organization's only known published report included an indictment of life in Montgomery County under Jim Crow. The authors wrote about dual citizenship in Maryland and the county:

Many of the ordinary and fundamental principles of living are denied to Colored people. Adequate provision for medical care and attention; facilities for recreation; decent houses; schools; equal treatment in public spaces; employment; and the right to contract for many of the necessities of life, are the subject of race restriction and Jim Crowism.¹⁵⁸

The report went on to discuss where and how Montgomery County's Blacks lived. According to its authors, 8,000 Blacks lived in rural areas, many of them in "squalid, paintless houses, clustered together on the surface of the ground." Though Lyttonsville wasn't named, other communities were: "KinGar, Lincoln Park, Spencerville, Derwood and Gaithersburg all have their Negro sections. They are easily recognizable. The hard roads end before you reach the Negro settlements."¹⁵⁹

Another decade passed before Montgomery County civil rights activist began to erode Jim Crow's hold in the county. After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954 and the county's schools began desegregating the following year, the Montgomery County Branch of the National Association for Colored People (NAACP) began sending testers into Montgomery County businesses to identify which ones discriminated. The results were published in flyers distributed to the press and to the public. The hope was that businesses would want to protect their reputations and change their practices so as not to be seen as racist. Between 1957 and 1962, many restaurants, movie theaters, and stores abandoned race-based discrimination.¹⁶⁰

Montgomery County was forced to confront remaining widespread discrimination in public accommodations in late 1961. Since the start of the Cold War, government agencies had been moving to the suburbs, partly in search of more office space to accommodate greater numbers of workers. Another contributing factor related to new federal dispersal policies meant to

December 27, 1948.

¹⁵⁸ Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement, "First Report of the Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement Year Ended March 15, 1948," 1948, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Citizens Council for Mutual Improvement, 4.

¹⁶⁰ Bruce Richard Johansen, "Imagined Pasts, Imagined Futures: Race, Politics, Memory, and the Revitalization of Downtown Silver Spring, Maryland" (Dissertation, University of Maryland, 2005), 79–86, <http://drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/3210>; Jean Jones, "Negro Eating Ban Is Checked," *The Washington Post*, August 26, 1957; "Progress the Voluntary Way," *The Sun (1837-1991)*; *Baltimore, Md.*, March 11, 1962; J. Anthony Lukas, "No Business Loss Found In Montgomery Bias Ban," *The Sun (1837-1991)*; *Baltimore, Md.*, April 2, 1962; Stephen E. Nordlinger, "Anti-Bias Bill Is Supported: Residents Of Montgomery County Favor Legislation," *The Sun (1837-1991)*; *Baltimore, Md.*, December 15, 1961.

decentralize government offices to protect critical functions in the event of a nuclear attack.¹⁶¹ In October 1961, the U.S. Department of Labor announced that it was moving 620 employees to downtown Silver Spring. Federal and Montgomery County officials had to confront the reality that the approximately 200 African American office workers among that group would have few options for dining out or shopping near the new office space on Georgia Avenue.¹⁶²

Lyttonsville and its residents played key roles in dismantling Jim Crow in Montgomery County. Charlotte Coffield and Patricia Tyson recall the work that their parents and neighbors did to fight anti-Black racism in Montgomery County. Some of the early civil rights actions that began in 1948 set the stage for actions in the 1960s that brought open accommodations and open housing laws to the county. But significant obstacles to equity remained. Decades of environmental racism and concentrated poverty had created serious problems in Lyttonsville and its sister communities throughout Montgomery County. Anti-Black racism and sincere desires to remediate the conditions that Jim Crow created exacerbated many of the problems created when Montgomery County's African American hamlets became rural ghettos.

Disintegration, Displacement, and Erasure

Once stigmatized, the space Lyttonsville occupied became an easy target for whites empowered to convert it into higher and better uses — uses that didn't include the African Americans who lived there. As early as the 1920s, whites envisioned something different for Lyttonsville. After observing that the community consisted of little more than “cheap negro residences,” a Baltimore and Ohio Railroad land appraiser observed, “The whole area is suitable for large residential and country estate lots, and lies in the way of a coming high class residential development.”¹⁶³

As the railroad aptly predicted a decade earlier, starting in the 1930s, racially restricted residential subdivisions began encroaching on Lyttonsville. Rock Creek Forest was among the earliest restricted subdivisions west of the Metropolitan Branch railroad tracks and south and west of Lyttonsville. Jewish real estate speculator Sam Eig was very familiar with restrictive deed covenants and discriminatory mortgage lending. Eig lived in Washington after emigrating from Russia. He was able to accumulate substantial wealth in the grocery business, yet because

¹⁶¹ David F. Krugler, *This Is Only a Test: How Washington, D.C. Prepared for Nuclear War*, 1st ed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Donald Monson and Astrid Monson, “A Program for Urban Dispersal,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 7, no. 9 (September 1951): 245–50; Kermit C. Parsons, “Shaping the Regional City, 1950-1990: The Plans of Tracy Augur and Clarence Stein for Dispersing Federal Workers from Washington, D.C.,” in *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on American Planning History* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Society for American City and Regional Planning History, 1989), 649–91; Morton Mintz Staff Reporter, “Federal Move To Suburbia Is Questioned: Effect of Proposed Buildings On Outlying Area Cited by Finley Answers Arguments Can Never Be Offset Proposals before GSA,” *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1960; Kathleen Tobin, “The Reduction of Urban Vulnerability: Revisiting 1950s American Suburbanization as Civil Defence,” *Cold War History* 2, no. 2 (2002): 1–32.

¹⁶² “Labor Dept. Shifts 620 to Silver Spring,” *The Washington Post, Times Herald (1959-1973)*, October 17, 1961.

¹⁶³ Field Notes, February 21, 1923, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Valuation Section 24.1. National Archives at College Park, Record Group 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Land Field Notes of ICC Appraisers Relating to the Current Value of Real Estate Adjacent to Railroad.

he was Jewish he was denied access to some of Washington's most desirable neighborhoods.¹⁶⁴ Many Washington and Montgomery County subdivisions had restrictive covenants that excluded African Americans, Jews, and Asians. Despite this experience, when Eig set out to become a Montgomery County real estate developer, he and his wife Esther attached racially restrictive covenants to deeds in Rock Creek Forest and other subdivisions. "No person of any race other than the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant," reads one typical Rock Creek Forest deed executed in 1941.¹⁶⁵

After World War II, Montgomery County's population grew as demand for housing exploded among Washington's growing federal workforce. Though racially restrictive deed covenants were no longer enforceable after 1948, most of Montgomery County's residential subdivisions and growing number of apartment buildings and complexes remained segregated. In the 1940s, other Washington Jewish developers followed Sam Eig into Montgomery County's housing market. They developed additional subdivisions filled with single-family homes and they built and managed apartment communities. Rosemary Hills, southeast of Lyttonsville, was among the subdivisions developed in this period.

In the area north of East West Highway and Lyttonsville, the Rosemary Village apartments were completed in 1953; they were restricted to whites only. More apartment communities followed. In 1959, the Glen Ross Apartments were built in land formerly owned by Helen C. Hofberg. Summit Hill was completed in 1962 and it quickly attracted large numbers of Washington Jews. In 1963, observant Jews began meeting in a Summit Hill recreation room and they founded the congregation that ultimately became the Woodside Synagogue.¹⁶⁶

By 1966, with the exception of Rosemary Village, which Philadelphia-based open housing advocate Morris Milgram bought in 1964 with the intention of integrating it, all of the apartments surrounding Lyttonsville were restricted to white residents only.¹⁶⁷ Montgomery County's segregated housing situation and the shortage of affordable housing for federal workers and military families, spurred more civil rights actions. In 1962, Suburban Fair Housing was founded to pair whites willing to sell and rent to African Americans with people looking for homes in Montgomery County.¹⁶⁸ A few years later, activists affiliated with the Congress on Racial Equality and other civil rights groups created the Action Coordinating Committee to End Suburban Segregation (ACCESS).

¹⁶⁴ Shoenfeld and Cherkasky, "'A Strictly White Residential Section'"; "Housing in Washington. Hearings Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Housing in Washington" (1962), 347-53.

¹⁶⁵ Montgomery County Land Records, Liber 851, folio 210.

¹⁶⁶ "Jews Hold Services at Summit Hill," *The Washington Post*, August 24, 1963; "Summit Hill Complex Sold by Basiliko," *The Washington Post*, June 6, 1968; Fred Lewis, "After 20 Years, Fallout from Synagogue Fire Has Faded," *The Gazette*, April 19, 2006, http://www.gazette.net/stories/041906/takonew180744_31948.shtml.

¹⁶⁷ Paul W. Valentine, "Rosemary: Where Integration Works: Planned Integration Works for Rosemary Village," *The Washington Post*, March 25, 1970.

¹⁶⁸ Robert Asher, "100 Negro Families Find Housing in White Areas: Values Unchanged Other Areas Open Accepted In Virginia," *The Washington Post*, January 7, 1965; "Fair Housing," *The Washington Post*, March 23, 1964; "Fair Housing Group Seeks Aid Pledges," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 1964.

ACCESS began targeting for demonstrations segregated apartment communities. Sign-carrying protestors began appearing at apartment communities and the offices belonging to owners and developers. One of the most widely-covered protests occurred in June 1966 when marchers circumnavigated the entire newly-built Capital Beltway.¹⁶⁹ In Silver Spring, ACCESS protested at the Carl M. Freeman's offices downtown. Freeman was one of the largest apartment community builders and managers in the Middle Atlantic. His Americana-branded complexes were located throughout suburban Maryland and Virginia. Like Eig, Freeman was an observant Jew. He became one of the best-known among his peers for his public statements refusing to integrate his properties.¹⁷⁰ Responding to Freeman and his counterparts' entrenchment, ACCESS members formed Jews United for Justice specifically to target Jews by protesting at their properties, workplaces, and synagogues.¹⁷¹

In the mid-1960s, all of the segregated apartment communities bordering Lyttonsville were owned and operated by Washington and Montgomery County Jews. ACCESS and Jews United for Justice protested at Summit Hill apartments and the Glen Ross Apartments.¹⁷² The mounting pressure from these civil rights actions and from the heads of federal agencies who were having difficulty hiring and retaining African American employees – who couldn't get from their homes in Washington to workplaces in Montgomery County – ultimately forced Montgomery County to enact an open housing law. First passed in 1967, the law was quickly challenged by segregationists, including former Democratic boss and real estate speculator E. Brooke Lee.

As Montgomery County was working to pass legislation that many people called "civil rights laws," Lee was railing against them in local newspapers calling them "anti-white laws." Lee believed that the open housing law would undo all of the work that he and his partners and counterparts did to create suburbs like Silver Spring: "The worst blow to the continued existence of the great Suburban Montgomery County that her people have built since 1920 will come from the Anti-White laws."¹⁷³ Maryland state courts struck down Montgomery County's open housing law due to a technicality highlighted by challenges from people like Lee. Despite Lee's best efforts to sabotage civil rights in Montgomery County, the County Council voted again to enact the law and it became effective 1968, the same year that Congress passed the Fair Housing Act.¹⁷⁴

But housing wasn't the only way whites maintained segregated order in Montgomery County.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas W. Lippman, "30 Finish 4-Day ACCESS March Against Housing Discrimination," *The Washington Post*, June 12, 1966.

¹⁷⁰ Alan Dessoiff, "Top Developers Back Fair-Housing Law," *The Washington Post*, March 17, 1966; "Owner, Picket State Positions On Apartments: Freeman Jones," *The Washington Post*, March 27, 1966.

¹⁷¹ Michael E. Staub, *Torn at the Roots: The Crisis of Jewish Liberalism in Postwar America*, Religion and American Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 152–72.

¹⁷² Staub, 152–72.

¹⁷³ E. Brooke Lee, "Impending Racial Laws Deemed to Be Inequity," *Bethesda-Chevy Chase Advertiser*, March 29, 1967.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas W. Lippman, "Court Voids Montgomery Housing Law: Court Kills County Open Housing Law," *The Washington Post*, March 9, 1968; Lawrence Feinberg, "Montgomery's Law On Housing Upheld: Montgomery Is Upheld On Open Housing Law," *The Washington Post*, October 15, 1968; "County Enacts Housing Law: Open Housing Law Enacted in County," *The Washington Post*, June 1, 1968.

There had been efforts to displace Lyttonsville's residents for decades. Expulsive zoning and other county policies began siting nuisances in and adjacent to Lyttonsville in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1940s and 1950s, Montgomery County began permitting new industrial uses along Brookville Road. Because of its relatively high elevation, radio broadcasters sought out sites for transmission towers in the area. In 1945, the Cowles Broadcasting Company bought land west of Brookville Road and the company built its first tower at the site for radio station WWDC.¹⁷⁵ Around the same time, Peoples Broadcasting was acquiring property for its transmitter site for radio station WOL. The WOL tower site was short-lived. The two broadcasters swapped licenses in the early 1950s and the transmitter site was consolidated at Brookville Road, where it remains active.¹⁷⁶

In addition to the visual blight that the towers introduced, Montgomery County built one of its two trash incinerators along Brookville Road in Lyttonsville. The county also put a dog pound there. The facility processed all of the trash collected in southern Montgomery County by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission. After 20 years in use and processing about 700,000 tons of trash, the county in 1965 closed the incinerator. "Residents in the neighborhood of the old Lyttonsville incinerator in Silver Spring are complaining that rats have been driven into the streets searching for food since the incinerator was closed ten days ago," The Washington Post reported.¹⁷⁷

"Lyttonsville became a dumping place, they thought, for everything," explained Patricia Tyson.¹⁷⁸ Tyson's neighbor and friend Charlotte Coffield said the same thing: "We felt like we'd been dumped on since day one."¹⁷⁹ Coffield said that Lyttonsville residents had no say in the county's decision to place the dump there or over its operation. "They would go to the incinerator and pull out stuff that didn't burn up and some things that didn't burn, that's when the dump came in. They put it in the county dump," Coffield explained in July 2016. "They thought they had no say in it, no control or nobody asked or said to them – we looked up and it was there."

In 1969, Lyttonsville was one of 65 Montgomery County communities in 24 census tracts selected to participate in the county's new Community Renewal Program.¹⁸⁰ Most of the targeted communities were African American hamlets established during Reconstruction.¹⁸¹ Lyttonsville was identified as a "problem area." Housing in these problem areas was divided into two categories: deteriorated and dilapidated. Housing classified as deteriorated required "more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance" and dilapidated housing was "housing that does not provide safe and adequate shelter and in its present condition endangers

¹⁷⁵ "WWDC, New Radio Station, to Open," *The Washington Post*, May 3, 1941.

