



RESTORATIVE JUSTICE FOR LAKELAND

2025

A REPORT OF HISTORICAL HARMS,
CONTEMPORARY IMPACTS, AND
POLICIES FOR REDRESS

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Foreword: Lakeland, the Beloved Community

The purpose of this report is to document the harms experienced by Lakeland and its generations of inhabitants, a historic Black town that was incorporated into the City of College Park, Maryland and subsequently impacted negatively by urban renewal.

To gain perspective on the meaning of harm in relation to Lakeland, it would be healthy to begin with an understanding of Lakeland, the Beloved Community. Lakeland was a thriving, close-knit African American neighborhood, founded as a self-sustaining town whose citizens worked together for generations to build a vibrant and strong community. Neighbors cared for neighbors in an atmosphere of trust and respect; they watched over one another and all the children. They created security and rootedness. In the words of one resident, “We were loved, we were safe.”

From the stories and testimonies of Lakelanders, five recurring themes emerged that describe the strength and vitality of Lakeland, the Beloved Community before “Urban Renewal.” Dr. Mindy Fullilove, M.D., working with Lakeland community leaders during her on-site visit to the community in 2024, observed that Lakeland, before urban renewal, possessed “Five Pillars” of healthy urban living— housing, learning, gathering, nature, and connectivity.¹

Speaking in 2025 at the rededication of the Lakeland College Park Community Center, an event attended by hundreds, Keith Webster, speaking for himself and community historian Violetta Sharps Jones, documented some of what was lost and what remains:

Lakeland is more than just a place; it is an identity shaped by history and tradition. From its Afro-American roots dating back to the 1890s, Lakeland flourished with 4 ballparks, 2 Rosenwald schools, a tavern, an Elk’s Lodge, 2 movie theaters, 3 dance halls, myriad summer activities which included competitions among neighboring communities, annual parades, excursions to beaches, amusement parks, churches and much more. Family holiday gatherings throughout the year...were filled with warm expectations.

We thrived spiritually with 3 churches; a lake (how Lakeland got its name) where fishing, ice skating, swimming and night vigils were enjoyed, homes overflowed with vegetable variety, grape vines, fruit, and nut trees, and all of that was shared throughout the community. Lakeland was a safe community for everyone. The rededication of this space not only honors the past, but with a promise to keep these memories alive—through historic names, sites, pictures, and stories that will never fade, will never, ever, be erased.

Lakelanders who remain, together with those who now reside in the Lakeland diaspora, agree that Restorative Justice should aim to repair and restore these five pillars: housing, learning, gathering, nature, and connectivity. “Put them back!” These five pillars work together, all are needed, and all are important for the entire City of College Park.

Joanne M. Braxton, PhD, Professor of the Humanities, Emeritus, William & Mary

¹ Lakeland’s Five Pillars of Beloved Community © 2024 by Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Introduction

A Note on Reading this Report

This harm report is the outcome of a rigorous research agenda aimed at providing data on the urban renewal process in the City of College Park. Through extensive archival research and personal testimonies, it presents an evidence-based narrative of events that highlights the lasting impacts of urban renewal on the historic Black community of Lakeland. For government officials, this report serves to provide a direct connection between the historical context of urban renewal and its present-day implications, offering recommendations for restorative justice policies. For individuals who lost their community of Lakeland due to the urban renewal process implemented by the City of College Park, this report may elicit strong emotions and prompt the reliving of traumatic and distressing memories.

Regardless of the audience, engaging with this report necessitates a thoughtful approach that requires time, reflection, and a commitment to act upon the findings presented, as well as the research that remains to be explored. The evidence contained within this report is not exhaustive. From a scholarly perspective, further research is advisable (refer to *Areas for Further Investigation* below). Nevertheless, this report provides sufficient evidence to advance restorative policymaking. The harm report represents merely one component of a restorative justice process that has been evolving for decades. The iterative and responsive nature of restorative justice underscores that the pursuit of justice is never a linear endeavor. Ongoing community-led initiatives, supported by the City of College Park, are essential for fostering new phases of restorative justice for the Lakeland community.

City of College Park's Urban Renewal and the Lakeland Community

The *Historiography* section of the report provides evidence on the City of College Park's urban renewal project that capitalized on the availability of federal funds and the authority conferred to local governments to enact changes to the Lakeland community. Starting in the 1960s, reports and analyses sanctioned by the City of College Park and other external actors identified several "problem" areas that overshadowed consideration of Lakeland as a tight-knit, resilient, and self-sufficient community. These "problem" areas included: frequent and severe flooding, the varied conditions of single-family homes that were often self-built and/or located on the floodplain, industrial encroachment, geographic isolation due to infrastructural deficiencies, and unequal access to public services. Although these were symptoms of the discrimination and governmental neglect that Lakeland experienced since its inception, the City of College Park leveraged urban renewal language of "blight," "structurally substandard," and "warranting clearance" to justify the extensive land acquisition and redevelopment that dispossessed and displaced the Lakeland community. Throughout the urban renewal process, Lakelanders' persistent advocacy and engagement were subverted and ignored. Urban renewal erased much of the physical landscape and ruptured the spiritual, emotional, social, and economic wealth of the Lakeland community. The reorganization of property in Lakeland concentrated ownership under the purview of a select few, notably business owners and government entities, and compounded the loss of autonomy for community members. A chronology of Lakeland's broader history and the pernicious unfolding of urban renewal can be located in the *Appendix* under *Historiography Timeline*.

Major Harms and Impacts

The historical harms of urban renewal were embodied, relational, and material. The impact of these injustices has remained with those directly affected and their descendants to the present.

- Displacement and uprooting of their 'Beloved Community'
- Loss of single-family homes and the wealth basis of home ownership

- Loss of access to Lake Artemesia, subsistence gardens, and lasting connections with the natural environment
- Moral injury, trauma, and psychological harm
- Health inequities that reduced well-being and longevity as a result of root shock
- Disruption of meaningful social relationships, community bonds, generational connections, and feelings of safety
- Loss of community control of schools and culturally-responsive education
- Loss of local businesses, gathering spaces, and community traditions
- Loss of connectivity to other communities and the wider metro area

Urban Renewal Injustice: The Lakeland Experience

The Lakeland community attributes the way that the aforesaid harms were experienced to:²

- *Racism*. Systemic racism—reified in rhetoric, policy decisions, and resource allocations— limited housing options and public services and affected the educational experience of the Black community in Lakeland.
- *Misrepresentation and disparagement*. Negative and inaccurate characterizations of the Lakeland community, using terms like “blighted,” undergirded proposals, policies and actions by government officials and other stakeholders that were harmful in their effect.
- *Disregard* for the agency of Lakeland’s residents and community leaders. The City of College Park demonstrated a pattern and practice of ignoring Lakelanders’ self-identified needs, opinions, and advocacy for services and action.
- *Minimization* of safety and security concerns for the people of Lakeland.
- *Delays and Inaction* by the City of College Park that dismissed problems under its responsibility and then justified solutions that disadvantaged the Lakeland community.
- *“Benevolent Paternalism”* that falsely framed the Lakelanders as poor, needy, unequipped, or ignorant and empowered the City of College Park and others to make decisions that were detrimental.
- *Disempowerment*. The incorporation of College Park marked a significant loss of Lakeland’s power of self-determination, as the community was overwhelmingly against it. Subsequently, the City of College Park requested and received urban renewal powers to authorize clearance and redevelopment. This was followed by a lack of consistent implementation, frequent changes of plans, and attempts to accommodate the needs of stakeholders that stood to benefit from land acquisition and Lakeland’s displacement.
- *Prioritizing Interests at the Expense of the Lakeland Community*. Various stakeholders at different points in time capitalized on the changes in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan to advance their own agendas.
- *Broken Promises*. As an example, the Lakeland community was promised that their displacement would be minimal and temporary, new single-family housing would be built, and opportunities to return would be honored.

Restorative Justice Policy Recommendations

To address these harms and impacts, this report utilizes the right to remedy and the International Commission of Jurists’ five categories of repair (i.e. restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition) to inform policymaking for restorative justice. Reparative policymaking functions as a collaborative tool that centers the affected community to determine the root causes, scope,

² Braxton Institute Comments on AARN Milestone Report II (April 15, 2025) © 2025 by Rebecca Ann Parker, Joanne Braxton, and Nicole Oxendine, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

and temporal continuity of harms. The goal of this co-creation process is to effectuate reparative policies that deliver restorative justice for harms and their ongoing impacts. The following distinct policy recommendations have been developed in collaboration with the Lakeland community, specifically targeting the needs of the Lakeland community. These recommendations address the harms identified in this report and are grounded in a robust research agenda presented in *Methodology and Conceptual Framework*.

Pillar: Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

- Provide just compensation for the discrepancies between acquisition prices and fair market values.
- Establish a Return to Lakeland program for displaced members of the Lakeland diaspora.

Pillar: Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land

- Restore access to Lake Artemesia.
- Implement a net metering program.

Pillar: Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

- Create a "Lakeland Pass" for free/reduced fare for residents.

Pillar: Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education

- Establish a free undergraduate/graduate education program for Lakelanders at the University of Maryland.
- Revitalize K-12 education in Lakeland.

Areas for Further Investigation

As mentioned above, the evidence in this report is not exhaustive, and the areas outlined below remain to be explored.

- Further research is needed to determine exactly when the City of College Park began to target and track properties in Lakeland for acquisition. Records indicate that there may have been an effort to identify and track a residence owned by a specific homeowner as early as 1961.
- Some homeowners, like Walter Bey, held debts related to the building or improvement of their lots that were not covered by the amount paid for their property (\$13,000 mortgage vs. \$13 consideration paid). Additional research is needed to understand the full scope of losses suffered by Lakeland homeowners.
- There is evidence of simultaneous property acquisition in Lakeland immediately prior to, after, and during urban renewal. Lakeland residents report homes being acquired during the urban renewal process that were not technically part of the official urban renewal plan. Some homeowners were not aware of which program their homes were acquired through until afterwards (e.g. the Braxton and Weems family homes on Lakeland's east side). How many different programs acquired Lakeland homes around the period of urban renewal (late 1960s to late 1980s)? What were their processes, and how did the compounded effect work in tandem to reshape Lakeland? This would also include identifying homes acquired through seemingly routine condemnation proceedings that were not explicitly part of any organized acquisition effort.
- A 1950 office map used for the U.S. Census in Prince George's County shows a "proposed park" boundary in Lakeland's west side, moving from Melbourne Place to Navahoe Street and then cutting through to Lakeland Road and Rhode Island Avenue. This map indicates that a plan for a park in the Lakeland area predated urban renewal, but more information is needed on the actors involved in designating the "proposed park" boundary and the connection, if any, to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (see map in *Appendix*).
- Additional research is needed on the incoming Purple Line and its impact on renters in the Lakeland area, particularly Spellman House and Alden-Berkley Townhouses.
- Deeper analysis of contemporary impacts emanating from the City of College Park's urban renewal process for the following United Nations Sustainable Development Goals is needed: No Poverty;

Zero Hunger; Gender Equality; Clean Water and Sanitation; Affordable and Clean Energy; Decent Work and Economic Growth; Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure; Reduced Inequalities; Responsible Consumption and Production; Climate Action; Life Below Water; Life on Land; Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions; and Partnerships for the Goals.

- Further investigation is needed on Maryland's cannabis tax and the extent to which the City of College Park is able to implement its own local cannabis tax.
- Additional research is needed on what, if any, obstacles there are to implementing a free college program for members of the Lakeland diaspora at the University of Maryland (UMD). Although UMD has a large budget, university financing, and in particular, the legal structures surrounding endowments can be complicated. That said, it might be as simple as not charging tuition while still allowing members of the Lakeland diaspora to attend class and earn credits toward a degree.
- More research is needed on family history and estate beneficiaries to determine the number and identity of descendants of displaced Lakeland residents.

Methodology and Conceptual Framework

This harm report presents the findings from a comprehensive three-pronged research approach aimed at supporting restorative justice for the Lakeland community in College Park, Maryland, and its diaspora, including their descendants. This effort centered the affected Lakeland community who experienced displacement and loss as a result of urban renewal commencing in the late 1960s and ending in the late 1980s.³ It includes an ethno-historiography, a contemporary impact analysis, and a policy analysis to assess pathways for implementing restorative justice policies. More specifically, the policy analysis presents restorative justice recommendations aimed at directly addressing the historical harms and long-term effects experienced by the Lakeland community as a result of urban renewal.

Ethnohistory denotes the study of a specific population within a community. The methodology for the ethnohistory involved reviewing existing literature and employing anthropological research methods, such as archival research and fieldwork, to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Lakeland community's history and the changing landscape pre- and post-renewal. This included a systematic research agenda examining the Lakeland Digital Archives, University of Maryland special collections, Maryland State Archives, City of College Park resolutions on urban renewal, land records documents regarding appraisal and transfer of title, City of College Park Mayor and Council meeting minutes and minutes from public hearings, U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development correspondence and documents, Prince George County deeds, and maps to name a few.

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs) offered a comprehensive framework for evaluating the adverse effects of the City of College Park's urban renewal initiatives. Established in 2015, the UN SDGs include 17 global objectives aimed at promoting a more equitable and sustainable world by the year 2030.⁴ The UN SDGs have been developed from decades of data collection and work.⁵ In the case of Lakeland, the UN SDGs were used to explore the experiences of residents through an analysis of public datasets alongside personal testimonies from the community, gathered through oral histories, focus groups, and town hall sessions. By incorporating the lived experiences and voices of Lakelanders, the study enhanced public datasets, which often focus on general population trends, thereby obscuring the economic, educational, and health inequities faced by marginalized groups. By prioritizing the voices of

³ Lakeland's Five Pillars of Beloved Community © 2024 by Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

⁴ The 17 Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development, 2025, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

⁵ United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, 1992; Millennium Summit, Millennium Development Goals, 2000; United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, The Future We Want, 2012.

those wronged, this approach challenges the criticism that the UN SDGs perpetuate exclusionary and dominant political structures.⁶ Furthermore, the analysis of the UN SDGs honored the community's self-naming of its strengths before urban renewal and therefore, authenticates that Lakelanders had already created a community that reflected much of what the UN identifies as ideal.⁷ By focusing on specific UN SDG targets and indicators, the research aimed to reveal systemic inequalities worsened by the urban renewal process. The selected UN SDGs for analysis were in alignment with the historic harms and included:

Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities;
Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land;
Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure;
Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education;
Gathering – UN SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions.

Finally, a policy analysis was conducted to examine the legislative mechanisms in the City of College Park, Prince George's County, and the state of Maryland, with the goal of identifying potential pathways for reparative policymaking. This involved analyzing how existing laws may hinder or support reparative efforts. The policy analysis also highlighted the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the state's obligation to provide remedies for any gross or serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law.⁸ This analysis utilized the five categories of repair outlined by the International Commission of Jurists, which include satisfaction, restitution, rehabilitation, compensation, and guarantees of non-repetition.⁹ The suggested restorative justice policies discussed in this report are in direct alignment with the historic harms and impacts experienced by Lakelanders. To ensure that the proposed solutions were responsive to the needs of the harmed community, Lakeland residents and the diaspora were centered throughout the research. By placing their lived experiences alongside archival research, this analysis provides an authentic representation of the matter in question and simultaneously fostered a sense of community ownership and empowerment in an attempt to alter further disenfranchisement. The findings from this report serve as a foundation for policymakers in the City of College Park to implement restorative justice policies that address both historical injustices and their contemporary impacts.

To ensure that the report prioritized the voices of the Lakeland community, weekly meetings were conducted with multiple representatives from August 2024 to June 2025. Monthly meetings were also held with the Braxton Institute, a member of the Lakeland community and a national leader on repair strategies for historically harmed communities. This process significantly informed the research on local community concerns and expertise, while also laying the groundwork for establishing relationships in preparation for future town hall listening sessions and community workshops. An outline of community engagements performed for this harm report are offered in the *Appendix*.

⁶ Soudien, C. (2025). A critical engagement Sustainable Development Goals and the problem of 'race': Living Rights Festival. *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*, 96(1). <https://doi.org/10.14426/na.v96i1.2788>

⁷ Braxton Institute Comments on AARN Milestone Report II (April 15, 2025) © 2025 by Rebecca Ann Parker, Joanne Braxton, and Nicole Oxendine, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. ; Stanford, Nyla, Shelby Carlock, and Fanli Jia. 2021. "The Role of Community in Black Identity Development and Occupational Choice" *Societies* 11, no. 3: 111. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc11030111>

⁸ United Nations General Assembly. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). New York: United Nations General Assembly, 1948

⁹ International Commission of Jurists. (2018). The Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Gross Human Rights Violations: A Practitioners' Guide. International Commission of Jurists. <https://icj2.wpenginpowered.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Universal-Right-to-a-RemedyPublications-Reports-Practitioners-Guides-2018-ENG.pdf>

A Lakelander was also hired as a community research liaison (CRL) and served as an essential member of the research team.¹⁰ The CRL provided invaluable knowledge and additionally played a crucial role in establishing focus groups and interviews, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of the impact of historical harms on Lakeland residents. By enabling community members to share their experiences and insights, the CRL enriched the overall analysis. This participatory approach not only illuminated the specific ways in which past injustices from urban renewal continue to affect individuals and families in Lakeland, it also provided valuable perspectives that might otherwise be overlooked in broader assessments. The collection of these counter-narratives offered insights into historically silenced experiences resulting from trauma and presented viewpoints that challenge mainstream interpretations of events.¹¹

This report built on a long history of Lakeland restorative justice leaders and community members calling for equity, justice, and repair. Findings demonstrated urban renewal devastated and destroyed much of the Lakeland community, resulting in a substantial diaspora population and a handful of remaining residents who still face challenges at the city, county, and state level that parallel a history of disinvestment and discrimination.

Historiography

To explicate the range and depth of harm against the Lakeland community, this section includes direct quotations from primary and secondary sources. Some of these sources used derogatory and insulting language to describe Afro-descendants, and they are used in this report for the historical accuracy of the text. Language was another form of discrimination used to disempower, disparage, and disrespect the Lakeland community. However, the report text pays respect and preserves the dignity of Lakeland community members as people of African descent or Afro-descendants.

This section of the report chronicles the history of Lakeland, from the community's establishment to the implementation of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, traversing about a century of events. Evidence of discrimination, extraction, exclusion and other harms is organized thematically and then focuses on the decades-long urban renewal process to explain who was involved, what decisions were made and when, and what mechanisms enabled multi-faceted harms to ensue.

Lakeland's Beginning

Between January and April 1890, Edwin A. Newman, a Washington D.C.-based real estate developer, had Lakeland surveyed and subdivided (see Figure 1).¹² Newman designed Lakeland as a resort-type suburban community for white residents, spending over \$175,000 to develop homes, streets, gas lights, a general store, and a town hall.¹³ Lakeland at this time also had a post office and railroad station.¹⁴ In 1835, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O Railroad) opened and would later divide Lakeland's east side from the

¹⁰ Gahman, L., Penados, F., Greenidge, A., Miss, S., Kus, R., Makin, D., Xuc, F., Kan, R., & Rash, E. (2020). Dignity, dreaming, and desire-based research in the face of slow violence: Indigenous youth organizing as (counter) development. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, 12(1), 616–651.

¹¹ See Evans, Matthew, and David Wilkins. "Transformative Justice, Reparations and Transatlantic Slavery." *Social & Legal Studies* 28, no. 2 (December 26, 2017): 137–57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663917746490>. And Matsuda, M. J. (1987). Looking to the bottom: Critical legal studies and reparations. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 22, 323–399.

¹² *Map of Lakeland-Showing Adjacent Subdivisions in Dotted Lines-Prince George's County MD Subdivided and Surveyed by Edw. A. Newman* (Gedney & Oberts, April 1890).

¹³ T. Raymond Burch, *History and Development of the City of College Park, Berwyn Heights, Greenbelt and Adjacent Areas*, 1965.

¹⁴ Connie Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland," ed. Joanne Braxton and D.R. Rodenhuis, May 21, 1972.

central and western sections of the community.¹⁵ Key to the aesthetic value of the landscape were five man-made lakes that Newman stocked with thousands of bass and decorated with pleasure boats.¹⁶ Lake Artemesia, named in honor of Clara Artemesia Shoemaker whom Newman married in 1886, had begun as an excavation pit in the 1860s when the B&O Railroad Company sought gravel for use as ballast.¹⁷ The Baltimore Goldfish Company later utilized the lakes to breed goldfish and rare fish for shipment, and the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries also engaged with the site.¹⁸

By April 1891, more than 72 individuals bought Lakeland property, but some property owners “never took possession of their land in Lakeland or resided there.”¹⁹ For others, sale transactions were not honorably fulfilled. Charles S. Zange and Joseph W. Zimmerman sued Newman and his agent John H. Flanagan in 1892 for a discrepancy between the four lots they purchased on contract three years prior and the actual condition of their land. The plaintiffs claimed that upon looking “over their land they found it partly occupied by a creek and lying in a hollow instead of on a plateau where it had been shown [to] them.”²⁰ Although periodicals do not describe the resolution of the case, the plaintiffs’ demands before the court were to nullify the contract, cancel the promissory notes, and prompt the defendants to refund Zange and Zimmerman the \$520 paid for the real estate deal.²¹

¹⁵ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009). 10.

¹⁶ “Outside of the City Limits. Millions Have Been Invested: A Comprehensive Review of the Marvelous Development Which Is In Progress Around the Nation’s Capital,” *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1891.

¹⁷ Portia Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project,” June 2010. 13. ; “Outside of the City Limits. Millions Have Been Invested: A Comprehensive Review of the Marvelous Development Which Is In Progress Around the Nation’s Capital.”

¹⁸ Burch, *History and Development of the City of College Park, Berwyn Heights, Greenbelt and Adjacent Areas*.

¹⁹ EHT Tracerics, Inc., “Lakeland (66–000),” January 2008, <https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/CommunityDocumentations/66-000%20Lakeland/66-000%20Lakeland.pdf>. ; Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 14.

²⁰ “Think They Have Been Cheated: Citizens Claim to Have Been Defrauded in a Real Estate Deal,” *The Washington Post*, December 22, 1892.

²¹ “Think They Have Been Cheated: Citizens Claim to Have Been Defrauded in a Real Estate Deal.”

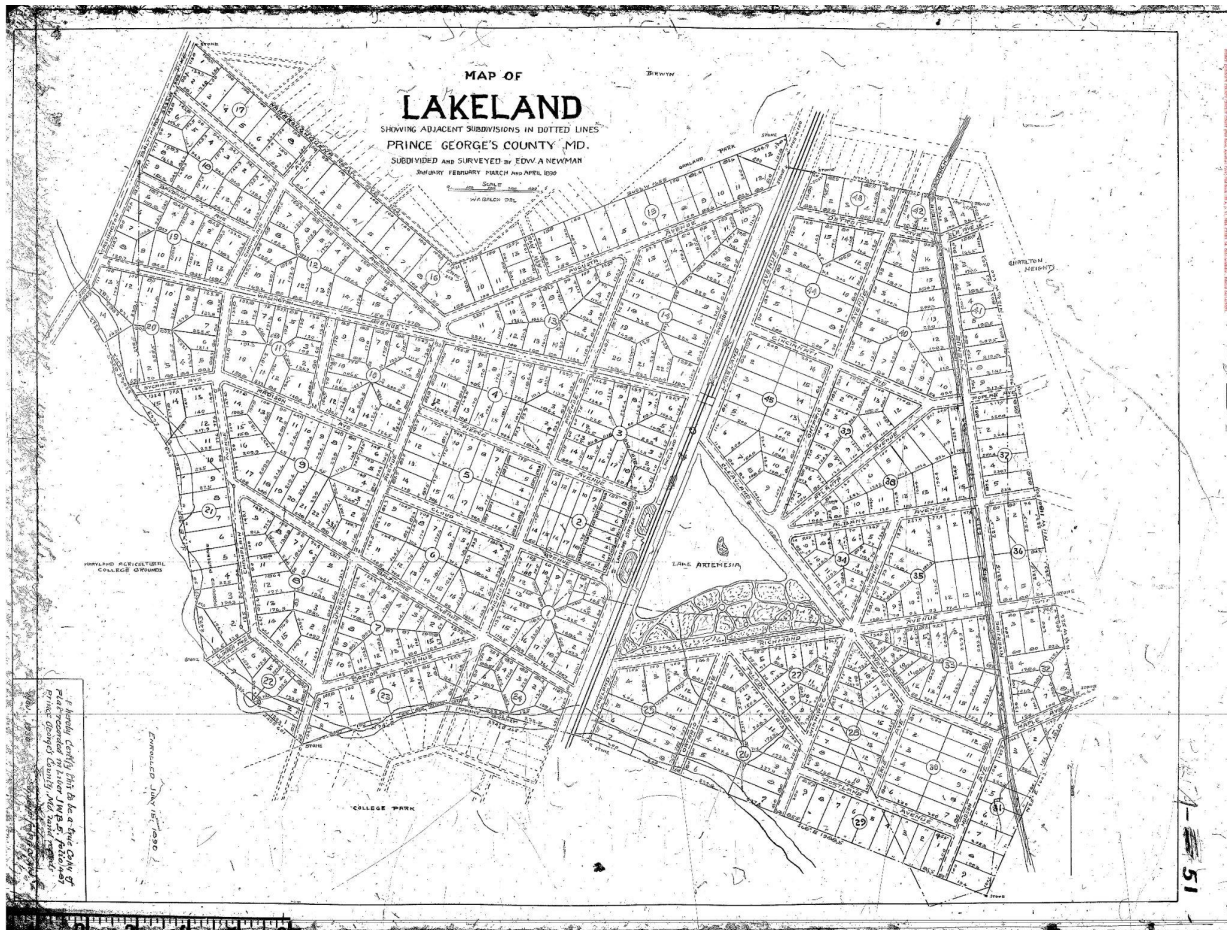


Figure 1. Map of Lakeland, subdivided and surveyed by Edwin A. Newman in 1890²²

In 1893, Newman's advertisements in *The Evening Star* offered the sale or rental of four, six, eight, and ten room houses, emphasizing Lakeland's proximity to Washington D.C. by way of the B&O Railroad.²³ On February 14, 1897, Newman's advertisement in the *Washington Times* depicted a white man with a rifle in hand and eyes fixated on two-story houses on sizable, grid-like lots as the bolded text "Are you hunting for a home? You can get an easy shot at Lakeland, MD." framed the image (see Figure 2).²⁴ Newman clarified that "owing to the present business depression, I am offering to prompt buyers, at one-third value, some of the best property..."²⁵ A month later, Newman's advertisements in the *Washington Times* instrumentalized the Yellow Kid, a popular comic strip character, to reiterate that beautiful suburban cottages with desirable features were at exceedingly low prices (see Figure 3).²⁶ Newman's advertisement in *The Evening Times* on April 29, 1897 shifted to selling four to nine room houses "at auction prices."²⁷ Another published in *The Evening Times* on June 14, 1897 had the title "Bank Busted" and offered to sell

²² *Map of Lakeland-Showing Adjacent Subdivisions in Dotted Lines-Prince George's County MD Subdivided and Surveyed by Edw. A. Newman* (Gedney & Oberts, April 1890).

²³ "Suburban Property," *The Evening Star*, November 11, 1893.

²⁴ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 23.

²⁵ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 23.

²⁶ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 22.

²⁷ "Property for Sale at Auction Prices," *The Evening Times*, April 29, 1897.

cottages “to immediate buyers for about one-half their former price” (see Figure 4).²⁸ Newman’s decision to progressively drop sale prices over a span of several months sharpened the pressures of unfavorable market conditions, and yet, he remained unwilling to extend offers to Black families.²⁹ The challenges of developing on the area’s wetlands and Lakeland’s enduring vulnerability to flooding also came to the fore at this time. An 1899 article in *The Washington Post* stressed that the “water in the vicinity of Lakeland...[was] reported to be higher than ever before known,” an observation that implied the recurring nature of flooding in the area.³⁰ At the turn of the century, Newman started to relinquish his real estate holdings to trustees, sell residences at reduced amounts, and “divest himself of his other undeveloped land holdings in Lakeland” but did not market to Black individuals.³¹



Figure 2. Edwin A. Newman’s advertisement in the *Washington Times* from February 14, 1897³²

²⁸ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 24.

²⁹ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 11.

³⁰ “Bladensburg Flooded: Water Reported to Be Higher at Lakeland than Ever Before Known,” *The Washington Post*, February 19, 1899.

³¹ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 17–18.

³² Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 23.



Figure 3. Edwin A. Newman's advertisements in the *Washington Times* from March 14, 1897 and March 30, 1897³³



Lakeland, Md., where the Columbia and Maryland Electric Railway Co. are building their large powerhouse and car shops that are to cost several hundred thousand dollars. For further particulars apply to

“Bank Busted.”

That's a remark heard quite often. If you have not been a depositor of combustibles in one of these inflammable concerns, you don't know the forlorn feeling it gives one to see the savings of hard work and years swept away, and nothing to show for it.

Now real estate doesn't "bust." I don't say that because I want to sell you real estate, but because it is true. You buy a house—you have it always—a staunch, firm arm to lean upon at any time.

I have several cottages that I can sell to immediate buyers for about one-half their former price, with from 5 to 10 rooms, and all modern conveniences. They are located in the beautiful subdivision of

Edwin A. Newman, 611 7th St. N.W.

Figure 4. Edwin A. Newman's advertisement in *The Evening Times* from June 14, 1897³⁴

³³ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 22.

³⁴ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 24.