¹⁷⁶ "WWDC Arranges to Buy WOL for About \$300,000: WWDC Set To Buy WOL," *The Washington Post* (1923-1954); *Washington, D.C.*, July 30, 1949.

¹⁷⁷ "Brookville Road Trash Burning Facility Closed," *The Washington Post*, October 28, 1965; "Incinerator Closing Stirs Rat Protest," *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1965.

¹⁷⁸ Interview, August 23, 2016.

¹⁷⁹ Interview, July 29, 2016.

¹⁸⁰ City Planning Associates and Montgomery County (Md.), eds., *Montgomery County Community Renewal Program, Maryland, R-39 (CR): Final Report* ([Falls Church, Va.?] The Associates, 1969).

¹⁸¹ Regina Lightfoot, "Blacks Settled Early Towns," *The Montgomery Journal*, November 29, 1983.

the health, safety, or well-being of the occupants.”¹⁸² Surveyors found that Lyttonsville had 41 “deficient dwellings: 19 deteriorated and 22 dilapidated homes.”¹⁸³

Officials classified Lyttonsville as one of Montgomery County’s most distressed communities. Originally targeted for the county’s community renewal program (for rural areas), the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development recommended reclassifying Lyttonsville for renewal in the agency’s Neighborhood Development Program: “The Urban Renewal Plan recently approved by the County Council and submitted to HUD calls for substantial rehabilitation and the construction of a variety of single-family and multi-family dwelling units.”¹⁸⁴ These plans were realized in the 1970s and 1980s with the construction of scattered single-family homes following the completion of two multi-family developments, Claridge House and Friendly Gardens. Montgomery County’s urban renewal managers identified 35 parcels for outright purchase and another 17 described as “opportunity purchases.”¹⁸⁵

The disruptions and displacements begun during urban renewal evolved in the 1990s and early twenty-first century. Physical displacement became cultural and social displacement as Silver Spring experienced reinvestment and redevelopment: money and people were returning to the unincorporated community hit hard by 1970s white flight and regional mall development.¹⁸⁶ In 1979 Montgomery County enacted a historic preservation ordinance that created a historic preservation commission and an official program to designate and regulate historic properties throughout the county. No properties in Lyttonsville were included in the county’s first historic property inventory — the Locational Atlas and Index of Historic Sites — first published in 1976. And, no Lyttonsville properties were ever designated in the Montgomery County Master Plan for Historic Preservation.¹⁸⁷ The official preservation documents memorialized a pattern in local histories that omitted Lyttonsville and its people. Though located along two of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad’s lines throughout their entire histories, local historians overlooked Lyttonsville in discussions of communities associated with the railroad and nearby Silver Spring.¹⁸⁸

At the same time that Montgomery County was establishing its official historic preservation program, Silver Spring’s central business district (see discussion of North Woodside below) was

¹⁸² City Planning Associates and Montgomery County (Md.), *Montgomery County Community Renewal Program, Maryland, R-39 (CR)*, 1968, 123–25.

¹⁸³ City Planning Associates and Montgomery County (Md.), *Montgomery County Community Renewal Program, Maryland, R-39 (CR)*, 1969, 42–43.

¹⁸⁴ Montgomery County, “Community Renewal Program. Montgomery County, Maryland. Completion Report — 1. Action Program for Community Development,” August 1971, 88, Montgomery County Archive, armory.

¹⁸⁵ Lyttonsville Urban Renewal files, Montgomery County Department of Housing and Community Development, Montgomery County Archives.

¹⁸⁶ Gus Bauman, “The Silver Spring War and Rebirth: The Fall and Rise of An American Downtown” (Presentation, April 2011).

¹⁸⁷ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *Locational Atlas and Index of Historic Sites in Montgomery County, Maryland*, 1976; Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *Montgomery County Master Plan for Historic Preservation* (Silver Spring, Md.: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1979).

¹⁸⁸ Mildred Newbold Getty, “The Silver Spring Area,” *The Montgomery County Story* 12, no. 1 (1968): 1–8; Everett B. Wilson, “Communities Along the Metropolitan Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,” *The Montgomery County Story* 10, no. 1 (1966): 2–9.

designated an urban renewal project and massive redevelopment began in the years bracketing the turn of the twenty-first century. Residents in 1998 formed a grassroots historic preservation organization in response to the changes underway downtown and in particular, to rally advocacy to preserve the Silver Spring Armory. Completed in 1927 and long considered the unincorporated community's city hall and civic building, developers had submitted plans to demolish the armory (which was listed in the Master Plan for Historic Preservation). The armory once was rigidly segregated and a place where white residents held holiday celebrations, community awards ceremonies, concerts and dances. Whites had substantial attachments to the property and they wanted it saved.¹⁸⁹

The Silver Spring Historical Society began advocating for the preservation of buildings in Silver Spring and surrounding communities. The armory demolition helped validate the nascent organization. Mitigation requirements set as conditions for the Montgomery County Historic Preservation's approval of the historic area work permit for the demolition included a historic resources survey of Silver Spring's central business district and the creation of historical placemaking signage; the Silver Spring Historical Society represented the community in both efforts.

Completed in 2002, the historic resources survey failed to discuss Jim Crow segregation in Silver Spring and it celebrated the contributions of business leaders like E. Brooke Lee to the community's development and growth. The survey also did not include any references to African Americans in Silver Spring nor any of the significant civil rights actions that took place there in the 1960s.¹⁹⁰ The consultants who prepared the survey singled-out the Silver Spring Historical Society as their main source of information.¹⁹¹

The historic resources survey was one of several historic preservation efforts that excluded Silver Spring's African Americans and celebrated the white supremacists who founded Silver Spring. Subsequent examples include Walter Gottlieb's 2002 documentary, *Silver Spring: Story of an American Suburb*, and books published by the Silver Spring Historical Society.¹⁹² Bruce Johansen, a University of Maryland graduate student documented the uneven historic preservation and historiography in Silver Spring in a 2005 doctoral dissertation.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ African Americans had different ideas and memories of the building: "I do remember hearing about sock hops and other events at the Armory but that was during the segregated times and we were not welcomed there. I was a young adult when I first entered the Armory for a work-related reception type event, probably in the late fifties or early sixties, and was not impressed. At the time I wondered what was there that they did not want people of color to see. I never went back," Charlotte Coffield email to David Rotenstein, "Re: Silver Spring Armory," October 12, 2016.

¹⁹⁰ Potomac-Hudson Engineering, Inc., "Historic Sites Survey Report," Report prepared for the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (Silver Spring, Md.: Potomac-Hudson Engineering, Inc., December 2002).

¹⁹¹ Potomac-Hudson Engineering, Inc., 18.

¹⁹² Walter Gottlieb, *Silver Spring: Story of an American Suburb*, Documentary, (Silver Spring, Md.: Final Cut Productions, 2002); Jerry A McCoy and Silver Spring Historical Society, *Historic Silver Spring*, Images of America (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2005); Jerry A McCoy and Silver Spring Historical Society, *Downtown Silver Spring* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2010).

¹⁹³ Johansen, "Imagined Pasts, Imagined Futures: Race, Politics, Memory, and the Revitalization of Downtown Silver Spring, Maryland."

Many longtime Lyttonsville residents have strong feelings about how their community has been omitted — erased — from local histories and historic preservation. Johansen effectively captured their responses in the intensive ethnographic research that he did for his dissertation. Subsequent studies and the oral history research included in this report amplify Johansen’s work.¹⁹⁴ One lifelong Lyttonsville resident recalls attending an event highlighting the historical society’s work. “They’re giving all their books or selling their books with the history and none of it had anything to do with us,” Elmorita Stewart recalled. “Had no Black folks in it ... No, we didn’t exist. Even as Linden. Even if he [historical society founder Jerry McCoy] had put it in as Linden, we could understand.”¹⁹⁵

Some of Lyttonsville’s longtime residents resisted the historical society’s erasures by creating their own museum inside the Gwendolyn E. Coffield Community Center. The Lyttonsville history exhibit debuted during Black History Month in 2008 in the center’s lobby.¹⁹⁶ “We talked about getting something started to explain the history of Lyttonsville so that we could get it publicized,” said Charlotte Coffield in 2018. The small exhibit is the cornerstone of a larger effort to commemorate and memorialize Lyttonsville’s history. These efforts are inextricably tied to the Talbot Avenue Bridge.

When Maryland Department of Transportation planners began soliciting public comment for the proposed Purple Line light rail project, Lyttonsville residents paired their requests for a permanent museum with requests to preserve the Talbot Avenue Bridge. Patricia Tyson wrote to light rail planners on behalf of the Lyttonsville Community Civic Association asking to “preserve an historic portion of TalbotAve [sic] bridge for future use as part of the Lyttonsville community history” Tyson’s undated comments included in the Purple Line Environmental Impact Statement added, “And, the community requested that a historic (white-owned) store be preserved “for a permanent museum to house the Exhibit of the History of Lyttonsville and historicartifacts [sic].”¹⁹⁷

Cumulatively, these erasures fit a pattern found throughout local histories and historic preservation in North America. The architectural historian Ned Kaufmann has dubbed this phenomenon a diversity deficit.¹⁹⁸ Local histories and historic preservation documents omitted,

¹⁹⁴ David S. Rotenstein, “Silver Spring, Maryland Has Whitewashed Its Past,” *History News Network* (blog), October 15, 2016, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/163914>; David S. Rotenstein, “Producing and Protesting Invisibility in Silver Spring, Maryland,” in *Demand the Impossible: Essays in History as Activism*, ed. Nathan Wuertenberg and William Horne (Washington, D.C.: Westphalia Press, 2018), 89–111; David S. Rotenstein, “Competing Histories or Hidden Transcripts? The Sources We Use,” *History@Work | National Council on Public History* (blog), March 13, 2019, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/hidden-transcripts-sources-we-use/>.

¹⁹⁵ Anonymized to protect the individual’s privacy.

¹⁹⁶ Karen Shih, “For New Lyttonsville Residents, an Enlightening Look at the Past,” *The Gazette*, February 20, 2008, http://www.gazette.net/stories/022008/wheanew212823_32370.shtml; “Exhibit Highlights Historic Lyttonsville,” *The Washington Post*, February 21, 2008; Matthew Smith, “Lyttonsville Community Explores Its Roots,” *The Gazette*, March 4, 2009, http://www.gazette.net/stories/03042009/silvnew183726_32475.shtml.

¹⁹⁷ Public Comments, Purple Line Environmental Impact Statement, <https://www.purplelinemd.com/about-the-project/studies#feis-document-volume-iv> (Accessed June 18, 2019).

¹⁹⁸ Ned Kaufman, “Historic Places and the Diversity Deficit in Heritage Conservation,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1, no. 2 (2004): 68–85; Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

marginalized, and sought to tokenize Lyttonsville's history. Historic preservation researchers conducting studies for the proposed Purple Line light rail project in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act had little to work with; Lyttonsville and the Talbot Avenue Bridge received cursory treatment. The bridge was only evaluated as an engineering structure associated with the railroad. According to the Purple Line environmental impact statement, it had no social history significance.¹⁹⁹

At the same time that the Purple Line studies were underway, Montgomery County's Planning Department was preparing an update to the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan. Historians with that agency relied on the Purple Line assessment for the Talbot Avenue Bridge and they found no other historic properties in Lyttonsville that merited additional research for designation in the Montgomery County Master Plan for Historic Preservation. Nearby residential subdivisions, including Rosemary Hills and Rock Creek Forest, were singled out for additional research.²⁰⁰ The official historic preservation studies reproduce the same erasures created by newspaper reporters and others writing on local history who similarly relied on the historical society's work and who found the space where Lyttonsville is located empty and devoid of history (see below for a discussion of historic preservation activities related to the Talbot Avenue Bridge).²⁰¹

Erasure is a "collective indifference that renders certain people and groups invisible."²⁰² It displaces people and stories from the historical record and replaces them with stories that celebrate people, buildings, and spaces that organizations like the Silver Spring Historical Society believe are important.²⁰³ When viewed in context, Lyttonsville's erasure in official and grassroots histories and historic preservation studies is an extension of the spatial stigmatization that transformed the vibrant African American community into the other side of the tracks.

The emphasis on Lyttonsville's history in this report is key to understanding the Talbot Avenue Bridge as a historic property and as an element in a cultural landscape defined by racialized land use and Jim Crow segregation. Many of Lyttonsville's residents claim the bridge as part of their community and it is a prominent feature in oral histories. The North Woodside neighborhood's history also contributes to the bridge's historical significance, in part due to the neighborhood's development as a racially restricted residential subdivision whose residents contributed to Lyttonsville's stigmatization and in part due to the neighborhood's contributions towards reconciliation in the two years leading up to the bridge's demolition.

¹⁹⁹ Section 106 Assessment of Effects to Historic Properties Maryland Transit Administration, "Purple Line Final Environmental Impact Statement" (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Department of Transportation, August 2013), 66–71.

²⁰⁰ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan," 26–31.

²⁰¹ Steve Knight and Karen Burditt, "At Home in Silver Spring: What's New in History — the Neighborhoods of Silver Spring - Takoma Voice," *Takoma Voice* (blog), April 25, 2012, <http://takomavoice.com/2012/04/25/at-home-in-silver-spring-whats-new-in-history-the-neighborhoods-of-silver-spring/> The blog post includes a summary of Silver Spring history and a map of historic neighborhoods. Though the geographic extent includes the space where Lyttonsville is located, the area illustrated is blank.

²⁰² Parul Sehgal, "Fighting 'Erasure,'" *The New York Times*, February 2, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/07/magazine/the-painful-consequences-of-erasure.html>.

²⁰³ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1995). Trouillot's book is a landmark study of erasure.

NORTH WOODSIDE

Several residential subdivisions developed after 1889 comprise the area east of the Talbot Avenue Bridge. This area is bounded by the former Baltimore and Ohio railroad on the south, Brookville Road to the west, Seminary Road to the north, and 16th Street to the east. The residential subdivisions in this area include Leighton's Addition to Woodside (1890) and the North Woodside subdivisions platted in the 1920s. Collectively, these subdivisions are known as North Woodside and they represent the earliest phase of suburban development in unincorporated Silver Spring.²⁰⁴ Judge Benjamin F. Leighton was one of Montgomery County's first real estate speculators who bought large tracts of formerly agricultural lands, subdivided them, and sold them off, marketing them as "Woodside."²⁰⁵

Woodside and North Woodside developed in tandem with the expansion of suburban railroad and streetcar lines. Speculators like Leighton believed that middle class homebuyers would be attracted to these areas because they offered easy access to commercial districts and government offices in nearby Washington. Leighton's investment in constructing a new Woodside station along the railroad underscores the key role that the railroad played in the region's suburbanization. Despite marketing and strategic investments in infrastructure, Leighton's developments failed to gain traction and his subdivisions remained sparsely developed until the 1920s.²⁰⁶

North Woodside is located north of unincorporated Silver Spring's commercial core. Francis Preston Blair (1791-1876) was one of Silver Spring's earliest large-landholding residents. Local legends recount an episode in 1840 when Blair, who then was a newspaper entrepreneur living in Washington, was riding with his daughter on horses when the pair encountered a mica-flecked spring. Enamored with the landscape, Blair began buying property (ultimately 289 acres) and he named it "Silver Spring." When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Blair was both a major landholder and one of the county's largest enslavers. According to the 1860 census, there were a dozen enslaved Africans living there. Though Blair became a prominent advisor to President Abraham Lincoln and his son, Montgomery Blair, served as Lincoln's postmaster-general, the family quickly abandoned the Republican Party during Reconstruction. They rejoined the Democratic Party and became supporters of a movement to relocate formerly enslaved people to Africa.²⁰⁷

By the turn of the twentieth century, the extended Blair family had amassed substantial real estate holdings in Montgomery County bordering the District of Columbia. By the second decade

²⁰⁴ Lubar, "Trolley Lines, Land Speculation and Community-Building: The Early History of Woodside Park, Silver Spring, Maryland"; Robert E Oshel, *Home Sites of Distinction: The History of Woodside Park, Silver Spring, Maryland* (Silver Spring, Md: Woodside Park Civic Association, 1998), 5.

²⁰⁵ MacMaster and Hiebert, *A Grateful Remembrance*, 209.

²⁰⁶ Lubar, "Trolley Lines, Land Speculation and Community-Building: The Early History of Woodside Park, Silver Spring, Maryland," 319.

²⁰⁷ David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, First Simon & Schuster hardcover edition (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018); Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

of the twentieth century, Silver Spring absorbed other hamlets (e.g., Sligo, which had emerged in the mid-nineteenth century at the crossroads of two turnpikes) and the community was well on its way toward suburbanization.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Edward Brooke Lee (1892–1984), Montgomery Blair’s great-nephew, expanded his family’s real estate investments by buying up and consolidating large farm tracts to develop “restricted” and “exclusive” residential subdivisions. In the 1920s, Lee founded the North Washington Realty Company, which developed most of his properties through the 1940s. In 1925, Lee was one of several real estate entrepreneurs who founded the Silver Spring Chamber of Commerce. Two years later, in 1927, they embarked on a branding and marketing campaign that included display advertisements in Washington newspapers touting “Maryland North of Washington” as a prime investment opportunity: “the logical place in which to build for posterity.”²⁰⁸

By this time, Silver Spring was becoming well-known for its real estate speculation. In the 1920s, real estate specialists assessing land values adjacent to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad found it difficult to evaluate properties in Silver Spring. “A fast growing suburb within 30 minutes of center of Washington by trolley and steam car,” wrote an Interstate Commerce Commission reviewer in 1927. Another agency reviewer wrote, “The assessments of land in this county have been investigated, but found entirely unreliable as an indication of values. The assessors apparently do not keep track of sales, or use sales in making their assessments.”²⁰⁹

Despite the master planning by Lee and his partners and competitors, Silver Spring never incorporated as an independent city, evolving into a collection of geographically contiguous nineteenth century hamlets and twentieth century residential subdivisions. Real estate development in Silver Spring, in many respects, reflected national trends. In an era before zoning and in which segregated housing was the rule throughout the United States, restrictive covenants attached to residential subdivisions used minimum house costs and explicit language excluding African Americans, Jews, and others as barriers to entry in many neighborhoods. Subdividers and community builders touted these exclusions as a means for protecting their investments and the investments of the white middle-class homeowners they were courting.²¹⁰

Southern Virginia attorney and real estate speculator Robert Holt Easley (1856-1941) attached the first known restrictive covenants to properties in Silver Spring and, perhaps, all of Montgomery County.²¹¹ In 1902 Easley bought sixty-seven acres near Silver Spring’s B&O

²⁰⁸ “News of the Capital’s Suburbs,” *The Washington Post*, April 26, 1925; “The Heart of Washington Development,” *The Washington Post*, September 18, 1927.

²⁰⁹ Interstate Commerce Commission, Field Notes, Baltimore and Ohio R.R. Record Group 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Land Field Notes of ICC Appraisers. National Archives at College Park.

²¹⁰ Richard R. W. Brooks, *Saving the Neighborhood*. Kindle edition (Harvard University Press, 2013); Robert M Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Fogelson; Kevin Fox Gotham, “Urban Space, Restrictive Covenants and the Origins of Racial Residential Segregation in a US City, 1900–50,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, no. 3 (September 1, 2000): 616–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00268>.

²¹¹ Silver Spring was one of the earliest areas in Montgomery County to undergo suburbanization in the years around the turn of the twentieth century. The Chevy Chase Land Company, an early developer of highly restricted

Railroad station; two years later he filed a plat of “Building Sites for Sale at Silver Spring” in Montgomery County land records with 156 lots.²¹² Easley’s deeds prohibited the people buying his lots and all subsequent owners from selling or renting the properties, “the whole or any part of any dwelling or structure thereon, to any person of African descent.”²¹³

Easley’s subdivision was the first of more than fifty racially restricted residential subdivisions that were platted and developed between 1904 and 1948 in an area roughly bounded by the District of Columbia, Rock Creek Park, the Prince Georges County line, and the unincorporated community of White Oak. This also comprises the same area that E. Brooke Lee and Silver Spring’s other early community builders had dubbed “Maryland North of Washington.”

Segregation in Silver Spring permeated all strata in the public and private sectors. As segregated housing spread during the first half of the twentieth century, public accommodations reinforced a rigid color line. Many of the real estate speculators and business owners who developed Silver Spring’s central business district in the 1930s also were involved in residential real estate and in planning to provide all of the necessary commercial and government services that the new residents would require.²¹⁴ The iconic Art Deco-style Silver Spring Shopping Center and movie theater at the intersection of Georgia Avenue and Colesville Road was completed in 1938. The complex anchored nearly three decades of commercial development in downtown Silver Spring along the two corridors and adjacent streets.²¹⁵ Real estate marketing in subsequent decades touted the proximity of new single-family homes and apartments to the businesses. By the 1950s, Silver Spring had become widely recognized as Washington’s sublime bedroom suburb carefully planned “to meet the demands of a mobile, prosperous middle class.”²¹⁶

The roles that segregation and racism played in the community are absent from the many academic, grassroots, and agency histories of Silver Spring’s residential and commercial development. Census schedules completed for downtown Silver Spring and such residential subdivisions as North Woodside illustrate Jim Crow’s prominence. Bruce Johansen analyzed census Silver Spring’s census data (1920 and 1930) and found that for every African American

residential subdivisions, didn’t begin including racially restrictive covenants in its deeds until the 1920s despite local beliefs that the company’s founder, Senator Francis G. Newlands — a well-known white supremacist — included covenants in deeds to early buyers. Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*, 95–96; David Lublin, “Fountain Named for Chevy Chase Land Company Founder Source of Controversy,” *Seventh State* (blog), December 1, 2014, <http://www.theseventhstate.com/?p=4456>.

²¹² Map of Building Sites for Sale at Silver Spring Lying Near the Depot of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Montgomery County Land Records, Plat No. 54.

²¹³ Deed from R. Holt Easley to William and Hannah Jouvenal, May 19, 1904. Montgomery County Land Records, Liber JLB 178, folio 89.

²¹⁴ Richard Longstreth, “Silver Spring: Georgia Avenue, Colesville Road and the Creation of an Alternative ‘Downtown’ for Metropolitan Washington,” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 247–58, 294.

²¹⁵ Mark Walston, “The 20th Century Commercial Development of Silver Spring,” Report on file, Montgomery County Planning Department (Silver Spring, Md.: Maryland-National Capital Planning Commission., Montgomery County Planning Department, November 1984); Mark Walston, “The Commercial Rise and Fall of Silver Spring,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81, no. 4 (1986): 330–39.

²¹⁶ Longstreth, “Silver Spring: Georgia Avenue, Colesville Road and the Creation of an Alternative ‘Downtown’ for Metropolitan Washington,” 248.

listed in a street or neighborhood, there were between 200 and 300 whites.²¹⁷ The 1940 census identified eleven African Americans (of 762 residents) living in the census district where North Woodside is located; all were employed by white property owners. The African Americans' occupations were "maid," "houseman," "kitchen boy," and "domestic servant."²¹⁸

Some of the people employed in these homes undoubtedly lived in Lyttonsville. Though North Woodside's homes don't appear to have had racially restrictive covenants attached to them until the 1920s, the census data and Lyttonsville oral histories offer a picture of a rigidly segregated neighborhood. Current Lyttonsville residents recall family members walking to work in North Woodside and other nearby neighborhoods.

"My mother used to work for Miss Lansburgh and that was the house and you'd go down Sixteenth Street," recalled former Lyttonsville resident Ella Redfield. "It's still there and when you turn on Georgia Avenue and you go down Sixteenth Street, it's right at the corner of Grace Church Road."²¹⁹

Charlotte Coffield remembers that her grandmother also worked as a domestic in a nearby segregated neighborhood. "She worked over in Woodside on Second Avenue at the corner of Noyes, the big house at the corner of Noyes and Second Avenue," Coffield explained. She added,

She was working in that house when she had a stroke. But she walked from here across the bridge to get to work and then she walked back in the evenings after she'd finished cleaning their houses and taking care of their kids and washing and ironing and all of that and then she would come home and do whatever she had to do at the house here.²²⁰

Silver Spring remained rigidly segregated until the 1960s, with whites living in many residential subdivisions first developed with racially restrictive deed covenants and Blacks living across the tracks in Lyttonsville and beyond. As late as 1967, *Washingtonian* magazine was reporting on the appeal Silver Spring had for whites moving away from Washington: "They love it because it's easy to commute to Washington," Judith Viorst wrote. "And, they love it because Negroes, so far, have been safely left behind at the District line. Virtually everybody says so, one way or another."²²¹

²¹⁷ Johansen, "Imagined Pasts, Imagined Futures: Race, Politics, Memory, and the Revitalization of Downtown Silver Spring, Maryland," 345.

²¹⁸ U.S. Census, 1940 population schedules.

²¹⁹ Interview, May 1, 2018.

²²⁰ Charlotte Coffield interview, July 17, 2017.

²²¹ Judith Viorst, "Q. Is There a Silver Spring, and If so, Why?," *Washingtonian*, July 1967, 68.

THE TALBOT AVENUE BRIDGE AS CONTESTED SPACE

By the 1980s, Montgomery County was responsible for maintaining the bridge and the earliest surviving county bridge inspection reports date to 1987. These reports document substantial rehabilitation projects in 1985-1986 and 1996 to remediate damaged and deteriorated substructure elements, the bridge deck, abutments, and guard rails. Sometime after the 1970s, the bridge was converted to a one-lane structure. Starting in the 1980s, residents in the North Woodside neighborhood began lobbying Montgomery County officials to close the bridge. Speaking for many North Woodside residents, in 1984 Mark Desautels told a reporter, “The bridge acts as a short cut between two major arteries—East-West Highway and Georgia Avenue. What’s happening is it is generating a great deal of non-neighborhood traffic.”²²²

In the 1984 debate over the bridge, then-Montgomery County Councilmember David Scull said that discussions about closing the bridge had been going on for about a decade. “Scull said neighborhoods east of the bridge fought to close it while neighborhoods on the west fought to keep it open. He said the western neighborhoods regarded the bridge as their major access to the east.”²²³ A North Woodside community flyer prepared in advance of a 1994 community meeting included a timeline of events related to the bridge, including notes that Montgomery County first proposed closing the bridge in 1972 and again in 1975.²²⁴

A decade later, North Woodside residents revived their efforts to close the Talbot Avenue Bridge. The North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Citizens’ Association (NWMHCA) in February 1993 published an article in its newsletter about the bridge and neighborhood traffic concerns:

The county government is still unwilling to close the Talbot Street Bridge — that little railroad bridge connecting our neighborhood to the next one over, near Rosemary Hills Elementary School. The North Woodside/Montgomery Hills Civic Association has been complaining for years that traffic is too heavy over the bridge, and is now asking that it be made one way — from Rosemary Hills to our neighborhood, but with little result.²²⁵

As the 1990s debate over the bridge heated up, the North Woodside neighborhood also was publishing crime reports in its newsletters. The October 1993 issue included a three-paragraph article titled, “Drive-by Shooting Near Talbot Avenue Bridge.” Though residents didn’t explicitly link the bridge to recent crimes, the connection was clear. “The shooting was the third incident involving firearms around the bridge,” the organization wrote. “The Association and residents of the neighborhood have been trying to close the bridge to vehicular traffic to prevent cars from cutting through the neighborhood and to reduce the volume of traffic.” The article continued, “The recent shootings and the increased traffic have been brought to the attention of county authorities.”²²⁶

²²² Regina Lightfoot, “Wooden Bridge Called Danger,” *The Montgomery Journal*, September 25, 1984.

²²³ Lightfoot.

²²⁴ September 11, 1994, community traffic meeting flyer. Collection of Laura Keanon.

²²⁵ North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Citizens’ Association newsletter, February 1993.

²²⁶ North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Civic Association newsletter, October 1993.

In October 1994, the North Woodside newsletter reported that two community meetings had been held during the previous summer. “Residents of Grace Church and Hanover have had to endure increasingly unsafe traffic as well as increasingly aggressive driver behavior for the past ten years,” the newsletter reported.²²⁷

Some of the aggressive driver behavior included nose-to-nose standoffs on the bridge when drivers coming from opposite directions tried to simultaneously use the bridge. “There were times when there would be standoffs when two drivers would refuse to yield the right-of-way to each other,” recalled Dennis Ehlers, who has lived near the bridge in North Woodside since 2010. “As a result, I’d have to go out and threaten to call the police if somebody didn’t move.”²²⁸

“There can be confrontations on the bridge when two people [try to use it],” said another North Woodside resident who has lived in the neighborhood since the 1980s. The resident recounted an episode involving one of her former neighbors who was one of the leading advocates for closing the Talbot Avenue Bridge:

So anyway, she’s going over this way one day, right. She’s halfway across the bridge. Somebody comes up on the other side and faces her down, waiting for her to back up. She doesn’t back up, right. She turns off her car, leaves the car in the middle of the bridge, goes back home and waits for the guy to move, or the woman to move, I don’t even know who it was. It was hilarious. And everybody just thought that was great.²²⁹

In August 1996, the Montgomery County Department of Transportation temporarily closed the Talbot Avenue Bridge for repairs. The closure exposed the long-standing feud between the neighborhoods on opposite sides of the bridge. The previously unannounced 1996 closure occurred after inspectors determined that the structure was unsafe. “The County will determine the type and magnitude of repairs needed to reopen the bridge in a safe manner. Pending cost estimates, a decision will be made whether to proceed with repairs or close the bridge permanently,” wrote Montgomery County officials in August 1996.²³⁰

Later that month, Lyttonsville residents wrote to Montgomery County officials: “We do not view permanent closing of this bridge as a viable option,” the letter (with 16 pages of resident signatures) opened.²³¹ In September 1996, Lyttonsville and Rosemary Hills residents met in Rockville with then-County Executive Douglas Duncan. A community talking points memo in

²²⁷ North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Citizens’ Association newsletter, October 1994.