Pillar: Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

Housing Discrimination

Beginning in the 20th century, other white businessmen, such as Charles Shepard, John J. Kleiner, Daniel Kleps, and Ezra Van Valkenberg, offered the sale or rental of Lakeland properties to the Black community.³⁵ While this made Lakeland one of the earliest Black subdivisions in Prince George's County, pervasive racism took many forms. In the 1890s, Lakeland's Black families were forced to "live along the swamps" in flood-prone areas near Paint Branch and Indian Creek.³⁶ Lakelanders also recall how sale transactions to Black families were not always done in good faith, as some "were told that they were buying homes, but were really leasing them" with a mortgage to the owner and no possession of the property title.³⁷ When blockbusting in early 1901 prompted white residents' departure from Lakeland, this move precipitated the burning of white-owned houses.³⁸ In 1900, two unoccupied houses, insured and owned by a Philadelphia trust company, were found ablaze within 300 yards of each other.³⁹ A *Washington Post* article treated these fires as arson and communicated: "It was currently reported that the colored people were incensed over their inability to rent the cottages, although the latter had been vacant for several weeks. The applicants were told that only white tenants were desired."⁴⁰ Blatant housing discrimination coupled with the article's implication that the Black community may have reacted violently are a form of moral injury that ignores alternate possibilities. Given that the white-owned homes were insured, there may have been an unspoken preference for benefiting financially from the compensation for damages and circumventing the transfer of home ownership to Black families. An account by a Lakeland resident concurred that many white residents burned their properties "almost like a retreating army" to prevent Black families from occupying their homes.⁴¹ As such, many homes in Lakeland were self-built by Black families.⁴²

In 1901, John C. Johnson became the first Black resident to buy land in the exclusively white section of the Lakeland community, situated on the western side of the B&O Railroad tracks.⁴³ The racial animosity and constant alertness required to survive meant that Johnson "would sit up all night with a shotgun to protect his home from resentful whites."⁴⁴ Joseph Brooks and Benjamin and Annie Hicks were also among the first Black landowners in Lakeland at the turn of the 20th century.⁴⁵ The Hicks family rented rooms in their home and hosted when church ministers visited Lakeland.⁴⁶ Census data for 1900 showed 64 percent of Lakeland's population to be white and 35 percent to be Black, and by 1910, Lakeland's residents were 87

³⁵ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 18.

³⁶ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

³⁷ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 20, 31.

³⁸ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

³⁹ "Lakeland Cottages Burned," *The Washington Post*, April 16, 1900.

⁴⁰ "Lakeland Cottages Burned," *The Washington Post*, April 16, 1900.

⁴¹ Denise Tann, "Lakeland Stays Isolated: Urban Renewal Project Fosters Change," *College Park Citizen Call*, March 13, 1979.

⁴² Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 82.

⁴³ Eugene L. Meyer, "Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear," *The Washington Post*, December 26, 1976.

⁴⁴ Meyer, "Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear."

⁴⁵ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park* (Route 1 Corridor Conversations: Hyattsville Aging in Place, Helping Hands University Park, Neighbors Helping Neighbors College Park, Explorations on Aging College Park, 2022), <https://hyattsvilleaginginplace.org/a-history-of-the-lakeland-community-of-college-park/>.

⁴⁶ "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide," ArcGIS StoryMaps, April 26, 2022, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/8c2865dbd47640679d1977443631f410>.

percent Black.⁴⁷ In 1930, and later in 1970, Lakeland's population was reported as 98 percent Black.⁴⁸ By 1930, homeownership among the 327 Black and six white residents of Lakeland stood at 77 percent.⁴⁹



Figure 5. From left to right: Annie L. Hicks, Joseph G. Brooks, Benjamin R. Hicks, and John C. Johnson⁵⁰

Incorporation

In 1945, Lakeland's autonomy would be challenged by incorporation, affecting the four to five thousand residents of "College Park, Lakeland, Calvert Hills, Berwyn, and the district consisting of Branchville, Oak Springs, Daniels Park, and Hollywood."⁵¹ At the beginning of the process, the College Park Incorporation Committee authored a Town Charter to present before the Maryland State Legislature; the Governor's signature on the bill was a prerequisite for the referendum.⁵² At the hearing before the Prince George's County delegation in Annapolis on March 21, 1945, the bill seeking to merge Berwyn, Lakeland, and Calvert Hills with College Park faced staunch opposition.⁵³ Even so, the Maryland State Legislature added Branchville, Daniels Park, Oak Springs, and Hollywood to the charter bill.⁵⁴ Those against the charter bill argued that the costs exceeded the benefits to residents and the time allotted to evaluate incorporation had been inadequate.⁵⁵ As elected chairman of the College Park Incorporation Committee, Dr. T. B. Symons of the University of Maryland (UMD) stated that the exclusion of Lakeland would be challenging given its central location in College Park.⁵⁶ Charles R. Davis, a College Park City Council member for eleven years and Mayor for twelve years, recounted that "it was largely through the support and insistence of the University of Maryland academic community and the influence of Dr. H. C. Byrd that the College Park Incorporation bill was passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor."⁵⁷ Before the June referendum, UMD had already given a \$10,000 contribution, the first of several payments, to the College Park Incorporation Committee.⁵⁸ The circulation of rumors in Lakeland also capitalized on fears and

⁴⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900–1910.

⁴⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1930. ; "Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland" (Prince George's County, Maryland, December 1974), Lakeland Digital Archives. 59.

⁴⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1930. ; Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 37.

⁵⁰ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park* (Route 1 Corridor Conversations: Hyattsville Aging in Place, Helping Hands University Park, Neighbors Helping Neighbors College Park, Explorations on Aging College Park, 2022), <https://hyattsvilleaginginplace.org/a-history-of-the-lakeland-community-of-college-park/>.

⁵¹ "2,000 to Vote on College Park Incorporation: Sponsoring Group Says Maryland U. Has Given \$10,000," *The Sunday Star*, June 3, 1945.

⁵² Charles R. Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945–1970," in *History and Development of the City of College Park, Berwyn Heights, Greenbelt, and Adjacent Areas*, by T. Raymond Burch, 1970.

⁵³ "3 Communities Hit Incorporation Plan At Annapolis Hearing," *The Evening Star*, March 21, 1945.

⁵⁴ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945–1970."

⁵⁵ "3 Communities Hit Incorporation Plan At Annapolis Hearing."

⁵⁶ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945–1970." ; "3 Communities Hit Incorporation Plan At Annapolis Hearing."

⁵⁷ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945–1970."

⁵⁸ "2,000 to Vote on College Park Incorporation: Sponsoring Group Says Maryland U. Has Given \$10,000."

curtailed self-determination by fomenting belief that UMD had designs to seize Lakeland's lakefront property following incorporation.⁵⁹ Dr. T. B. Symons affirmed that "no party in the incorporation could seize or condemn property, and that Lakeland stood to benefit from the merger."⁶⁰ The paternalistic outlook of these dominant narratives bring to the fore the routine exclusion of Lakeland in decisions about its future.

Charles H. Houston, an attorney representing the Lakeland community, argued that "[residents of] this section were among the low-income tax groups and incorporation would place additional tax burdens on them."⁶¹ Since the plan's inception, Lakeland residents were against incorporation and collectively mobilized to vote accordingly in the referendum on June 4, 1945, with 171 voting against and 9 voting in favor.⁶² The adjacent white communities that composed the majority of the affirmative vote drowned the Lakeland community's resounding objection to incorporation. An article in the *Greenbelt Cooperator* undermined the loss of autonomy by denigrating Lakeland as a "poor, run-down" and "unsanitary, ill-lighted and ill-paved" community and then celebrating that it would "become the first colored settlement in the state to have a voice in electing a mayor and council."⁶³ The same article added that Lakeland would "have everything to gain by incorporation: a unified economical system of lighting, garbage collection, improved paving, police, etc."⁶⁴ However, it took until 1958—thirteen years after incorporation—for the City of College Park and the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission to extend water and sewer lines to Lakeland's east side residents.⁶⁵ Before this, Lakeland residents sourced water through wells in their yards.⁶⁶ A Lakeland resident recalled his parents attempting to apply for water and sewer services, and when inaction ensued, they were continually told that there was no application to reference.⁶⁷

The Damage of Public Rhetoric

On December 1, 1974, Prince George's County released the report for the Community Renewal Program, which began in 1969. At the time of evaluation in 1970, Lakeland had 162.5 undeveloped acres and 75.5 developed acres, of which 46.5 acres were low-density residential, 9 acres were commercial, 15 acres were for public/quasi-public use (e.g., churches and schools), and 5 acres were for parks and recreation (e.g., baseball field).⁶⁸ Lakeland's population in 1972 was recorded at 635 residents, but 65 percent of the undeveloped land remained under ownership of non-residents.⁶⁹ Of the 140 single-family homes documented in Lakeland (31 houses and 20 trailers on the west side, 70 houses in the central area, and 19 houses on the east side),⁷⁰ about 70 percent were owner-occupied and 30 percent were renters.⁷¹

Additional data points in the report highlighted disparities while denigrating the quality of Lakeland homes. For example, the report noted that the average value of owner-occupied units in Prince George's County was \$24,279, while the average value of owner-occupied units in Lakeland was \$17,222.⁷² The report then

⁵⁹ "A Chance To Cooperate."

⁶⁰ "A Chance To Cooperate."

⁶¹ "Negro Section Opposes Incorporation Plan," *The Baltimore Sun*, February 27, 1945.

⁶² "Lakeland Group Urged to Oppose Incorporation," *The Sunday Star*, May 27, 1945. ; Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970."

⁶³ "A Chance To Cooperate," *The Greenbelt Cooperator*, June 8, 1945.

⁶⁴ "A Chance To Cooperate."

⁶⁵ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970."

⁶⁶ Portia Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project," June 2010. 86.

⁶⁷ Oral History038 Dervey Lomax, n.d., Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁸ "Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁶⁹ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁷⁰ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁷¹ "Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷² "Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

contextualized socioeconomic and racial differences with language that trivialized Lakelanders' skill sets and residences: "the type of construction, as compared to the more expensive and better built homes in surrounding neighborhoods...is indicative of the efforts of Black families of more moderate economic circumstances to establish a place of settlement."⁷³ By identifying 1.2 percent of residential structures in College Park as "deteriorating" and giving 45.3 percent of those in Lakeland the same classification, the report contributed to negative perceptions of the neighborhood.⁷⁴ The age of dwelling units, exposure to flooding, and the absence of public improvements were provided as explanatory factors, but these conditions were the result of governmental neglect.⁷⁵ As further evidence, almost one percent of occupied units in College Park lacked some plumbing facilities compared with 7.5 percent of the same in Lakeland.⁷⁶ A dearth of paved roads, sidewalks, drainage, curbs, and lighting in Lakeland also contributed to poor street conditions.⁷⁷

The urban renewal process, elucidated more fully in a section below, reinforced how public officials' rhetoric intensified conditions of precarity for the Lakeland community. In 1968, William F. Kerchner, College Park Director of Urban Renewal, emphasized that the community's identity and spirit would not be compromised because the project was "of urban renewal, not Negro removal."⁷⁸ Two years later, Robert A. Edwards, College Park City Administrator, assured "no one (in Lakeland) will be displaced."⁷⁹ Nonetheless, by 1972, about 70 families were expected to be displaced while another five families and those in the 20 trailers would be temporarily relocated beyond the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project area.⁸⁰ In 1973, Lawrence J. Hogan, Representative of Maryland's 5th District in the U.S. Congress, wrote "very few families will have to be relocated, even temporarily, and these will be given priority in the purchase of building lots in the new development areas."⁸¹ As late as 1975, when the city's appraisers had begun evaluating Lakeland properties' fair market values for planned taking, the city still listed "[assisting] 60 families in the Lakeland area to rehabilitate their homes to eliminate substandard conditions" in its annual funding application to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). But the homes acquired would ultimately be demolished and their former owners displaced.⁸² Indeed, by 1977, Jack Callahan, College Park Director of the Urban Renewal Authority, stated that "67 families already had been moved out of Lakeland, and another 44 were expected to be."⁸³ That same year, City Council meeting records documented a complaint that had been made against the College Park Urban Renewal Authority for relocating families to substandard housing.⁸⁴ Under federal regulations, the City of College Park had to provide relocation assistance and inspect the available housing options for displaced families.⁸⁵ A newsletter from the Project Area Committee (PAC)—a HUD-mandated group of Lakeland leaders appointed by the Mayor and City Council of College Park⁸⁶—corroborated this in August 1977 by informing Lakeland residents of their rights:

⁷³"Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷⁴"Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷⁵"Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷⁶"Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷⁷"Community Renewal Program Prince George's County, Maryland."

⁷⁸ "A Lost Dream: Is This Where You Used to Live, Daddy?," *The Sentinel Prince George's*, August 18, 1977.

⁷⁹ "A Lost Dream: Is This Where You Used to Live, Daddy?"

⁸⁰ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁸¹ Lawrence J. Hogan, "Lakeland Urban Renewal: A Plus For College Park," July 13, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁸² City of College Park, "Document A: Statement of Needs," Second Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Projects (City of College Park, January 29, 1975), 16.

⁸³ "A Lost Dream: Is This Where You Used to Live, Daddy?"

⁸⁴ "Agenda: Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council" (City of College Park, September 13, 1977).

⁸⁵ George Fortmuller, "Lakeland: People Removal in College Park," *Argus*, May 1978, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 17.

⁸⁶"Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

"If you live in Clearance Area West, Clearance Area East or in any house that is owned or managed by the Urban Renewal Authority and you have to move, it is the sole responsibility of the authority to find you a place. Also you should tell the authority that you do not want to leave Lakeland if you don't desire it. The authority is required to provide you housing. If you are relocated out of the community when construction takes place, then you should have the right to return to the area when housing becomes available."⁸⁷

MAP 1 PROJECT ACTION AREAS

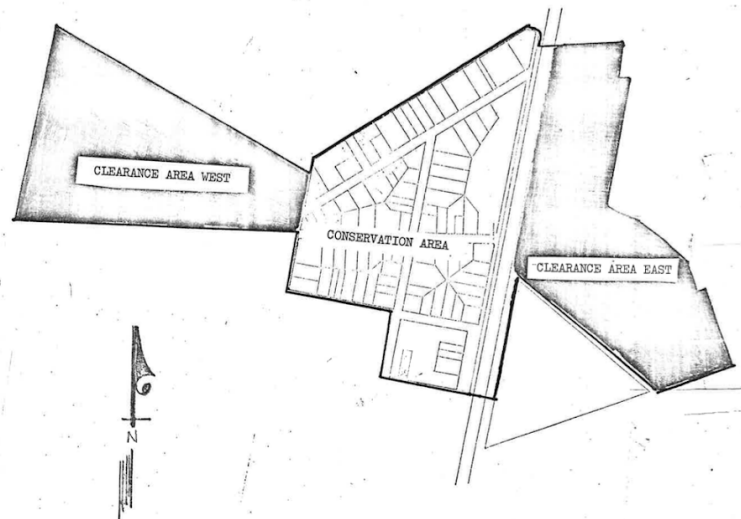


Figure 6. Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Action Areas⁸⁸

In 1984, Callahan stated that 25 families and individuals out of the 104 displaced moved back to Lakeland.⁸⁹ Among the 79 who did not return, the explanatory layers ranged from being "unable to find reasonably priced property to buy in Lakeland" to being "unwilling to wait an unspecified number of years for the completion of the renewal housing."⁹⁰ Rosie Adams, who had resided in Lakeland for more than 50 years with her five siblings, experienced displacement after the city paid her \$6,000 for the home built by her father at 5105 Navahoe Street.⁹¹ Adams and her son relocated to a Langley Park apartment after the College Park Urban Renewal Authority cited federal regulations that prohibited homes on undersized land to justify the demolition of her family's home in 1972.⁹² Soon after, her brother died, with Adams sharing, "It broke his heart when they tore the house down...He had no home, and that's why he died."⁹³ Adams maintained her custodial job at UMD, and she had goals to construct a house in Berwyn because the new \$50,000 single-family homes in Lakeland were financially unattainable.⁹⁴ The city also eliminated the home of Dervey Lomax at 8115 54th Avenue after paying him \$35,000; the property had been family-owned on the east

⁸⁷ "PAC Newsletter," August 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁸ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44" (Washington, D.C. Area Office, March 5, 1973), University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁸⁹ "College Park Project Will Be Completed," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 1984.

⁹⁰ Lucy Starr Norman, "College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins," *The Washington Post*, September 4, 1980.

⁹¹ Mark Hass, "Urban 'removal' Displaces Local Family," *The Diamondback*, April 21, 1978.

⁹² Hass, "Urban 'removal' Displaces Local Family."

⁹³ Hass, "Urban 'removal' Displaces Local Family."

⁹⁴ Hass, "Urban 'removal' Displaces Local Family."

side since 1945, and the Lomax family remained in Lakeland.⁹⁵ Public officials' broken promises across decades fomented deep distrust in Lakeland as displacement and relocation deprived community members of valued networks, familial capital, and generational wealth.

Pillar: Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land

Lakeland, the Beloved Community Transformed by Urban Renewal

The immeasurable loss of the Lakeland community's vitality and cultural wealth can only begin to be understood in memory and reified in stories. Lakelanders' testimonies and oral histories illuminated how a healthy, beloved community—where the five pillars of housing, nature, learning, gathering, and connectivity abounded—were shattered with urban renewal.⁹⁶ Ed Douglas, a lifelong Lakeland resident against urban renewal, lamented "The community will never be the same as before. It's slowly dying,...It's a typical horror story of what happens to a Black community within a white community."⁹⁷ The pernicious health effects of dispossession and disenfranchisement, suffered collectively and individually, consisted of untimely deaths, social fragmentation, physical dislocation, cultural erasure, and emotional, mental, and psychological trauma.⁹⁸ These lingering wounds have festered in the bodies and spirits of the Lakeland community. Dr. Joanne M. Braxton, a Lakeland community member, described how "before urban renewal, the people of Lakeland had choices."⁹⁹ The process of "urbanizing Lakeland through urban renewal, bisecting it with the Berlin Wall, tearing down the old Victorian houses...[and] building the section 8 and apartment housing that would be filled mostly with people not from Lakeland"¹⁰⁰ disrupted a sense of community wholeness and deep bonds.

The "Berlin Wall" refers to the thick wall erected along the B&O Railroad tracks that permanently bifurcated Lakeland, obstructed access to the east side, and blocked views of Lake Artemesia. Before urban renewal, Lake Artemesia was the core of recreational activity and was enjoyed across seasons with swimming, fishing, ice skating, and selling of water lilies and watercress.¹⁰¹ The centrality of Lake Artemesia in Lakeland allowed for the beautiful, restorative properties of the environment to be accessed freely by the community, and it was frequented for meditation and reflection.¹⁰² During racial segregation, the natural world delivered relief and tranquility from protracted stressors,¹⁰³ contributing to "improved affect and greater emotional wellbeing."¹⁰⁴ Dr. Joanne M. Braxton has shared, "We knew that it was spring because we heard the frogs singing. The natural environment was sustaining, 'that's where we took care of our

⁹⁵ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 61.

⁹⁶ Lakeland's Five Pillars of Beloved Community © 2024 by Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

⁹⁷ Fortmuller, "Lakeland: People Removal in College Park." 9.

⁹⁸ Clara Irazábal et al., "Chapter 12: Decolonizing Planning Studio Pedagogy: Grappling with Tensions and Dissonances," 2025.

⁹⁹ Joanne M. Braxton, "Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland," in *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*, ed. Grey Gundaker and Tynes Cowan (The University Press of Virginia, 1998). 185.

¹⁰⁰ Braxton, "Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland." 185.

¹⁰¹ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972. ; Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 120.

¹⁰² The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹⁰³ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹⁰⁴ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

wounds.”¹⁰⁵ For the Braxton, Campbell, Weems, and Hill families, whose properties abutted Indian Creek, Paint Branch, and woodlands, the abundant green spaces also replenished their souls and nourished their bodies.¹⁰⁶ Wild berries and medicinal plants supplemented the fruit trees (apples were common), and there were flowers, vegetable plots (e.g. pole beans, spinach, kale, broccoli, squash, sweet potatoes, potatoes, brussel sprouts, corn), turkeys, chickens, rabbits, pigs, and goats on Lakeland’s east side properties.¹⁰⁷ The presence of subsistence gardens and livestock cultivated a culture of genuine fellowship and holistic care, as intergenerational families held picnics in their yards and “shared overflow crops and extra meat and eggs with their neighbors.”¹⁰⁸ Lakeland’s east side also had a community garden, beginning in the 1920s.¹⁰⁹ The 1978 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan eliminated housing options on the east side and separated residents from nutritious food sources and natural landscapes. The displacement and destruction of urban renewal diminished opportunities to sustain connections with the outdoors, facilitating the onset of “nature deficit disorders” like stress, obesity, depression, hyperactivity and inattention issues.¹¹⁰ For children and adults, contact with nature supports physical health, psychological well-being, cognitive function, and prosocial behavior.¹¹¹ Without access to green spaces, resilience, well-being, and longevity dwindled for Lakelanders.

More broadly, urban renewal operationalized the loss and disruption of a community in Lakeland that was known as “an oasis of familiarity. It is a place where neighbors often are relatives, and the generation gap is likely to be the distance of a few houses or a block. It is a place to which people who have left wish to return. It is home.”¹¹² Lakeland was remembered as “ideal—a tightly knit community where no one locked doors and everyone watched out for neighbors’ children.”¹¹³ Maxine Gross, a Lakeland resident, described the community as “one big family, whether they were blood ties or family ties...it was a neighborhood that was family.”¹¹⁴ Willie C. Sellers Jr., a former resident, remembered Lakeland as a “traditional village. You knew everybody. Everybody knew you.”¹¹⁵ When Lakelanders were asked about their fondest memories of the community, prevailing themes included: the relational and spatial closeness of family and friends;

¹⁰⁵ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹⁰⁶ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹⁰⁷ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. ; Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 88.

¹⁰⁸ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 32, 89.

¹⁰⁹ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 89.

¹¹⁰ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹¹¹ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

¹¹² Meyer, “Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear.”

¹¹³ Norman, “College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins.”

¹¹⁴ *Lakeland: Honoring the Past, Building the Future*, 2025.

<https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/how-urban-renewal-nearly-destroyed-this-black-community-in-maryland/3845673/>.

¹¹⁵ *Lakeland: Honoring the Past, Building the Future*, 2025.

<https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/how-urban-renewal-nearly-destroyed-this-black-community-in-maryland/3845673/>.

togetherness and companionship; feelings of safety and security; genuine love and goodwill between neighbors; learning from elders; the abundance of activities and food.¹¹⁶

Religious life in Lakeland has also maintained a stable, central presence since the inception of the community. First Baptist Church and Embry African Methodist Episcopal Church continually serve as spiritual homes for those who were displaced by urban renewal. There was a time when most members of the congregation lived in Lakeland and walked from their homes to worship services.¹¹⁷ Lakelanders have described First Baptist Church and Embry African Methodist Episcopal Church as sacred spaces of uplift and as havens for families dedicated to collectively rearing the community's children.¹¹⁸ Sunday school, picnics, and choirs at both churches brought friends and family together, strengthening faith and deepening connections.¹¹⁹ Before the founding of First Baptist Church in 1891, "worship services began as prayer meetings and were held in the homes of Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Larkin Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. James Gray, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Richardson, and Mr. and Mrs. Melvina Johnson."¹²⁰ Embry African Methodist Episcopal Church, established in 1903, started assembling in the home of Samuel and Georgianna Stewart.¹²¹

Between 1900 and 1930, Lakeland men worked as manual or service laborers for the B&O Railroad, the College Park Airport, the Beltsville Agricultural Research Center, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) and as waiters, cooks, janitors, dishwashers, pantry men, haulers, and bakers for the University of Maryland (UMD).¹²² Others were self-employed as home plasterers and carpenters, held roles as general truck drivers, or served as chauffeurs for the U.S. government and private families.¹²³ Lakeland women during this period worked as housekeepers and servants for affluent white families and as laundresses; a select few worked as home seamstresses or nurses.¹²⁴ In 1930, 27 Lakeland men and women worked at UMD, but the university labeled Black employees as "labor" and not "staff."¹²⁵ UMD President Harry Clifton "Curley" Byrd, who sought "to maintain racially unequal education in the state" during his tenure from 1935 to 1954, employed Lakeland Mrs. Mary Johnson Weems, the daughter of John C. Johnson, as a domestic worker and a caregiver for his children. He also employed Harry Braxton, Sr. as a chauffeur.¹²⁶ In addition to the "material and psychic injuries of racism at the workplace," Harry Braxton,

¹¹⁶ "AARN Lakeland Restorative Justice Survey," April 2025, https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdeh5OtPu9fDsQ9-sggN_razVJIV15afa691GINZUWOzd79Lg/viewform?usp=sharing&ouid=104100403885765601233.

¹¹⁷ Yvonne Medley, "The Ties That Bind: Two County Churches Celebrate Their Strong Community Roots," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2003.

¹¹⁸ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 57-58.

¹¹⁹ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009). 36.

¹²⁰ First Baptist Church of College Park, *The History of First Baptist Church, College Park, 1890-2005* (College Park, MD, 2005). 1.

¹²¹ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 57.

¹²² Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 113, 115.; The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 52.

¹²³ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 116.

¹²⁴ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 115.

¹²⁵ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 116.

¹²⁶ "Anti-Radicalism and the Postwar 1940s Southern Black Struggle." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Spring/Summer 2021. https://www.mdhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/MdHM-116-1-2021_FINAL.pdf. (page 127); Barker et al., "Lakeland East of

Sr.'s position as a master machinist at the Washington Navy Yard some miles away engendered frequent exposure to hazardous chemicals and dangerous levels of heat, but it paid better than most jobs available to Black men.¹²⁷ Betty Green's father, who was a coal deliverer, similarly came into contact with toxic materials but was deprived of benefits despite his deteriorating health.¹²⁸ These examples begin to unearth how available job opportunities for Black residents were designated along racial lines and intended to be physically arduous and spiritually and mentally trying.



Figure 7. The kitchen of Maryland Agricultural College, later University of Maryland, circa 1912, from left to right: Bill Dory, Ferdinand Hughes, Spencer Dory, and Charlie Dory¹²⁹

Even so, Lakelanders continually practiced “resistant capital” with entrepreneurship to contest the structural inequalities of segregation and to protect their dignity and agency.¹³⁰ Home-based businesses in Lakeland like Ms. Emma Waller's Beauty Salon met hair care needs for men and women across four decades.¹³¹ Gertrude Corpew, Viola Brooks Johnson, and Pearl Briscoe had occupations as local stylists and Sonny and E.J. Potts were home-based barbers.¹³² Tourist cottages on Lakeland's east side offered lodging for Black visitors during segregation, providing a safe and welcoming alternative with access to Lake Artemesia's restorative properties.¹³³ In the absence of adequate public services, Lakeland residents also practiced mutual aid, devoting their time and employing their skills to fulfill their community's needs. Several tradesmen in Lakeland bartered work, such as Clarence Gray for wallpaper installation and painting,

the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 116.

¹²⁷ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 117.

¹²⁸ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 117.

¹²⁹ “Maryland Agricultural College Kitchen, Featuring Bill Dory, Ferdinand Hughes, Spencer Dory, and Charlie Dory,” 1912, Lakeland Digital Archives.

¹³⁰ Tara J. Yosso *, “Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>.

¹³¹ “Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide.”

¹³² “Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide.” Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 121.

¹³³ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 61.

Morris Gustave for electricity, George Stewart and E.J. Potts for carpentry.¹³⁴ George Brooks Sr. and Jr., for example, donated hours of rest to serve as “resident cementers, brick layers, and sanitation truck drivers,” and James Alfred “Billy” Weems shared knowledge of fresh water sources.¹³⁵

In addition to serving as a sanitation worker for the City of College Park, Weems engaged in a years-long protest to defend his community against urban renewal with essays that he typed and distributed by hand.¹³⁶ In “Better Get Something On Your Mind,” Weems wrote “Yes, we are losing Lakeland. There have been *petitions, proposals, different codes*, high taxes without any benefit from money spent, county or townwise.”¹³⁷ His words heightened how a pattern of governmental neglect and extraction had mutated into the imminent confiscation of Lakeland. Friends of Billy Weems noted that his death by heart attack in 1980 was due to a broken heart after the execution of urban renewal destroyed his physical home on the east side of the tracks, where he had been raised and lived with his grandmother, Mary Johnson Weems, until her death.¹³⁸ Although his grandmother’s estate eventually sold the land to M-NCPPC, Weems continued to squat. According to his son, Glenn, one day Weems returned from work to find the home destroyed and his few possessions scattered in the debris.

Violetta Sharps Jones’ memory of her younger sister’s experience reified the profound emotional distress and overwhelming shock that affected individuals during urban renewal. Violetta Sharps Jones described: “She was getting ready to go to high school, and it was devastating for her, so much so that she refused to leave...she stayed in that house in the winter when there was no heat, because...she could not grasp that this would not be her home any longer.”¹³⁹ This unwanted dislocation encompassed more than the loss of a cherished family home; urban renewal disrupted the formative years of a child who had formed lifelong friendships and whose sense of identity and place were rooted in Lakeland.

Until the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project demolished community spaces in the 1970s, opportunities for social activity abounded. J. W. Chesley Mack, known as Lakeland’s “unofficial mayor” had an adjoining lawn that Lakeland residents called “Mack’s Park,” where weekend dances were held.¹⁴⁰ He owned Mack’s Market, which included a pool room, ice cream parlor, a cleaner’s, and second-floor apartments to rent, but urban renewal eliminated the site.¹⁴¹ Lakelanders remember that an insurance company denied compensation for fire damages at Mack’s Market, which may have facilitated the property being considered a “blighting influence” during urban renewal. Black’s Store was also forced to close, depriving the Lakeland community of an establishment that featured grocery items, a lunch counter, a jukebox, dry cleaners, apartments, and a beauty shop.¹⁴² The removal of Lakeland Hall during urban renewal meant the loss of “a multipurpose public space that hosted meetings for community groups and social clubs, church

¹³⁴ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 121.

¹³⁵ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 121.

¹³⁶ Braxton, “Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems vs. the City of College Park, Maryland.” 178.

¹³⁷ Braxton, “Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems vs. the City of College Park, Maryland.” 187.

¹³⁸ Braxton, “Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems vs. the City of College Park, Maryland.”

¹³⁹ Violetta Sharps Jones, interviewed by Lakeland Community Heritage Association, n.d., Lakeland Digital Archives.

¹⁴⁰ Meyer, “Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear.”

¹⁴¹ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide,” ArcGIS StoryMaps, April 26, 2022,

<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/8c2865dbd47640679d1977443631f410> ; Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 120.

¹⁴² “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

services, dances, wedding receptions, and movies.”¹⁴³ The now defunct Stewart’s Tavern, which was later known as Lakeland Tavern, offered Black residents an evening destination for entertainment but was similarly destroyed in the 1970s.¹⁴⁴



Figure 8. Mack’s Market (left) and Black’s Store (right)¹⁴⁵



Figure 9. Lakeland Hall (left) and Lakeland Tavern (right)¹⁴⁶

Lakeland also had a lively social calendar and varied leisure activities. Lakeland was home to the Maryland White Sox, a semi-professional baseball team composed of homegrown athletes.¹⁴⁷ Sunday afternoon games at the main field on Pierce Avenue brought Black families from various communities together, with crowds of 400 to 500 people, to cheer for their local team while vendors supplied food and beverages.¹⁴⁸ Organized entertainment also consisted of an annual parade sponsored by the Elks Club (see Figure 9), tea gatherings among Lakeland women, and monthly meetings for The Counts and The Duchesses, whose members hosted dinners to share their cooking skills and special tableware.¹⁴⁹ These social clubs hosted a yearly formal dance in Lakeland Hall (see Figure 10).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

¹⁴⁴ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

¹⁴⁵ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

¹⁴⁶ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

¹⁴⁷ Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 60.

¹⁴⁸ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.” ; Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 60.

¹⁴⁹ “The Counts Social Club,” 1945, Lakeland Digital Archives.

¹⁵⁰ “The Counts Social Club.”



Figure 10. Violetta Sharps, Miss Lakeland 1963, greeted the crowd and Lakeland's majorettes marched during the parade¹⁵¹



Figure 11. The Duchesses in 1950 (left) and The Counts in 1945 (right)¹⁵²

In 1972, the Lakeland community invited all neighbors to its first birthday celebration, honoring its 80th anniversary.¹⁵³ The Lakeland Civic Association and the Lakeland Inter-Racial Committee organized activities that included a fishing derby for children at Lake Artemesia, a dessert baking contest, tours of the community and Paint Branch Elementary School, and choral presentations.¹⁵⁴ While urban renewal was unfolding, the Lakeland community's commitment to marking this joyous occasion was a testament to its resilience, love, and unity.

Flooding

Since Lakeland's founding, recurring flooding of Paint Branch and Indian Creek produced "great losses to the people financially and mentally. It also [presented] a health problem."¹⁵⁵ Lakeland residents wrote, "We

¹⁵¹ "Parade in Lakeland," 1963, Lakeland Digital Archives.

¹⁵² "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide."

¹⁵³ James Claiborne, Hattie Sandidge, and David Rodenhuis, "Lakeland Community Day," May 21, 1972.

¹⁵⁴ Claiborne, Sandidge, and Rodenhuis, "Lakeland Community Day."

¹⁵⁵ Lakeland PAC, "Letter to Water Resources Administration," The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (in process). Hereafter referred to as TBWP.

would gladly welcome the chance to lay down at night after a hard days' work and be lulled to sleep by the rain drops instead of having to check...whether we have to flee or not."¹⁵⁶ Patricia Middleton, a Lakeland resident, shared that all it took was a steady rainfall over two or three hours for Lakeland students to arrive from school and find their home full of water.¹⁵⁷ Maxine Gross highlighted the absence of a water runoff system; a single pipe received and deposited all the drainage in the middle of the street, causing flood damages and precluding entry and exit for the whole neighborhood.¹⁵⁸

Attempts to dampen Lakeland's self-determination became apparent in the decades-long push for flood protection. Beginning in 1956, the U.S. Congress instructed the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) to assess the viability of a flood control project for the Anacostia River and tributaries; the construction of "levees, pumping stations, and channel realignments and widening in seven Maryland towns" finished in 1959.¹⁵⁹ Lakeland, however, was not a beneficiary and continued to endure flooding because an extensive section remained within the 50- and 100-year floodplain, a circumstance only worsened by underperforming sewer and stormwater systems, urbanization, and "the constriction of the natural streams."¹⁶⁰ By 1961, parts of Lakeland with homes exposed to annual flooding had deteriorated below "modern housing standards [and] community leaders sought help from the city government."¹⁶¹ The Mayor and City Council then passed a resolution in January 1962 to extend flood control measures in the Anacostia River and Tributaries and particularly requested that USACE consider Paint Branch and Indian Creek.¹⁶² When the City of College Park pursued federal government assistance for "flood control and funding for redevelopment and home renovations," it culminated in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.¹⁶³

In 1966, Hervey G. Machen, Representative of Maryland's 5th district in the U.S. Congress, met with the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) to advance local flood control action. M-NCPPC requested Machen's intervention to accelerate USACE's studies of local floodplains, and Machen affirmed that the upper Anacostia River was of "major concern" after the Lakeland area suffered extensive flood damage the previous year.¹⁶⁴ Machen, however, also exhorted "bi-county planning and sewer agencies and the County and municipal governments...to clear the stream beds of silt and debris—a major cause of the flooding last fall."¹⁶⁵ Machen's earnest attempt to galvanize the City of College Park and others revealed how inaction had worsened flood outcomes. By January 1968, the City of College Park, M-NCPPC, and WSSC collaborated in removing trees and debris from Paint Branch to provide temporary flood relief to Lakeland.¹⁶⁶ USACE and WSSC did not devise a plan until April 1969.¹⁶⁷

In 1971, USACE sought to execute a local flood protection project for Lakeland and surrounding areas; the desired outcome would be realized by "realigning, deepening, and widening the Northwest Branch,

¹⁵⁶ Lakeland PAC, "Letter to Water Resources Administration."

¹⁵⁷ "How Urban Renewal Nearly Destroyed This Black Community in Maryland," *NBC4 Washington* (blog), February 14, 2025, <https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/how-urban-renewal-nearly-destroyed-this-black-community-in-maryland/3845673/>.

¹⁵⁸ "How Urban Renewal Nearly Destroyed This Black Community in Maryland."

¹⁵⁹ Michael Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries" (Yale University, 2012), https://static.libnet.info/images/pdfs/pgcmis/Wysolmerski__Michael___The_Fight_for_a_Neighborhood___2012.pdf. 3, 10.

¹⁶⁰ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44" (City of College Park, May 21, 1972), Lakeland Digital Archives.

¹⁶¹ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44," 1973, Lakeland Digital Archives. 1.

¹⁶² Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 2.

¹⁶³ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 8.

¹⁶⁴ "Local Action Is Urged on Flood Control," *The Washington Post*, December 23, 1966.

¹⁶⁵ "Local Action Is Urged on Flood Control."

¹⁶⁶ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970."

¹⁶⁷ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 2.

Northeast Branch, Paint Branch, and Indian Creek.”¹⁶⁸ *The Diamondback*, an independent UMD student newspaper, became a forum for fierce debate on the channelization of Paint Branch and Indian Creek. In response to a UMD Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO) letter published in *The Diamondback*, Dean F. Tuthill, a Professor for UMD’s Department of Agriculture, wrote on October 18, 1971:

“...have you seen people in Lakeland being taken from their homes by row boat? I have...And I’ve talked to people terrified whenever it starts to rain. Funny that you never mention the plight of these people. Those living along lower Lakeland Road have been plagued by flooding for years, and have also for years been promised some help from the Corps project, which has finally been funded...Of course, these people should not be living in this flood plain, but Black people are living there precisely because it is a flood plain. The people of College Park wouldn’t let them buy houses in the more desirable parts, would they? The Black people could afford to buy and rent in Lakeland because nobody else wanted to...No, parts of this community should not be there, but will you of the Environmental Conservation Organization guarantee housing, including some moderate to low income and public housing in College Park Woods, College Park Estates, or in Berwyn or Berwyn Heights? For Black people? If you did, the majority in these areas would not, and in the meantime, people in Lakeland hope to make their community a better place to live.”

Dr. Tuthill’s rebuttal magnified the ongoing effects of discriminatory attitudes. The restrictions imposed on residential options for Black families were present at Lakeland’s inception and mutated into attempts to block the flood protection necessary for Lakeland’s survival. The frequency and severity of flood damages were so familiar and governmental inaction for solutions was so routine that a rainstorm triggered fear among Lakeland residents. Dr. Tuthill foregrounded that the human right to life in Lakeland required an improvement of environmental conditions to preserve a Black community that was not readily welcomed elsewhere.

While this exchange of views preceded the approval process for channelization, the contention among local groups did not weaken, as evidenced by the hours of public testimony before the M-NCPPC on August 2, 1972.¹⁶⁹ This was about a month after Hurricane Agnes had caused the evacuation of between 75 and 85 Lakeland homes, all of which had basements that flooded.¹⁷⁰ Leonard Smith, a Lakeland resident, shared that four feet of water surrounded his home from Hurricane Agnes, and he had to wade from 50 to 75 yards to reach high ground.¹⁷¹ Elizabeth M. Dougherty, a College Park City Council member, recalled, “The night of Agnes...I did not see a beaver, raccoon or eel or any of the ecologists or conservationists. However, I saw an awful lot of cold, frightened people.”¹⁷² The testimony of those in support of USACE’s project “portrayed flood control as a long overdue civil right for Lakeland” that required the government’s intervention.¹⁷³ Dervey Lomax, a Lakeland resident and College Park City Council member, offered the following testimony before the M-NCPPC panel: “If you could hear the cries and see the facial expressions of some of these people during the flood! You hear a lot of talk about moving people from the floodplain. We were there in 1890.”¹⁷⁴ Lomax added, “People built around us, and Lakeland residents should not be made to suffer” for flooding exacerbated by rampant development and increased storm runoff.¹⁷⁵ Prince George’s County Executive William W. Gullett, Chairman of the Prince George’s County Delegation to the Maryland General Assembly Arthur Dorman, and Prince George’s County Council member Francis W. White

¹⁶⁸ Wysolmerski, “The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries.” 13.

¹⁶⁹ Wysolmerski, “The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries.” 13.

¹⁷⁰ Wysolmerski, “The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries.” 2.

¹⁷¹ Eugene L. Meyer, “Flood Control Plans Debated: Flood Control Plains Debated,” *The Washington Post*, n.d.

¹⁷² Meyer, “Flood Control Plans Debated: Flood Control Plains Debated.”

¹⁷³ Wysolmerski, “The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries.” 41, 45.

¹⁷⁴ Eugene L. Meyer, “Flood Control Plan Backed in County,” *The Washington Post*, August 3, 1972.

¹⁷⁵ Meyer, “Flood Control Plan Backed in County.”

were among those who combined a pro-environment stance with Lakeland's rights and the urgency of safeguarding the community from flood devastation, structural damages to homes, and health hazards.¹⁷⁶

The College Park Ecological Association (CPEA), led by resident Judy Comparetto, and the ECO, led by UMD student activist John Cromwell, opposed the channelization strategy of flood amelioration in favor of preserving the natural environment.¹⁷⁷ Comparetto and the CPEA's testimony emphasized that USACE's Environmental Impact Statement violated standards of the National Environmental Policy Act by rendering a cursory analysis of environmental effects and inadequately evaluating alternatives.¹⁷⁸ They argued that the project should be abandoned for its ineffectiveness.¹⁷⁹ The CPEA's petition, signed by hundreds of residents, demanded that "an ecologically sound program be formulated which would provide flood control but would not disrupt the environmental and hydrologic equilibrium of the region."¹⁸⁰ Cromwell and the ECO, on the other hand, asserted that channelization would transplant the flooding to downstream communities and "heighten erosion and sedimentation."¹⁸¹ The ECO and its faculty advisor then suggested that construction should be prohibited on the floodplain. Cromwell even presented an economic analysis of the cost-saving potential for Prince George's County if it purchased all homes on the floodplain at fair market value and relocated residents, thereby subverting Lakeland's right to existence.¹⁸²

M-NCPPC ultimately accepted the channelization project in 1972, and USACE finalized the work in 1975.¹⁸³ Later that month, however, Governor Marvin Mandel faulted flood victims of Prince George's County for their "tolerance of bad planning," and State Senator William Goodman labeled the Lakeland community as a "mistake."¹⁸⁴ These comments discounted how a history of pervasive discrimination forbade Black residents from building their homes elsewhere and further challenged Lakeland's freedom to remain.

Pillar: Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

The flooding in Lakeland only aggravated the community's separation from surrounding areas. During Hurricane Agnes' landfall in 1972, for example, the B&O Railroad Company positioned a freight train on the tracks between Lakeland's center and east side to prevent the flood waters from washing it away.¹⁸⁵ This blocked the entry and exit to the already flooded east side, which endangered Lakeland residents "in the event that some emergency might have happened, if there had been a fire, if there had been a heart attack, if there had been a child born, if there had been a serious illness, or if the flooding had reached them to the depth that it reached Navahoe and 49th Avenue."¹⁸⁶ The B&O Railroad Company's effort to salvage tangible assets amid a lethal natural disaster accentuated the dehumanizing omission of Lakeland from infrastructural networks. This form of suffering had been condoned by governmental neglect and operated

¹⁷⁶ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 46-48.

¹⁷⁷ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 21-22.

¹⁷⁸ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 24-25.

¹⁷⁹ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 28-29.

¹⁸⁰ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 28-29.

¹⁸¹ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 33-34.

¹⁸² Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 36.

¹⁸³ Wysolmerski, "The Fight For a Neighborhood: Flood Control and Race on the Anacostia Tributaries." 57.

¹⁸⁴ Richard M. Cohen, "Mandel, Flood Victims Talk," *The Washington Post*, August 30, 1972.

¹⁸⁵ Elizabeth M. Dougherty, "Transcript of Meeting Held in the Main Office of the H.U.D Officials in the Conference Room of Mr. Hyde's Office, Assistant to Mr. Romney, in Washington, D.C.," June 23, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 10.

¹⁸⁶ Dougherty, "Transcript of Meeting Held in the Main Office of the H.U.D Officials in the Conference Room of Mr. Hyde's Office, Assistant to Mr. Romney, in Washington, D.C." 10.

as “passive infrastructural violence” because it disconnected Lakeland from life-saving access roads.¹⁸⁷ Four years prior, on January 14, 1968, Prince George’s County firemen had to evacuate two Lakeland families by boat after Paint Branch flooded streets with over a foot of water.¹⁸⁸ Nora Thomas, a Lakeland resident who was displaced by urban renewal and relocated to Columbia Park, recounted, “I had to be taken out of my house in a boat three times.”¹⁸⁹

These deficiencies were compounded by unwanted traffic in Lakeland. On January 9, 1978, numerous Lakeland residents signed a letter to the Mayor and City Council to demand action on the closure of 54th Avenue, as stipulated in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan, because “PAC and the Lakeland Civic Association have repeatedly requested that through truck traffic be eliminated in the project area.”¹⁹⁰ A day later, the City Council unanimously passed Resolution 78-UR-1, “authorizing the initiation of abandonment procedures for part of 54th Avenue in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.”¹⁹¹ In May 1978, at a regular meeting of the City Council, Lakeland residents “requested enforcement of no thru truck traffic on 54th Avenue” by “advising the Prince George’s County Police to do their duty” as “the truck traffic in Lakeland [was] worse than ever.”¹⁹² By October, conditions did not improve as Lakeland residents reiterated complaints about tow trucks illegally traversing Lakeland at all hours of the day to reach junk yards in Berwyn Heights.¹⁹³ Capt. Dan Robertson from the Prince George’s County Police assured that these towing companies received warning letters, but a police car could not be permanently positioned in Lakeland to cease this action.¹⁹⁴ Enforcement was thus limited and failed to stop infractions. Lakeland residents would continue to document the heavy truck traffic on residential roads, as evidenced by another initiation of abandonment proceedings during a City Council meeting on May 24, 1983.¹⁹⁵

Several decades before these challenges arose, the streetcar equipped the Lakeland community with mobility and connection to employment, recreation, and Black-owned businesses in the broader metro area.¹⁹⁶ The streetcar line from Washington D.C. to Lakeland opened on August 1, 1899 and facilitated access to amenities when segregation deprived the Black community of the same in College Park. A Lakeland resident recalled how “for 12 cents, a kid could ride the trolley down to Loews Theater on U Street NW for the Saturday matinee.”¹⁹⁷ The regular and affordable service of the streetcar made it the “life of transportation for citizens” and the “main source” of travel for Lakeland until it was discontinued in 1962.¹⁹⁸ The streetcar had also contributed to the growth of Hyattsville, Riverdale, Berwyn, Berwyn Heights, College Park, Edmonston, and Hollywood, and its loss magnified Lakeland’s geographic isolation.¹⁹⁹ The urban renewal process, further described below, prescribed solutions for expanding entry and exit options in Lakeland, but they were not actualized.

¹⁸⁷ Dennis Rodgers and Bruce O’Neill, “Introduction: Infrastructural Violence: Introduction to the Special Issue,” *Ethnography* 13, no. 4 (2012): 401–12.

¹⁸⁸ “Fog and Rain Flood Roads, Mute Phones: Air Service Is Halted; Warmth Shows Up Broken Pipes,” *The Sun*, January 15, 1968.

¹⁸⁹ Fortmuller, “Lakeland: People Removal in College Park.” 17.

¹⁹⁰ “Letter from Charles H. Carroll et al., to the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park, Md on the Closing of 54th Ave., North of Navahoe St.,” January 9, 1978, City of College Park.

¹⁹¹ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” January 10, 1978, City of College Park.

¹⁹² “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” May 23, 1978, City of College Park.

¹⁹³ Rogers, “Lakeland Plan Goes to HUD.”

¹⁹⁴ Rogers, “Lakeland Plan Goes to HUD.”

¹⁹⁵ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” May 24, 1983, City of College Park. 3.

¹⁹⁶ “District of Columbia: Opening of City and Suburban Railway to Lakeland,” *The Baltimore Sun*, July 25, 1899.

¹⁹⁷ Norman, “College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins.”

¹⁹⁸ “Old Lakeland Visitor’s Guide.”

¹⁹⁹ “Community Renewal Program Prince George’s County, Maryland” (Prince George’s County, Maryland, December 1974), Lakeland Digital Archives.

Pillar: Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education

Historical Beginnings of Education in Lakeland

When Black families moved to Lakeland, the closest school was located in Bladensburg, requiring students to walk or take the train if their family's income allowed.²⁰⁰ In 1903, plans for a one-room school serving all grades in Lakeland listed John C. Johnson, Pleasant Brown, and Edward Carter as members of the building committee and later as trustees of the "new colored" facility.²⁰¹ This school opened in 1904.²⁰² A few years later, the one-room school reached maximum capacity, and the home of James Gray and First Baptist Church held classes from 1909 to 1917.²⁰³ During this period, the Gray family home also operated a post office and railroad stop.²⁰⁴ On several occasions, John C. Johnson would take leave from work and travel by streetcar to Upper Marlboro and "bring back sacks of books so that the teachers and children would have something with which to work on the first day of school."²⁰⁵ In 1917, a new two-room school opened, and it was named John C. Johnson Elementary School.²⁰⁶ In 1925, a two-room school in the east side—funded through the Rosenwald Fund, public taxes, and Lakeland residents' fundraising—began to provide elementary education for grades one to six.²⁰⁷ Lakeland Elementary School, equipped with two classrooms, a kitchen, a potbelly stove for heating, and storage area, would later become the Little New Zion Fire Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas and an apartment.²⁰⁸ Between 1928 and 1950, Lakeland High School—also funded through the Rosenwald Fund, public taxes, and the Black community's contributions—served Black youth from Lakeland, North Brentwood, Bladensburg, Ammendale, Hyattsville, Beltsville, Laurel, and Muirkirk.²⁰⁹ Between 1917 to 1932, the Rosenwald Fund partially funded about 5,000 schools for Black children.²¹⁰

Edgar A. Smith, Principal of Lakeland High School from 1928 to 1966, was a deeply respected leader who cultivated a culture of closeness and care.²¹¹ Former students recounted how Smith "didn't have to give you any punishment, just the way he'd sit you down and talk to you put students in awe" and "if you did something wrong, the principal knew your family. It was almost like a big family."²¹² In 1938, a morning program for pre-school children began to operate from a room of Lakeland High School, and high school

²⁰⁰ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

²⁰¹ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

²⁰² Connie Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland," ed. Joanne Braxton and D.R. Rodenhuis, April 1973.

²⁰³ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009). 12.

²⁰⁴ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 12.

²⁰⁵ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1973.

²⁰⁶ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

²⁰⁷ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 50–52.

²⁰⁸ "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide," ArcGIS StoryMaps, April 26, 2022, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/8c2865dbd47640679d1977443631f410>. ; Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 52.

²⁰⁹ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 8.; Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972. ; Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 52–53.

²¹⁰ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 22.

²¹¹ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 53.

²¹² Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 53. ; The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 24.

students would assist during their lunch time.²¹³ Extracurricular activities for Lakeland students also included dance, music, variety shows, and sports.²¹⁴ Lakeland High School's football squad had a history of undefeated seasons and won a state football championship title in 1946.²¹⁵ Edwina Herald Buckner taught fourth and fifth grade students in Lakeland and then provided free ballet lessons after school.²¹⁶ For several decades, Lakeland schools hosted an annual May Day celebration which featured sporting matches, dancing around the maypole, and a musical program.²¹⁷

This responsive and rich education prepared Lakeland High School graduates to pursue employment, military service, and higher education in historically Black colleges or out-of-state universities because the University of Maryland (UMD) did not start desegregation until 1952.²¹⁸ Prevailing inequities not only limited options for Black students following graduation but affected resource quality and access at Lakeland High School. For example, students learned from books and desks previously used by white students and experienced challenges with school transportation.²¹⁹ Minutes from a Prince George's County Board of Education (School Board) meeting on August 9, 1938 revealed that a formal request for a larger bus to transport students from Laurel and Muirkirk to Lakeland High school was disregarded; instead, the existing bus had to make a second trip and remove Rossville as a stop.²²⁰



Figure 12. Lakeland's original one-room school building with students and their teacher George G. Waters, circa 1915²²¹

²¹³ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1973.

²¹⁴ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 24, 26, 27.

²¹⁵ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 24.

²¹⁶ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 27.

²¹⁷ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 30.

²¹⁸ "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide," ArcGIS StoryMaps, April 26, 2022,

<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/8c2865dbd47640679d1977443631f410>. In 1951, UMD granted admission to Hiram Whittle, the first Black undergraduate student, after having denied his application due to his race in 1949; with a petition to the Baltimore City Court and support from the NAACP, Whittle was able to contest the university's initial decision. See "Celebrating the Lives of CMSE Alumni...Lives Well Lived | A. James Clark School of Engineering, University of Maryland," accessed June 16, 2025, <https://eng.umd.edu/cmse/in-memoriam>.

²¹⁹ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 54.

²²⁰ Barker et al., "Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890-1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project." 54.

²²¹ "Lakeland School Students and Teacher," 1915, Lakeland Digital Archives.



Figure 13. Lakeland Elementary School in about 1925²²²



Figure 14. Principal Edgar A. Smith with the Lakeland High School Class of 1938²²³

On April 24, 1945, G. Gardner Shugart, Prince George's County School Superintendent, announced that Black schools would initiate the county's transition to a 12-year school system next fall, while "a similar program [was] studied for white schools."²²⁴ Shugart stated that Black schools would be "affected first because of the smaller number of pupils involved," but the decision that white schools' transition warranted further study is illustrative of the differential treatment and resource allocation by race.²²⁵ This inequality became more salient when Fairmont Heights High School opened in 1950 and received Lakeland students, as news media reported that it would likely "eliminate double-shift classes in Prince George's County Negro schools."²²⁶ The need for double-shift classes pointed to the shortages in educational facilities and lower hours of instruction for Black students in the county. The opening of Fairmont Heights High School repurposed Lakeland High School as an elementary and junior high school from 1950 to 1962, an elementary school until 1972, and then a special education center from 1972 to 1978.²²⁷

Desegregation in Prince George's County

The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on May 17, 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* rendered racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional and required "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance."²²⁸ During the 1953–54 school year, Prince George's County had 80 schools for white students and 24 for Black students, with attendance zoning policy determined first by race and second by proximity to the

²²² *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park.*

²²³ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park.*

²²⁴ "Prince George's 12-Year School Plan Launched: Colored Ones First To Be Reorganized Under New System," *The Evening Star*, April 25, 1945.

²²⁵ "Prince George's 12-Year School Plan Launched: Colored Ones First To Be Reorganized Under New System."

²²⁶ "New Fairmount School May End Double Shift," *The Evening Star*, January 30, 1950.

²²⁷ "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide," ArcGIS StoryMaps, April 26, 2022, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/8c2865dbd47640679d1977443631f410>.

²²⁸ Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 4.

corresponding segregated school.²²⁹ Principals, teachers, custodians, and secretaries also accorded with the racial composition of students.²³⁰

In 1955, a biracial fact-finding committee composed of 22 county residents, five of whom were Black, would study the problems of desegregation in Prince George's County.²³¹ Doswell E. Brooks served on the committee; he had been county supervisor of Black schools since 1922 and then appointed as the first Black member of the Prince George's County School Board by Governor Theodore McKeldin in 1956.²³² J. W. Chesley Mack, the first City Council member for the Lakeland District, also served on the committee.²³³ The subsequent report, published on July 21, 1955 detailed that the public school population in Prince George's County was composed of 5,975 non-white students, 39,638 white students, 1,484 white teachers, and 237 Black teachers.²³⁴

Part of the data collection ascertained attitudes of county residents toward desegregation by way of interviews with community leaders. This revealed that most white residents preferred a gradual approach while Black residents wanted a desegregation program with immediate effect.²³⁵ Similarly telling data points were the questions that interviewees asked, a few of which included: "How will the parents of the two groups get along together?"; "Will desegregation result in retardation of white students?"; "Will my child continue to be transported past a school where white children his age now go?"; "What effect will desegregation have on the health of white and Negro children?"²³⁶ These questions from Black and white interviewees exhibited racial prejudices, erroneous assumptions about deficiency and inferiority, existing barriers to accessibility, and prevailing misinformation about communicable diseases.

Another finding of the report stemmed from a countywide testing program on "general learning ability and the achievement level" of white and Black students in grades 3, 6, 9, and 11. After testing an estimated 20,000 students, 88 percent of whom were white and 12 percent of whom were Black, Dr. Evelyn Perloff, Supervisor of Tests and Measurements for the Prince George's County School Board, concluded differences in performance by race. Dr. Perloff's research posited that "at all grades and on all tests, the white groups performed better than the Negro groups...[and] the gap between these achievement levels and learning ability increased between the two races as the grade level increase[d]."²³⁷ Without discussing limitations or omitted variables that could affect outcomes, these county-sanctioned results functioned

²²⁹ Avis D. Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974" (University of Maryland, 2017), 36, https://www.academia.edu/109200858/For_the_Benefit_of_These_Children_Affirming_Racial_Identity_in_the_Era_of_School_Desegregation_Prince_Georges_County_Maryland_1954_1974.

²³⁰ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day's Journey into Light: School Desegregation in Prince George's County*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976), 97, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000699282>.

²³¹ Doswell E. Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education," July 21, 1955.

²³² "New Fairmount School May End Double Shift." ; Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 44.

²³³ "College Park's First Election Set Tomorrow," *The Washington Post*, July 1, 1945. ; Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 2.

²³⁴ Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 8, 12.

²³⁵ Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 14.

²³⁶ Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 14-15.

²³⁷ Brooks et al., "Report of the Fact-Finding Committee to Study Problems of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Submitted to Prince George's County Board of Education." 20.

to discredit the quality of Black schools and to impose discriminatory assumptions about Black students' academic potential.

Before circulating the report of the fact-finding committee to the press, Dr. William S. Schmidt, Prince George's County School Superintendent, removed charts that depicted enrollment increases at white schools following Black students' integration.²³⁸ A bidirectional alternative was not considered. The data positioned Black students on a "one-way" track toward white schools, illustrative of how dominant socio-political views determined what was acceptable as a strategy for desegregation.

In 1955, Dr. William S. Schmidt declared that the governor-appointed School Board would advance a voluntary desegregation policy (also known as a "freedom of choice" policy), disregarding the U.S. Supreme Court's directive for purposeful and prompt action.²³⁹ This placed full responsibility on parents to apply for enrollment, but placement at their preferred school was contingent on available space and the School Board's "right to 'delay or deny' the request 'if it deem[ed] such action wise and necessary.'"²⁴⁰ The submission of transfer requests was impeded by short application cycles, the necessity of parents providing transportation, and negligible outreach to white communities.²⁴¹ The latter was exemplified in a *Washington Star* article dated August 10, 1955, which positioned transfer requests as "available to Negro parents who want their children transferred from one school to another."²⁴² This policy delayed compulsory desegregation for the next eighteen years.²⁴³ The former Lakeland High School, for example, was desegregated in 1969.²⁴⁴ In 1957, Dr. Schmidt announced the county's deliberate inaction on relocating Black educators to interracial or all-white schools.²⁴⁵ It took until a federal government notification sent in March 1971 for the Prince George's County School Board to act on its legal obligation to eliminate segregation of educators; the School Board agreed to a 15 to 20 percent representation of Black teachers in each school.²⁴⁶

Lakeland residents seeking "to attend integrated or white schools outside their racial district" had to endure a protracted and contentious process.²⁴⁷ During a six-hour hearing by the State Board of Education on September 22, 1961, Dr. Schmidt agreed to transfer Dervey Lomax's seven-year-old son, Gregory, to the all-white College Park Elementary School about two miles from the Lomax family home.²⁴⁸ The Lomax family was zoned for the all-Black Lakeland Elementary School.²⁴⁹ This change transpired after Lomax, a College Park City Council member, appealed to the Prince George's County School Board to have his son attend the integrated Seat Pleasant Elementary School.²⁵⁰ At this hearing on August 8, Lomax described

²³⁸ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 49.

²³⁹ The School Board would not be elected until about 20 years later. Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 50.

²⁴⁰ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 51.

²⁴¹ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day's Journey into Light*. 150.

²⁴² "County Integration Transfer Blanks Ready," *Washington Star*, August 10, 1955.

²⁴³ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 46.

²⁴⁴ Sandidge et al., "History of Lakeland." 1972.

²⁴⁵ "County Keeps Gradual Pace in Integration," *Washington Post*, May 15, 1957.

²⁴⁶ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 123-124.

²⁴⁷ Stephen E. Nordlinger, "Transfer O.K.'D for Negro Pupil: Prince Georges Action Eyed As Precedent-Setting," *The Sun*, September 23, 1961.

²⁴⁸ "School Desegregation Case Settled in Prince Georges," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 1961.

²⁴⁹ "School Desegregation Case Settled in Prince Georges."