²²⁸ Dennis Ehlers, Interview with David Rotenstein, May 31, 2018.

²²⁹ Annie Cliett [pseudonym], Interview with David Rotenstein, June 30, 2017.

²³⁰ “News Release,” Montgomery County, Maryland, August 8, 1996. Release no. 96-280.

²³¹ Talbot Avenue Bridge letter from “Residents and Taxpayers of Montgomery County” to Douglas Duncan (County Executive), Derick Berlage (Council President), Graham Norton (Department of Public Works), Holger Serrano (Department of Transportation), and Carol Rubin (County Attorney), August 21, 1996. Letter in the files of Charlotte Coffield.

Charlotte Coffield's files reminded pro-bridge advocates to "Inform Mr. Duncan that your family walk [sic.] through No. Woodside regularly, that traffic and public safety is not an issue, and that you would prefer your children using residential street [sic.] vs. East-West Highway and 16th Street." Under a section titled "Special Issues," the memo reminds readers that Charlotte Coffield was going to "Inform Mr. Duncan that your [sic.] a fifth-generation Lyttonsville and Rosemary Hills [resident] and how that relates to the bridge" and "Inform Mr. Duncan of the hostile experiences driving in North Woodside." In interviews conducted in 2017 through 2019, current and former Lyttonsville residents recounted children in North Woodside calling them "niggers" as they passed through the neighborhood.²³²

North Woodside residents used the repairs to press their position that the bridge should remain closed permanently. Signs appeared in streets near the bridge that read, "Child Safety Yes, Talbot Bridge No."²³³ Lyttonsville residents recall the public campaign by North Woodside to keep the bridge closed. "They would take the basketball racks and put them in the street and let the kids play and then when we came through, they would yell at us," Charlotte Coffield remembers. "And not only that, they would park their cars, instead of parking against the curb, they'd park their cars out so that we couldn't get through."²³⁴ The Montgomery County Times reported, "In an effort to dramatize their point, North Woodside leaders appear to have turned the street on their side of the bridge into a playground."²³⁵

Though the Talbot Avenue Bridge reopened after the repairs in 1996, there was no follow-up to the raw emotions exposed during the debate. In their August 1996 letter to Montgomery County leaders, Lyttonsville residents wrote, "The Lyttonsville community is strongly in support of inclusion and accessibility, not exclusion and isolation." In the meeting with then-County Executive Duncan, open-bridge advocate Al Britt was supposed to ask Duncan to "Put this issue to rest once and for all, open the bridge, and not sow the seeds of discontent for another generation."²³⁶

Despite the 1996 pleas by Lyttonsville and Rosemary Hills residents, the matter was never "put to rest" and the role that the bridge played in segregating Lyttonsville and reinforcing Montgomery County's racialized land use history and Jim Crow policies was never confronted. Virginia Mahoney, then-president of the Lyttonsville Civic Association, said,

The closing of the bridge will permanently divide these two communities, one largely majority and the other very diverse economically, religiously, and racially ... What happens when this bridge is closed? You divide the communities. The "other side of the tracks," again, takes on its historical meaning.²³⁷

²³² David Rotenstein conducted recorded and informal interviews between July 2017 and February 2019. Additional episodes were narrated to North Woodside Anna White who in 2018 began interviewing North Woodside and Lyttonsville residents to learn more about the bridge and the neighborhoods it connected.

²³³ Sheri Rothman, "Bridge Over Troubled Neighbors," *Silver Spring Gazette*, September 11, 1996.

²³⁴ Interview, July 19, 2017.

²³⁵ Barbara Flack-Darko, "Lyttonsville Fights Back," *The Montgomery Times*, September 15, 1996.

²³⁶ "Talbot Avenue Bridge Meeting," Charlotte Coffield files.

²³⁷ Flack-Darko, "Lyttonsville Fights Back."

By 2016, when it became clear that the Talbot Avenue Bridge would be closed, demolished, and replaced by a new structure to accommodate the new Purple Line light rail, the bridge as racially contested space appears to have been forgotten by many North Woodside residents. They continued to focus on traffic as the primary reason for wanting the bridge closed and they discounted Lyttonsville residents who vividly recall decades of racial violence and segregation that the bridge helped to mediate and mitigate. Despite public meetings and multiple newspaper accounts presenting the Lyttonsville residents' beliefs about the bridge and its connections to segregation, North Woodside by 2016 appears to have forgotten much of what the people living on the other side of the tracks had said and written.

Shortly after the first blog post about the Talbot Avenue Bridge appeared in 2016, a former North Woodside civic association president commented on Facebook in response to something that the original 2016 blog post author had written. "In your last article on the Talbot Avenue Bridge you went out of the way to accuse residents of my neighborhood of being racists," he wrote.²³⁸ The North Woodside resident expanded on his 2016 comments in a subsequent July 2017 interview and underscored his belief that race played no role in the earlier efforts to close the bridge. "It's been a traffic discussion. It hasn't been a discussion — it's been a discussion about traffic and not about historical symbolism," Woody Brosnan said.²³⁹

In 2017, Silver Spring filmmaker Jay Mallin independently produced a documentary about the Talbot Avenue Bridge.²⁴⁰ In the video version posted online, Brosnan wrote a long rebuke in a comment about the film:

The one area of disagreement in recent years has not been about the existing Talbot Avenue Bridge, but its replacement. Many people on our side wanted to keep it a one-lane bridge, again to reduce cut-through traffic on neighborhood streets. Their side favored the state plan for a two-lane bridge, which is what is going to be built. I think the racist, segregated history of Silver Spring is bad enough without trying to create some false narrative about an ongoing racial issue. In some ways, I think there is an effort to blame all of this on North Woodside, so that nobody else in Silver Spring has to confront their own past.²⁴¹

Mallin's documentary generated a lot of discussion about the bridge and the 1996 closure. Social media comments and neighborhood listerv posts exposed raw emotions in North Woodside over beliefs expressed by Lyttonsville residents that the efforts to close the bridge were racially motivated. North Woodside resident Julie Lees best captured these sentiments in a comment she wrote about the documentary "As a North Woodside resident, I was very surprised and offended to hear some of the comments they made implying that our neighborhood is racist, that people

²³⁸ Facebook, October 16, 2016. Social media posts are publications and in many communities they have replaced traditional analog communications channels, e.g., community newspapers, letters to the editor, etc.

²³⁹ James W. Brosnan, Interview July 6, 2017.

²⁴⁰ Jay Mallin, *The Bridge*, Documentary, 2017, <https://vimeo.com/232023048>.

²⁴¹ James W. Brosnan, comment. Vimeo, "The Bridge," 2017. https://vimeo.com/232023048#comment_16014142.

who are working on traffic issues, myself included, are not actually concerned about traffic, but instead are racist.”²⁴² In the film, Mallin interviewed resident William Bruce who dismissed the Lyttonsville beliefs that the efforts to close the bridge were racially motivated. “A racial thing is a bunch of baloney as far as I’m concerned,” he told Mallin.

The people living “on the other side of the tracks” see things differently. “They did not want us coming through their streets. That’s what it boils down to ... We can’t say definitely that it was race or race related, but you know, what else,” Charlotte Coffield rhetorically asked in a 2017 interview. Mallin’s interview with Coffield in the documentary fully captured the disconnect between the North Woodside residents’ recollections of the 1996 bridge closing and how many Lyttonsville residents perceived the conflict. Coffield told Mallin, “They went through every extreme to try to get that bridge closed down permanently.” Later in the film, Coffield and Mallin had this exchange:

COFFIELD: They wanted to put everything on the traffic rather than race-related but we knew what was going on.

MALLIN: You thought it was race related?

COFFIELD: It could very well have been race related. We cannot get into their heads to say, but we felt that it was.²⁴³

As the Talbot Avenue Bridge continued to deteriorate in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Montgomery County Department of Transportation increased inspections to ensure that the bridge remained safe. In March 2017, inspectors recommended that the county re-evaluate the bridge’s status after finding substantial corrosion and other defects rendering the bridge unsafe for vehicular traffic.²⁴⁴ On April 27, 2017, Montgomery County Department of Transportation chief of transportation engineering Bruce Johnston wrote a memorandum to the agency’s director, Al Roshdieh, recommending immediate closure to vehicular traffic:

Based on the recent inspection by our consultants, Greenman-Pedersen, Inc., the lateral bracing members are so severely corroded that they are essentially non-existent and provide no lateral stability in at least one portion of the bridge. As you know, MCDOT/DTE has been monitoring this bridge more frequently due to the severely corroded condition of the bridge. However, the replacement of the

²⁴² “The Bridge,” *Vimeo* (blog), 2017, 2017-09-13.

²⁴³ “The Bridge.” The North Woodside residents who vehemently denied any racial components to their neighborhood’s efforts to close the bridge responded in a way that reflects what anti-racism scholar Robin DiAngelo describes as white fragility. She defined the concept in a 2011 journal paper: “White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium.” Robin DiAngelo, “White Fragility,” *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3, no. 3 (2011): 54–70.

²⁴⁴ GPI, “2017 Annual Inspection Report. Bridge No. M-0085001, Talbot Avenue Over CSXT Railroad” (Rockville, Md.: Montgomery County Department of Transportation, March 24, 2017).

structure by MCDOT has been repeatedly deferred because the bridge was to be replaced as a part of the Purple Line project. Unfortunately, the continued deterioration of the members has led us to determine that it is no longer safe for vehicular travel.²⁴⁵

In December 2018, another inspection identified deterioration in the approach span substructure and the bridge was closed to pedestrians and bicycles.²⁴⁶ Temporary repairs were completed and the bridge reopened in January 2019.

Race and the reasons why North Woodside residents wanted the bridge permanently closed in 1996 remained volatile issues until the Talbot Avenue Bridge's demolition in the summer of 2019. The Mallin video and the closures in 2017 and 2018 revived debates about the role race and racism played in conversations among residents in the adjacent communities.²⁴⁷

Historic Preservation and the Talbot Avenue Bridge

Archaeologist Daniel Koski-Karrell first documented the Talbot Avenue Bridge in a Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP) form completed in 1995. Koski-Karrell wrote a three-paragraph statement covering the bridge's history and historical significance. "It is associated with the economic significance of land vehicle transportation in Montgomery County during the first half of the twentieth century," Koski-Karrell wrote. "It is representative of civil engineering design and technology during the first part of the twentieth century." Koski-Karrell incorrectly identified the bridge's construction date and he recommended additional research to further evaluate its eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.²⁴⁸

In 1997 architectural historians under contract with the State of Maryland documented the Talbot Avenue Bridge for the Maryland Inventory of Historic Bridges. The new inventory form completed fleshed out Koski-Karrell's earlier documentation with additional details about the bridge's construction and repair history. The authors of the 1997 report corrected Koski-Karrell's construction date error and they bolstered the earlier assessment that the bridge was only significant for its associations with the railroad and for its engineering. "The bridge is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C, as a significant example of metal girder construction," wrote Caroline Hall and Tim Tamburrino in the bridge inventory form. Though Koski-Karrell's earlier MIHP form recommended determining the bridge eligible under two criteria — Criterion A for its historical associations and Criterion C for its architecture and engineering — Hall and Tamburrino narrowed the bridge's historical significance to its

²⁴⁵ Bruce Johnston to Al Roshdieh, "Talbot Avenue Bridge - URGENT CLOSURE," Memorandum, April 27, 2017.

²⁴⁶ Montgomery County Government, "MCDOT Closes Talbot Avenue Pedestrian Bridge in Silver Spring," Montgomery County Maryland, December 20, 2018, https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press_Detail.aspx?Item_ID=22675.

²⁴⁷ North Woodside resident Anna White has engaged her neighbors in personal conversations and email listserv communications. Her efforts have been detailed in several communications with David Rotenstein between April 2018 and July 2019.

²⁴⁸ Daniel Koski-Karrell, "Talbot Avenue Bridge (M:36-30)," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, August 15, 1995).

engineering, i.e., only its metal and wood. They also wrote that the bridge had no “significant impact on the growth and development” of the area in which it was located.²⁴⁹

Maryland Historical Trust reviewers evaluated the earlier information collected in 1995 and 1997 and in 2001 determined that the Talbot Avenue Bridge was eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C.²⁵⁰ There is no evidence in the Maryland Historical Trust records that the Talbot Avenue Bridge underwent any additional evaluations or was the subject of any further research until consultants working under contract to the Maryland Transit Administration (MTA) identified the bridge as a historic property potentially affected by the proposed Purple Line light rail project.

The Purple Line is a 16-mile light rail line from Bethesda in Montgomery County to New Carrollton in Prince George’s County, built to connect four lines of the DC Metro system. The project was first conceived in the 1980s after CSX Transportation abandoned the Georgetown Branch freight line. Engineering and environmental studies for the Purple Line began in 2002.²⁵¹ The State of Maryland retained consultants to assist in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Environmental Policy Act. These consultants conducted background research and fieldwork to identify properties listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The consultants identified twenty-three properties in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties listed in or eligible for listing that would be potentially affected by constructing the Purple Line.²⁵²

Section 106 requires federal agencies and others receiving federal funding and permits to determine if properties listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places will be adversely affected by the projects being funded or permitted. The consultants working under contract to the MTA, a division within the Maryland Department of Transportation, found that the Purple Line would adversely affect three properties: The Talbot Avenue Bridge, the Falkland Apartments, and the Metropolitan Branch of the B&O Railroad; only the Talbot Avenue Bridge and part of a 1930s garden apartment complex would be demolished and therefore adversely affected.²⁵³ According to the rules implementing Section 106, an adverse effect is any change to a property that “may alter, directly or indirectly, any of the characteristics of a historic property that qualify the property for inclusion in the National Register in a manner that would diminish the integrity of the property's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association.”²⁵⁴

The regulations implementing Section 106 require federal agencies to resolve adverse effects to

²⁴⁹ Caroline Hall and Tim Tamburrino, “Talbot Avenue over CSXT Railroad,” Maryland Historic Bridge Inventory (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, February 25, 1997).

²⁵⁰ Maryland Historical Trust Determination of Eligibility form completed by Anne E. Bruder and Peter E. Kurtze, April 3, 2001.