²⁵⁰ Nordlinger, "Transfer O.K.'D for Negro Pupil: Prince Georges Action Eyed As Precedent-Setting."

that he would have to move for his son to access an integrated education because prevailing county policy assigned Black students to “‘colored’ schools in that the ‘nearest’ school is colored.”²⁵¹ While the Prince George’s County School Board cited the nine-mile distance between the school and the Lomax home to sustain Dr. Schmidt’s denial, Paul M. Nussbaum, counsel to the School Board, added that approving Lomax’s transfer request to an integrated school “would in effect admit that the county maintained a segregated school system.”²⁵² In the last year, Lomax had also received a denial for his request to transfer Gregory to the integrated Beltsville Elementary School.²⁵³ Juanita Jackson Mitchell, the NAACP attorney representing Lomax, stated that “Prince George’s County does not voluntarily assign colored pupils to formerly all-white schools” and specified that “Dr. Schmidt had the entire eighth grade in Lakeland Junior High transfer to the Fairmont Heights Junior High School although the children had to pass a segregated junior high school.”²⁵⁴ When Mitchell contended that 337 of the 8,100 Black students in Prince George’s County attended integrated schools in the preceding school year,²⁵⁵ Dr. Schmidt testified that the figure was 465.²⁵⁶ Yet, this still only totaled to about 5.7 percent of Black students. Mitchell argued that Gregory Lomax had “‘been taken care of, but there are other children not accorded their rights because of the arbitrary, discriminatory policy in Prince George’s.”²⁵⁷ The burden of time and resources placed on Black families to resist rights’ violations coupled with the county’s complacency served as a deterrent to systemic change. Some Lakeland families did not pursue a transfer request and instead sought equitable and sustainable investment for the community’s schools. Maxine Gross’ father channeled this solidarity when “he said he felt it more important to support Lakeland Elementary School in getting the resources that the kids needed right here in the community.”²⁵⁸

By the 1963–64 school year, a decade after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the School Board’s voluntary desegregation policy and disuse of zoning maps continued to signal administrative inaction. No meaningful integration had been achieved, as about 12 percent of Black students were in schools with white enrollment at this time.²⁵⁹ A climate of fear, however, also had a deterrent effect in Prince George’s County. An explanatory factor “for the low number of transfers was the fear of Black parents that their child might be the only Black child in a school or that their child might be ‘abused, scorned, or maybe just tolerated’ in the white school.”²⁶⁰ Other Prince George’s County citizens corroborated, observing “that these parents were afraid of economic or social reprisal or even physical violence” and “mentioned the activities of prosegregation organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils...[that] were active in the county, particularly in the early years of freedom of choice.”²⁶¹ The presence of racism and the potential for retaliation engendered paralyzing tensions for Black families who desired safe and quality learning environments for their children.

During this time, the 1964 Civil Rights Act proscribed racial discrimination by recipients of federal funding and allowed for the retention of annual allotments from school districts in violation of mandated

²⁵¹ “School Desegregation Case Settled in Prince Georges.”

²⁵² Nordlinger, “Transfer O.K.’D for Negro Pupil: Prince Georges Action Eyed As Precedent-Setting.”

²⁵³ Nordlinger, “Transfer O.K.’D for Negro Pupil: Prince Georges Action Eyed As Precedent-Setting.”

²⁵⁴ “School Desegregation Case Settled in Prince Georges.”

²⁵⁵ Nordlinger, “Transfer O.K.’D for Negro Pupil: Prince Georges Action Eyed As Precedent-Setting.”

²⁵⁶ “School Desegregation Case Settled in Prince Georges.”

²⁵⁷ “Two Appeals to State Strengthen Negroes’ Transfer Rights from All-Negro Schools,” *Southern School News*, October 1961, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn59049440/1961-10-01/ed-1/seq-8/>.

²⁵⁸ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 63.

²⁵⁹ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 68.

²⁶⁰ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 152.

²⁶¹ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 153.

desegregation. In 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* that a “freedom-of-choice” plan was unacceptable given the availability of more immediate and effective options at actualizing a nondiscriminatory system.²⁶² Due to noncompliance in Prince George’s County, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) intervened with technical assistance. On August 27, 1968, HEW delivered a desegregation plan to Dr. Schmidt that recommended the closure of four out of the five remaining all-Black schools by the following year: Lakeland Elementary School, Fairmont Heights High School, Mary McLeod Bethune Junior High School, and North Brentwood Elementary School.²⁶³ The School Board took steps to release HEW’s desegregation plan to the press and public, but the day after announcing a meeting for citizen input, a November 7 letter from HEW notified Dr. Schmidt that the plan “was based upon obsolete information and data” and would be discarded.²⁶⁴ HEW then equipped the School Board with an amended plan in April 1969, but it still proposed terminating the high school program at Fairmont Heights, repeatedly subjugating the NAACP and broader Black community’s advocacy for the school’s preservation.²⁶⁵ While the School Board rejected the amended plan, HEW’s sweeping prescriptions to shut down Black schools showcased how the federal government trivialized the meaning, pride, and ownership imbued in community-centered institutions.²⁶⁶ *Brown v. Board of Education* was a civil rights victory, but HEW and the School Board dictated desegregation plans and policies that silenced how Black schools were “really symbolic of African American citizenship.”²⁶⁷ A systemic failure to esteem Black schools’ commitment to academic excellence accelerated Black teachers’ job losses and cultural erosion as schools disappeared.²⁶⁸

Losing a culturally-responsive atmosphere and connection to Black teachers and administrators affected students’ adaptation, and this was compounded by racial discrimination in disciplinary methods.²⁶⁹ Black students reported “that they were penalized for misconduct more harshly than their white classmates” and “that white students received ‘more privileges’ and were rewarded for good conduct more often than they.” Black and white school personnel repeatedly witnessed a pattern of tolerance and inattentiveness toward Black students’ behavior.²⁷⁰ A Black teacher, for example, noted the “‘paternalism’ of some of his white colleagues, who ‘say they are afraid of Black students’ and allow Black students to cut class and ‘float the halls.’”²⁷¹ A Black counselor added: “The white teachers here say they are afraid to say anything to Black students. That is a copout. The plain and simple fact is that they don’t care about these children.”²⁷² School personnel also observed that this indifference would mutate at times into “sporadic ‘crackdowns’ on the discipline of Black students,” including a “high incidence” of suspensions.²⁷³ White faculty and administrator’s racial prejudices produced unequal treatment and neglect within the

²⁶² “U.S. Reports: *Green v. County School Board*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968),” image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed June 16, 2025, <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep391430/>.

²⁶³ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 77.

²⁶⁴ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 78.

²⁶⁵ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 81.

²⁶⁶ *The Lakeland Spirit: Through Digital Footprints*, n.d., <https://lakelandchp.com/lakeland-digital-archive-toolbox/>.

²⁶⁷ *The Lakeland Spirit: Through Digital Footprints*.

²⁶⁸ *The Lakeland Spirit: Through Digital Footprints*.

²⁶⁹ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 400.

²⁷⁰ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 401.

²⁷¹ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 401.

²⁷² United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 402.

²⁷³ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 403–404.

classroom and inappropriately dismissed negative behaviors as part of Black students' "ghetto experience" and "culture, homelife or economic status."²⁷⁴

While risking \$12 million in federal monies if unsuccessful, Dr. Schmidt and the School Board prepared a desegregation plan for Fairmont Heights High School in 1969 that favored an "enriched" and "new and innovative" program over the outright enrollment of white students.²⁷⁵ Fairmont Heights was rebranded as a Model Urban Cooperative High School within the Model Neighborhoods Initiative, and the new program would be designed by educators with Harvard University graduate studies.²⁷⁶ Undergirding this counterproposal to HEW's amended plan was the assumption that an improved curriculum and open registration at Fairmont Heights would galvanize white students to enroll and integration would be accomplished.²⁷⁷ In a meeting before Fairmont Heights' staff, teachers, and students, Dr. Schmidt and the School Board presented the Model Urban Cooperative curriculum, to be implemented by the Harvard educators, and plans for a replacement principal without having adequately consulted those affected.²⁷⁸ Myrtle A. Fentress, a Fairmont Heights social studies teacher who taught at Lakeland High School, addressed Dr. Schmidt to problematize the county's approach: "You're so against the times...This isn't what we need or want. This is another instance of outsiders telling Negroes what they need. I think the only difference this time is that our carpetbaggers came with briefcases."²⁷⁹ A Fairmont Heights student pressed for the school's agency and integrity: "The best thing that could happen would be if they left Fairmont Heights the way it is...We have school pride. We don't want whites taking it over."²⁸⁰ A Fairmont Heights parent criticized the expedient intentions of the new program, adding "Isn't this just a way of making the school good enough for whites, to draw them to our school? They wouldn't do this just for our children."²⁸¹ This vocal resistance gave salience to frustrations with a desegregation process that sidelined the resilience and worth of Black schools. Dr. Schmidt and the School Board instrumentalized a school beloved by the Black community and marginalized Black voices in desegregation decisions to induce white students' attendance and secure federal monies at stake.

A few days later, on June 7, 1969, a letter from Fentress to Ruth Wolf, a member of the School Board, emphasized how themes of inferiority and deficiency in reporting of Fairmont Heights undermined the community's welfare:

Words such as 'upgrading,' 'raising the level,' and 'strengthening the curriculum' in these stories have suggested that the quality of the teaching and the learning at Fairmont Heights is significantly below that of the other secondary schools in the County. Students and teachers have been taunted on occasions by their colleagues and peers from other schools in the County about the fate of our school. Our friends in the community have been given the impression that ours is a dying school and that our demise is imminent.²⁸²

²⁷⁴ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day's Journey into Light*. 402, 404-405.

²⁷⁵ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 81.

²⁷⁶ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 86-87.

²⁷⁷ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 86-87.

²⁷⁸ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 87-88.

²⁷⁹ Lawrence Meyer, "School Plan Draws New Opposition," n.d.

²⁸⁰ Lawrence Feinberg, "Fairmont Begins to Find Black Is Beautiful," n.d.

²⁸¹ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 111-112.

²⁸² "Myrtle Fentress Letter to Ruth S. Wolf - Defense of Fairmont Heights High," June 7, 1969, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

While Fairmont Heights High School survived closure, a year of planning and community consultation for the Model Urban Cooperative curriculum ended abruptly in April 1970 when the Prince George's County school district removed the Harvard team and the program from the 1970-71 budget.²⁸³ While Dr. Schmidt cited financial limitations, the county's decision coincided with HEW's imposition of direct, administrative action by the School Board to accelerate desegregation. This meant that students from Bladensburg High School would be moved to Fairmont Heights in September 1970, obviating the novel program to motivate white students' enrollment.²⁸⁴ In February 1970, parents of the majority-white suburb of Cheverly, whose children were zoned for Bladensburg High School, sued the Prince George's County school district to block the forthcoming transfers, but the Circuit Court determined in April 1971 that it was lawful to adjust residential attendance zoning for desegregation.²⁸⁵ The School Board even contradicted its own policy by permitting 29 Bladensburg High School students without the necessary criteria to stay, avoiding the transfer to Fairmont Heights.²⁸⁶

After HEW suggested the closure of Lakeland Elementary School, the School Board considered 1) busing Lakeland students to Berwyn Heights Elementary School and College Park Elementary School, both of which were at or beyond capacity, or 2) building a new integrated elementary school in Lakeland.²⁸⁷ College Park Mayor William W. Gullett expressed opposition to the first option, emphasizing "that the largely Black community had been discriminated against for too long."²⁸⁸ The School Board thus planned to relocate the elementary school students from Lakeland and Berwyn Heights to the integrated Paint Branch Elementary School upon its opening in 1972.²⁸⁹ However, the public meetings that preceded this decision were often held outside of Lakeland and during work hours. The community consultation process was laden with exclusionary barriers and demanded sacrifices (e.g., a day's pay, missed meals, transportation costs) from those who desired to participate. In his essay titled, "The Giant Eraser Is Ready to Wipe Us Out," Billy Weems recounted:

"A meeting was held in Upper Marlboro [on] Tuesday, March 11, 1969 at 10 AM to continue the discussion on whether Lakeland Elementary School should be closed...Many people were surprised at our turnout even though this particular time of day was picked...And there were enough people there in favor of keeping Lakeland open for the next two or three years it will take to build a new school conveniently located for the residents of Lakeland and Berwyn."²⁹⁰

Lakelanders' testimonies at this March 1969 meeting emphasized that it was fiscally imprudent to integrate Lakeland children at overcrowded white schools because it would stretch teachers' capacity and require

²⁸³ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 112.

²⁸⁴ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 112-113.

²⁸⁵ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 120-121.

²⁸⁶ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 134.

²⁸⁷ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 91-92.

²⁸⁸ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 92.

²⁸⁹ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 94.

²⁹⁰ Braxton, "Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland." 189.

new temporary structures.²⁹¹ Lakelanders conveyed a preference for enhancing Lakeland's educational programs and welcoming students into existing facilities to prevent compromising on the quality of education.²⁹² A white parent opposed having white children fulfill "reverse integration" by attending a new school in Lakeland.²⁹³

While it was important for Lakelanders to have a new school in their community, the chosen site for Paint Branch Elementary School precipitated another wave of displacement for the Gross, Greene, and Gray families.²⁹⁴ On August 4, 1969, this compelled Robert R. Gray, Principal of Fairmont Heights Elementary School from 1934 to 1970 and Mayor of Fairmont Heights from 1977 to 1989 to write:²⁹⁵

"It is hard for me to explain my feelings about the property [his childhood home] to you, or to anyone who has not been at my end of the rope. To think of losing what has been my home all of my life is one thing; but to think of being forced to relocate my family at this stage in its life is quite another. I have one (1) brother and two (2) sisters, all over sixty years of age, for [whom] I am obligated to provide a home for the rest of their lives. All that I have had has been put into the home place to make things comfortable for them...My greatest hope is that this action will not affect the health and mental condition of my sisters and brother."²⁹⁶



Figure 15. The Gray family's home²⁹⁷

Gray's palpable despair imparted the debilitating effects of being stripped away from a cherished space. Losing a childhood home that had been modified to prioritize safety and accessibility for his aging siblings carried a reverberating lethality. The weight of deep anguish, a broken safety net, and a stressful dislocation reduced their life chances. In a March 4, 1970 letter to Elliott B. Robertson, Director of Plant

²⁹¹ *The Lakeland Spirit: Through Digital Footprints.*

²⁹² *The Lakeland Spirit: Through Digital Footprints.*

²⁹³ Douglas Watson, "Pupil Busing Idea Assailed," *Washington Post*, March 12, 1969.

²⁹⁴ "Old Lakeland Visitor's Guide."

²⁹⁵ "School History: About Robert Ridgely Gray," Robert R. Gray Elementary, <https://www.pgcps.org/schools/robert-r.-gray-elementary/about-us/school-history>.

²⁹⁶ "Letter from Robert R. Gray to Elliot B. Robertson, Director of Plant Planning and Construction for the Board of Education of Prince George's County," September 4, 1969.

²⁹⁷ "Gray Family Home," n.d., Lakeland Digital Archives.

Planning and Construction for the School Board, Gray conveyed further detail on the distressing acquisition of his family property by his lifetime employer; the naming of Robert R. Gray Elementary School would recognize his extraordinary service years later:

"For your records, you might want to know that the house, in question, is one of the landmarks of the community...Please understand that I have not questioned the fact that you have offered me all that the house and lot is worth. Our problem centers around the lack of consideration given for the recent improvements for which we will have to pay, and the additional expenses that would be forced upon us if we would dare attempt to build another home...Since I appeared before the Board, in November, we have lost one of our sisters, who probably felt the pressure of being forced out of the house, where she had lived since her early childhood, to begin living in an apartment...My sincere hope is that you, nor any of those involved, nor your families, will ever become victims of such a transaction."²⁹⁸

When Paint Branch Elementary School opened, unmet needs took new form. A constituent's typed document to Lawrence J. Hogan, Representative of Maryland's 5th District in the U.S. Congress, gave evidence of the glaring absences in roadways:

"the approaches to the school have not been touched. The road immediately adjacent to school property has been completed and no other road work can be done until the Urban Renewal project proceeds. Question, Mr. Hogan, how can the children who are to attend the 6 grades at the Paint Branch Elementary School reach school? 1) Gondola, 2) helicopter, 3) act of god."²⁹⁹

The constituent's statement hinted at how impasses in Lakeland's urban renewal process made access routes to Paint Branch Elementary School impassable. Lakeland elementary students' transfer to Paint Branch marked a shift in the use of the former Lakeland High School and magnified the losses already felt by urban renewal's land acquisition and displacement. In an essay titled "Do you know the fate of Lakeland is to be decided next week?," Billy Weems wrote:

"Once Lakeland High School became Lakeland Junior High, and then Lakeland Elementary. Today Lakeland High School is to become nothing...The reason they say to integrate so our Black children...can get an equal education. HA. What's really happening is that the heart of Lakeland has to be removed. (School transplant.)"³⁰⁰

In 1978, when Prince George's County labeled the site of the former Lakeland High School as surplus property, the Project Area Committee (PAC)—a HUD-mandated group of Lakeland leaders appointed by the Mayor and City Council of College Park—advocated for the city to purchase it for one dollar and operate a recreation center at the site.³⁰¹ Jack Callahan, College Park Director of the Urban Renewal Authority, indicated that the city had no interest in maintaining the property.³⁰² On November 13, 1979, the City Council carried a motion unanimously that denied the Washington Christian Academy's request to use the Lakeland School for private education because PAC recommended limiting future use "to inside

²⁹⁸ "Letter from Robert R. Gray to Elliot B. Robertson, Director of Plant Planning and Construction for the Board of Education of Prince George's County on the Submission of Proposed Contract for the Acquisition of the Gray Property," March 4, 1970.

²⁹⁹ "Constituent Letter to Congressman Hogan," 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

³⁰⁰ Braxton, "Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland." 188.

³⁰¹ Wynter, "Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community." ; "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

³⁰² Wynter, "Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community."

recreation, open space use, or for development of housing.”³⁰³ Still, in 1983, the former Lakeland High School became a Korean Catholic Mission.³⁰⁴

Meanwhile, the School Board had repeatedly dismissed proposals that would effectuate meaningful integration, so eight Black parents, represented by the ACLU and the NAACP, pursued a class action lawsuit on March 29, 1972 (i.e., *Vaughns v. Board of Education of Prince George’s County*).³⁰⁵ In addition to charging the School Board with violating *Brown v. Board of Education*, the harms extended to “utilizing, recruiting, promoting and demoting Black staff and faculty personnel”; “unequally allocating resources and expenditures to racially identifiable schools”; and “a permissive transfer system under which white students in majority-Black schools could transfer to majority- white schools.”³⁰⁶ Judge Frank A. Kaufman ordered the School Board to propose a feasible desegregation plan since Prince George’s County had never “effectively dismantled” the discriminatory dual system.³⁰⁷ School Board members A. James Golato and Rodney W. Johnson subsequently proposed shutting down seven all-Black schools and suspending school construction where Black population had proliferated; in a September 26 public meeting, Black residents protested this plan with petitions signed 6,000 times.³⁰⁸ By December 29, 1972, the School Board had failed to supply a desegregation plan that properly adhered to *Brown v. Board of Education* and concomitant federal court rulings, so Judge Kaufman ruled that Prince George’s County actuate a prior proposal, effective January 29, 1973.³⁰⁹ The approved plan restricted Black representation at each school to a range of 10 and 50 percent and noted that 8,572 Black students and 4,705 white students of the 33,277 students to be transferred would need busing.³¹⁰

Population changes between 1970 to 1980 effectively doubled Black student enrollment and halved white student enrollment. This precluded compliance with the court-ordered ratios, and Judge Kaufman, by the request of NAACP leaders, revisited the case in 1983, identifying “vestiges of segregation.”³¹¹ As the School Board assessed new approaches, a Black-led Ad Hoc Committee to Achieve Quality Education in Prince George’s County, pushed for “desegregation to achieve high-quality education rather than to achieve desegregation” and “to make education work for Black students, regardless of the racial composition of the schools they attended” with more Black administrators and equitable resource allocation.³¹² The 1998 federal court ruling that terminated 26 years of mandatory busing reoriented the School Board’s focus to revitalizing and upgrading neighborhood schools and optimizing educational outcomes.³¹³

Discrimination at the University of Maryland (UMD)

Generations of Lakeland residents dedicated their time and talent to UMD’s growth but faced discriminatory barriers to career advancement and enrollment at the institution. George Henry Gross, for

³⁰³ “Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” November 13, 1979, City of College Park. 3.

³⁰⁴ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George’s County Planning Department, “Central US 1 Corridor: Approved Sector Plan and Sectional Map Amendment.” 171.

³⁰⁵ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 285.

³⁰⁶ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 286–287.

³⁰⁷ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 286.

³⁰⁸ Herbert H. Denton, “Blacks Beat Bid to Close Some Schools,” *Washington Post*, September 27, 1972.

³⁰⁹ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 142–143.

³¹⁰ United States Commission on Civil Rights, *A Long Day’s Journey into Light*. 345.

³¹¹ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 160.

³¹² Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 161.

³¹³ Matthews, “For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1954–1974.” 162.

instance, worked at UMD for 48 years, beginning in 1923, washing dishes and waiting tables.³¹⁴ Several other Lakeland residents were only given employment “on a domestic basis” in kitchens and laundry.³¹⁵ In 1969, Constance Sandidge became the first Lakeland community member to graduate from UMD.³¹⁶ During Sandidge’s time at the university, a campus-wide survey of student opinions in 1967 revealed that almost 40 percent of respondents were unaware of discrimination at off-campus housing and another 15 percent had no input for resolving the issue.³¹⁷ Lakelanders recounted how families in their community offered space in their homes to Black university students. In the early 1970s, ten individual roomers lived among Lakeland’s 147 families.³¹⁸

On May 7, 1970, the Black Student Union at UMD delivered demands to President Wilson H. Elkins that emanated from ongoing racial discrimination complaints, and they explicitly referenced the Lakeland community’s limited access to higher education at the institution.³¹⁹ The Black Student Union called “for courses that dealt with solving the community problems of Blacks, for educational opportunities at the university for Negro residents of the nearby Lakeland community, and for the establishment of a cultural center and dormitory for Black students.”³²⁰ Black UMD students also advocated for a seven percent growth of Black student enrollment at a time when there were an estimated 650 Black students among the 24,000 total.³²¹ *Argus*, a UMD magazine, attributed this low enrollment to “the racist reputation of the university,” nondisclosure of recruitment strategies, and the absence of a “program to make it financially feasible or attractive for poor Black students.”³²² In response, Elkins underscored that “he was reluctant to make commitments that he was unsure he could deliver.”³²³ Even when the university addressed demands, it did so poorly. During late January in 1974, Black students at UMD reported being given a “wooden building with no heat and less air conditioning” as a cultural center.³²⁴ While the paucity of Black faculty compounded the marginalization of Black interests at the university, Black staff also reported the lack of raises or promotions for at least 20 years.³²⁵ This inability to ascend also occurred at the city level. Charles Carroll, a Lakeland resident who was UMD’s first Black personnel officer and a College Park City Council member, stated that he “would also like to see more Blacks getting higher administrative positions in the city...we only have refuse collectors.”³²⁶

³¹⁴ Meyer, “Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear.” ; The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 57.

³¹⁵ Sandidge et al., “History of Lakeland.” 1972.

³¹⁶ Sandidge et al., “History of Lakeland.” 1972.

³¹⁷ Pam Randolph and Bill Landes, “Landes on the Gallup, the Results of the Argus Opinion Poll,” *Argus*, April 1967, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

³¹⁸ “Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44.”

³¹⁹ Herbert Denton, “Blacks Shun Role in Md. Demonstration,” *The Washington Post*, May 7, 1970.

³²⁰ Denton, “Blacks Shun Role in Md. Demonstration.”

³²¹ Denton, “Blacks Shun Role in Md. Demonstration.”

³²² Bob Hall, “The Schoolroom Door: Still Bolted,” *Argus*, n.d., University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

³²³ Denton, “Blacks Shun Role in Md. Demonstration.”

³²⁴ Mel Hollis, “Our Community Is Ruled from Without,” *The Black Explosion*, January 24, 1974, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 3.

³²⁵ Hollis, “Our Community Is Ruled from Without.” 3.

³²⁶ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park*. 66. ; Susan Foster, “BFS Member Elected College Park Councilman,” *The Black Explosion*, January 24, 1974, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

Pillar: Gathering – UN SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions

Public Safety Concerns

When economic and political interests would attempt to exploit the marginalization of a thriving Black neighborhood, vocal resistance in Lakeland pushed back. On August 11, 1943, the Lakeland Citizens' Association rejected the B&O Railroad's proposal to erect barracks for 60 Black laborers in Lakeland, arguing before the Prince George's County Commissioners that the site was "located within 150 feet of the Lakeland High School."³²⁷ The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had proceeded to designate Lakeland after Edmonston residents' opposition blocked construction of the barracks.³²⁸ County Commissioners maintained that the barracks were a "war measure and promised to ask the railroad to move the barracks to a 'more suitable location' in town."³²⁹ While the article in *The Evening Star* did not disclose the final outcome, the absence of any tangible assurance to Lakeland residents functioned as a dismissal of their concerns by government officials. The necessity for protest by Lakeland residents underscored County Commissioners' apathy toward the safety risks that this project posed and their disregard for the autonomy of the community.

The Lakeland community's resilience and determination to flourish galvanized residents to contest another harmful influence almost 20 years later. On October 26, 1961, the College Park City Council joined residents of Lakeland and Berwyn Heights to call for the termination of College Park Fabricators, Inc. due to the company's excessive noise and violation of Prince George's County zoning law.³³⁰ Steel fabrication had been permitted at the company's site near the B&O Railroad until the modification of zoning classifications in 1949, which changed the land from heavy manufacturing to light manufacturing.³³¹ The zoning office of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) claimed that it had mistakenly authorized the expansion of College Park Fabricators, Inc.'s operations in November 1960. A year later, however, the Prince George's County Planning Board still approved a rezoning application and granted College Park Fabricators, Inc. a heavy manufacturing classification.³³² Again, the Lakeland community's welfare and preferences had been disparaged.

In May 1963, the College Park Mayor and City Council held an advisory referendum to determine whether a city police force should be created, and the vote was 1,167 against and 217 in favor.³³³ By 1968, the City of College Park's contract with Prince George's County assigned police officers who were trained and employed by the county to College Park.³³⁴

Examples of Violence

Early generations of Lakeland residents remembered that UMD "was the source of troublesome bulls and cows loosed on Lakeland by students who sought to scare the people."³³⁵ Since many Lakeland residents

³²⁷ "Commissioners Study Lifting of Quarantine on Dogs in County: Prince Georges Resident Protests Restriction as 'Unnecessary,'" *The Evening Star*, August 11, 1943.

³²⁸ "Commissioners Study Lifting of Quarantine on Dogs in County: Prince Georges Resident Protests Restriction as 'Unnecessary.'"

³²⁹ "Commissioners Study Lifting of Quarantine on Dogs in County: Prince Georges Resident Protests Restriction as 'Unnecessary.'"

³³⁰ "Neighbors Try to Evict Steel Plant," *The Washington Post*, October 26, 1961.

³³¹ "Neighbors Try to Evict Steel Plant."

³³² "Steel Plant Zoning Wins Approval," *The Washington Post*, December 14, 1961.

³³³ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970."

³³⁴ Davis, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970."

³³⁵ Meyer, "Urban Renewal and Lakeland: Black Community Eyes Future with Hope, Fear."

worked at UMD, they “complained to the authorities” and these malicious acts were “soon broken up.”³³⁶ Students exploited fear and distress in the Lakeland community for their own entertainment, and on other occasions, presumed Lakeland homes to be empty before assailing the surrounding woodlands.

On November 15, 1970, Harry Braxton, Sr. returned home from Sunday church service to find his Lakeland home on 5508 Richmond Avenue damaged by 44 shots from .22-caliber rifles, which had been fired by three white students from Greenbelt Junior High aged fourteen.³³⁷ To avoid injury or death during the violent incident, Mr. Braxton’s wife, Mary Weems Braxton, laid flat on the floor and his 76-year old mother, Emma Harrison, hid in a closet.³³⁸ When Mrs. Braxton called the police, they “called back to ask for directions and to ask if she was sure the house was not being hit by rocks.”³³⁹ Not only did police’s disbelief minimize the Braxton family’s sheer terror and the gravity of the situation, but the police approached it as a “vandalism-shooting.”³⁴⁰ This incident was the second suffered by the Braxton family within a month; the first fusillade emerged from the thick woods when Mr. Braxton and his sons were washing their cars on a Sunday afternoon.³⁴¹ An article published in *The News* recognized how these abrupt bouts of violence were detrimental to the Lakeland community’s sense of security:

“When such an incident could happen to such a highly respected Lakeland citizen as Mr. Braxton, an employee of the Washington Navy Yard, president of the Lakeland Inter-Racial Committee, and a deacon of Embury African Methodist Episcopal Church, it is understandable that it has caused a wave of terror among the other 700 residents of the Lakeland community.”³⁴²

Neighbors in Lakeland could not fathom why or who would endanger the lives of the Braxton family in a tight-knit community where it was custom not to lock doors.³⁴³ Soon after, the three white students identified themselves to the Prince George’s County police and admitted to believing that the Braxton family home was unoccupied.³⁴⁴ Mr. Braxton reported being “satisfied with the youths’ apologies and their parents’ offer to pay for the damage;” while “no charges were placed against the youths,” the trauma lingered indefinitely.³⁴⁵ Mr. Braxton shared that he continually slept with a shotgun at his bedside because his family had nowhere else to go.³⁴⁶ College Park Associates, Ltd., a real estate, development, and remodeling firm owned by Lakeland men (i.e., Leonard Smith, Harry Braxton, James Claiborne, George Stewart, Rev. Harold Pitts, Morris Gustave, and Elwood Gross), provided a repair estimate of \$1,300 for the bullet damages on the Braxton home.³⁴⁷

By 1970, the Concerned Black Citizens of Prince George’s County sought corrective action for the Prince George’s County police department, which had grown in infamy for brutality and assaults against Black

³³⁶ Sandidge et al., “History of Lakeland.” 1973.

³³⁷ Douglas Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets,” *The Washington Post*, November 18, 1970. ; “Boys Say They Shot At House,” *The Washington Post*, November 22, 1970.

³³⁸ Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets.”

³³⁹ Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets.”

³⁴⁰ Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets.”

³⁴¹ Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets.”

³⁴² “The Great Conglomerate,” *The News, Frederick*, November 21, 1970, https://anacostia.substack.com/p/city-of-college-park-once-again-resolves?utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web&triedRedirect=true.

³⁴³ Norman, “College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins.”

³⁴⁴ “Boys Say They Shot At House.”

³⁴⁵ “Boys Say They Shot At House.”

³⁴⁶ Watson, “20 Shots Hit Md. Residence: Residence in College Park Riddled by 20 Rifle Bullets.”

³⁴⁷ College Park Associates, Ltd., “Business Card,” The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (in process). Hereafter referred to as TBWP. ; College Park Associates, Ltd., “Repair Estimate for the Braxton Home at 5508 Richmond, Ave. College Park, Maryland,” November 15, 1970, The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, TBWP.

individuals.³⁴⁸ The Maryland Human Relations Council subsequently requested that Prince George's County Commissioners "study possible changes in the county police force's relations with minorities."³⁴⁹ Only two years prior, the first two Black police officers for Prince George's County had taken their oath.³⁵⁰

Urban Renewal

Upon signing the Housing Act of 1949, President Harry S. Truman declared that this legislation "equips the Federal Government, for the first time, with effective means for aiding cities in the vital task of clearing slums and rebuilding blighted areas."³⁵¹ While President Truman's statement positioned "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" as national objectives, this policy disproportionately harmed communities of color by displacing about 1.36 million individuals from 1950 to 1971, the majority of whom were nonwhite.³⁵² Urban renewal destroyed neighborhoods across 2,500 projects in 993 cities, making Lakeland's story one of many.³⁵³

External Actors' Evaluations of Lakeland and the Start of Urban Renewal

Lakeland's experience with urban renewal began in 1961, when the City of College Park started to explore corrective actions for the recurrent flooding in the area.³⁵⁴ That year, Dervy A. Lomax, a Lakeland resident and City Council member, invited a Federal Housing Administration representative to present various pathways to the Mayor and City Council, but the city decided "to specifically pursue adequate flood protection measures prior to embarking on an extensive renewal effort."³⁵⁵

On March 14, 1961, City Council included Lawrence W. Taylor's report titled "Lakeland and Its Blight Problem" in its minute records.³⁵⁶ Taylor, a University of Maryland (UMD) Urban Geography student listed "overcrowding," "low incomes," "large numbers of rodents and insects," and a "lack of paved roads" as the causes of blight affecting over 20 percent of the community.³⁵⁷ Taylor faulted the City of College Park for the absence of street lights and a sewage system in Lakeland and the lack of running water at some homes on the east side.³⁵⁸ However, he then asserted that Lakeland residents lacked pride in their community and warned: "It is a known fact that blight is like a contagious disease, and that if left to itself, it will spread from house to house, until this whole community becomes nothing more than a slum."³⁵⁹ Taylor argued that Lakeland "must be given an incentive to keep their community free from blight," and the city's

³⁴⁸ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 36-37.

³⁴⁹ Herbert Denton, "Prince George's Plans Police Relations Study," *Washington Post*, August 5, 1970.

³⁵⁰ Matthews, "For the Benefit of These Children: Affirming Racial Identity in the Era of School Desegregation, Prince George's County, Maryland, 1954-1974." 36.

³⁵¹ Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949," Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, July 15, 1949, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/157/statement-president-upon-signing-housing-act-1949>.

³⁵² Truman, "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949." ; Ann Pfau et al., "Using Urban Renewal Records to Advance Reparative Justice," *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 10, no. 2 (June 1, 2024): 113-31, <https://doi.org/10.7758/RSF.2024.10.2.05>.

³⁵³ Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It* (New York : One World/Ballantine Books, 2005), <http://archive.org/details/rootshockhowtear0000full>.

³⁵⁴ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 1.

³⁵⁵ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 1.

³⁵⁶ "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes," March 14, 1961, Lakeland Digital Archives.

³⁵⁷ "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes."

³⁵⁸ Lawrence W. Taylor, "Lakeland And Its Blight Problem" (University of Maryland, January 23, 1961), Lakeland Digital Archives.

³⁵⁹ Taylor, "Lakeland And Its Blight Problem."

provision of public services would prevent “a great dark mass of disease and human poverty.”³⁶⁰ The City Council’s consideration of these findings and the report’s inaccurate portrayal of Lakeland as a derelict landscape with indifferent residents were both disrespectful and oblivious to a history of city neglect. Yet, it served as an impetus for the urban renewal process. In 1963, the Mayor and City Council passed a resolution for the Prince George’s County Delegation to the Maryland General Assembly to confer, via legislation, urban renewal powers to the City of College Park.³⁶¹ The Governor of Maryland then signed amendments to Prince George’s County Public Laws on April 30, 1963, authorizing the addition of urban renewal to the College Park City Charter.³⁶²

Shortly thereafter, the Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission’s (M–NCPPC) preliminary Master Plan: College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity identified Lakeland as a “priority for use of renewal power.”³⁶³ Designed in 1964 as a planning policy document, the preliminary version discussed the “conversion of the commercial properties along Rt. 1 to either apartments or a more up-to-date commercial facility” by condemning the area “to consolidate properties and sell back to interested developers.”³⁶⁴ This idea was then prescribed to the industrial area east of the B&O Railroad in Lakeland, but Robert A. Edwards, College Park City Administrator, claimed that the master plan was adopted without proper consultation of the city and thus deviated from urban renewal plans for Lakeland.³⁶⁵ By October 21, 1965, the revised master plan supplanted the industrial use designation with “possible urban renewal” for the entire Lakeland area to reflect College Park’s request.³⁶⁶ The Adopted and Approved Master Plan for College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity Planning Areas 66 and 67, dated November 1970, stated that “poor housing conditions in the Lakeland area of College Park are being rectified by means of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, sponsored by the City of College Park”³⁶⁷ and would necessitate “the continued cooperation and participation of numerous local, State, and Federal agencies.”³⁶⁸ Urban renewal processes were layered and interconnected from inception to completion, and the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project was not the only one. In fact, M–NCPPC differentiated between a special treatment area along U.S. Route 1 and the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project by specifying that the former would operate as a private urban renewal project without federal funds.³⁶⁹ The Prince George’s County Council would approve the U.S. Route 1 Special Treatment Area Plan on November 29, 1973.³⁷⁰

Meanwhile, in 1963, a Housing Training Consultant for the Maryland State Bureau of Health conducted a city-sanctioned housing survey using standards put forth by the American Public Health Association.³⁷¹ The survey’s purpose was to outline existing conditions, identify substandard areas, and document

³⁶⁰ Taylor, “Lakeland And Its Blight Problem.”

³⁶¹ Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44,” 1973, Lakeland Digital Archives.

³⁶² Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.”

³⁶³ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Preliminary Master Plan: College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity,” April 4, 1964, Lakeland Digital Archives. 48.

³⁶⁴ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Preliminary Master Plan: College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity.” 48.

³⁶⁵ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Preliminary Master Plan: College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity.” 48.; “Master Plan Is Protested By 2 Cities,” *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1965.

³⁶⁶ “Greenbelt–College Park Proposal Revised by County Planning Board,” *The Washington Post*, October 21, 1965.

³⁶⁷ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Adopted and Approved Master Plan for College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity Planning Areas 66 and 67,” November 1970. 11.

³⁶⁸ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Adopted and Approved Master Plan for College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity Planning Areas 66 and 67.” 23.

³⁶⁹ Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, “Adopted and Approved Master Plan for College Park–Greenbelt and Vicinity Planning Areas 66 and 67.” 23–24.

³⁷⁰ County Council of Prince George’s County, Maryland, “Resolution No. CR 143 – 1973” (1973).

³⁷¹ Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.” 2.

problem sources that could inform a Municipal Housing Code.³⁷² The results underscored that two areas in Lakeland had “serious housing deficiencies,” with “the worst housing in the city” concentrated in Lakeland’s east side.³⁷³ The accompanying report, published in 1964, “designated housing in the entire City of College Park as Grade A, except for Lakeland which was specified as Grades D and E.”³⁷⁴ When the Mayor and City Council adopted a Housing Code in August 1964, its enforcement engendered the beginnings of forced displacement for families in Lakeland’s east side “since they could not afford to improve their property to required condition. Other major and pressing problems in Lakeland such as flooding, lack of storm sewers and incompatible land usages, were not being solved either.”³⁷⁵ In early 1965, the Mayor and City Council recognized that substantial funds were necessary to ameliorate these conditions, and “they decided to take advantage of the federal urban renewal project plan administered by the Department of Housing and Urban [Development] (HUD).”³⁷⁶

On July 13, 1965, Resolution 65-R-8 authorized the Mayor and City Council of College Park to submit an application under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 for \$100,000 in federal funds to survey and plan the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.³⁷⁷ As the city exercised its newly bestowed urban renewal powers, it described Lakeland in the resolution as a “slum, blighted, deteriorated” and “appropriate for an urban renewal project.”³⁷⁸ The City of College Park brazenly embedded harmful language about Lakeland as part of its policymaking. Lakeland residents reported that urban renewal was not presented to Lakelanders as “slum clearance,” yet this language was used by the City of College Park and HUD external to Lakeland. Dr. Joanne M. Braxton and Keith Webster, Lakelanders engaged with our process in 2025, noted that this was the first time they encountered the term “slum clearance” in relation to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project. Dr. Braxton added that there was no transparency around the fact that Lakeland had been publicly represented as “blighted” and that the urban renewal project was primarily a project for removal and clearance. The difference in the way the project was represented to those inside the Lakeland community—who were seeking an end to the problems of flooding and housing shortages—and those entities outside Lakeland who stood to benefit materially, reveals a morally flawed approach.

On August 31, 1965, the city submitted a Survey and Planning Application for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-35), and Jason R. Nathan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal for the Housing and Home Finance Agency, received a copy of the Workable Program.³⁷⁹ On September 27, Nathan informed the city that 73 acres of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area constituted “unimproved land” and did “not satisfy the distribution of deficiencies requirements,” therefore ceasing processing of the application.³⁸⁰ By October 28, the Survey and Planning Application for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-35) was “acceptable for processing.”³⁸¹ On December 14, Nathan communicated concern over the viability of the project because “(a) Open Space Area in [the] project cannot be justified. (b) Relocation feasibility [was] not

³⁷² Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.” 2.

³⁷³ Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.” 3.

³⁷⁴ Davis, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970.”

³⁷⁵ Courtnie N. Thurston, “Urban Renewal in Lakeland” (Morgan State University, 2024). ; Davis, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970.”

³⁷⁶ Davis, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the City of College Park, Maryland 1945-1970.”

³⁷⁷ City of College Park, “Resolution of the Mayor and Council, City of College Park Maryland, Approving the Undertaking of Surveys and Plans for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project and Filing of a Survey and Planning Application Therefore,” July 13, 1965.

³⁷⁸ City of College Park, “Resolution of the Mayor and Council, City of College Park Maryland, Approving the Undertaking of Surveys and Plans for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project and Filing of a Survey and Planning Application Therefore.”

³⁷⁹ Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.” 4.

³⁸⁰ Lakeland Civic Association, “Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44.” 4.

³⁸¹ “Letter from Jason R. Nathan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal at the Housing and Home Finance Agency to William W. Gullet, Mayor and Council,” October 28, 1965, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

adequate [as] 75% of non-white population would be displaced..."³⁸² On January 31, 1966, Nathan asked the city to formally delineate a relocation plan and to pursue an Open Space Land Program or an Open Land Urban Renewal Project.³⁸³ By March, the city had developed a relocation plan and resubmitted under Open Land Urban Renewal Project, which altered the project identifier from Md. R-35 to Md. R-44, 45, and 46.³⁸⁴ Later in 1966, the city contracted Murphy Levy Wurman, Architecture and Urban Planning, to prepare Survey and Planning Applications for Lakeland Open Land Area East (Md. R-45), Lakeland Open Land Area West (Md. R-46), and the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-44).³⁸⁵ On April 5, 1967, Warren P. Phelan, HUD Regional Administrator, shared in correspondence to the city that the three Survey and Planning Applications had been approved.³⁸⁶

In 1967, the City of College Park established a trailer at 48th and Navahoe Streets to house the Urban Renewal Authority office.³⁸⁷ HUD had equipped the city with advances of \$206,545 for survey and planning of three urban renewal projects in Lakeland.³⁸⁸ Open Land Area West (Md. R-46) and Open Land Area East (Md. R-45) were projected to serve as relocation sites and more residential development, but both were discontinued due to issues with State laws on open land projects.³⁸⁹ At this point, the plan for the remaining Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-44) merged "clearance and rehabilitation treatment" to supply "a complex of high-rise apartments, single-family dwellings and moderate and low-income housing."³⁹⁰ It is important to note how even these early plans for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area began to transform the character of the community, which had been historically composed of single family homes.



Figure 16. A photo of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area sign, taken in 1979³⁹¹

³⁸² Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 5.

³⁸³ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 5.

³⁸⁴ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 6.

³⁸⁵ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 6. ; Thurston, "Urban Renewal in Lakeland." 27.

³⁸⁶ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44" (Washington, D.C. Area Office, March 5, 1973), University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 1-1.

³⁸⁷ "Kerchner to Direct CP Urban Renewal Program," *The Diamondback*, April 19, 1967, Lakeland Digital Archives.

³⁸⁸ "Kerchner to Direct CP Urban Renewal Program.," Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 7-8.

³⁸⁹ "Kerchner to Direct CP Urban Renewal Program.," Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 8.

³⁹⁰ "Kerchner to Direct CP Urban Renewal Program."

³⁹¹ *Lakeland Urban Renewal Area Project No. MD. R-44*, 1979, 1979, Lakeland Digital Archives.

By the late 1960s, a Community Development Sub-Committee, composed of 17 Lakeland residents, disseminated information to the Lakeland community and relayed their input to William F. Kerchner, College Park Director of Urban Renewal.³⁹² Delarce Dory, a subcommittee member, issued a prescient warning in noting, "I had a cousin who lived off of M Street in Washington when a new project took her home away. She was sent to a new place where the rent was too high and she was forced to move again."³⁹³ Another Lakeland resident, James Clemons, anticipated the immeasurable loss of urban renewal by adding, "they are talking about tearing down people's homes, places they've built up all their lives."³⁹⁴ Despite the Lakeland community's disfavor of urban renewal, the planning phase proceeded to section Lakeland into three divisions: Clearance Area West, the Conservation Area, and Clearance Area East. With few exceptions, the homes and businesses in the first division, between U.S. Route 1 and Rhode Island Avenue on Lakeland's west side, would be demolished and filled to address flooding. Long's Liquors and Motel, the 20 trailer homes, the American gas station, and car dealership in Clearance Area West, to name a few, would be provided the option to rebuild or receive fair-market value to relocate their property.³⁹⁵ In one of the bulletins shared with Lakeland residents, the plan for the west side included "a newly planned 48th Avenue and Rhode Island Avenue facing Berwyn House Road" where "90 dwellings could be built for low and moderate income families...in the order of attached rental houses rather than apartments."³⁹⁶ This bulletin also recommended sites on 48th Avenue for the Elks Hall and the American Legion, both of which historically offered dances, community picnics, and field days.³⁹⁷ The core of Lakeland from Rhode Island Avenue to the B&O Railroad tracks, amounting to the Conservation Area, would be largely preserved, and funds would be distributed for home repairs.³⁹⁸ Required landfill on Lakeland's east side would result in the complete destruction of about 30 homes within Clearance Area East, making way for public housing.³⁹⁹

In 1969, Lynn Petzold's article in *Argus*, a UMD magazine, paralleled the city's use of disapproving language in its scornfully abusive description of Lakeland:

"Inadequately maintained lots cluttered with junk and one even housing a goat beckon fair game for Lady Bird's beautification program. Non-existent public facilities and poor street layout make the area even more undesirable...Minimum enforcement of the College Park housing code explains the poor upkeep of many of the homes and the scattered examples of improper sanitary conditions...a stagnant community"⁴⁰⁰

Lynn Petzold's "Urban Renewal at Lakeland" and Lawrence W. Taylor's "Lakeland and Its Blight Problem" showcased how insular narrative depictions by UMD affiliates and others shaped views of a historic Black neighborhood and gave license for non-residents to devise solutions. An example of the latter was "Lakeland: An Urban Design Study," prepared by Murphy Levy Wurman, Architecture and Urban Planning, for the Mayor, City Council, and Urban Renewal Authority of College Park in 1969. This report synthesized the "problems, alternatives and proposals" within the HUD application for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁴⁰¹ One of Lakeland's "problems" consisted of geographic isolation, perpetuated by a single access

³⁹² Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 9.

³⁹³ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 10.

³⁹⁴ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 10.

³⁹⁵ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 9.

³⁹⁶ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 9.

³⁹⁷ Leon Wynter, "Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community," *The Washington Post*, February 11, 1982.

³⁹⁸ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 9.

³⁹⁹ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 9.

⁴⁰⁰ Lynn Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland," *Argus*, 1969, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 7, 10.

⁴⁰¹ Levy Wurman Murphy, "Lakeland: An Urban Design Study" (The Mayor and Council of the City of College Park and the Department of Urban Renewal, 1969), Lakeland Digital Archives. 1.

point from U.S. Route 1 to College Park, an easement over private property to Berwyn Heights, and a signalized grade crossing over the B&O Railroad tracks to the east side.⁴⁰² A second “problem” concerned housing, particularly the varied conditions of the dwellings and the deterioration of old structures owned by low-income residents.⁴⁰³ The recurring flooding of Paint Branch and Indian Creek, worsened by extensive construction in the region, was the third problem.⁴⁰⁴ Lastly, industrial encroachment and land speculation by non-resident owners and developers constrained Lakeland’s possibilities.⁴⁰⁵

Murphy Levy Wurman’s report then positioned the following redevelopment goals as resolutions to the aforesaid “problems,” attributing their conception to the residents and the City of College Park:

- 1) “To preserve as many houses as possible and provide new housing of a variety of types and costs both private and public.”
- 2) “To eliminate the problems caused by the flooding of the Paint Branch and Indian Creeks.”
- 3) “To develop an improved circulation system which will join Lakeland to the rest of College Park and neighboring communities.”
- 4) “To eliminate those incompatible uses which are not desirable neighbors to the existing or renewed community of Lakeland.”
- 5) “To develop utilities and services necessary to bring Lakeland to the level of modern communities elsewhere in College Park.”⁴⁰⁶

For actualization of these redevelopment goals, the report differentiated between preliminary proposals subject to community consultation and a more finalized proposal for Lakeland’s renewal that was integrated within the Loan and Grant application to HUD.⁴⁰⁷ Preliminary proposals for circulation consisted of an overpass to Lakeland’s east side and a proposed Paint Branch Parkway while the proposed plan added a new road along Berwyn House Road and a new 48th Street (see Figure 17).⁴⁰⁸ For flood control, the preliminary and more definitive proposals prescribed landfill on Lakeland’s east and west side and a gravity flow storm drainage system to complement the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers’ (USACE) efforts.⁴⁰⁹ By mapping the 50-year floodplain, vacant land, and substandard structures and blighting uses (see Figure 18), Murphy Levy Wurman identified what it perceived as a pattern of overlap that would offer “the best opportunities” for redevelopment.⁴¹⁰ This analysis undergirded the proposed plan for acquisition (see Figure 19), which combined “35 structures considered infeasible for rehabilitation,” “8 structures for land use incompatible with proposed renewal goals,” “17 structures within the 50 year flood plain,” and “15 structures, isolated by other actions, required to be cleared to create reasonable developable parcels.”⁴¹¹ While the center of Lakeland would remain a single family residential area, the proposed new uses for the west of Rhode Island Avenue mixed single family houses and low density multi-family housing, and the area east of the B&O Railroad would have medium density multi-family housing fronting Indian Creek Park and a Lake Artemesia Recreation Center projected for development.⁴¹² U.S. Route 1 and Rhode Island Avenue would continue as commercial zones.⁴¹³

⁴⁰² Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 4.

⁴⁰³ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 5.

⁴⁰⁴ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 6.

⁴⁰⁵ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 7.

⁴⁰⁶ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 8.

⁴⁰⁷ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 9, 18.

⁴⁰⁸ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 10, 18.

⁴⁰⁹ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 15, 20.

⁴¹⁰ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 12.

⁴¹¹ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 20.

⁴¹² Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 22.

⁴¹³ Murphy, “Lakeland: An Urban Design Study.” 22.

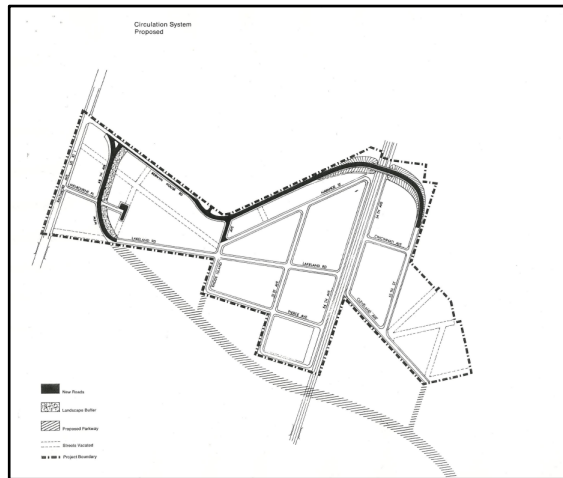


Figure 17. Circulation System Proposed⁴¹⁴



Figure 18. Maps included in Murphy Levy Wurman's report to the City of College Park in 1969⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Murphy, "Lakeland: An Urban Design Study." 9.

⁴¹⁵ Murphy, "Lakeland: An Urban Design Study." 9, 18.

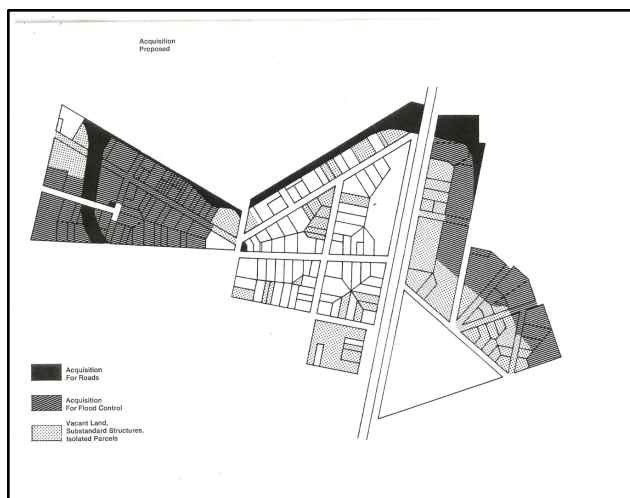


Figure 19. Map of Acquisition Proposed⁴¹⁶

Exemplified by Murphy Levy Wurman's report, the city envisioned that urban renewal would be a remedy to enduring challenges and future risks. As an example of the latter, College Park officials claimed that white absentee landowners could file for rezoning classifications and make the environment uninhabitable with dust and equipment.⁴¹⁷ This, in turn, would exacerbate the heavy industrial traffic that already traversed the Lakeland community's singular access routes.⁴¹⁸ The City of College Park, however, also stood to benefit from urban renewal with a larger tax base. In 1970, College Park officials' valuation of Lakeland property equaled \$921,290, and they calculated that the urban renewal project would generate "approximately \$4,500,000 of new assessable base."⁴¹⁹ William F. Kerchner, who was formerly the Director of Code Enforcement, and became Urban Renewal Director in 1967, admitted "those Negro landowners now in Lakeland may find that they can't afford to own their land after renewal, but must find it necessary to rent instead."⁴²⁰

The Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan

The City of College Park submitted Part I of the Loan and Grant Application for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-44) on October 2, 1969, and HUD approved it in August 1970.⁴²¹ On September 23, 1970, a public hearing was held at Lakeland Elementary School on the plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-44), which "clearly indicated that residents would not be forced to [re]locate outside of the community and that the community would not be inundated with high density development."⁴²² The August 1970 version of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan established several development objectives, summarized as follows:

- "(1) Provide new housing resources for the Lakeland community and the City of College Park...(a) Clearance of structurally substandard buildings and buildings subjected to repeated flooding. (b)

⁴¹⁶ Murphy, "Lakeland: An Urban Design Study." 18.

⁴¹⁷ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 8.

⁴¹⁸ Chad Neighbor, "City Government Looks to Future," *The Diamondback*, February 16, 1970, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴¹⁹ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁴²⁰ Petzold, "Urban Renewal at Lakeland." 10.

⁴²¹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 1-2.

⁴²² Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 9.

Assemble parcels for redevelopment for a variety of residential uses, including single-family houses, medium rental apartments and a substantial number of low- and moderate-cost units, private or subsidized. (c) Program clearance and redevelopment in such a way as to cause the very least relocation of families...”

“(2) Eliminate the hazards and problems resulting from the flooding of the Paint Branch and Indian Creeks. (a) To fill and grade all areas subject to flooding in accord with the program of the Army Corps of Engineers...(b) Provide an adequate storm sewer system...”

“(3) Modernize streets and the street pattern and eliminate traffic hazards, (a) To eliminate all streets no longer necessary for access and circulation...(b) To construct a grade separated railroad crossing connecting East and West Lakeland...”

“(4) Improve access to and from Lakeland and extend movement patterns into adjoining communities. (a) Provide a new right-of-way within Lakeland to join all areas of Lakeland to each other and to the rest of College Park...(b) To improve and extend existing rights-of-way as necessary to connect communities north, south and east of Lakeland.”

“(5) Eliminate incompatible land uses and mixed uses detrimental to the residential environment. (a) Elimination of buildings and uses having a blighting influence on the area because of incompatibility with residential uses, hazards, noise and dirt.”⁴²³

While the development objectives posited minimal relocation as a standard, the 1970 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan proceeded to stipulate that if owners of properties to be rehabilitated (see Figure 20) “are unable or unwilling to comply or conform with the requirements” within two years of being notified, the city may acquire the property by negotiation or eminent domain.⁴²⁴ These property rehabilitation requirements consisted of various codes from the City of College Park, Prince George’s County, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, and the State of Maryland coupled with standards for space, construction, finishes, and mechanical equipment.⁴²⁵ The 1978 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan—the version ultimately operationalized—maintained the acquisition clause for properties that failed to meet rehabilitation requirements and removed the fourth development objective. This meant that entry and exits to the Lakeland community remained largely unchanged.

⁴²³ “Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland” (Mayor and Council of the City of College Park, Maryland, August 1970), Lakeland Digital Archives. R-213/1 – R213/2.

⁴²⁴ “Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland.” R-213/12.

⁴²⁵ “Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland.” R-213/12.

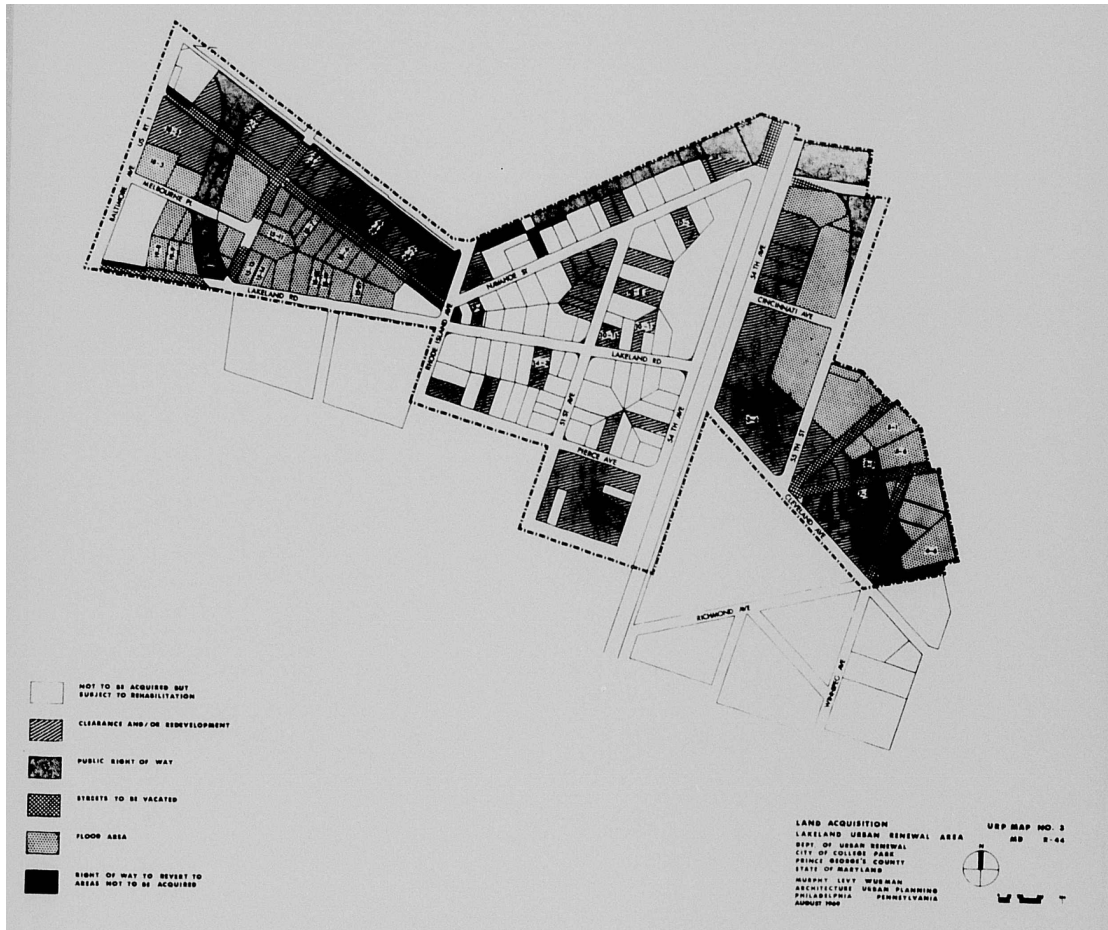


Figure 20. Map of Land Acquisition in the 1970 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan⁴²⁶

A few months after, the College Park City Council had unanimously approved the \$5 million Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, featuring the rehabilitation of over 70 houses, the demolition of 40 houses, high-rise apartments with 300 units, 60 to 90 townhouses, and a maximum of 41 low-income family units.⁴²⁷ The following year, it passed a resolution approving an urban renewal plan that included conditions for relocation payments, per the federal government's requirement that it specify these conditions before entering into a federal loan or grant arrangement. At this point, the displacement of Lakeland residents was formally built into plans for the renewal project, and this removal provision would be utilized on a community-wide scale.⁴²⁸ Lakeland had almost 150 Black families and about 30 white families in the early 1970s.⁴²⁹ Part II of the Loan and Grant Application, documenting "local legal approval" of Part I received HUD's approval on May 19, 1971 after the city's approval of the plan on December 8, 1970 and subsequent submission on December 30, 1970.⁴³⁰ This marked HUD's approval of plans for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area (Md. R-44).

⁴²⁶ "Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland."

⁴²⁷ "College Park Plans to Renew Lakeland Area," *The Washington Post*, December 10, 1970.

⁴²⁸ See Resolution 71-LPA-1, January 12, 1971, from city records.

⁴²⁹ Meyer, "Flood Control Plans Debated: Flood Control Plans Debated."

⁴³⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 1-2.