²⁵¹ Maryland Transit Administration, “Purple Line Final Environmental Impact Statement,” Chapter 1.

²⁵² Maryland Transit Administration, “Section 106 Assessment of Effects for Historic Properties,” Report appended to the Purple Line Final Environmental Impact Statement (Baltimore, Md.: Maryland Department of Transportation, August 28, 2013).

²⁵³ Maryland Transit Administration, 25–26.

²⁵⁴ 36 CFR Part 800.5.

historic properties through avoidance, minimization, or mitigation.²⁵⁵ The MTA determined that the Purple Line project could not avoid the Talbot Avenue Bridge and that the construction plans could not be altered to minimize the effects to the bridge.²⁵⁶ To comply with Section 106, the MTA had to develop a plan to mitigate the impacts to the bridge. Mitigation is not defined in the Section 106 regulations, yet agencies and practitioners typically equate “mitigation” with compensation for adversely affecting a historic property. “Mitigation in this formulation tends to be equated with things like archaeological data recovery and architectural recordation. We let the property go, but we make a record of it.”²⁵⁷

In September 2016, staff for the Purple Line wrote to the Maryland Historical Trust summarizing mitigation efforts for the properties adversely affected by the project.²⁵⁸ The report included correspondence with the HABS/HAER/HALS coordinator for the National Park Service’s Northeast Region and summarized telephone conversations among MTA consultants and NPS staff. The Northeast Region invoked a now outdated policy for accepting mitigation and declined the proposed Talbot Avenue Bridge HAER documentation.²⁵⁹ Purple Line consultants informed the Maryland Historical Trust, which replied, “Since HABS does not want the documentation, then there is no need to follow any of their guidelines. The project team simply needs to follow the Trust’s *Standards and Guidelines* in preparing the recordation.”²⁶⁰

The September 22, 2016 Purple Line memorandum to the Maryland Historical Trust was written two weeks after the first blog post was published documenting the Talbot Avenue Bridge’s connections to Lyttonsville and three days before the Washington Post’s first article about the bridge’s ties to Silver Spring’s African American history.²⁶¹ Purple Line staff wrote about mitigating the impacts to the bridge, under a section titled, “Proposed Recordation”:

Following the response from HABS staff and confirmation from MHT staff, the Cultural Resources Management Team proposes to complete a MIHP form with accompanying mapping and photography for the Talbot Avenue Bridge. Although the bridge was previously determined eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion C, the Cultural Resources Management Team proposes to complete supplementary research to determine the possible significance of the bridge under additional Criteria. At this time, the team believes that the bridge may also have

²⁵⁵ 36 CFR Part 800.6.

²⁵⁶ Maryland Transit Administration, “Purple Line Final Environmental Impact Statement,” Volume 5.

²⁵⁷ Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, 2nd edition, Heritage Resources Management Series (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2004), 150.

²⁵⁸ Purple Line Cultural Resources Management Team to Elizabeth Hughes, “Historic Properties Recordation Plans for Falkland Apartments (M:36-12) and Talbot Avenue Bridge Over the B&O Railroad (M:36-30),” Technical Memorandum, September 22, 2016.

²⁵⁹ Email, Catherine Turton (NPS) to Stephanie Foell, February 4, 2015.

²⁶⁰ Email, Tim Tamburrino (MHT) to Stephanie Foell, January 13, 2015.

²⁶¹ David S. Rotenstein, “Talbot Avenue: A Bridge in Black and White,” *History Sidebar* (blog), September 8, 2016, <http://blog.historian4hire.net/2016/09/08/a-bridge-in-black-and-white/>; Katherine Shaver, “For Years, a Lifeline. A Century Later, a Link Lost to History,” *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2016 In addition to documenting the bridge’s ties to Lyttonsville, the blog post also addressed the earlier National Register evaluations. The blog post also suggested that the Talbot Avenue Bridge appeared to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for its historical associations.

local significance under Criterion A for its role in local African-American history linking two racially disparate neighborhoods.²⁶²

The additional research described in the September 2016 communications was completed in late 2018. A draft of the new Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties form was distributed in September 2018 to local government agencies and to civic association leaders representing residents in the Lyttonsville, North Woodside, and Rosemary Hills neighborhoods. These are the same parties that Purple Line staff had selected to participate in Community Advisory Teams. A North Woodside resident shared a copy of the draft MIHP form. In the email transmitting the document, she wrote, “The [civic association] President just forwarded it to me to get my comments, if any, to pass along to MTA. He asked me not to widely distribute, as MTA's trying to get consolidated comments from the neighborhoods, and supposedly this is not a document that is typically offered for public comment.”²⁶³

After receiving no substantive comments, the Purple Line finalized the new inventory form and submitted it to the Maryland Historical Trust in December 2018. The new form expanded the earlier National Register evaluations. “This documentation is being completed as part of mitigation for the Purple Line project. The Talbot Avenue Bridge was previously determined eligible under Criterion C as an example of a metal girder bridge,” wrote consultants Guy Blanchard and Stephanie Foell. “However, the intensive-level documentation completed here indicates that it is also locally significant as a railroad crossing that facilitated the movement of the African-American community’s residents to services, amenities, and employment in Silver Spring and Washington, DC.”²⁶⁴ The 2018 form continued,

As a result of the additional research completed for this intensive-level Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties documentation, the bridge is also eligible under Criterion A for its association with the surrounding neighborhoods and for providing a vital transportation link that allowed African-American residents access to goods and services in nearby commercial areas.²⁶⁵

The 2018 inventory form included a generalized history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a detailed discussion of the history of metal girder bridges. Its authors conducted one interview with a single Lyttonsville resident and they consulted newspapers and several published histories to construct brief historical overviews of Lyttonsville, Woodside, and North Woodside. The Purple Line consultants did not cite the bridge inspection records on file with the Montgomery County Department of Transportation nor did they use the Interstate Commerce Commission’s valuation files documenting construction activities along the Metropolitan Southern and Georgetown Branch railroads. Also notably absent from the 2018 MIHP form are details about how the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad acquired its original properties in the vicinity of where the

²⁶² Purple Line Cultural Resources Management Team to Hughes, “Historic Properties Recordation Plans,” September 22, 2016, 4.

²⁶³ Email to David Rotenstein, September 5, 2018.

²⁶⁴ Guy Blanchard and Stephanie Foell, “Talbot Avenue Bridge (M:36-30),” Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historical Trust, 2018).

²⁶⁵ Blanchard and Foell.

Talbot Avenue Bridge was built or the railroad's subsequent improvements leading up to the replacement of the original bridge at the Talbot Avenue crossing.

The increased attention focused on the Talbot Avenue Bridge also contributed to the bridge and Lyttonsville being added to litigation challenging the Purple Line Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). A coalition of Chevy Chase, Maryland, activists in 2014 filed suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia alleging that the Purple Line EIS was unlawfully prepared. The original Friends of the Capitol Crescent Trail (FCCT) complaint only addressed impacts to natural resources covered under the Endangered Species Act.²⁶⁶

The original case was dismissed in 2016 and a new complaint was filed in September 2017 in the same court. The September 2017 complaint hewed closely to the original one filed in 2014 and it again focused on compliance deficiencies related to the Endangered Species Act.²⁶⁷ Three months later, the plaintiffs amended their September 2017 complaint.

The amended complaint alleged that the Purple Line Section 106 compliance was inconsistent with federal laws beyond the Endangered Species Act and it included allegations that the Section 106 compliance contained in the EIS was not consistent with the regulations implementing the National Historic Preservation Act. The amended complaint discussed two historic properties: a former United States Post Office building in Bethesda and the Talbot Avenue Bridge. According to the amended complaint:

The Project also includes plans never mentioned in the EIS process to destroy an historic bridge in Laytonsville [sic.] that has been the only route from this isolated African-American community to greater Washington, D.C. It is to be destroyed to make way for the Purple Line. The consultation undertaken by the Purple Line agencies concerning the bridge was inadequate under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act: it failed to correctly evaluate the bridge under the National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation and there was no good faith effort to engage with what the law calls "consulting parties."²⁶⁸

The addition of the Talbot Avenue Bridge to the lawsuit surprised many people in Lyttonsville and the other neighborhoods near the bridge. "Who knew that we were added to that lawsuit?," wrote Charlotte Coffield in an email to David Rotenstein after being advised that the Talbot Avenue Bridge and Lyttonsville had been added to the Purple Line litigation. "I am shocked that no one contacted us about this before moving ahead with the lawsuit."²⁶⁹ Rosemary Hills resident Joel Teitelbaum, an outspoken community activist, also was surprised: "Thanks for including me in this E-mail and recent Federal Court Filing PDF - that somehow included Talbot

²⁶⁶ Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief. Friends of the Capital Crescent Trail, et al. v. Federal Transit Administration, et al. Case No. 14-CV-10471, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

²⁶⁷ Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief. Friends of the Capital Crescent Trail, et al. v. Federal Transit Administration, et al. Case No. 17-CV-01811, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

²⁶⁸ Amended Complaint, Case No. 17-CV-01811, pp. 30-31.

²⁶⁹ Charlotte Coffield to David S. Rotenstein, "Re: Talbot Bridge & Lyttonsville Added to Purple Line Federal Lawsuit," April 9, 2018.

Ave. Bridge without, first, bothering to contact Lyttonsville Civic Association or Purple Line Community Advisory Team.”²⁷⁰

No journalists reported on the bridge being added to the Purple Line lawsuit as the case was under review. Katherine Shaver, the Washington Post reporter who first wrote about the bridge as a historic property, only reported on the bridge’s addition to the lawsuit after the second case was dismissed in early 2019. “U.S. District Court Judge Richard J. Leon also ruled that the plaintiffs were too late in filing a claim related to the project’s potential impact on historical sites,” Shaver wrote. “The opponents also said government officials hadn’t properly considered the project’s impact on a historic post office in downtown Bethesda and a historic bridge in the Lyttonsville community of Silver Spring.”²⁷¹

While the lawsuit was active, Shaver never reported on the complaint’s specifics, i.e., that the Section 106 consultations failed to adequately involve community members nor the alleged deficiencies in how the bridge was evaluated by the agencies involved in planning and building the Purple Line. Other journalists and bloggers writing about the Purple Line case focused on the Chevy Chase plaintiffs and ignored the Talbot Avenue Bridge complaint and the Lyttonsville residents with a stake in the litigation. Pro-growth blogs such as Greater Greater Washington repeatedly lumped all of the parties asking for relief from what was believed to be inadequate environmental review compliance as “NIMBYs” and wealthy country club members.²⁷²

As the Purple Line was completing its mitigation documentation, residents in the Lyttonsville, North Woodside, and Rosemary Hills neighborhoods began planning to celebrate the Talbot Avenue Bridge’s centennial. The project drew heavily upon the research presented in this report. Prior to 2016 and the publication of the first Talbot Avenue Bridge blog post and subsequent Washington Post coverage, few people outside of Lyttonsville had connected the bridge with the community’s civil rights history. Washington Post reporter Katherine Shaver had traveled over the bridge many times before writing the newspaper’s first article in September 2016 about the structure. “I didn’t know it was anything other than your standard ordinary bridge going over railroad tracks,” Shaver said in a 2018 interview. “I had no idea it had any historical significance until I read your blog post about it.” Shaver added,

²⁷⁰ Joel Teitelbaum to David S. Rotenstein, “Re: Talbot Ave. Bridge & Lyttonsville Added to Purple Line Federal Lawsuit - and Subsequent Events, Meetings....,” April 10, 2018.

²⁷¹ Katherine Shaver, “Judge Dismisses Second Lawsuit against Purple Line Project,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/transportation/2019/03/05/judge-dismisses-second-lawsuit-against-purple-line-project/>.

²⁷² Jonathan Neeley, “Judge Leon Rules against the Purple Line Again,” *Greater Greater Washington* (blog), May 22, 2017, <https://ggwash.org/view/63514/breaking-judge-leon-continues-to-block-the-purple-line>; Dan Reed, “The Construction Firms Building the Purple Line Say a Year-Long Lawsuit from Wealthy Neighbors Has Caused Cascading Delays; Maryland Insists the Light Rail Line Will Open on Time in 2022:Http://Ow.Ly/63sM30nvYzw,” Tweet, *@justupthepike* (blog), January 31, 2019, <https://twitter.com/justupthepike/status/1090961679473668097>; Benjamin Ross, *Dead End: Suburban Sprawl and the Rebirth of American Urbanism* (Oxford : New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 166–71; Benjamin Ross, “Purple Line: It’s Not the Cost, It’s the Country Club,” *Greater Greater Washington* (blog), May 14, 2015, <https://ggwash.org/view/38160/purple-line-its-not-the-cost-its-the-country-club>; Benjamin Ross, “We Spent 31 Years Fighting for the Purple Line. Here’s What We Learned.,” *Greater Greater Washington* (blog), September 2017, <https://ggwash.org/view/64627/purple-line-lessons>.

And then I thought, Wow, here's this bridge that people are driving and walking over every day in the middle of these two neighborhoods and people are — at least I and I figured a lot of other people were completely unaware of its historical significance.²⁷³

Grassroots efforts to document and commemorate the Talbot Avenue Bridge emerged as more people living in the communities near the bridge learned about its history after September 2016. Subsequent media coverage included additional newspaper articles and brief local-access video stories.²⁷⁴ Glyn Robbins, a United Kingdom social justice and affordable housing advocate visited the bridge in June 2017 and wrote about it in his blog.²⁷⁵ In the summer of 2017 local journalist and filmmaker Jay Mallin produced his documentary about the bridge.²⁷⁶ After the film's release, Mallin described what compelled him to undertake the unfunded project:

When I first moved to Silver Spring a few years ago one of the most charming things about my new neighborhood was a small bridge over the nearby railroad tracks. It was surfaced with wooden planks, and the structure itself appeared to be made of cast iron and been manufactured in the heyday of steam locomotives. Because it's only one lane wide, cars patiently took turns to cross it, but the steady stream of pedestrians and cyclists didn't wait for the cars.

But over the next few years, through mentions on the neighborhood listserv and conversations with neighbors, I gradually learned there was a lot more to the story of the Talbot Street Bridge. It connected a historically black and a historically white neighborhood across the tracks. To one community the bridge had served as a lifeline; to the other, it was a disagreeable nuisance they fought to shut down. Then David Rotenstein, through his blog, researched and gave a much fuller account, which was picked up in the press. Seeing a great story in my own neighborhood I put on my filmmaker hat and went to work. Today the bridge is closed to cars and scheduled for removal because of the Purple Line. I wanted to tell and preserve the story while the bridge, and the people who experienced and remember its history, are still available, and to have that in turn bring forward some of the buried history of segregation in Montgomery County.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Interview with David Rotenstein, May 29, 2018.