HUD and the City of College Park – Delays, Tensions, and Impasses

During this time, College Park Mayor William R. Reading addressed a letter to Lawrence J. Hogan, Representative of Maryland's 5th District in the U.S. Congress, urging his "intercession with HUD" to expedite progress on the urban renewal project in its seventh year.⁴³¹ Mayor Reading detailed in his March 12, 1971 letter that "the history of this project is replete with red tape, changes of direction, roadblocks and delays, which in our opinion were caused by the Department of Housing and Urban Development."⁴³² Mayor Reading then added, "In the time we have been involved in this project we have had nine (9) field representatives, of which less than half ever came down and saw the project area."⁴³³

Through Resolution 71-R-15, the Mayor and City Council stated that the cost to survey and plan the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area had now risen to \$171,045, compared to the \$100,000 calculated in 1965.⁴³⁴ Leon Shore, Acting Director of the Urban Renewal Authority in College Park, clarified in a letter dated May 11, 1971 and attached to the HUD Survey and Planning Application, that the \$7,000 increase from the latest approved estimate of \$164,045 was required "to cover past due obligations and to maintain the existing minimum services and representation of the Urban Renewal Program within the affected area until 30 June 1971 [the end of the fiscal year]."⁴³⁵

That same day, the City Council read Congressman Hogan's press release at its meeting, announcing that the College Park's Urban Renewal Authority would receive a \$2,903,370 HUD grant.⁴³⁶ This brought the total federal funds pledged to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project to \$3,882,370, which provided for an \$84,000 rehabilitation grant and a \$411,650 relocation grant.⁴³⁷ About a week later, Warren P. Phelan, Regional Administrator of HUD, addressed a letter to Leon Shore, where he confirmed a capital grant of \$3,882,370 and project temporary loan of \$5,143,115,⁴³⁸ of which the City of College Park would contribute about one-fourth.⁴³⁹ However, "the Route 1 project by the State Roads Commission [would] credit \$60,000 plus toward the City's share and a new elementary school [would] credit \$535,000 plus, leaving a total City cost of \$450,000."⁴⁴⁰ The City of College Park would exact "a special real estate tax of 9 cents per \$100 of assessed value" for seven years on property owners to fulfill its responsibility of project costs.⁴⁴¹ Phelan then stated that completion of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project within the limits of the capital grant should take precedence, even if it meant a narrower range of costs and activities.⁴⁴² HUD's receptivity to and insistence on adapting the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project remained consistent throughout the process. From June to October of 1971, HUD established an Area Office that assumed jurisdiction over the

⁴³¹ "Letter from College Park Mayor William R. Reading to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," March 12, 1971, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴³² "Letter from College Park Mayor William R. Reading to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," March 12, 1971.

⁴³³ "Letter from College Park Mayor William R. Reading to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," March 12, 1971.

⁴³⁴ City of College Park, "Department of Housing and Urban Development Urban Renewal Program Survey and Planning Application," May 11, 1971, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴³⁵ City of College Park, "Department of Housing and Urban Development Urban Renewal Program Survey and Planning Application."

⁴³⁶ "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes," May 11, 1971, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴³⁷ "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes."

⁴³⁸ "Letter from Warren P. Phelan, Regional Administrator of HUD to Leon F. Shore, Acting Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park," May 17, 1971, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴³⁹ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁴⁴⁰ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44."

⁴⁴¹ Norman, "College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins."

⁴⁴² "Letter from Warren P. Phelan, Regional Administrator of HUD to Leon F. Shore, Acting Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park," May 17, 1971.

Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, which had previously been under the Regional Office's authority, and this transition disorganized College Park's records at the federal level.⁴⁴³

On April 14, 1972, Terry Chisholm, HUD Area Director for Region III, sent a letter to William M. Hunt, Executive Director of the College Park Urban Renewal Authority, and communicated that the Environmental and Land Use Planning Division of HUD's Central Office required an 102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁴⁴⁴ A loan and grant contract would be contingent on the filing, processing, and clearance of the EIS, prepared by the Area Office.⁴⁴⁵ Chisholm then stated how new regulations would require all residential structures to meet or exceed the 100-year flood level and stressed the need for a hydrological study to set parameters for landfill with the least harmful effect on the environment.⁴⁴⁶ Since this entailed revisions of the approved Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Chisholm recommended the city to hire "a consultant experienced in flood plain planning" and to "prepare a preliminary cost estimate for the expedient replanning of the project."⁴⁴⁷

Given this notification, Congressman Hogan wrote to George W. Romney, HUD Secretary, on May 3, 1972 to expound upon the almost decade-long review, volatile requirements, and growing costs of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project. Congressman Hogan emphasized that the project had been "studied to death" and served as "training ground for thirteen local HUD representatives."⁴⁴⁸ Hogan then requested a meeting with Secretary Romney on behalf of the City Council to prevent more undue delays and expenses gone unpaid by HUD but to no avail, as he was redirected to Chisholm and the Washington D.C. Area Office.⁴⁴⁹

About a month later, on June 2, 1972, College Park Mayor William R. Reading addressed a letter to John H. Walker to notify him about the imminent termination of his position as Relocation Specialist; Reading explained that the "Survey and Planning Budget [had] been depleted and the City of College Park [had] been spending its own money to carry the financial burden of Urban Renewal for over one year...[but it could no longer] subsidize the present Urban Renewal Office."⁴⁵⁰ Four days later, Elizabeth M. Dougherty, City Council member and the city's representative before HUD, wrote a letter to Congressman Hogan about the termination of the Urban Renewal Authority's last employee due to the indefinite wait for a signed contract with HUD.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴³ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 10.

⁴⁴⁴ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to William M. Hunt, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Authority of the City of College Park," April 14, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁴⁵ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to William M. Hunt, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Authority of the City of College Park," April 14, 1972.

⁴⁴⁶ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to William M. Hunt, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Authority of the City of College Park," April 14, 1972. "Basic Flood. The 100-year flood has a magnitude that may be equaled or exceeded once every hundred years, on the average. It is also called the 100-year frequency flood, or the 1 percent chance flood (it has 1 chance in 100 of being equaled or exceeded in any given year), or else it is said to have a 100-year recurrence interval..." See Don Maughan, "Flood Hazard Evaluation Guidelines for Federal Executive Agencies" (United States Water Resources Council, May 1972), University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives. 11.

⁴⁴⁷ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to William M. Hunt, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Authority of the City of College Park," April 14, 1972.

⁴⁴⁸ "Letter from Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George W. Romney," May 3, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁴⁹ "Letter from Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George W. Romney," May 18, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁵⁰ "Letter from William R. Reading, Mayor of College Park to John H. Walker," June 2, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁵¹ "Letter from District Eight Councilwoman for the City of College Park, Elizabeth M. Dougherty to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," June 6, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

When the meeting with HUD Secretary Romney failed and Hurricane Agnes had devastated the Lakeland community, Joe Westner, a HUD Congressional Liaison, organized a meeting with various HUD representatives, College Park officials, Environmental Protection Agency representatives, and staff from Congressman Hogan's office.⁴⁵² City Council member Elizabeth M. Dougherty recounted a pattern of impasses and political maneuvering at this meeting on June 23, 1972:

"I gave as brief and as consistent a chronological order of the problems we had encountered since the first time we had sought federal assistance from the Federal Housing Authority through the housing study, development of the Code, inspections, the removal of 21 families out of the Lakeland area and the formal application...and then the application for the survey and planning budget...I pointed out that the last amendatory budget, if approved and returned to the City, would do nothing more than return to the City those funds which had been expended to cover H.U.D expenses in the Urban Renewal office and would leave some \$20,000 for us to have in the bank if and when the time came for us to hire another Executive Director. I pointed out that the trailer had been sealed, that no employee was left on the payroll and there was not even staff available...The official position of the City was stressed over and over again...I explained to them that we as a Council could no longer work with field reps, that we had been subjected to 13 changes...it seemed each time we had a new field rep, new ideas were interjected, laws were proposed and before they were even finalized, our project had been subjected to their impact. We asked that the grandfather clauses be applied wherever possible and that the project as approved be executed immediately."⁴⁵³

Without an execution contract from HUD, the City of College Park could not pursue zoning changes, land acquisition, fill permits, and rehabilitation for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, which only compounded distrust between stakeholders and precarity for the Lakeland community. A discussion about the "balance" of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project also arose, and consensus centered on how it was "now designed to have a balance of race, a balance of economics, a balance of design of housing – apartments, multi-family, single family."⁴⁵⁴ This further cemented the project's departure from the Lakeland community's desire to own land and to preserve the single family character of the neighborhood.

A few weeks after this meeting, Chisholm wrote to Congressman Hogan about consulting HUD's General Counsel to clarify the commitments emanating from the HUD Regional Office's approval of Lakeland's Urban Renewal Plan in 1971.⁴⁵⁵ Chisholm's office would also inquire about the requirement for an EIS, while proactively preparing the document, with the understanding that the City of College Park would modify the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan if necessary.⁴⁵⁶ In response to this letter, City Council member Dougherty maintained that the city's official position stipulated "no revision" to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan following HUD's EIS.⁴⁵⁷ On July 14, 1972, Chisholm provided Mayor Reading with an amended Survey and Planning Budget, raising approved costs to a total of \$218,162.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵² Dougherty, "Transcript of Meeting Held in the Main Office of the H.U.D Officials in the Conference Room of Mr. Hyde's Office, Assistant to Mr. Romney, in Washington, D.C."

⁴⁵³ Dougherty, "Transcript of Meeting Held in the Main Office of the H.U.D Officials in the Conference Room of Mr. Hyde's Office, Assistant to Mr. Romney, in Washington, D.C." 1-4.

⁴⁵⁴ Dougherty, "Transcript of Meeting Held in the Main Office of the H.U.D Officials in the Conference Room of Mr. Hyde's Office, Assistant to Mr. Romney, in Washington, D.C." 4.

⁴⁵⁵ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," July 11, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁵⁶ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," July 11, 1972.

⁴⁵⁷ "Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials," February 23, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁵⁸ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, HUD Area Director Region III to Mayor William R. Reading," July 14, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

HUD's Environmental Impact Statement

The HUD Region III Office released its draft version of the EIS for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (Md. R-44) on October 27, 1972, granting relevant federal, state, and local agencies the opportunity to review and comment before the end of the year.⁴⁵⁹ The final EIS, published on March 5, 1973, defined the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project as 105 acres in College Park with 70 units for rehabilitation and 81 structures for clearance. HUD had determined that of the 141 buildings in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, 81 buildings required clearance because they were “structurally substandard” or “blighting influences.”⁴⁶⁰ Designs for redevelopment included residential and commercial use coupled with flood protection through landfill and channelization.⁴⁶¹ The Lakeland Urban Renewal Project’s landfill operation was dependent upon the USACE’s channelization of Paint Branch and Indian Creek, and the final EIS sought to analyze the combined effect of these projects, as stipulated by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.⁴⁶² Additional purposes listed were “to modernize streets,” “eliminate traffic hazards,” “improve access to and from Lakeland and extend movement patterns into adjoining communities,” and “to eliminate incompatible land use and mixed uses detrimental to the residential environment.”⁴⁶³ HUD noted that since its approval of project plans in May 1971, the execution phase had been stalled to address environmental concerns by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, the College Park Ecological Association, and the HUD Area Office in Washington D.C.⁴⁶⁴

The final EIS also delivered an overview of existing conditions and challenges, organized below according to the present day concerns of the Lakeland community.

UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being

- Along the B&O Railroad track, three structures in Lakeland’s east side and one in the Conservation Area, contributed to “a large and lengthy swatch of heavy industrial land use including heavy equipment storage operations, and sand and gravel activities.”⁴⁶⁵ These four industrial businesses were designated for removal.⁴⁶⁶
- With reference to tests conducted with HUD’s Circular 1390.2 on Noise Abatement and Control, the EIS determined that the B&O Railroad caused “adverse noise conditions” and “safety and visual or aesthetic disruption” to the Lakeland community.⁴⁶⁷ Due to the roughly 25 freight trains and eight passenger trains traveling at all hours of the day, HUD concluded in 1972 that between 100 to 200 feet from the railroad right-of-way the noise levels were above the “clearly unacceptable” limits” and between 300 to 600 feet the noise levels were above the “normally unacceptable”

⁴⁵⁹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.”

⁴⁶⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-9.

⁴⁶¹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.”

⁴⁶² Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 7-55, 7-56.

⁴⁶³ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-1.

⁴⁶⁴ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-3.

⁴⁶⁵ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-4, 1-10.

⁴⁶⁶ “Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44.”

⁴⁶⁷ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-13.

limits” for homes.⁴⁶⁸ Lakeland Elementary School and the former Lakeland High School were about 100 feet from the tracks, while most Lakeland homes in the Conservation Area were positioned within 600 feet.⁴⁶⁹ The College Park Airport’s proximity to Lakeland also exacerbated deleterious noise conditions.⁴⁷⁰

- The final EIS cited the close distance of the Prince George’s County General Hospital and Leland Community Hospital, both less than ten miles from Lakeland, as indicators of adequate access.⁴⁷¹ A Lakeland resident, however, remembered how her severely ill great grandmother passed away in the waiting room of Leland Community Hospital while waiting to receive care. Paint Branch Elementary School had a Child Health Clinic in its building, focusing services on child health, maternity, family planning, and child dental services.⁴⁷² Access to this public health facility was constrained by “grossly inadequate” road systems in the early 1970s.⁴⁷³

UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

- The Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) affirmed that the storm sewer network was not equipped to manage even minor storms at its present state.⁴⁷⁴ Comments from the Prince George’s County Administrative Office indicated that “sewers [had] been constructed opposite virtually all of the properties in Lakeland, although apparently not all of the houses [had] been connected to the sewer.”⁴⁷⁵

UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

- The lack of sidewalks and the presence of a single traffic light from Navahoe Street to U.S. Route 1 posed hazards for pedestrians and vehicular travel at Lakeland Road and Melbourne Place.⁴⁷⁶
- The B&O Railroad track in Lakeland was “not fenced off” and had “one signalized grade crossing” into the east side; recent changes to the Prince George’s County zoning ordinance required the construction of fences in new development areas adjoining railroads.⁴⁷⁷

The proposed plan in the final EIS classified Clearance Area West, the Conservation Area, and Clearance Area East as “treatment areas” of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁴⁷⁸ The plan for Clearance Area West involved full acquisition, demolition of all structures, and extensive landfill to be replaced with about 69

⁴⁶⁸ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-13, 2-14.

⁴⁶⁹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-14.

⁴⁷⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-16.

⁴⁷¹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-22.

⁴⁷² Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 2-22.

⁴⁷³ “Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44.”

⁴⁷⁴ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-13.

⁴⁷⁵ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 7-46.

⁴⁷⁶ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-12, 2-16.

⁴⁷⁷ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-12, 2-16.

⁴⁷⁸ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-14.

units for multifamily and single-family use.⁴⁷⁹ Rhode Island Avenue in Clearance Area West would be designated for “neighborhood commercial improvements,” and U.S. Route 1 would accommodate “restricted general commercial” use.⁴⁸⁰ The plan for the Conservation Area imposed the acquisition of most vacant portions to be resold for single-family housing, bringing new and existing houses to an estimated total of 105, and the completion of public utilities and street improvements.⁴⁸¹ Sparing all except five houses “in very poor condition,” about half were expected to undergo rehabilitation in the Conservation Area.⁴⁸² Clearance Area East would also be subject to full acquisition, total demolition, and landfill for the development of residential structures, numbered at 250 to 300 moderate- and low-cost units, and an overpass for vehicles and pedestrians at Berwyn House Road.⁴⁸³

In a section of the EIS dedicated to explicating alternatives, HUD offered the following: “Take No Action,” “Remove the Lakeland Residents,” and “Modify the Proposed Urban Renewal Plan,” all of which contradicted the needs of the Lakeland community.⁴⁸⁴ HUD rejected inaction and removal as alternatives and deemed that “to break up or terminate such communal identity and relationships through a massive relocation of the Lakeland residents could be disastrous...[and] bring about an irreversible loss of community.”⁴⁸⁵ HUD then presented the modified plan scenarios for Clearance Area West and Clearance Area East. While Modified Plan A called for reductions in landfill, residential, and commercial use and Modified Plan C ordered the elimination of landfill, Modified Plan B closely resembled what actually transpired.⁴⁸⁶ Modified Plan B ordered “to remove Clearance Area East as a residential area from Lakeland [while] Clearance Area West would have to increase its density...[and] there would be a reduction of commercial land use.”⁴⁸⁷ Given that the Maryland Department of Natural Resources was in the middle of a two-year hydrological study of the Anacostia River Basin, it proposed two options for HUD and the City of College Park to fulfill the state’s permit requirement for filling a floodplain: 1) Apply for a fill permit to be assessed based on the completed hydrological study in about a year or 2) Apply for a fill permit that would authorize the development specified in Modified Plan B. ⁴⁸⁸ HUD expressed preference for the second, noting that “Modified Plan B has been identified by HUD and other responding agencies as having the least adverse environmental impacts and could be acted upon immediately.”⁴⁸⁹

HUD reiterated that it sought to adapt the proposed Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan to attenuate detrimental effects to the natural environment but also to circumvent the potential for setting a precedent by

⁴⁷⁹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-14, 1-15.

⁴⁸⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-15.

⁴⁸¹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-15.

⁴⁸² “Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44.”

⁴⁸³ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 1-16.

⁴⁸⁴ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 4-1, 4-4.

⁴⁸⁵ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 4-3, 4-4.

⁴⁸⁶ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 4-4, 4-7.

⁴⁸⁷ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 4-5, 4-6.

⁴⁸⁸ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 7-36, 7-37.

⁴⁸⁹ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, “102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44.” 7-37.

redeveloping on a floodplain.⁴⁹⁰ This concern stemmed from President Lyndon B. Johnson's executive order, which had tasked executive agencies with avoiding "uneconomic uses and development of the Nation's floodplains" by assessing "flood hazards" to lessen potential damages and the need for disaster relief.⁴⁹¹ City Council member Alvin J. Kushner contested HUD's stance by arguing: "Where an area is presently developed and landfill is required to improve quality of life, this cannot in any way be construed as 'precedent' for landfill in previously undeveloped floodplains."⁴⁹² The HUD EIS acknowledged the benefit of channelization and landfill to ameliorate the flood hazards in Lakeland, but it was believed that current and future upstream development would diminish the degree of flood protection and that downstream communities would have higher flood risks.⁴⁹³ UMD's newest paved parking lots, which bordered Paint Branch and contributed to flooding downstream, led HUD to assert that "it is because of such practices which bring environmental havoc that HUD is concerned about the existing Lakeland proposal."⁴⁹⁴ HUD also stated that USACE had not provided documentation to prove otherwise, which necessitated a "detailed hydrological study to assess the degree of impact before the proposed renewal action could take place."⁴⁹⁵ College Park officials, however, continually reinforced USACE's determination that the Lakeland landfill operation would have no detrimental effect.⁴⁹⁶ City Council member Dougherty, for example, asked,

"1. Does the now operational flood control project for Paint Branch and Indian Creek remove Lakeland, the project area, from the 50 year flood plain? According to the Army Corps of Engineers, Mr. Andrew Matuskey, Senior Engineering Technician, Flood Management, Baltimore District, It does. 2. "Will the proposed fill as described in the approved plan have any adverse effect downstream? The Army Corps says 'No'."⁴⁹⁷

On December 15, 1972, Louis W. Prentiss, Jr., a Colonel for USACE, had equipped Congressman Hogan with these findings, depicted visually in the maps following (see Figures 21-23):

"The landfill and the improved channel should provide protection up to the 100-year flood in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project area. Without the landfill, portions of the project area would be subjected to inundation by the 100-year flood; the improved and new channel will provide protection for the 50-year flood throughout much of the project."⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 7-57, 7-58.

⁴⁹¹ Don Maughan, "Flood Hazard Evaluation Guidelines for Federal Executive Agencies" (United States Water Resources Council, May 1972), University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁹² Alvin J. Kushner, "Draft, Environmental Impact Statement, Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. MD-R-44," October 20, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁹³ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 2-1.

⁴⁹⁴ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 7-63.

⁴⁹⁵ Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, "102(2)(C) Environmental Impact Statement Final Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. Md.-R-44." 7-76.

⁴⁹⁶ Kushner, "Draft, Environmental Impact Statement, Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland Project No. MD-R-44."

⁴⁹⁷ "Letter from City Council Member for College Park's Eight District, Elizabeth M. Dougherty to Theodore R. Robb, HUD Regional Administrator," December 7, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁴⁹⁸ "Letter from Louis W. Prentiss, Jr., District Engineer for the Department of the Army Corps of Engineers to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," December 15, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

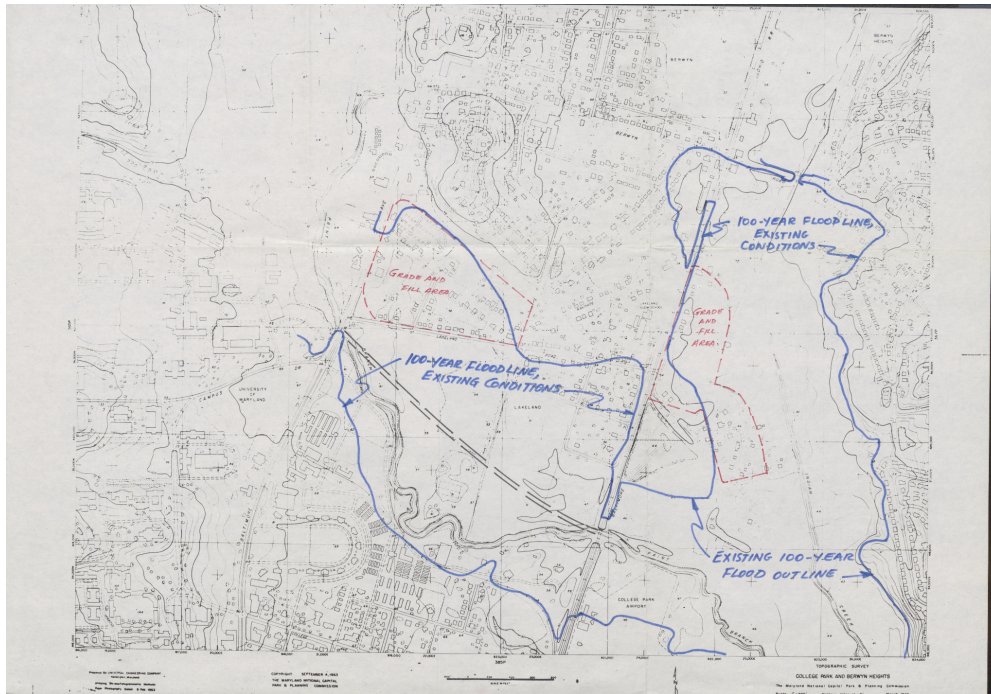


Figure 21. The 100-year floodplain affecting the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area with no flood protection⁴⁹⁹

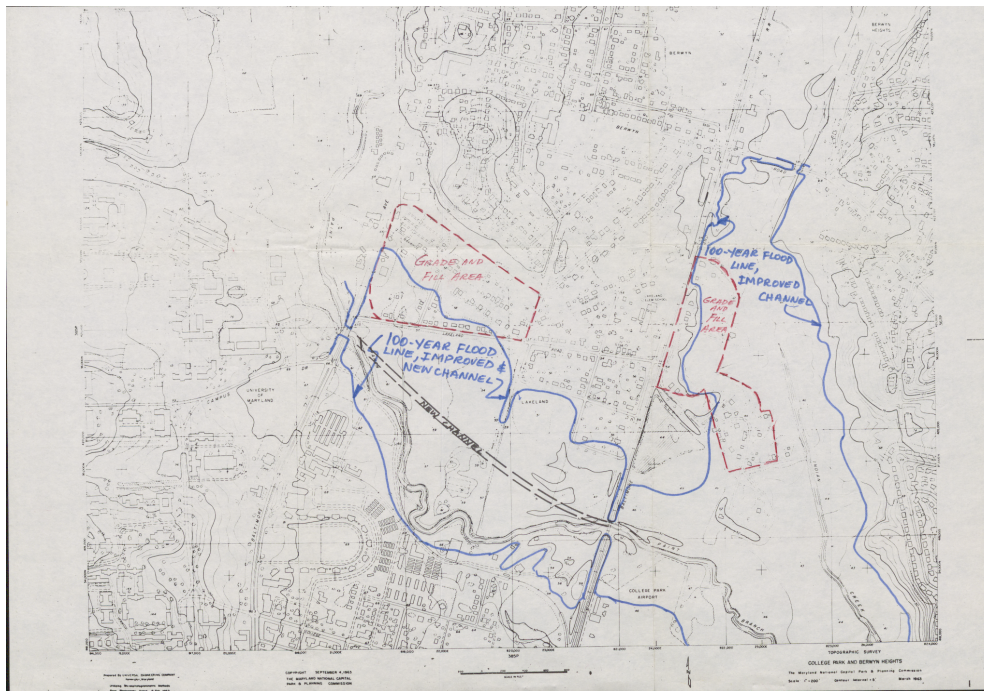


Figure 22. The 100-year floodplain affecting the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area with channelization⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ Universal Engineering Company, *Topographic Survey, College Park and Berwyn Heights* (Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, March 1963), University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵⁰⁰ Universal Engineering Company, "Topographic Survey, College Park and Berwyn Heights."

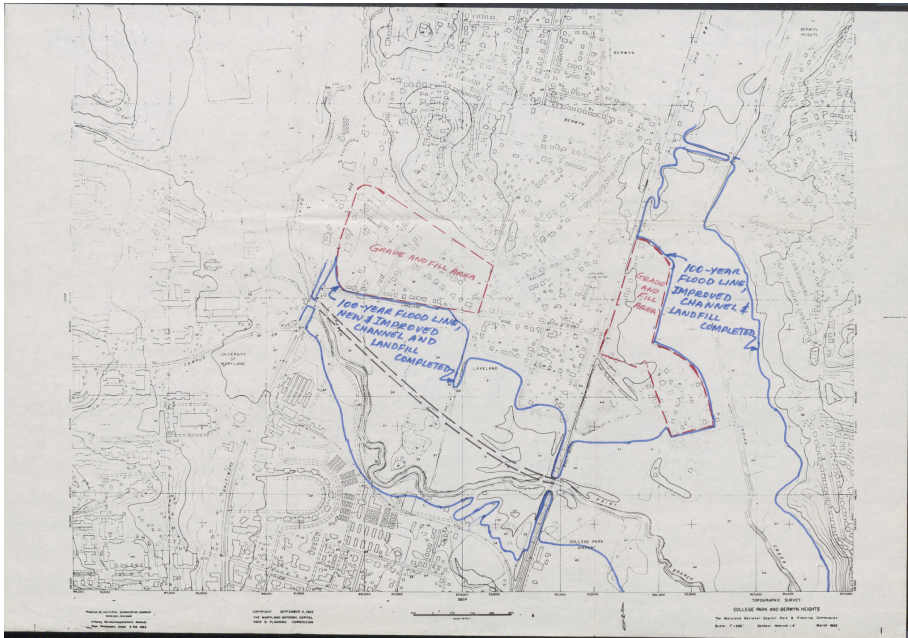


Figure 23. The 100-year floodplain affecting the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area with channelization and landfill⁵⁰¹

As a result of this contention, Mayor Reading perceived the EIS to be “a gathering of miscellaneous opinions, implications, erroneous conclusions...and serve only to cloud and confuse the sole issue which turns out to be the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.”⁵⁰² City Council member Dougherty echoed the aforesaid by regarding the EIS as “biased, prejudicial, not entirely factual, and filled with unrelated and superfluous material.”⁵⁰³ Others like John P. Hewitt, Executive Director of M-NCPPC, sided with HUD’s determination. While the Prince George’s County Planning Board approved the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan by way of Resolution 70-329 on December 23, 1970, as required by Maryland law, Hewitt posited that there were “sufficient questions raised in the impact statement to warrant consideration of a modified development scheme.”⁵⁰⁴

A Push for Progress on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project

At a meeting held on February 23, 1973, a month before HUD’s final EIS, Chisholm had also informed College Park officials and Congressman Hogan that a HUD moratorium on subsidized housing precluded an execution contract for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project by making unattainable the necessary funding to deliver on moderate- and low-income housing.⁵⁰⁵ Joseph LaSala, a HUD Deputy Regional Administrator for Region III, voiced, “In the [HUD] Region as in the Area, we are operating people, not policy people...and it becomes our job to work within the limitations of that policy...and hopefully achieve not the Lakeland Renewal Project as it was originally conceived, but certainly a substantial portion of that...”⁵⁰⁶ HUD officials then clarified that in the absence of environmental concerns and public housing for the Lakeland Urban

⁵⁰¹ Universal Engineering Company, “Topographic Survey, College Park and Berwyn Heights.”

⁵⁰² “Letter from College Park Mayor William R. Reading to Robert P. Duckworth, HUD Environmental Clearance Officer at the Washington D.C. Area Office,” December 21, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵⁰³ “Letter from City Council Member for College Park’s Eight District, Elizabeth M. Dougherty to Theodore R. Robb, HUD Regional Administrator,” December 7, 1972.

⁵⁰⁴ “Letter from John P. Hewitt, Executive Director of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission to Water A. Scheiber, Executive of the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments,” December 7, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵⁰⁵ “Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials.” 1-3.

⁵⁰⁶ “Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials.” 5-6.

Renewal Project, federal assistance funds could be released.⁵⁰⁷ Since these directives were beyond the HUD Area and Regional Offices' domain, Joe Westner, a HUD Congressional Liaison, had been instructed to suggest that the City of College Park submit an appeal to HUD Secretary James T. Lynn so that the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project could undergo a complete review.⁵⁰⁸ This appeal to Secretary Lynn was filed on March 13, 1973.⁵⁰⁹ During the meeting, Congressman Hogan advised that the City of College Park file suit against the federal government for "specific performance" because it had committed \$2.9 million but had yet to distribute the funds, and in good faith, the city had adapted its Charter, taxed residents, hired and then discharged an urban renewal director.⁵¹⁰ Congressman Hogan observed that a legal suit "might have some pressure value" and heighten visibility for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵¹¹

On March 12, 1973, Mayor Reading addressed letters to Congressman Hogan, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, and Senator Glenn Beall to request their intervention in appealing to HUD Secretary James T. Lynn.⁵¹² A chronology of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, which had been attached to the letters, specified that the budget approved in 1971 had been prepared in 1968 and needed adjustment for inflation.⁵¹³ On June 22, 1973, Mayor Reading supplied Chisholm with an amended version of the previously approved Application for Loan and Grant to adhere to the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970.⁵¹⁴ The resubmission indicated that the City of College Park was applying for a \$5,205,347 temporary loan (a \$62,232 increase), a \$3,860,602 project capital grant (a \$473,882 increase), and a \$84,000 rehabilitation grant; the relocation grant of \$411,650 had been removed.⁵¹⁵

On June 27, 1973, Warren H. Butler, HUD Deputy Assistant Secretary, replied to Congressman Hogan, Senator Mathias, and Senator Beall's appeal to mobilize progress on the approved Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵¹⁶ Upon HUD Central Office's review of the final EIS, Butler affirmed that the hydrological study by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources was essential to resolving the environmental concerns, and HUD reserved the right to adapt the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project plan accordingly.⁵¹⁷ To avoid further deferral of the execution phase, Butler instructed the HUD Area Office to effectuate a contract that would empower the city to commence project activities on the condition of compliance with environmental findings and the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970.⁵¹⁸ Given

⁵⁰⁷ "Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials." 48-49.; "Letter from Gilbert E. DeLorme, Jr., Deputy Area Director to William R. Reading, Mayor of College Park," February 26, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵⁰⁸ "Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials." 22.

⁵⁰⁹ Lakeland Civic Association, "Chronology of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project MD R-44." 15.

⁵¹⁰ "Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials." 12, 14-15.

⁵¹¹ "Transcript of Meeting Tape between HUD Officials, Congressman Hogan, and City of College Park Officials." 32-35.

⁵¹² "Letters from William R. Reading, Mayor of the City of College Park to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, and Senator Glenn Beall," March 12, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵¹³ "MD R-44 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project College Park, Maryland," March 12, 1972, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵¹⁴ City of College Park, "U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Urban Renewal Program Application for Loan and Grant," June 22, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵¹⁵ City of College Park, "U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Urban Renewal Program Application for Loan and Grant."

⁵¹⁶ "Letter from Warren H. Butler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development of HUD to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," June 27, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵¹⁷ "Letter from Warren H. Butler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development of HUD to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," June 27, 1973.

⁵¹⁸ "Letter from Warren H. Butler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development of HUD to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," June 27, 1973.

that the subsidized housing program was undergoing reevaluation, Butler was unable to notify stakeholders about the commitment of federal funds.⁵¹⁹

On July 10, 1973, the City of College Park signed Loan and Grant Contract No. MD-R-44 (LG) with HUD to execute the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵²⁰ The HUD Area Office affirmed that the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project's Loan and Grant Contract was dependent on modifications to the existing application to comply with "guidelines for a disaster project."⁵²¹ On July 13, 1973, Congressman Hogan announced the City of College Park's receipt of federal funding for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, totalling over \$6 million, while the city was to complement this assistance with \$1,265,000.⁵²²

Property Acquisitions and the City's Instrumentalization of "Blight"

In the autumn of 1973, the Mayor and City Council of College Park adopted Resolution 73-UR-2 to formalize commitment to the real property acquisition requirements of Title III of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970.⁵²³ Pledging to be guided by Section 301 of the Act, this signaled that the City of College Park would ensure that property appraisals and just compensation amounts were completed before entering negotiations with homeowners.⁵²⁴ At a meeting of the Lakeland Committee—a coalition of individuals and thirteen member churches in the College Park area—on November 26, 1973, Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park, stated that one million in federal funds had been received for acquisition of Lakeland homes within the first year.⁵²⁵ Callahan added that there "would be two appraisals, then a third to arrive at a fair market price. Property owners could either accept or reject. If the owner feels an appraisal is unfair, he can bring in an appraiser of his own. If this results in variance that cannot be worked out, the owner can take the matter to court."⁵²⁶ This placed the onus on Lakeland property owners to expend time and resources in the event that appraisers, who were contracted by the city, produced unfair evaluations.

Based on City of College Park's records of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, the acquisition of parcels of privately owned land, and the resulting displacement of community members, emerged as one of the most quantifiable harms. An idiosyncrasy in the city's land acquisition records indicates a possibility that the city may have acquired Lakeland properties for prices that undercut their fair market value. Following is an outline of these discrepancies and a request for the city's collaboration in investigating them and, if necessary, compensating Lakeland homeowners who might have been underpaid per the value of their properties.

⁵¹⁹ "Letter from Warren H. Butler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development of HUD to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," June 27, 1973.

⁵²⁰ "Letter from College Park Mayor Dervey Lomax to Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan," April 9, 1974, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵²¹ "Memorandum from Elizabeth Dougherty to Mayor and Council Regarding New Forms, Resolutions, and Application for Urban Renewal," June 27, 1973, University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.

⁵²² Hogan, "Hogan Report: Lakeland Urban Renewal: A Plus for College Park."

⁵²³ City of College Park, "Resolution 73-UR-2 - A Resolution Providing Assurances with Respect to Compliance with Real Property Acquisition Requirements of Title III of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970" (1973).

⁵²⁴ "Public Law 91-646 Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970" (1971).

⁵²⁵ Margaret Rowe, "Minutes of the Lakeland Committee," November 26, 1973, The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (in process). Hereafter referred to as TBWP. ; James Claiborne, Hattie Sandidge, and David Rodenhuis, "Lakeland Community Day," May 21, 1972.

⁵²⁶ Rowe, "Minutes of the Lakeland Committee."

In 1974, the city contracted with four appraisers to evaluate 96 privately owned parcels of land in Lakeland in Clearance Areas West (57 parcels) and East (39 parcels).⁵²⁷ The data below reflects the appraisals of William S. Harps, whom the city tasked with evaluating the condition and fair market value of properties on the West side. The city required that Harps' (and the other appraisers') appraisals exclude any projected moving costs the city might offer homeowners.⁵²⁸ Instead, the purpose of the appraisals, according to the contracts the city entered into with the four appraisers, was to satisfy a "[requirement] by the Agency [i.e. the Urban Renewal Authority] for its guidance in making fair and impartial determinations of fair market value and the *just compensation* to be offered to each property owner" (emphasis added).⁵²⁹ Moreover, the City required the appraisers to reach a fair market value "in accordance with the definition and concepts of value and the rules on the admissibility of evidence of value under the eminent domain law of the state."

However, records indicate that the City purchased these properties, among others, for \$10 each. The reason is unclear, given that, for the properties below, the fair market evaluations of the city's appraisers were in the tens of thousands of dollars. This report lays out and analyzes data from evaluations of a selection of parcels in Clearance Area West by the city's appraisers and collates it with the acquisition price for which the city actually purchased the same parcels. In all of these cases, the city paid Lakeland homeowners a blanket acquisition price of \$10. This discrepancy may indicate an outstanding obligation by the city to compensate these property owners or their heirs for the difference between the value paid and the market value at the time of purchase. At a minimum, these are figures that require further investigation and explanation.

Table 1 reflects the parcels the city purchased in Clearance Area West for which (a) the reports of the city's appraiser are available and (b) the Acquisition Price is less than the Appraiser's Fair Market Value attested in the report. Interestingly, in every case, the standard Acquisition Price was apparently a negligible \$10.⁵³⁰ This price undercuts the Fair Market Value by a mean value of \$25807, with ostensible underpayment ranging from \$16,990 to \$38,490 ("Price-Value Difference").

The discrepancy between acquisition prices and fair market values may indicate underpayment for Lakeland properties.

The discrepancies shown in Table 1 appear to reflect underpayments by the city to Lakeland homeowners when it purchased their properties via eminent domain. This appearance is borne out by the actual legal documents showing the transfers of title. For example, the deed for Merrill and Hazel Thomas' property shows that the Thomases transferred title to the city in fee simple for consideration of ten dollars.⁵³¹ The same is true of the deeds for Manton and Daphine Chapman, Harold and Julia Pitts, Joseph and Catherine Adams, John Hardisty, George and Jeanette Brooks.⁵³²

⁵²⁷ City of College Park, "Resolutions 74-UR-3-6," in *Agenda: Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council (January 22, 1974)*. City of College Park: 1974.

⁵²⁸ "The Appraiser's analyses and opinions of property value shall not reflect any consideration or allowance for the relocation assistance and payments provided under Title II of the Act." See City of College Park Urban Renewal Authority, "Relocation Assistance and Payments Clause," in *Agreement for Appraisal Services (Acquisition)*. City of College Park: 1974, 3.

⁵²⁹ "Purpose and Significance of Appraisals Clause," in *Agreement for Appraisal Services*, 2. See also City of College Park Urban Renewal Authority, *Memorandum: Contract For Appraisal Services in Connection with the Acquisition of Land for the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area*, Jack Callahan. City of College Park: 1974.

⁵³⁰ This \$10 acquisition price also appears as the City's purchase price for other properties in Clearance Area West for which appraisers' reports are not yet available, and which are therefore not displayed in the table.

⁵³¹ Merrill and Hazel V. Thomas, Deed, July 22, 1974 (lib. JWB 5, fol. 487), from city records

⁵³² Manton L. and Daphine A. Chapman, Deed, August 14, 1974 (lib. JWB 5, fol. 487); Harold Walter and Julia Mae Pitts, Deed, October 4, 1974 (lib. JWB 5, fol. 487); Joseph W. and Catherine L. Adams, Deed, November 1, 1974 (lib. JWB 5, fol. 487); John T. Hardisty, Deed, Dec. 20, 1974 (lib. JWB 5, fol. 487); George F. and Jeanette M. Brooks, Deed, April 15, 1975 (lib. 1775, fol. 94), from city records.

The apparent \$10 purchase price contravenes the Harps' qualitative evaluations of these properties. His reports supplement the fair market values attested by providing accounts of the condition and improvements to the properties. For example, he notes that, while the Thomas property had experienced some recent flood damage, "the house has been completely repaired [i.e. in 1973]...and is in from good to very good condition" as of his appraisal on June 18, 1974.⁵³³ Harps gives similar reports of the conditions of other houses. For example, he determines that the "effective age of the [Chapman] property is estimated at 15 years mainly due to the fact that there is no settlement in the property and the equipment is good and new."⁵³⁴ In these cases, both the fair market value and the qualitative evaluation establish that the properties are not derelict, but in good condition.

This condition, in Harps' opinion, is not superseded by the location of these properties in a floodplain. He noted that some of these properties lie in the Lakeland Floodplain, including the Merrill and Chapman properties. However, in his July 16, 1974 appraisal of the Chapman property, Harps makes explicit how he has adjusted his appraisal for this location, stating that "The depreciation in the cost approach is 10% for this fault of the location and in the market data approach, the property has been penalized 10% for the fact that it is located in a flood plain." (3); and again, later in the same appraisal, "it is this appraiser's opinion that the location and the fact that it is located in a Flood Plain, would cause economic obsolescence to the extent of 10%."⁵³⁵ Ultimately, Harps' 10% penalty to the properties' fair market value for the floodplain location is a modest depreciation that does not explain the city's acquisition price of \$10.

⁵³³ Urban Renewal Authority, "Description of Improvements," in *Appraisal: Project Parcel No. 24-21*, William S. Harps and Richard R. Harps (1974) (pages unnumbered).

⁵³⁴ Urban Renewal Authority, "Description of Improvements," in *Appraisal: Project Parcel No. 24-11*, William S. Harps and Richard R. Harps (1974) (pages unnumbered).

⁵³⁵ URA, *Project Parcel No. 24-11*.

Table 1. Acquisition Price Versus Fair Market Value of Lakeland Properties Acquired for LURP

Date Rec'd	Block-Lot(s)	Acquisition Price	Liber (Book)	Folio (Page)	Grantor(s) (Last, First)	Appraiser's Fair Market Value	Price-Value Difference	Purchase Price Paid by Owner	Year Purchased by Grantor
1974-07-22	Block 12, Lot 14 (Part)	\$10	4393	19-20	Thomas, Merrill and Hazel V.	\$22,900	\$22,890	\$11,000	1967
1974-08-20	Block 12, Lot 8	\$10	4403	458-459	Chapman, Manton L. and Dalphine A.	\$27,000	\$26,990	\$14,000	1965
1974-10-28	Block 12, Lot 10 (Part)	\$10	4428	741-742	Pitts, Harold Walter and Julia Mae	\$18,000	\$17,990	\$1.10 stamps	1950
1974-11-06	Block 12, Lot 9	\$10	4431	846-847	Adams, Joseph W. and Katherine L.	\$17,000	\$16,990	\$500	1946
1974-12-31	Block 19, Lots 11, 12, and 13 (Part)	\$10	4449	488-489	Hardisty, John T.	No value given; land value?		Inter-family	unknown
1975-06-05	Block 12, Lot 13	\$10	4491	496-497	Brooks, George F. and Jeanette M.	\$38,500	\$38,490	\$0	1954
1976-01-21	Block 12, Lot 12	\$10	4577	619-620	Ross, Floyd and Azalean	City of College Park	\$31,500	\$31,490	1960

The city's eligibility for HUD CDBG funding relied on a designation of "blight."

Whether or not this monetary discrepancy indicates actual underpayment by the city, it is worth noting that these acquisitions were also subtended by a more serious and systemically harmful legal misinterpretation of what constituted "blighted" areas eligible for HUD federal funding to support the city's acquisition of property under the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) scheme established by the Housing and Community Development Act (HDCA or "the Act") of 1974 (42 U.S.C. § 150(a)).

The HDCA's principal objective was to facilitate "the establishment and maintenance of viable urban communities as social, economic, and political entities" (42 U.S.C. § 101(b)). It did so through the creation of a federal grant scheme that awarded funds to local governments upon application to undertake certain qualifying urban renewal and development activities. The HDCA enumerates five categories of real property whose acquisition is eligible for federal funding under the Act (42 U.S.C. § 150(a)(1)):

- (A) *blighted*, deteriorated, deteriorating, undeveloped, or inappropriately developed from the standpoint of sound community development and growth;
- (B) appropriate for rehabilitation or conservation activities;
- (C) appropriate for the preservation or restoration of historic sites, the beautification of urban land, the conservation of open spaces, natural resources, and scenic areas, the provision of recreational opportunities, or the guidance of urban development;
- (D) to be used for the provision of public works, facilities, and improvements eligible for assistance under this title; or
- (E) to be used for other public purposes⁵³⁶

The city's stated intention from 1974 to acquire 96 parcels of improved land in Lakeland as part of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project necessarily relies on subsection (A). The 96 parcels—privately owned single family lots that include the properties later appraised per Table 1—do not meet the requirements of any of the other subsections: the city's subsequent demolition of the single family houses on these parcels precludes the theory that it acquired them for "rehabilitation or conservation" (B); similarly, while a small minority of acquired Lakeland properties were located on Lake Artemesia and perhaps these could be described as acquired for purposes of "the conservation of open spaces, natural resources, and scenic areas," the vast majority of the acquired properties, including those in Table 1 were not located on the lake—city's subsequent construction of other structures on this land precludes a finding that the reason for acquisition was "conservation" under subsection (C); none of the properties contain structures that have the designation of "historic sites" (C); the city did not subsequently construct "public works" facilities on the acquired property (D); "other public purposes" could be interpreted as falling under the public use doctrine the Supreme Court set forth in *Kelo v. New London* (discussed below), whereby the resale of properties purchased in eminent domain to private developers is considered a public use. However, the context provided by section (D) suggests that "other public purposes" (E) was intended here to mean constructing community facilities, not private development.

Additionally, in August 19, 1970 the HUD Acting Regional Administrator's assessment of the Lakeland area for rehabilitation identified "blighting influences requiring clearance of buildings." Specifically, the assessment identified 20 or 21 structures that were "within the floodplain of the 50 year flood and must be removed to permit flood control measures and because rehabilitation would not be warranted while

⁵³⁶ 42 U.S.C. § 150(a)(1)(A)–42 U.S.C. § 150(a)(1)(E); emphasis added.

the threat of flooding remains.”⁵³⁷ This assessment predates the Act and the city’s application for block grant funds thereunder. However, the flood plain remained the city’s consistently recorded reason for undertaking the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project from the point of its conception in 1969 onwards.

Finally, the city itself advanced a theory of “blight” in Lakeland which would ultimately not support its acquisition price for the properties listed in Table 1; and, for these properties, would be unsupported by its own appraisers’ evaluations (see Section C of this report). It set forth this theory in the Statement of Needs within the draft of its first application for CDBG funding in 1974, where it stated that Lakeland had the “largest concentration” of deteriorating houses, accounting for “about one-third of substandard units in the city.”⁵³⁸ A material distinction between the city’s 1974 account of “blight” and the HUD Acting Regional Administrator’s 1970 assessment of “blighting influences” is that the city asserted that Lakeland houses themselves were deteriorating, while the HUD characterized the regular flooding as a “blighting influence” upon houses in the Lakeland floodplain.

Thus, by elimination of the inapplicable subsections of the Act as well as its own affirmative account, the city applied for and received CDBG funds under subsection (A) when it began applying for these grants in 1974.⁵³⁹

The historical leveraging of blight and displacement of Black communities.

It is worth noting that the city was also on notice from that early date of Lakelanders’ concerns that “redevelopment would result in the displacement of families who had lived in Lakeland for years.”⁵⁴⁰ This acute concern was not only evident, but voluble, even as the city was applying for federal funding and taking official steps towards the completion of the project. For example, at a City Council meeting on January 11, 1977, 66 self-identified “Concerned and affected residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs” presented the City with an open letter encouraging the Mayor and City Council not to select the firm of Leon M. Weiner & Associates as the principal developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, on the basis that Weiner had indicated his intention to replace single family lots with “high rise or mid-rise” buildings such as apartment blocks.⁵⁴¹

Lakelanders were not only skeptical of the rising costs and crime that such an urban shift might bring; they also feared that the city would leverage urban renewal as a means to displace the Lakeland community. As it turned out, this fear was far from baseless. Indeed, it was validated by what the city did next. The City Council proceeded to appoint Weiner as the developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project over Lakelanders’ objections and reasonable alternative proposals— Lakelanders had endorsed two other developers whom the city itself was already considering out of a possible four. Weiner, in turn, did indeed develop the former single-family home lots into high- and mid-rise buildings, such as the Alden Park and Berkley Townhouses.

⁵³⁷ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Determination Regarding Rehabilitation of Project Area (Lakeland: Md. R-44)*. 1970.

⁵³⁸ City of College Park, appendix to *Second Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs and Projects (January 29, 1975)*, “Statement of Needs: A-1 Housing Deterioration.” City of College Park: 1975, 1.

⁵³⁹ The same 2010 “History of Lakeland” affirms that “Due to repeated flooding, in 1969 an urban renewal project was begun. That plan including ‘building earthenwork dikes along Indian Creek, Paint Branch Creek, and Lake Artemisia to prohibit future flooding and demolishing existing houses that were in the floodplain.” Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ The brief history of Lakeland quoted here was compiled and published in 2010 in connection with a proposal to designate Lakeland High School a Maryland historic site. City of College Park, *Memorandum: Preliminary Historic Sites and Districts Plan*, “Appendix B: Documented Historic Communities,” 106.

⁵⁴¹ City of College Park, appendix to *Agenda: Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council (January 11, 1977)*, “Open Letter: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project.” 1977. Pages unnumbered.

Lakelanders' fear of displacement was also justified on a national scale. The story of Lakeland is one example of a nationwide pattern that arose in the late 20th century of municipalities using the rising federal focus on community development and urban renewal as a pretext to displace historically Black communities—often on with an ostensible justification of “blight.” On one level, the instrumentalization of federal urban renewal efforts from the mid- to late-20th century—particularly the term “blight”—to dislocate Black communities is so notorious that there are many books and articles on the subject; and African American novelist James Baldwin famously referred to urban renewal as covert “negro removal.”⁵⁴² Yet, despite its pervasive mobilization in the language of urban renewal—the fact that federal funds and the actual demolition of communities and neighborhoods were undertaken by invoking “blight”—its definition was ambiguous and changeable. Wendell Pritchett has pointed out that:

“To secure political and judicial approval for their efforts, renewal advocates created a new language of urban decline: a discourse of blight. Blight, renewal proponents argued, was a disease that threatened to turn healthy areas into slums. A vague, amorphous term, blight was a rhetorical device that enabled renewal advocates to reorganize property ownership by declaring certain real estate dangerous to the future of the city. To make the case for renewal programs, advocates contrasted the existing, deteriorated state of urban areas with the modern, efficient city that would replace them. Urban revitalization required the condemnation of blighted properties and the transfer of this real estate to developers who would use it more productively.”⁵⁴³

As a policy matter, “blight” justified the national urban renewal push. As a word, it could also mean almost anything. In the early 20th century, U.S. President Herbert Hoover declared single-room occupancy hotels (SROs) in Skid Rows to as “‘degenerate’...and a primary cause of blight” due to the presence of single male occupants, whom the President’s Conference on Home Building classified as “the queer, the unadjusted, the radical, the ‘Bohemian,’ and the criminal.”⁵⁴⁴

This person-oriented definition of the origins of blight contrasts starkly with the 1970 HUD regional director’s notion of a flood plain as a “blighting influence.” The two interpretations understand what blight is in fundamentally different ways: while the 1931 President’s Commission’s determination that a person can be a source of blight suggests that blight is related to the tenor, morality judgment, or crime rate of a neighborhood, the HUD regional director’s emphasis on deleterious natural elements suggests, by contrast, that “blight” lies in the potential for physical damage to a property. Yet a third conception lies in the HDCA’s text, where the word “blight” is most often paired with the word “slum,” suggesting that it refers to properties that are *actually* derelict, not just properties that have a potential to be damaged or deteriorate.

But the City of College Park’s own purchase of the properties in Table 1 contravenes even this statutory suggestion: these properties were not derelict, deteriorating, or slums: they were single family homes in good to excellent condition, and worth in the tens of thousands of dollars, in the opinion of appraisers selected by the city itself.

The Lakeland Urban Renewal Project is one more chapter in the story of the term “blight.” It is yet another example of blight as a one-size-fits-all ill that justified any remedy by the party wielding it. It is one more example illustrating that there was no limiting principle to the application of this term. Blight’s definitional variety made it not a flexible remedy but an instrument of injustice against communities dispersed on the

⁵⁴² James Baldwin, interview by Kenneth Bancroft Clark, *Perspectives: Negro and the American Promise*, WBGH Educational Foundation, May 24, 1963, https://americanarchive.org/catalog/cpb-aacip_15-Ov89g5gf5r.

⁵⁴³ Wendell Pritchard, “The ‘Public Menace’ of Blight: Urban renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain,” *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21.1(2003): 1-52, 3.

⁵⁴⁴ See, respectively, Noah M. Kazis, “Fair Housing for a Non-Sexist City,” *Harvard Law Review* 134(2021): 1683-1758, 1727; and Abram Garfield, the President’s Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, *Slums, Large-Scale Housing, and Decentralization* (1932), 32

pretext that the presence of their properties—and even themselves— were somehow undesirable and antithetical to the development of healthy communities.

In the case of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, “blight” was a designation that emerged at the HUD proposal stage, when the city asserted in its 1975 application for CDBG grant funds—its second consecutive year applying to this grant scheme—that “College Park has two primary areas of blight. The first is in the Lakeland area where a federally funded urban renewal project is now underway.”⁵⁴⁵ The City’s account of housing in Lakeland elsewhere in the application provides critical context for this claim, as it asserts that Lakeland has the “largest concentration” of deteriorating houses in College Park, accounting for “about one-third of substandard units in the city.”⁵⁴⁶ Thus, as of the mid-1970s, Lakeland’s theory, implicitly in accordance with the Act under which it was operating, was that blight was a broad brush that painted in large strokes a designation that characterized sub-regions of the city rather than individually owned lots. “Blighted,” in the city’s application, referred wholesale to entire neighborhoods.

Additionally, at a public hearing on housing and community development needs, Mayor Dervey Lomax summarized the purpose of the HDCA as “to eliminate slums and blight and save neighborhoods from deterioration.”⁵⁴⁷ Interestingly, Mayor Lomax invoked, but contradicted, the 1970 HUD regional administrator’s characterization of what constituted a “blighting influence”: he concluded his introductory remarks by asserting that “the areas that will be mentioned tonight are identified in the 1970 Census as areas requiring assistance and could become a blighting influence if nothing is done to help them.”⁵⁴⁸ But this was not how the 1970 HUD assessment characterized the “blighting influence” it recorded. While the 1970 HUD assessment indicated that homes in Lakeland were subject to the “blighting influence” of the floodplain, Mayor Lomax invoked that assessment only to fundamentally shift the definition of the term by characterizing the homes themselves as a collective blighting influence upon the city. This fundamental and unmarked change in definition demonstrates that the changeability of the meanings assigned to the terms “blight” and “blighting influence” could produce multiple, conflicting—and even interacting—definitions describing the same geographic area at approximately the same time.

The policy issue with these erratic definitions was that, because “blight” purported to pinpoint the source of an urban development problem, its unfettered changeability meant that it could be marshaled in the service of any policy solution a city chose. In Lakeland, for instance, the re-framing of the “blighting influence” as the neighborhood itself rather than the fact of the floodplain also implicitly expanded the victims of blight from the Lakelanders living in the floodplain to the surrounding city and its inhabitants, upon whom Lakeland wrought a “blighting influence.” This shift, in turn, justified the wholesale taking of an historically Black community, regardless of the actual condition of the properties therein, in the public interest of the city at large. In short, “blight” became a policy pretext to disperse a Black neighborhood.

The breadth and changeability of “blight”—both in terms of the scale of the geographic areas to which the city applied it and, more broadly, its definitional breadth generally—allowed courts to uphold cities’ right to seize privately held property for a variety of reasons. The other major legal factor in this respect is that federal courts default to judicial deference to local legislatures and agencies in takings matters. The Fifth Amendment’s Takings Clause provides that “private property [shall not] be taken for public use, without just compensation.”⁵⁴⁹ However, the courts have left this determination largely to cities. The U.S. Supreme Court held in two cases that a “city’s determination that [an] area at issue [is] sufficiently distressed to justify economic rejuvenation is entitled to deference” that the Court typically affords “to legislative

⁵⁴⁵ City of College Park, *Second Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs and Projects* (January 29, 1975), “Statement of Needs: A-4 Physical Development.” City of College Park: 1975, 3.

⁵⁴⁶ Appendix to *Second Public Hearing*, “Statement of Needs: A-1 Housing Deterioration,” 1.

⁵⁴⁷ City of College Park, “Introduction by Mayor Lomax,” *Second Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs and Projects* (January 29, 1975), Dervey Lomax. City of College Park: 1975, 1.

⁵⁴⁸ City of College Park, “Introduction by Mayor Lomax,” *Second Public Hearing*, 3.

⁵⁴⁹ U.S. Constitution, amend. 5, cl. 2.

judgments as to what public needs justify the use of the takings power.”⁵⁵⁰ In *Kelo v. New London*, the Court held that “public uses” for which takings were valid included reselling such property to a private developer and did not violate private owners’ Fifth Amendment rights under the Takings Clause.

The Court’s holding in *Kelo* extended its prior landmark holding in *Berman v. Parker*, in which it upheld a federal agency’s power to take private property in Washington, D.C. for the beautification of the city, pursuant to a federal statute that tasked the agency with remedying “blight.” In that case, the petitioner, a store owner whose property the agency was taking under the powers delegated to it by the statute, argued that his store was not itself blighted. However, the Court refused to consider this fact, holding that:

“We do not sit to determine whether a particular housing project is or is not desirable. The concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive. The values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, aesthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well balanced as well as carefully patrolled. In the present case, the Congress and its authorized agencies have made determinations that take into account a wide variety of values. It is not for us to reappraise them. If those who govern the District of Columbia decide that the Nation’s Capital should be beautiful as well as sanitary, there is nothing in the Fifth Amendment that stands in the way.”⁵⁵¹

The disproportionate consequences of such judicial avoidance to African Americans in 1954, when states and cities were violently resisting formal desegregation in schools and other public spaces and would continue to do so into the 1970s, is plain. It was all but inevitable that cities and states would use this court-sanctioned broad discretion over takings to disperse Black homeowners and communities—and subsequent scholarship has demonstrated that this was, indeed, the case.

If the concept of the public welfare is this capacious, one would imagine that it would not be onerous for it to encompass a rigorous consideration of the welfare of Black communities—communities whose welfare has historically been sacrificed to the pernicious policies of unconstitutional legalized segregation. Under a late-20th-century federal regime focused on community development and integrity and residents’ well-being—advanced under laws like the HDCA—one would imagine that Black communities, being especially vulnerable, would be singled out for special solicitude, not forcible dispersal. Ironically, the opposite has proven true: communities like Lakeland were dissolved under the pretext of the “public good.” The incredibly wide definition of “blight” has not historically been applied to the welfare of Black residents and communities; indeed, the wellbeing and development of these communities have often been given *less* than equal consideration compared to other communities in urban development. An analysis of how the Court’s holdings in *Berman* and *Kelo* violated private property owners’ Fifth Amendment rights under the Takings Clause, and whether there could ever be such a thing as an as-applied equal protection argument that the municipal takings that flowed from them violated the constitutional rights of African Americans as a racial group—these are topics for another forum.⁵⁵² But they form a looming, relevant backdrop to the events in Lakeland.

For, as broad as the discretion conferred on cities by the U.S. Supreme Court was, there is one important limiting principle: cities are required to provide “just compensation” to private property owners for properties taken. Although the amorphous legal history of “blight” does not meaningfully restrain the City of College Park’s obligations in terms of the basis on which they obtained and used CDBG grants to carry out the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, it does not alter the city’s legal obligation to compensate each

⁵⁵⁰ *Kelo v. City of New London*, 545 U.S. 469, 469 (2005).

⁵⁵¹ *Berman v. Parker*, 38 U.S. 26, 33 (1954).

⁵⁵² Because statute of limitation has long since elapsed for such takings in the late 20th century, the forum for such arguments is not a court, but policy settings and legal scholarly venues. However, to the extent that similar takings occur today, these arguments could perhaps be brought in litigation for events for which the limitations period has not run.

Lakeland property owner at the fair market value of the acquired property before assuming title and taking possession. This, records indicate, the city did not do.

Displacement, Relocation, and Erasure of Physical Landscapes

After the City of College Park prepared a HUD-sanctioned relocation plan for over 100 families in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, property acquisition and the search for displaced families' new residences began.⁵⁵³ The College Park Urban Renewal Authority's first and second purchases of Lakeland property occurred on July 22, 1974, belonging to Merrill and Hazel V. Thomas at 4902 Lakeland Road and Benjamin and Jennie Blue at 5503 Atlantic Avenue, respectively.⁵⁵⁴ Resolution 74-UR-12, adopted and signed by College Park Mayor Dervey A. Lomax on August 13, 1974, "declared that certain properties located within the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, Project MD-R-44, exist which are blighted and deteriorated areas of the said municipality" and resolved "that all properties which cannot be acquired through purchase, and which are necessary for the rehabilitation and/or redevelopment or a combination thereof...shall be acquired through condemnation proceedings."⁵⁵⁵ The demolition of the home at 4800 Navahoe Street, the first in Lakeland, took place on October 18, 1974.⁵⁵⁶ By April 30, 1976, the College Park Urban Renewal Authority's acquisition program had "made 100 offers, 76 have been settled, 5 awaiting settlement, 5 are still open and 14 are in condemnation proceedings. This leaves us 14 properties still to be acquired...[and the] total of condemnation cases resolved to 21."⁵⁵⁷ Throughout the decade, Lakeland homeowners "sold their homes and accepted up to \$15,000 in additional cash"⁵⁵⁸ as "replacement housing payments."⁵⁵⁹ Dr. Joanne M. Braxton clarified that Lakeland property owners did not want to give up their land, but the threat of eminent domain was always present if they chose not to sell.⁵⁶⁰

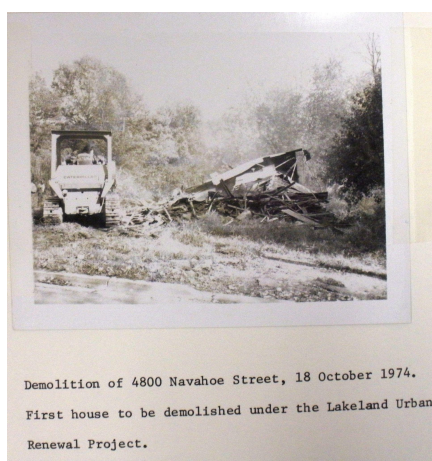


Figure 24. First Lakeland home to be demolished on October 18, 1974.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵³ Norman, "College Park: Urban Renewal in Lakeland Begins."