²⁷⁴ Phyllis Armstrong, "Historic Lyttonsville Bridge Closed But Not Forgotten (VIDEO & PHOTOS)," *Montgomery Community Media* (blog), May 31, 2017, <https://www.mymcmedia.org/historic-lyttonsville-is-bridge-closed-but-not-forgotten-video-photos/>; Robyn Fohouo, "Lyttonsville Protests Talbot Avenue Bridge Relocation," *The MoCo Student* (blog), February 23, 2017, <http://moco student.org/2017/02/lyttonsville-protests-talbot-avenue-bridge-relocation/>; Jared Foretek, "Residents Fight to Preserve a Little-Known Piece of Maryland History | National Trust for Historic Preservation," *National Trust for Historic Preservation* (blog), July 13, 2017, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/residents-fight-to-preserve-a-little-known-piece-of-maryland-history>; Suzanne Pollak, "Remembering a Bridge to the Past," *The Montgomery County Sentinel*, February 23, 2017, <https://mont.thesentinel.com/2017/02/23/remembering-a-bridge-to-the-past/>.

²⁷⁵ Glyn Robbins, "The Bridges of Montgomery County," *Housing Matters* (blog), July 7, 2017, <https://glynrobbins.wordpress.com/2017/07/07/the-bridges-of-montgomery-county/>.

²⁷⁶ Mallin, *The Bridge*.

²⁷⁷ Jay Mallin to David S. Rotenstein, "Re: Video Link," September 2, 2017.

Also in 2017, an alliance of Silver Spring civic associations held one of its meetings at the bridge. The author of this report briefly introduced the bridge's history, Lyttonsville's history, and Silver Spring's history as a sundown suburb. In April 2018, this author curated a "pop-up" museum on the bridge featuring museum panels mounted along the structure and brief talks about life in Lyttonsville and the other African American hamlets located along the railroad tracks.²⁷⁸

The culmination of the grassroots efforts occurred September 22, 2018, with the Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration. Organized by a committee of 13 people drawn from the adjacent neighborhoods and other Silver Spring residents, the centennial featured African drumming, a libation ceremony, paid musicians, storytelling, and a children's art exhibit. Residents from all of the adjacent neighborhoods took turns at a stage set up on the bridge to make brief statements about their experiences with the bridge and life in Jim Crow Silver Spring. David Cox, then-president of the North Woodside-Montgomery Hills Civic Association, read part of a resolution that his organization's board of directors unanimously passed renouncing the racially restrictive covenants once common in his neighborhood and pledging closer ties with Lyttonsville.²⁷⁹

Spin-off celebrations at the bridge site included a lantern walk (November 10, 2018) and a candlelight vigil held the night before the bridge was closed to pedestrian traffic for demolition (June 3, 2019). Residents in Lyttonsville, North Woodside, and Rosemary Hills organized these events to build upon the momentum achieved with the centennial celebration. "We're hoping that the legacy of the bridge, that there will be a human legacy of the human bridge that it brings and that its legacy is that it brought us together, people on both sides of the bridge," North Woodside resident and event organizer Anna White said during the November 10, 2018 lantern walk.

In the weeks leading up to the bridge demolition, individuals drawn from the centennial celebration planning committee began lobbying state and local officials to salvage additional elements from the bridge besides the two former turntable girders Montgomery County officials had pledged in 2017 to relocate to a nearby park. The advocates calling themselves the "Talbot Avenue Bridge Preservation Committee" were requesting that salvageable metal from the bents and approach spans be saved as well as bolts and wood from the bridge deck.²⁸⁰ State and local officials agreed to meet with the advocates and to attempt to salvage the additional materials for use in later museum exhibits and community-driven public art works.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ "Pop-Up Museum In Silver Spring Aims To Bridge The Knowledge Gap Of A Segregated Past," *WAMU* (NPR, April 20, 2018), <https://wamu.org/story/18/04/20/pop-museum-silver-spring-aims-bridge-knowledge-gap-segregated-past/> The "pop-up" museum was inspired by the 11th Street Bridge Park project in Washington, D.C. Rotenstein in 2016-2017 worked with the Washington office of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) documenting equity initiatives associated with the District project.

²⁷⁹ Mitti Hicks, "Talbot Avenue Bridge Turns 100," *Montgomery Community Media* (blog), September 23, 2018, <https://www.mymcmmedia.org/talbot-avenue-bridge-turns-100/> See <https://talbotbridge100.org/photos-and-videos/>.

²⁸⁰ Charlotte Coffield and Patricia Tyson to Al Roshdieh, Charles Lattuca, and Pete K. Rahn, "Letter," April 18, 2019; Charlotte Coffield to Pete K. Rahn, "Letter," May 16, 2019.

²⁸¹ Cupples, Timothy H. to Charlotte Coffield and Patricia Tyson, "Letter," May 1, 2019; Pete K. Rahn to Charlotte Coffield, "Letter," May 13, 2019.

The grassroots actions with regard to educating people about the bridge's history, Lyttonsville's history, and Silver Spring's history as a sundown suburb combined with the events held at the bridge may be seen as community-driven responses to deficiencies in past historic preservation treatments of the bridge. This author first learned about the bridge and its ties to Lyttonsville in oral history interviews done as part of research on gentrification and the diversity deficit in historic preservation.²⁸² Drawing on work in collaborative or reciprocal ethnography, the interviews and related documentary research were shared with Lyttonsville residents concerned about displacement and about being rendered invisible in published histories and historic preservation planning documents.²⁸³ Collaborative ethnography emphasizes dialogues with people (like the Lyttonsville residents interviewed) and engaging with them as partners all through the research process.²⁸⁴ A collaborative or reciprocal approach also opens up opportunities for activism whereby the information obtained during the research is used for change, in this case a change in how the Talbot Avenue Bridge is documented and commemorated. It is an exercise in which historians become active participants in current events, to "use the past to make arguments" and seek change in the present.²⁸⁵

The appropriations of space at the bridge site and the community-produced documentation efforts (including this report) are part of a larger movement in historic preservation and cultural conservation to resist incomplete, inaccurate, and racially biased compliance and mitigation efforts. Whether it is through litigation for more comprehensive identification efforts (e.g., more complete historic resources surveys) or advocacy for more meaningful mitigation efforts, the public face of environmental review compliance has been changing in recent years.

The archaeologist Thomas F. King has long prodded cultural resource management professionals to think outside of cookie-cutter boxes and rote approaches to identifying historic properties, evaluating their significance, and arriving at mutually beneficial resolutions to adverse effects. Many efforts to resolve adverse effects (e.g., archaeological excavation, HABS/HAER/HALS documentation), King has written, are ineffective and irrelevant. Instead, King has called for "creative tweaking to make them useful."²⁸⁶ The centennial celebration and its spin-offs, the pop-up museum, the public programs, and the videos all represent community-driven efforts

²⁸² Kaufman, "Historic Places and the Diversity Deficit in Heritage Conservation"; Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*.

²⁸³ Rotenstein, "Producing and Protesting Invisibility in Silver Spring, Maryland."

²⁸⁴ Luke Eric Lassiter, "From 'Reading over the Shoulders of Natives' to 'Reading Alongside Natives,' Literally: Toward a Collaborative and Reciprocal Ethnography," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57, no. 2 (2001): 137–49; Luke E. Lassiter, *The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography*, Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Elaine J. Lawless, "'I Was Afraid Someone like You... an Outsider... Would Misunderstand': Negotiating Interpretive Differences between Ethnographers and Subjects," *The Journal of American Folklore* 105, no. 417 (1992): 302–14, <https://doi.org/10.2307/541758>; Elaine J. Lawless, "'Reciprocal' Ethnography: No One Said It Was Easy," *Journal of Folklore Research* 37, no. 2/3 (2000): 197–205.

²⁸⁵ Quintard Taylor, "The Scholar-Activist and the Challenge of Social Change: W. E. B. Du Bois and Race in America," ed. David Levering Lewis, *Reviews in American History* 22, no. 4 (1994): 662–67, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2702816>; Cory James Young, "Conclusion: Policing Patriotism and the Responsibilities of Activist History," in *Demand the Impossible: Essays in History as Activism*, ed. Nathan Wuerthenberg and William Horne (Washington, D.C.: Westphalia Press, 2018), 201–6.

²⁸⁶ Claudia Nissley and Thomas F. King, *Consultation and Cultural Heritage: Let Us Reason Together* (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2014), 85.

toward a better mitigation for the Talbot Avenue Bridge's demolition.²⁸⁷

As the Purple Line environmental studies were being completed and the mitigation plans for the Talbot Avenue Bridge were finalized, Montgomery County planners were completing work on a new sector plan for an area comprising several Silver Spring neighborhoods that the Montgomery County Planning Department called "Greater Lyttonsville." The Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan was begun in response to the anticipated changes in housing demand and transportation patterns introduced by the Purple Line.²⁸⁸

A draft of the new sector plan released to the public in July 2016 contained a single paragraph about the Talbot Avenue Bridge:

Talbot Avenue Bridge (M: 36-30), within the Sector Plan and slated for removal for the Purple Line, is a three-span, single-lane metal plate and girder bridge. It was built over the Metropolitan Branch rail line in 1918 as a replacement for an earlier bridge that connected Lyttonsville and Linden. The current bridge was determined to be eligible for the National Register in 2001.²⁸⁹

For local planning purposes, the Talbot Avenue Bridge was a non-issue to Montgomery County planners because it was not "identified in the Locational Atlas or designated in the Master Plan for Historic Preservation, and [is] not protected under the County's historic preservation ordinance."²⁹⁰ The public documents appear to reflect that Montgomery County planners relied solely on the 1995 Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties form and the Purple Line's National Register of Historic Places evaluation with regard to the property's historical significance. There does not appear to be any evidence that Montgomery County Planning Department staff and the Montgomery County Historic Preservation Commission ever conducted an independent evaluation of the Talbot Avenue Bridge's historical significance.

The increased attention focusing on the bridge's history beyond its engineering significance compelled the Montgomery County Council to call for preserving part of the bridge. Multiple people mentioned the bridge in testimony before the council during hearings held in late 2016 and early 2017 to approve the Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan. Council members then called for additional steps to be taken by county parks and planning officials with regard to the bridge. "The County Government should explore means for relocating the Talbot Avenue bridge to an appropriate site within the Lyttonsville Sector Plan Area," read final resolution approving the new sector plan.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ David S. Rotenstein, "Community-Driven Mitigation: Murals, Canal Stones, and a Walking Tour," *History@Work* (blog), July 4, 2019, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/community-driven-mitigation/>.

²⁸⁸ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan," 1.

²⁸⁹ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 38.

²⁹⁰ Montgomery County Planning Department, "Staff Memorandum, Purple Line Final Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) & Draft Section 4(f) Evaluation" (Silver Spring, Md.: Montgomery County Planning Department, October 17, 2013).

²⁹¹ "Resolution No. 18-1757. Approval of July 2016 Planning Board Draft Greater Lyttonsville Sector Plan" (2017), 17; Katherine Shaver, "Montgomery County Moves to Preserve Century-Old Bridge with Ties to Segregation," *Washington Post*, February 7, 2017.

Montgomery County Department of Parks staff developed plans to salvage the bridge's two turntable girders and relocate them to a nearby park along the Capital Crescent Trail.²⁹² Once the Purple Line and the Capital Crescent Trail are completed, Montgomery County intends to place them in-line with the trail, sixteen feet apart, with interpretation and design features intended to highlight the artifacts. According to the Montgomery County Parks Department, the new design features may include "[a] plaque, pavement texture along CCT, trail pull off with benches, etc."²⁹³

No final designs for the girders nor plans for additional salvaged elements had been announced by the time that this report was prepared. Community members continued to coordinate with state and local officials to salvage and preserve additional bridge elements that may be used in future interpretive efforts and placemaking in Lyttonsville. On July 5, 2019, the former turntable girders were hoisted by crane, removed from the crossing, and relocated to a Montgomery County Department of Transportation storage facility.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Talbot Avenue Bridge was a railroad overpass significant for its associations with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; for its engineering history; as a visual landmark; and, as a symbolic element in a cultural landscape marked by segregation and anti-Black racism. The structure completed in 1918 may have been the second or third bridge over a railroad that went into service in 1873. Constructed from a reused and inverted locomotive turntable, the structure was representative of a recycling ethic in the railroad industry. The rails that passed beneath the bridge contributed to accelerated suburbanization in the late nineteenth century and they reinforced racial segregation by creating a physical barrier between the Silver Spring sundown suburb and historically-Black Lyttonsville.

In the decades bracketing the turn of the twenty-first century, the bridge became a powerful symbol to longtime Lyttonsville residents and contested space for the residents of a previously white-segregated community. For Lyttonsville residents, the bridge was the last surviving material culture in a community that had experienced more than a century of environmental racism, stigmatization by whites, and inequitable treatment by local and state governments. The Talbot Avenue Bridge functioned within a racialized cultural landscape as transportation infrastructure providing vital connections to work, recreation, and transportation for Lyttonsville's residents. It was an essential link in a social environment where racial restrictive covenants prevented African Americans from buying and renting homes in most nearby neighborhoods and where Jim Crow limited opportunities for education, healthcare, shopping,

²⁹² Shaver, "Montgomery County Moves to Preserve Century-Old Bridge with Ties to Segregation"; Katherine Shaver, "Bridge Preservation Hopes Ride on MTA," *Washington Post*, January 21, 2018; Katherine Shaver, "Part of Historic Maryland Bridge Will Be Preserved along Purple Line Trail," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2018.

²⁹³ Andrew Frank to David S. Rotenstein, "Talbot Ave Bridge Girder Reuse Sketches," April 23, 2018; Maryland Department of Transportation, *Sketch to Show Community Preferred Location of Talbot Avenue Bridge Girders*, 2017, Construction drawing on file with Montgomery County Department of Parks.

work, and entertainment. To Lyttonsville's residents, the Talbot Avenue Bridge was much more than a structure that allowed movement into and out of their community.

Decades of state- and county-led and grassroots historic preservation work in Montgomery County overlooked Lyttonsville and the Talbot Avenue Bridge. Though much of Lyttonsville had lost its vernacular buildings and much of its legibility through urban renewal by the 1970s, it still retained a strong community identity and cultural landscape anchored by the bridge and connected to nearby sites with significant ties to local, regional, and national civil rights histories. Yet, the stigmatization and segregation (separate and unequal treatment) that characterized Lyttonsville during the twentieth century carried over into historic preservation and urban and transportation planning as the community was overlooked by nearly three decades of historic preservation activities. Montgomery County transportation officials allowed the Talbot Avenue Bridge to deteriorate to such a degree that it had to be closed several times since the county acquired the structure in the 1980s because of safety concerns. The county's treatment of the Talbot Avenue Bridge reproduced the county's treatment of Lyttonsville during the twentieth century.

Montgomery County residents learned more about the Talbot Avenue Bridge's history in the years leading up to its demolition. The new knowledge led to a wider dissemination of Lyttonsville's history and the role that racial segregation and structural racism played in Silver Spring's past and present. Grassroots educational and commemorative efforts led by a coalition of residents from Lyttonsville and the previously white-segregated neighborhoods led to community festivals including a centennial celebration for the bridge, a lantern walk, a spring party, and a candlelight vigil the night before the bridge closed to pedestrian traffic. These community-driven actions included new calls for more meaningful mitigation by the local and state agencies involved in building the Purple Line and in realizing new community land-use plans. The community-driven mitigation besides the festivals included the production of a documentary video, greater community involvement in the design of the structure that will replace the Talbot Avenue Bridge, and a last-minute drive to salvage the bridge span for use in a future public display.

The Talbot Avenue Bridge was an unlikely yet thoroughly logical catalyst for creating a better understanding of a community rendered invisible by anti-Black racism and racialized histories and historic preservation. "The other side of the tracks" is a powerful trope in American history and the bridge opened up a pathway to exploring more of Silver Spring's history and the roles that transportation infrastructure play in spatial stigmatization. Lyttonsville resident Charlotte Coffield marveled at the attention she, her community, and the bridge received as more of the history became widely known: "The Talbot Avenue Bridge has probably taken on a life of its own."²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ Interview, July 19, 2017.

ILLUSTRATED APPENDIX

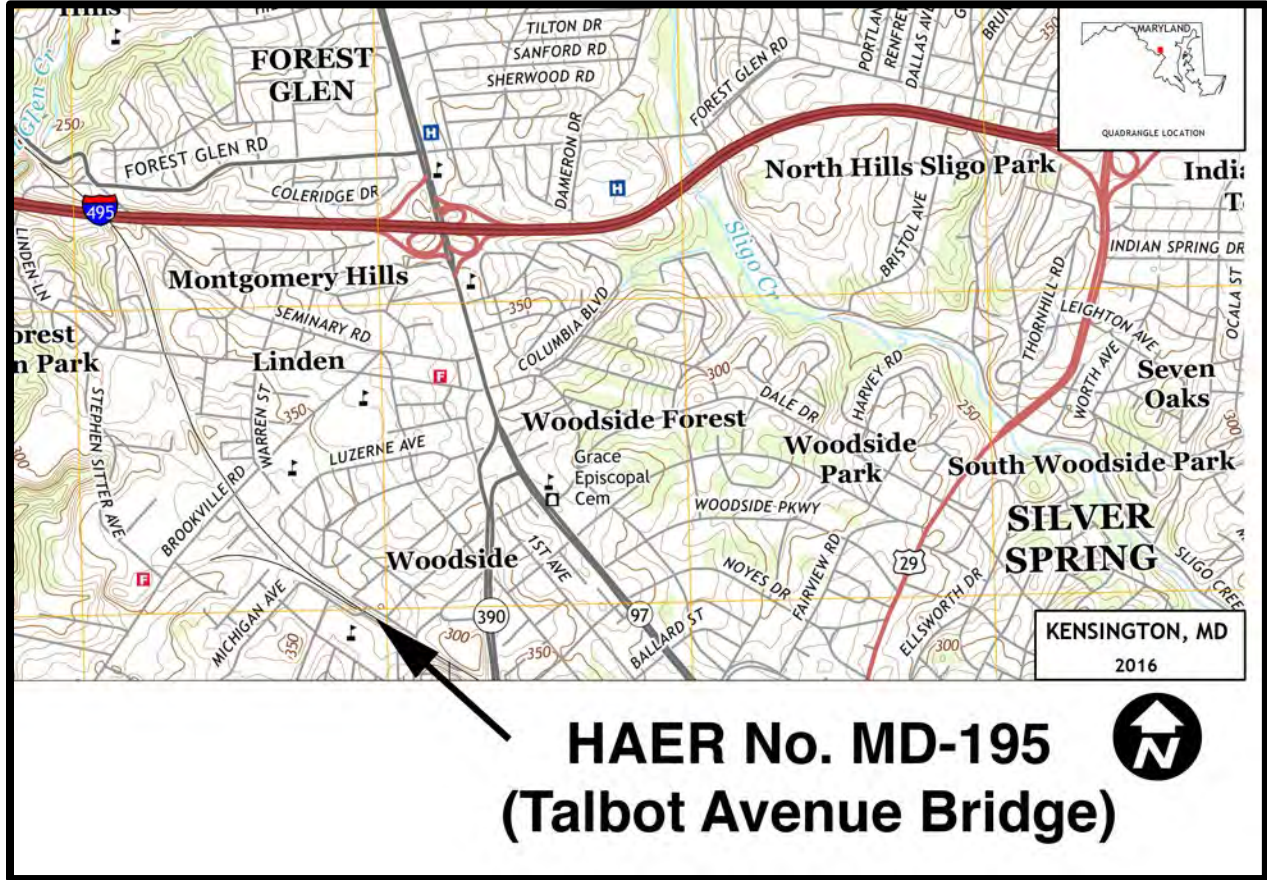


Figure 1. Talbot Avenue Bridge Location Map.

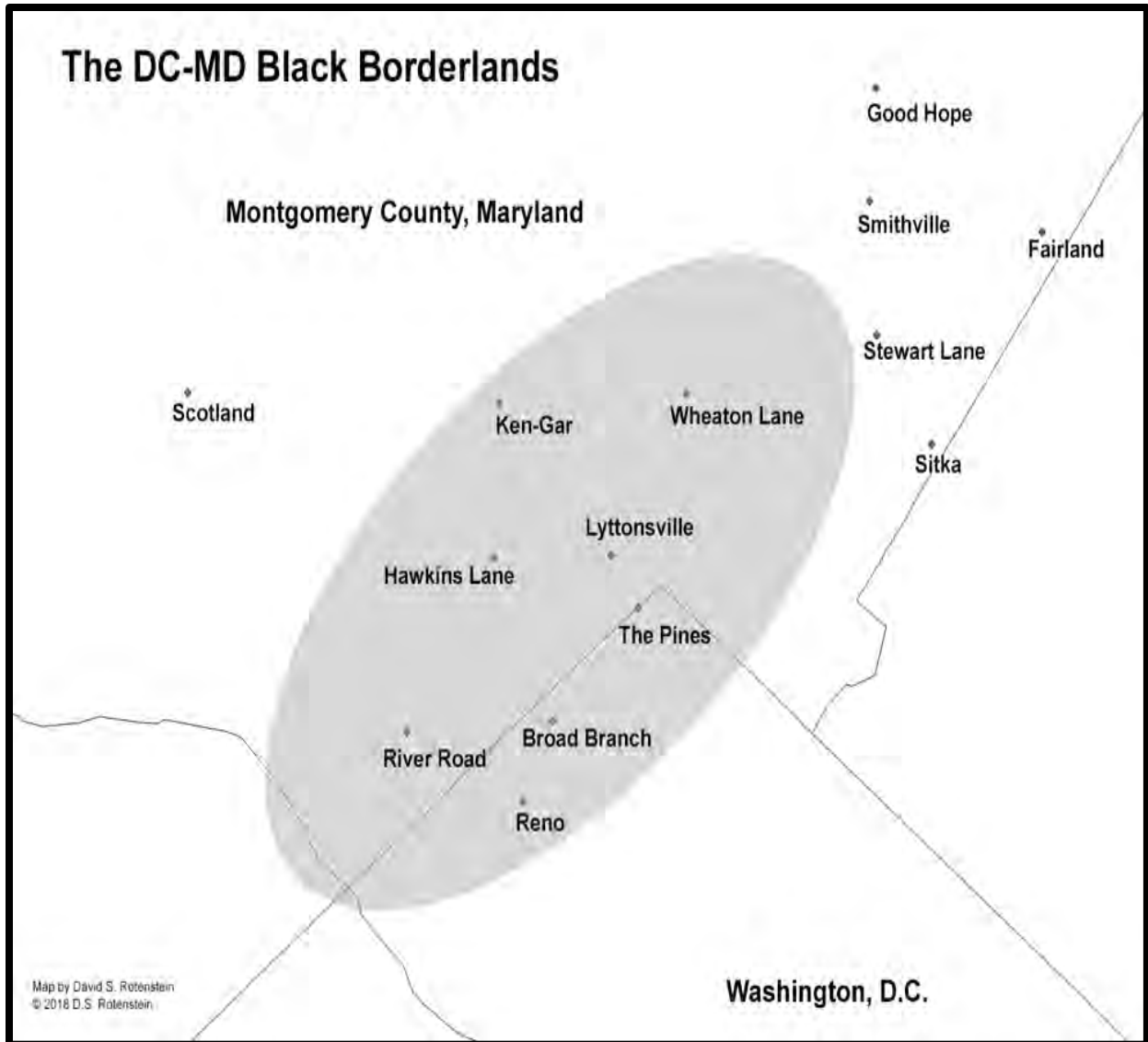


Figure 2. Washington-Baltimore Black Borderlands Map.

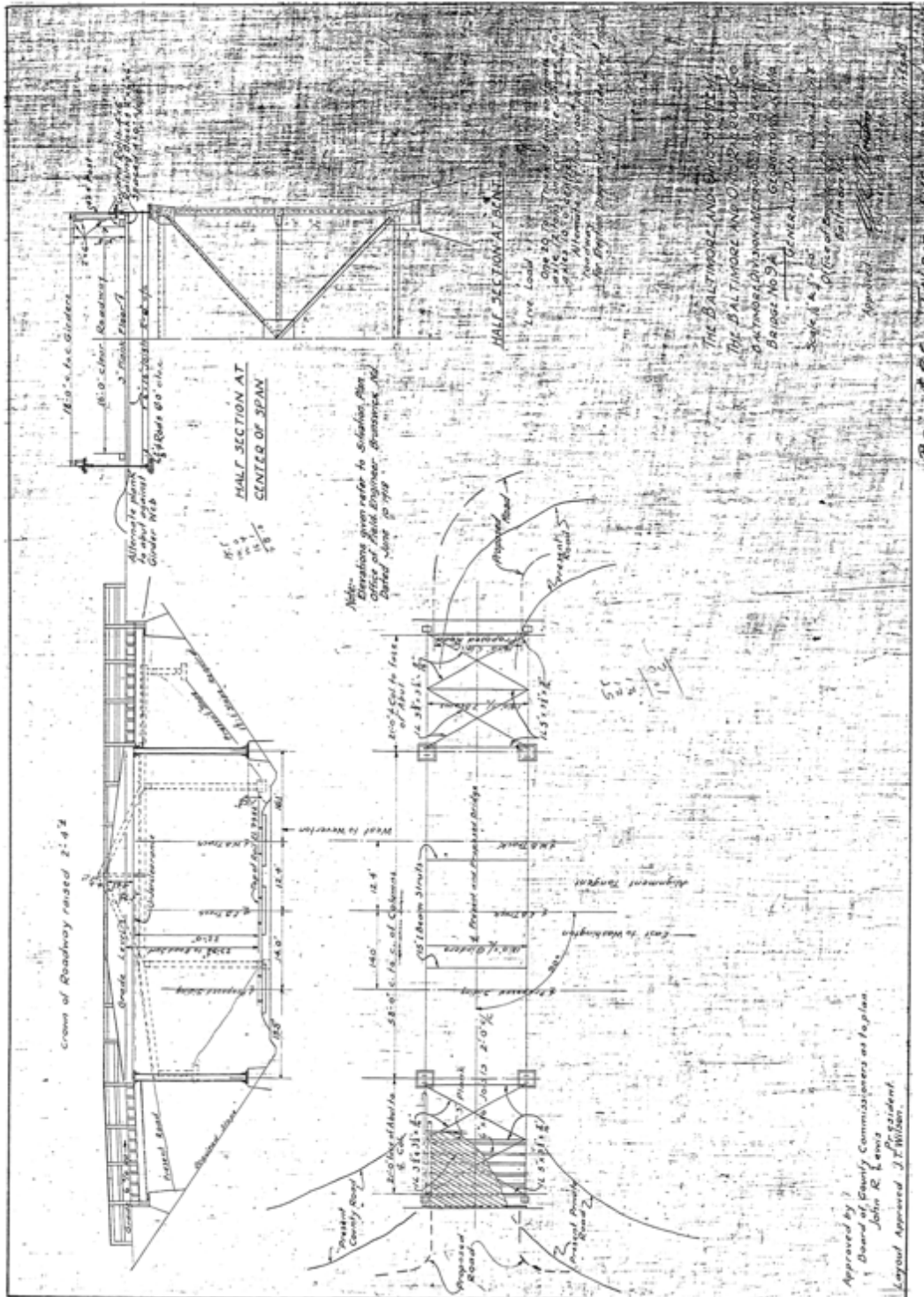


Figure 3. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Bridge 9A, Drawing No. 17554, June 21, 1918. Courtesy Montgomery County Department of Transportation, Talbot Avenue Bridge file.

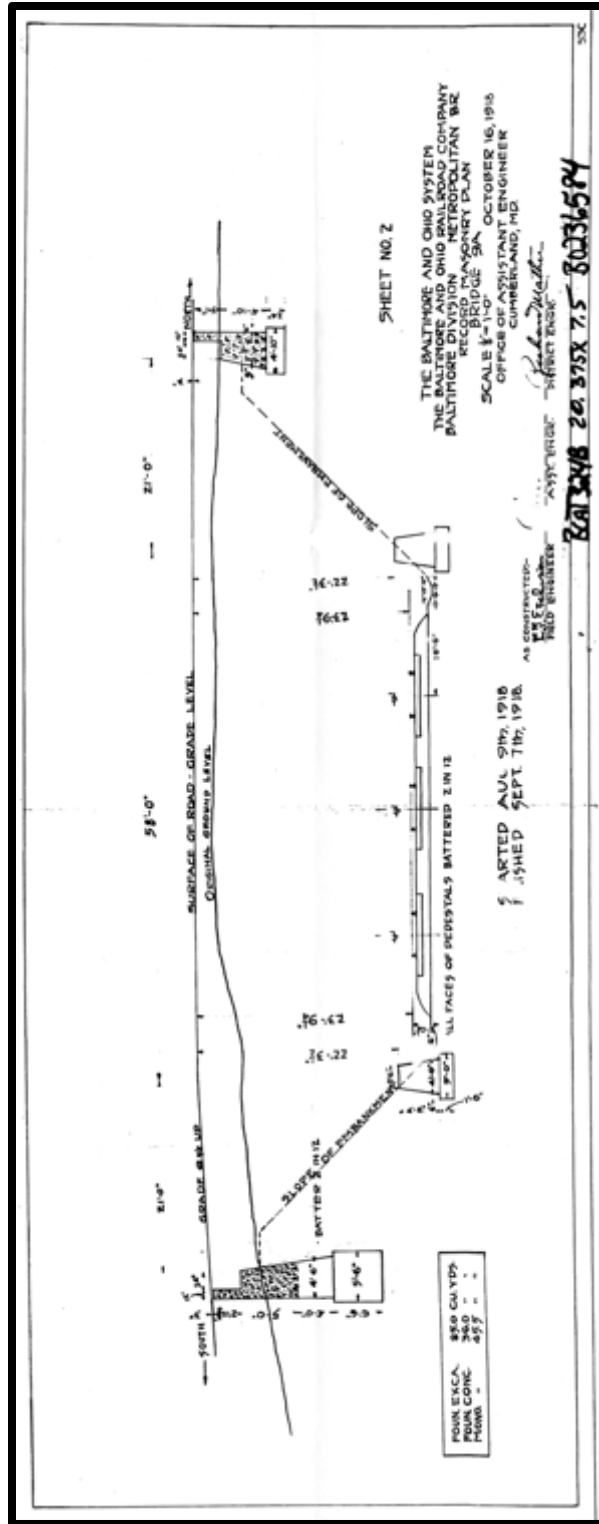


Figure 4. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Bridge 9A, Sheet No. 2, October 16, 1918. Courtesy Montgomery County Department of Transportation, Talbot Avenue Bridge file.

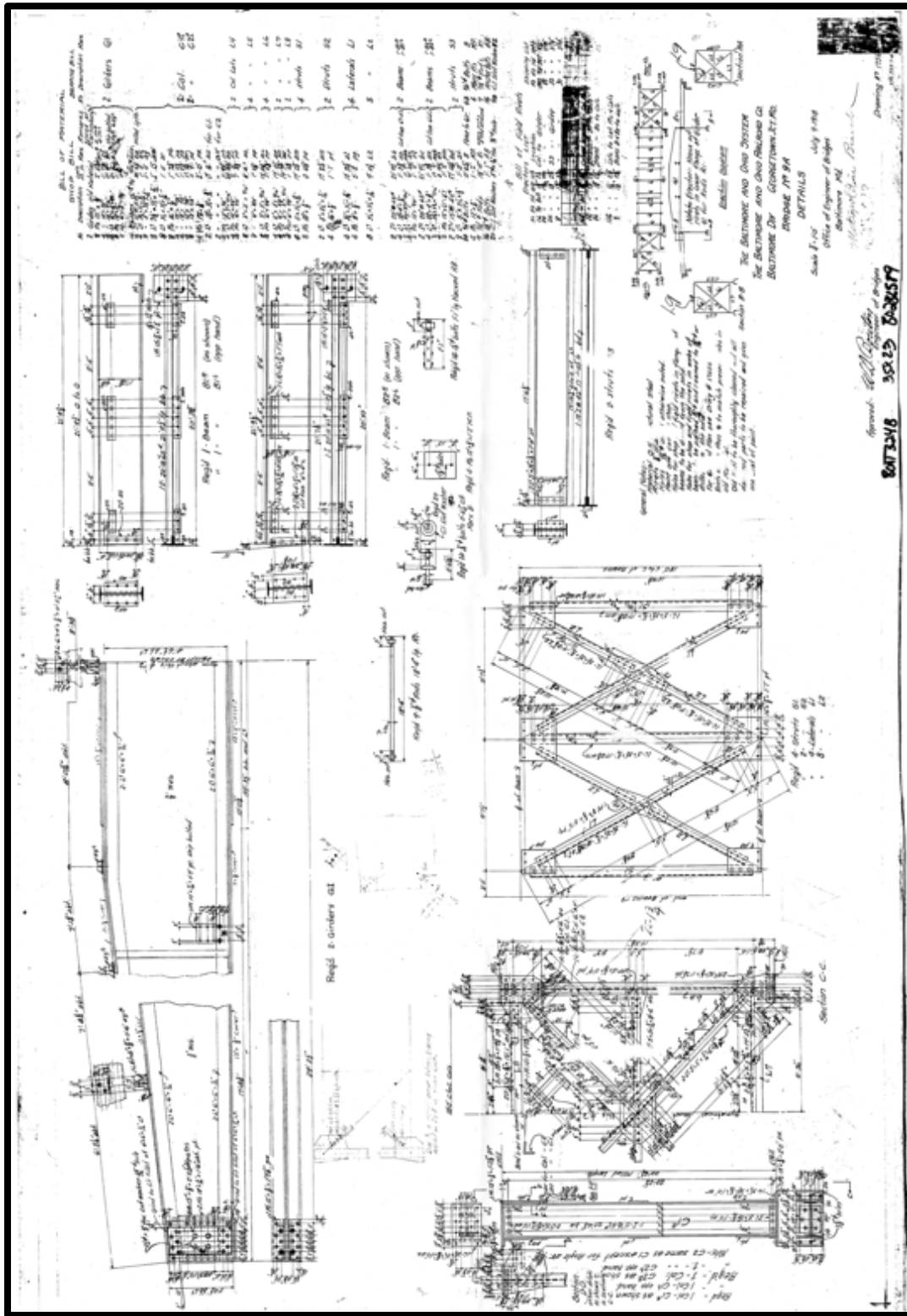


Figure 5. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Bridge 9A, Drawing No. 17565, July 9, 1918. Courtesy Montgomery County Department of Transportation, Talbot Avenue Bridge file.

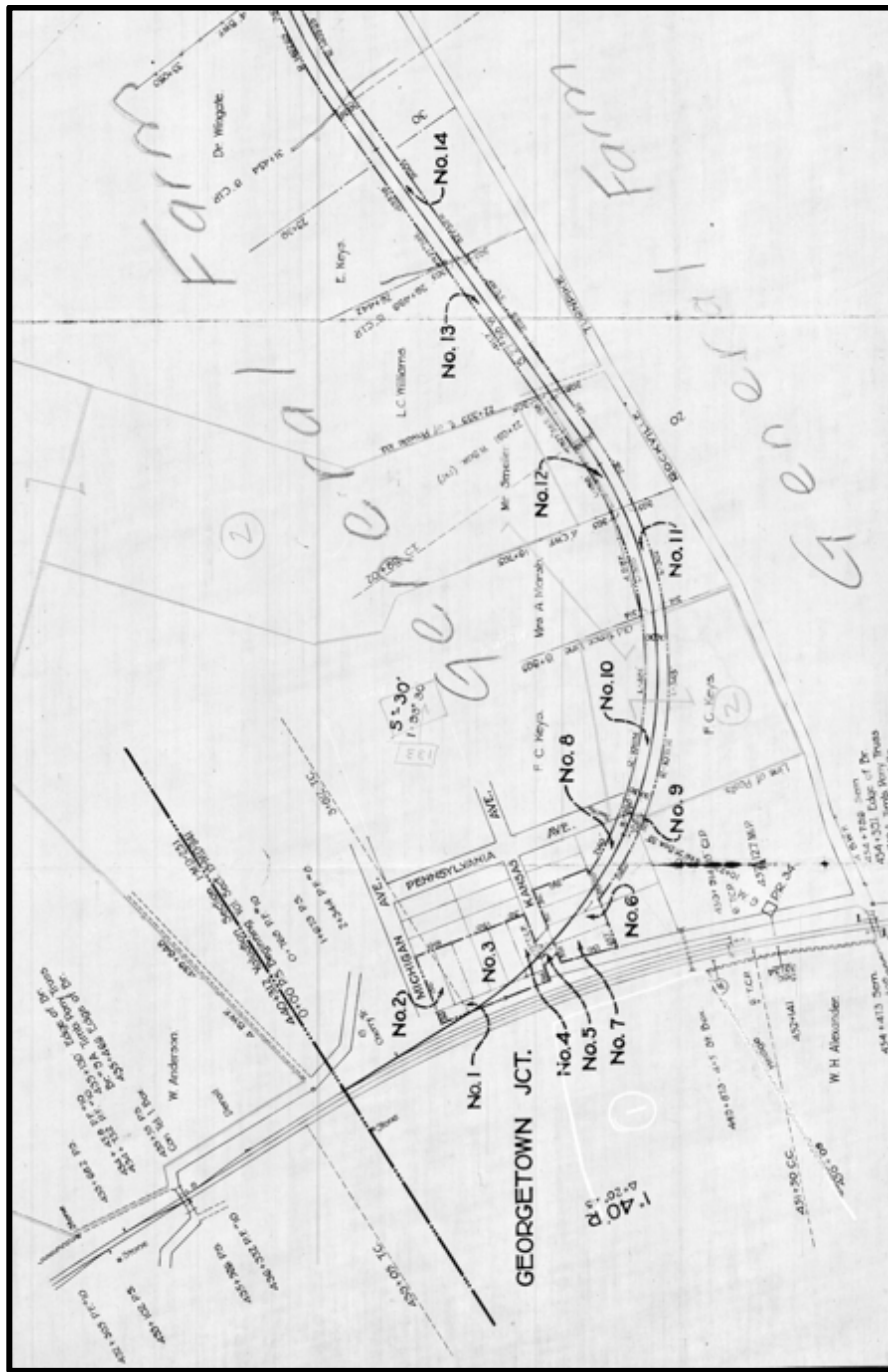


Figure 6. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Right of Way and Track Map, No. V24.1/1. Bridge 9A (Talbot Avenue Bridge) documented in June 1918, prior to replacement. Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Record Group 13, ICC Valuation Records, National Archives at College Park.

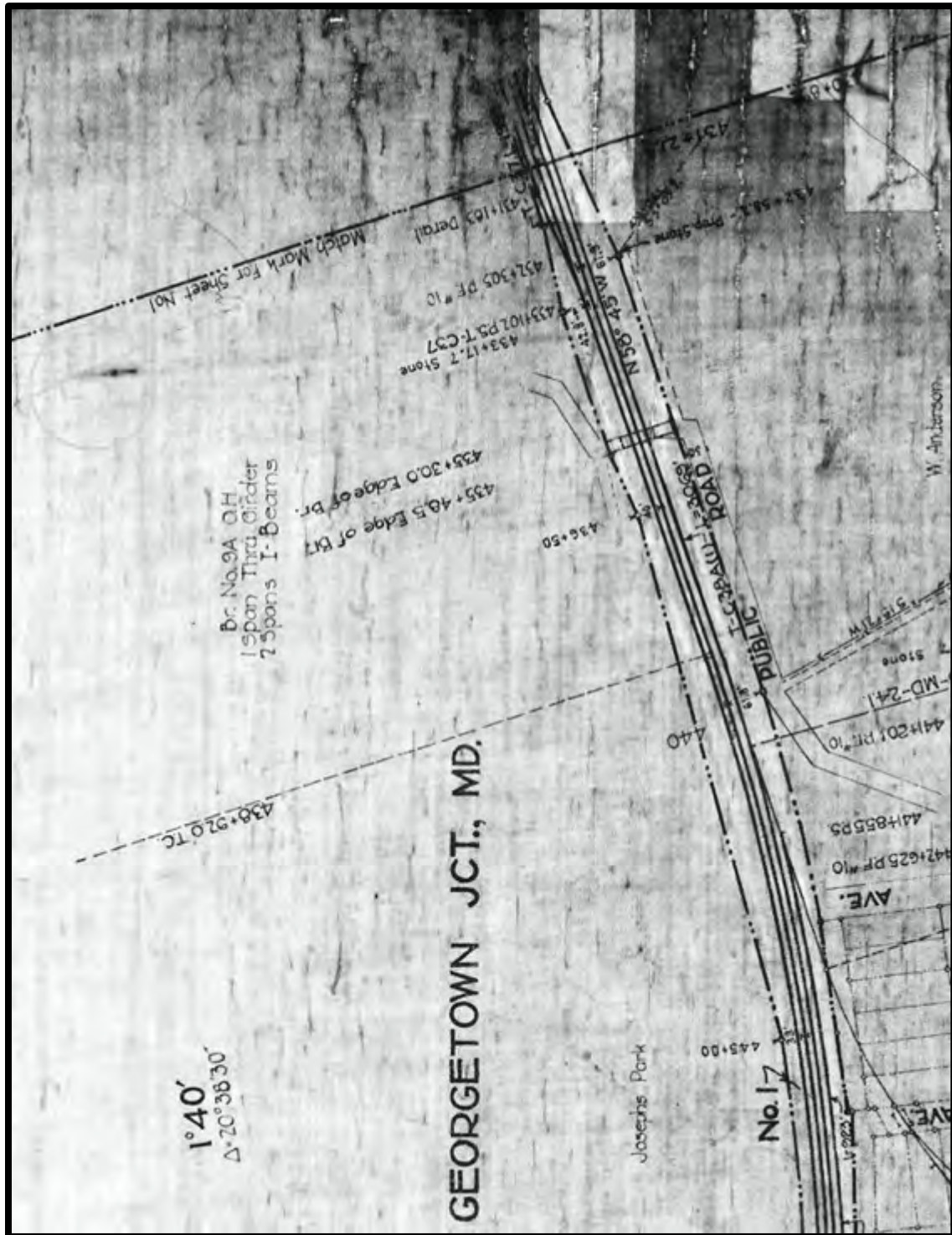


Figure 7. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Right of Way and Track Map, No. V25.1/2. Bridge 9A (Talbot Avenue Bridge) documented after 1918 replacement. Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Record Group 13, ICC Valuation Records, National Archives at College Park.



Figure 8. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. Event planners suspended banners from the structure. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 9. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. Washington Revels' Jubilee Voices member David Olawuyi Fakunle performed a libation ceremony to honor the ancestors. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 10. Silver Spring resident Busy Graham (left) sings with folksinger Lea (center) and the Washington Revels' Jubilee Voices member David Olawuyi Fakunle. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 11. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. Former Lyttonsville resident Raymond Tyson talks about growing up under Jim Crow in Silver Spring. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 12. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. North Woodside Citizens Association president David Cox became emotional as he read a resolution renouncing his neighborhood's use of racially restrictive deed covenants. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 13. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. Silver Spring resident Jay Elvove performed the instrumental he composed, “Talbot Avenue Bridge.” Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 14. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. The Washington Revels' Jubilee Voices performed during the program. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 14. Talbot Avenue Bridge Centennial Celebration, September 22, 2018. About 300 people attended the program. Photo by David S. Rotenstein.



Figure 16. The Talbot Avenue Bridge center span is removed, July 5, 2019. Photo courtesy of Jay Mallin.



Figure 17. Lyttonsville resident Charlotte Coffield (left) and North Woodside resident Anna White (right) at the Talbot Avenue Bridge site, July 5, 2019. Photo courtesy of Jay Mallin.

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