⁵⁵⁴ "First and Second Purchase of Lakeland Property by City of College Park Urban Renewal Authority," July 22, 1974, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁵⁵⁵ City of College Park, "Resolution 74-UR-12 Resolution Authorizing Condemnation Proceedings in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, College Park, Maryland" (1974).

⁵⁵⁶ "First Demolition in Lakeland," October 18, 1974, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁵⁵⁷ "Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Urban Renewal Report No. 34," May 4, 1976, City of College Park.

⁵⁵⁸ Wynter, "Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community."

⁵⁵⁹ "Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Fact Sheet Md R-44." ; "College Park Project Will Be Completed," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 1984.

⁵⁶⁰ "How Urban Renewal Nearly Destroyed This Black Community in Maryland."

⁵⁶¹ "Demolition of 4800 Navahoe Street," October 18, 1974, Lakeland Digital Archives.

Meanwhile, a public hearing on the College Park Urban Renewal Authority's application for a fill permit from the Water Resources Administration, held on September 19, 1975, advanced the legal process for its approval.⁵⁶² In an undated letter from Project Area Committee (PAC), a HUD-mandated group of Lakeland leaders appointed by the Mayor and City Council of College Park, Lakeland residents emphasized: "We need this fill so that Lakeland's dreams of decent and fair housing for all can become a reality and not another nightmare."⁵⁶³ This fill permit would elevate new housing in Lakeland above the 100-year flood level. On April 19, 1976, "Mayor Reeves signed the Fill Permit for the Lakeland Urban Renewal area accepting the conditions delineated in the permit including the establishment of a floodway."⁵⁶⁴ The only area available for the floodway was Berenson Financial Corporation's land in Lakeland. In a May 4, 1976 letter, Alan R. Friedman, legal representative for the Berenson Financial Corporation, indicated that his client had wanted the city to purchase this property for years.⁵⁶⁵ Friedman suggested to the Mayor and City Council that their approval of an application to Program Open Space of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources "could provide total funding from State revenues for this acquisition."⁵⁶⁶ This state-funding route would avoid costly condemnation proceedings to fulfill the floodway condition. Two days later, a memorandum from Callahan notified the Mayor and City Council that an application seeking funding approval from the State of Maryland for acquisition of Lakeland Open Space was ready.⁵⁶⁷ The Lakeland Open Space consisted of "14 plus acres of land in the Lakeland Sub-division [owned by the Berenson Financial Corporation and] located south of Lakeland Road and West of Rhode Island Avenue...currently in its natural state..."⁵⁶⁸ Through this program, the Mayor and City Council would obtain title to the Berenson property and be obliged to limit its designation for "outdoor public recreation or open space use."⁵⁶⁹ The Lakeland community supported this solution for the land—adjacent to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area but zoned R-30 for multiple family, low density residential—because the approved urban renewal plan lacked zones for recreational or aesthetic purposes.⁵⁷⁰ Callahan added that a dedicated green space here would "remove the possibility of development by private owners which may cause an adverse effect upon the aesthetics and character of the Lakeland Project."⁵⁷¹ By October 1976, Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc., Municipal Engineers for the City of College Park, prepared the 100-year floodway on Paint Branch and Indian Creek for the city to restrict future development in the area and to ensure compliance with the Water Resources Administration water-way obstruction permit.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶² Boone, Dan S. "Letter of Dan S. Boone, Acting Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park to Residents," Lakeland Digital Archives, September 9, 1975.

⁵⁶³ Lakeland PAC, "Letter to Water Resources Administration," The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (in process). Hereafter referred to as TBWP.

⁵⁶⁴ Callahan, Jack. Jack Callahan memorandum to Ed Finder, "Urban Renewal Report No. 34", from City of College Park records, May 4, 1976.

⁵⁶⁵ Friedman, Alan R. "Letter from Alan R. Friedman, from Meyers & Billingsley, P.A. Law Offices, to the Mayor and City Council", City of College Park city records. May 4, 1976

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Callahan, Jack. Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Mayor and Council, memorandum, "Agenda Item 76-G-57, Approval of Acquisition of Lakeland Open Space Under the State of Maryland Open Space Program", City of College Park city records, May 6, 1976.

⁵⁶⁸ "Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Mayor and Council on Agenda Item 76-G-57, Approval of Acquisition of Lakeland Open Space Under the State of Maryland Open Space Program," May 6, 1976, City of College Park.

⁵⁶⁹ "Information Sheet for Program Open Space from Meyers & Billingsley, P.A. Law Offices, to the Mayor and City Council," n.d., City of College Park.

⁵⁷⁰ "Additional Supporting Justification Lakeland Open Space Project", n.d., City of College Park.

⁵⁷¹ "Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Mayor and Council on Agenda Item 76-G-57, Approval of Acquisition of Lakeland Open Space Under the State of Maryland Open Space Program."

⁵⁷² "Letter from Laurence S. Courtney, Municipal Engineer at Greenhorne & O'Mara to Jack Callahan, Director of the College Park Urban Renewal Authority," October 22, 1976.

A PAC Newsletter, dated December 17, 1977, contained a letter of gratitude from the Branchville Fire Department for the opportunity to “gain experience in fire fighting methods” and to “be considered if more demolition is to be done” in Lakeland.⁵⁷³ In October 1979, the City Council unanimously carried two motions that approved requests for the Prince George’s County Fire Prevention Bureau to utilize three city-owned Lakeland structures (i.e. Black’s apartment at Rhode Island Avenue and Lakeland Road, 4805 Navahoe Street, and 4910 Navahoe Street) for “arson and active fire-fighting exercises” and the Branchville Volunteer Fire Company and Rescue Squad, Inc. to use two Lakeland properties scheduled for demolition (4805 Navahoe Street and 4910 Navahoe Street) for “controlled burning exercises.”⁵⁷⁴ In November 1979, City Council unanimously carried another motion for “controlled burning exercises” of seven Lakeland structures (i.e. 5148 Navahoe Street, 5001 Lakeland Road, 5007 Lakeland Road, 4812 Lakeland Road, 8009 Winnipeg Avenue, 8131 Rhode Island Avenue, 8133 Rhode Island Avenue) “provided that the various fire departments adhere to traffic control, clean up the properties after the burning and secure the properties after the exercises in accordance with PAC’s recommendations.”⁵⁷⁵ The photos below present the burning of a Lakeland home for a training exercise by a neighboring fire department in 1975 and white spectators seated with refreshments to view a family dwelling reduced to ashes. For Lakeland residents, the trauma of unwillingly vacating a beloved home and facing dislocation was only compounded by outside groups’ eager participation to erase the physical landscape. This too, was a form of moral injury that increased the suffering of the Lakeland community.



Figure 25. White spectators viewing the burning of a Lakeland home in 1975⁵⁷⁶



Figure 26. Local fire department burning a Lakeland home as a training exercise in 1975⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷³ “PAC Newsletter,” December 17, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁵⁷⁴ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” October 23, 1979, City of College Park. 5. ;
“Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” October 9, 1979, City of College Park. 3.

⁵⁷⁵ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” November 27, 1979, City of College Park. 3.

⁵⁷⁶ “Scenic Lake Artemesia Is Part of the Genocide Scene of Historic Black Community of Lakeland,” Substack newsletter, *A Cry for Justice* (blog), April 19, 2024, https://anacostia.substack.com/p/city-of-college-park-once-again-resolves?utm_medium=web.

⁵⁷⁷ “Scenic Lake Artemesia Is Part of the Genocide Scene of Historic Black Community of Lakeland.”

On June 10, 1976, Ed Finder, Director of Community Development for College Park, confirmed that the city had intentions to request \$1.8 million in urgent needs funding from HUD “to complete a scaled-down urban renewal project in Lakeland.”⁵⁷⁸ Inflation caused project costs to soar.⁵⁷⁹ The application would be submitted in late July.⁵⁸⁰ Although the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act authorized HUD to require up to 20 percent of grant funds for urban renewal use, HUD constrained more funding on the city’s allocation, with 50 percent of its forthcoming \$581,000 community development block grant going to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵⁸¹ HUD’s Area Office approved the \$581,000 community development block grant in July.⁵⁸² About a month prior, HUD claimed that the city was proceeding too slowly with construction of 41 units of federally subsidized housing and threatened to rescind the reservation of these units.⁵⁸³ HUD had granted this reservation, totalling 150 public housing units, in 1968, and 109 had gone to Attick Towers.⁵⁸⁴ HUD also insisted that the city had inadequately notified minority residents of this low-income housing beyond Lakeland. Anne Marie Hanes, College Park’s Housing Authority Director, clarified that all avenues had been exhausted to inform elderly Black residents in Lakeland about available housing, “but they just don’t want to leave their community.”⁵⁸⁵ Billy Weems’ essay titled “Ho Ho Hum” reinforced Hanes’ observation by asserting, “*Lakeland is Lakeland and not College Park*. If I wanted to live anywhere else in the *College Park Area*, I could but *not relaxed*.”⁵⁸⁶

Selection of a Developer-Builder for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project

Beginning on July 7, 1976, the city published an Official Notice in news media that called developer-builders to submit proposals for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵⁸⁷ The city’s announcement detailed that after its last Official Notice (i.e. July 16, 1976), it may proceed to tentatively select a developer-builder firm using the following criteria:

- a) “Proposed approach to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project including mix and types of low, moderate and middle income housing”
- b) “Experience and knowledge in developing both governmental housing programs and unassisted residential developments”
- c) “Skills, knowledge, and experience in meeting the requirements of the City and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development”
- d) “Proven ability to work in concert with local community (Project Area Committee) groups”
- e) “Financial capacity and history of ability to carry out projects of this type and scope”
- f) “Experience in the development of federally-assisted Urban Renewal Projects”⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁷⁸ “Disputes Threaten City Funds: HUD Charges Housing Failures,” *The Diamondback*, June 10, 1976.

⁵⁷⁹ Wynter, “Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community.”

⁵⁸⁰ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council through John M. Buhl, Acting City Administrator,” August 10, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁵⁸¹ “Disputes Threaten City Funds: HUD Charges Housing Failures.”

⁵⁸² “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council through John M. Buhl, Acting City Administrator.”

⁵⁸³ “Disputes Threaten City Funds: HUD Charges Housing Failures.”

⁵⁸⁴ “Disputes Threaten City Funds: HUD Charges Housing Failures.”

⁵⁸⁵ “Disputes Threaten City Funds: HUD Charges Housing Failures.”

⁵⁸⁶ Braxton, “Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland.” 189.

⁵⁸⁷ “City of College Park, Maryland Request for Developer Response Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (MD. R-44),” *The Washington Post*, July 7, 1976.

⁵⁸⁸ “City of College Park, Maryland Request for Developer Response Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (MD. R-44),” July 16, 1976

Leon N. Weiner & Associates, a developer-builder firm based in Wilmington, Delaware, and College Park officials chartered a bus and scheduled a tour of the firm's projects in Maryland and Delaware for July 17, 1976. The following month, four developer-builder firms requested the Developer Package, consisting of data, plans, and technical information about the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁵⁸⁹ These were: Leon N. Weiner & Associates; Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett (representing Jack Sobol, Inc.); W.T. Syphax Enterprises; and Starrett Housing Corporation.⁵⁹⁰ By the September 28, 1976 deadline, the city had received proposals for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project from four developer-builders: Lakeland Development Joint Venture, Michael Soble/Michael Levitt, Starrett Housing Corporation, and Leon N. Weiner & Associates.⁵⁹¹ The city was simultaneously receiving engineering firms' proposals, following Public Notice in news media, for public works improvements in the Conservation Area.⁵⁹² Resolution 77-UR-7 specified that Nazario Construction Company, Inc. had been contracted for street improvements and storm drainage construction in Lakeland's Conservation Area for \$408,871.50 in April 1977.⁵⁹³ Resolution 77-UR-11 approved a \$4,700 contract with L.E.B., Inc for demolition and site clearance of "five buildings, three foundations, and two sites for removal of burn-out debris, clearing and grading, seeding..."⁵⁹⁴ Resolution 77-UR-19 approved a \$4,200 contract with L.E.B., Inc. for the demolition and site clearance of four buildings designated by the College Park Urban Renewal Authority in October 1977.⁵⁹⁵ Two years later, Resolution 79-UR-8 awarded a \$50,000 contract to L.E.B. Inc. for the demolition and site clearance of 30 structures in November 1979; these were the last to be destroyed in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.⁵⁹⁶

In October 1976, College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves appointed a Developer Selection Subcommittee "to review and evaluate the proposals received from the developer-builders and to make a recommendation to the City Council regarding developer selection."⁵⁹⁷ The individuals on the Developer Selection Subcommittee were Council member Giffin, Council member Carroll, Council member Shadwell, Council member Spivey, and Leonard Smith as PAC Chairman.⁵⁹⁸ Mayor Reeves also appointed Morris Topf, City Attorney; Leon F. Shore, City Administrator; Ed Finder, Director of Community Development; Anne Marie Hanes, Director of the Housing Authority; and Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to serve on the Staff Technical Committee, tasked with supporting the Developer Selection Subcommittee.⁵⁹⁹ At the first meeting on October 14, 1976, the Developer Selection Subcommittee instructed the Staff Technical Committee to jointly prepare an evaluation report of the proposals with Raymond, Parish, Pine & Weiner, Inc., urban renewal consultant to the City of College Park; a draft evaluation report was ready by December 6 and distributed to PAC and all City Council members (see Figure 27 below for the

⁵⁸⁹ "Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council through John M. Buhl, Acting City Administrator," August 1976

⁵⁹⁰ "Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council through John M. Buhl, Acting City Administrator," August 1976

⁵⁹¹ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting," December 21, 1976, City of College Park. 2.

⁵⁹² "Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council through John M. Buhl, Acting City Administrator," August 10, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁵⁹³ City of College Park, "Resolution 77-UR-7 Resolution Approving the Awarding of a Contract for Street Improvements and Storm Drainage Construction in the Conservation Area of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project to Nazario Construction Company, Inc." (1977).

⁵⁹⁴ City of College Park, "Resolution 77-UR-11 Resolution Approving the Contract for Demolition of Buildings and Structures and Site Clearance by and between L.E.B., Inc and the College Park Urban Renewal Authority" (1977).

⁵⁹⁵ "77-UR-19 Resolution Approving the Contract for Demolition of Buildings and Structures and Site Clearance by and between L.E.B., Inc. and the College Park Urban Renewal Authority" (1977).

⁵⁹⁶ "Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council," November 13, 1979, City of College Park. 4.

⁵⁹⁷ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 3.

⁵⁹⁸ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 3.

⁵⁹⁹ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 3-4.

summary).⁶⁰⁰ The Staff Technical Committee was also directed to interview the four developer-builders, and these sessions took place on October 20 and 21.⁶⁰¹ Following a request from PAC, the four developer-builders were also interviewed by PAC on October 27 and 28.⁶⁰² The Developer Selection Subcommittee held several meetings, assessed the evaluation report, heard presentations, reviewed the proposals, and considered supplemental materials provided in the interview sessions and correspondence.⁶⁰³

SUMMARY OF STAFF EVALUATION ANALYSES ⁽¹⁾ (Revised 12/13/76 - 12/17/76)				
Criteria	Lakeland Development Joint Venture	M. Soble/ M. Levitt	Starrett Housing Corp.	Leon N. Weiner & Associates
A. General Experience in Housing Project Develop.	Individuals extensive-team unknown	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive
B. Experience in Assisted Housing Project Develop.	Extensive (as individuals)	Extensive	Extensive (New York City orientation)	Extensive
C. Experience in Non-Assisted Housing	Modest (as individuals)	Unknown	Unknown	Extensive
D. Experience in Communities size and scale of College Park and in D.C. Metropolitan Region	Extensive (as individuals)	Extensive	Some	Extensive
E. Experience in Urban Renewal	Extensive (as individuals)	Extensive	Extensive (but mostly in large cities)	Extensive
F. Experience in working with local community groups	Extensive	Adequate	Adequate	Extensive
G. Affirmative Action, Equal Opportunity	Clearly Superior	Adequate	Adequate	Above average
H. Experience of Professional Team	Extensive	Adequate	Extensive	Extensive
I. Financial Ability	Unknown as team *	Adequate **	Superior	Adequate
J. Developers Approach to this project	Unspecific	"General" response	Acceptable understanding	Comprehensive
K. Additional Factors	affords greatest minority participation ----- no real track record as joint venture; a proposed organization not yet in existence	---	strongest financially but large city experience predominates	---

(1) This chart attempts to summarize more than 27 pages of text and assumes the reader's familiarity with said text.

* Adequate in some instances as individuals.
* If assets of spouses pledged to venture.

Figure 27. Summary of Staff Technical Committee's evaluation of developer-builder proposals⁶⁰⁴

On December 19, 1976, Lakeland property owners, Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster, wrote to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council to outline their views and wishes for the selection of a developer-builder. The Lakeland property owners recounted being present at a meeting in April when Leon N. Weiner first addressed city officials; Weiner shared that the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project would be of interest to him if profit was involved and then recommended putting "structures on stilts and not [filling] the Area West, thus leaving it flood prone."⁶⁰⁵ To the Lakeland property

⁶⁰⁰ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 4-5.

⁶⁰¹ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 4.

⁶⁰² "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 4.

⁶⁰³ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 5.

⁶⁰⁴ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 6.

⁶⁰⁵ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976, City of College Park.

owners, the city's preference for Weiner "as a response to Mr. Finder's suggestion" was "very obvious" at the April meeting.⁶⁰⁶ The letter then specified that "Leon Weiner demonstrated a definite inability to communicate with P.A.C [during the interview in October] ...and he stated that he definitely would not put any of his profits back into the project."⁶⁰⁷ Lakeland Development Joint Venture, the community's preferred choice, displayed an eagerness to co-create an approach with single-family houses and pledged to reinvest profits back into Lakeland, advancing residents' goal of remodeling a city-owned building for a community center.⁶⁰⁸ The letter urged the Mayor and City Council to take into account the community's desires "because we don't want to feel that the citizens participation program is just a farce."⁶⁰⁹ This statement came after the Lakeland property owners reminded city officials that their recommendation for an engineering firm to manage upgrades in the Conservation Area went unheard, and now, the selected engineer was departing from the original plan and increasing the cost estimate.⁶¹⁰

On December 20, 1976, Leonard R. Goldstein's letter to Mayor Reeves expressed disillusionment over the Staff Technical Committee's evaluation report (referred to as "Staff Report Review of Developers' Qualifications and Submittal Materials), noting that "it seems quite obvious that the staff has been predisposed toward one of the prospective developers and they have, therefore, evaluated qualifications in such a way as to go to great lengths to justify their predisposition."⁶¹¹ Goldstein, representing the Soble-Levitt Group, listed numerous concerns. For example, the evaluation report afforded Leon N. Weiner & Associates with specific detail on its housing projects being "the size and scale of College Park," while the same experience of the Soble-Levitt Group was subverted with the simplicity of "extensive and broad."⁶¹² The evaluation report also listed the Soble-Levitt Group's experience in non-assisted housing projects as "unknown" and Leon N. Weiner & Associates' as "extensive," but Goldstein claimed the Soble-Levitt Group was "never informed that a comprehensive list of non-assisted projects was being sought."⁶¹³ Goldstein then highlighted a potential overestimation by city staff, writing: "The evaluation of Weiner indicates that the firm is 'undertaking development activities in the D.C.-Metropolitan Area.' It seems to be more consistent with the balance of the report to indicate that Weiner has no present track record in the D.C.-Metropolitan Area."⁶¹⁴ Goldstein's disappointment at city staff's inflated perception of Leon N. Weiner & Associates was further expressed: "Again, the staff seems to be stretching the point when it indicates that the Weiner group intends to work with minority contractors because the coordinator of the project 'is a minority person.'"⁶¹⁵ Goldstein cautioned how "overenthusiasm can have a detrimental effect in a selection process" at the end of his letter. These claims sharpened the potential biases present during the selection of the developer-builder.

⁶⁰⁶ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976.

⁶⁰⁷ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976.

⁶⁰⁸ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976.

⁶⁰⁹ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976.

⁶¹⁰ "Letter from Mary Hollomand, Samuel M. Hollomand, James W. Weems, and Ruth Lancaster to Mayor St. Clair Reeves and City Council Concerning the Selection of a Developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project," December 19, 1976.

⁶¹¹ "Letter from Leonard R. Goldstein, from the Law Offices of Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett, to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves," December 21, 1976, City of College Park.

⁶¹² "Letter from Leonard R. Goldstein, from the Law Offices of Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett, to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves," December 21, 1976.

⁶¹³ "Letter from Leonard R. Goldstein, from the Law Offices of Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett, to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves," December 21, 1976.

⁶¹⁴ "Letter from Leonard R. Goldstein, from the Law Offices of Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett, to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves," December 21, 1976.

⁶¹⁵ "Letter from Leonard R. Goldstein, from the Law Offices of Goldstein, Ahalt & Bennett, to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves," December 21, 1976.

On December 21, 1976, by a vote of three to one, the Developer Selection Subcommittee selected Leon N. Weiner & Associates as the developer-builder and recommended that the City Council take steps to formalize the designation; Starrett Housing Corporation was the second choice.⁶¹⁶ Council member Spivey, Chairman of the Developer Selection Subcommittee, affirmed that the "City Council, of course, is free to take any action it chooses with regard to the tentative designation of a developer-builder for the Lakeland Project," underscoring that the recommendation acted upon could derive from the Developer Selection Subcommittee, PAC, or another individual.⁶¹⁷ Council member Spivey then noted that the Developer Selection Subcommittee had consulted with the City Attorney on the Lakeland Development Joint Venture's call for "equity participation by the community and the City in the Lakeland Project" and "decided to strike out from consideration this aspect of the Joint Venture's proposal" after recognizing "a great deal of potential problems particularly in regard to the City's legal ability to participate."⁶¹⁸ That same day, the Lakeland Development Joint Venture wrote to Morris Topf, City Attorney, to clarify the firm's flexibility in executing the profit sharing component and their intent to give contributions to a representative community entity, which had been approved by HUD and completed in other projects.⁶¹⁹

At the December 21 meeting, City Council postponed action to tentatively designate a developer-builder for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project until January 11, 1977, at which point a motion passed in favor of Leon N. Weiner & Associates.⁶²⁰ City Council member Charles Carroll, who represented Lakeland, voted in opposition. While the motion was on floor, Mayor Reeves maintained "he had complete confidence in Mr. Finder and the Selection Committee."⁶²¹ During the meeting, Pearl Lee Edwards presented a petition that endorsed PAC's selection of Lakeland Development Joint Venture as developer-builder. S. Hollomand uplifted the rights of affected individuals in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, and Reverend Jesse Taylor of Embury AME Church hoped that the City Council would take into account the Lakeland community's desires.⁶²² In anticipation of the January 11 meeting, an Open Letter, signed by 56 individuals affected by the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, exhorted that the Mayor and City Council "DO NOT select the firm of Leon Weiner as the developer..."⁶²³ These community members emphasized that Weiner had no intention of developing the industrial and commercial areas of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, and for the residential area, Weiner contended that "high rise or mid-rise, (his specialty) would be the most economical (disputed by the three (3) other developers and PAC)..."⁶²⁴ Community members stressed that Weiner's plan for apartments would not only destabilize and transform the character of the Lakeland community but elicit HUD's "strong reservations about the land or buildings being utilized by the University of Maryland."⁶²⁵ Leon N. Weiner & Associates was thus listed last among the community members' choice for developer; Lakeland Development Joint Venture and the Soble-Levitt Group were the first and second

⁶¹⁶ "Recommendation by Councilmember Spivey in the Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting," December 21, 1976, City of College Park.

⁶¹⁷ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting," December 21, 1976, City of College Park. 6

⁶¹⁸ "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting." 6.

⁶¹⁹ "Letter from Harry D. Calhoun, General Partner of Lakeland Development Joint Venture, to Morris Topf, City Attorney for College Park on Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Proposal," December 21, 1976, City of College Park.

⁶²⁰ "Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council," January 11, 1979, City of College Park.

⁶²¹ "Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council."

⁶²² "Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council."

⁶²³ "Open Letter from Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project," January 1977, City of College Park.

⁶²⁴ "Open Letter from Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project," January 1977.

⁶²⁵ "Open Letter from Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project," January 1977.

choice, respectively.⁶²⁶ Both firms had affirmed their commitment to a cohesive approach to development, one that prioritized Lakeland residents' needs, centered single-family houses in the residential area with subsidized units, and delivered a fiscally practical option for building a community center through the profit sharing initiative.⁶²⁷

On January 17, 1977, PAC convened a special meeting to assess pathways for challenging the City Council's selection of Leon N. Weiner & Associates as developer for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁶²⁸ PAC members then offered the following inflection points before City Council:

1. "To try to get the developer to be sensitive to the community's feelings..."
2. "To forward all complaint letters to the Department of Housing and Urban Development."
3. "To itemize a list of things that the Lakeland residents think should go into the community"
4. "To disband PAC altogether because it serves no function."⁶²⁹

The first and fourth options sharpened PAC's frustration with being chronically disempowered and unheard by the city and anticipated the same treatment by Leon N. Weiner & Associates. The second and third options showcased PAC's unwavering spirit of advocacy, as the group resolved to document grievances and needs.

Modifications to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan

Amid the city's pursuit of urgent needs funds, City Council learned that the HUD Area Office would recommend Plan B to the HUD Regional Office.⁶³⁰ As a complement to 76-G-104, wherein City Council endorsed the modification B concept for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan, a motion during the meeting on September 14, 1976 called for the City of College Park's endorsement of Plan B in the "recently submitted Urgent Needs Application" to HUD.⁶³¹ Ed Finder explained that "Plan B would enable completion of the Project with replanning."⁶³² At this point, the initial \$5.2 million budget for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project had been surpassed by over \$5 million.⁶³³ During the spring of 1976, Raymond, Parish, Pine & Weiner, Inc. completed a fiscal evaluation of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project that called for replanning and modifying the official plan.⁶³⁴ In Resolution 77-UR-10, the City of College Park's Urgent Needs grant had been approved for \$844,000,⁶³⁵ despite an original request for \$1.8 million in the application.⁶³⁶ Mayor Reeves directed College Park staff to consult Leon N. Weiner & Associates and Raymond, Parish, Pine & Weiner, Inc. (no relation between both firms) to examine the grant's "planning implications" and to report back to the City Council.⁶³⁷ In the City Administrator's Annual Budget Message

⁶²⁶ "Open Letter from Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project," January 1977.

⁶²⁷ "Open Letter from Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project," January 1977.

⁶²⁸ Anthony A. Harris, "PAC Opposes Council Decision," *Black Explosion*, January 26, 1977.

⁶²⁹ Harris, "PAC Opposes Council Decision."

⁶³⁰ "Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to the Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore."

⁶³¹ "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes," September 14, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶³² "College Park City Council Meeting Minutes."

⁶³³ Roland Kidwell, "Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area," *The Diamondback*, September 15, 1976.

⁶³⁴ "Letter from Edwin W. Finder, Director of Community Development to Robert Esposito, Assistant Director in the Office of Plans, Programs, and Campus Development at the University of Maryland," August 5, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶³⁵ 77-UR-19 Resolution Approving the Contract for Demolition of Buildings and Structures and Site Clearance by and between L.E.B., Inc. and the College Park Urban Renewal Authority.

⁶³⁶ "Statement from Mayor Reeves: Urgent Needs Funds," January 31, 1977.

⁶³⁷ "Statement from Mayor Reeves: Urgent Needs Funds."

to the Mayor and City Council for the 1977–78 Fiscal Year, it was determined that “considerable workload will be involved in the rezoning of project land and replanning the project, such as working with the planning consultant, the Lakeland community, and the City in preparing plans and documents associated with rezoning and replanning the project.”⁶³⁸

On August 1, 1977, while referred to as the “tentative developer of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project,” Leon N. Weiner & Associates briefed the College Park Mayor and City Council in a public meeting on their proposal, which consisted of:

- “1. 150 unit – 7 story mid-rise – financed under the Federal Section 8 Program for senior citizens (490–520 sq. ft. of space per dwelling unit); rent to 25% of income
2. 40 units – low income turnkey units (2 story concrete slab construction).
3. 7 story mid-rise – 1 & 2 bedrooms – conventionally financed ‘market’ – units possibly for faculty and staff of the University of Maryland.
4. 26 single family attached townhouses – 3 & 4 bedroom units (could be financed and marketed under the Federal Section 235 program).
5. Six single family detached homes.”⁶³⁹

Lakeland residents named a target population composed of outsiders, the absence of consultation, and the minimization of Lakeland’s desire for single-family homes as their primary concerns.⁶⁴⁰ Six single family homes were abysmally insufficient for the families that had been forcibly displaced and wished to return.⁶⁴¹ In a 1977 statement to City Council, Mary Braxton, who had been appointed by Mayor William W. Gullet to serve on the Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal, stressed these points and more:

“Critics compared it to Southwest D.C. where the poor or low income were moved out and the more affluent moved in. I for one thought that being a member of PAC and attending meetings and giving attention to the people’s wants and needs would assure us that our U.R. [Urban Renewal] would not be like that...We were told that it is the duty of the city to see that the developer makes housing available at sale prices or rental that low or moderate income persons can afford...Houses selling for 50,000 or apartments renting for 400 do not [do] this...Why was the developer allowed to propose a plan eliminating most of the single family homes ignoring garden types and most of the town houses in favor of a few singles and townhouses and two seven story apartment buildings? I have several real estate sections from the *Washington Star* showing detached houses selling anywhere from \$41,000 – 50,000. Townhouses selling for \$33,200 – 53,000...The developer says that this can’t be done...If the developer can’t or won’t work out something compatible with what the City and Urban Renewal had promised I don’t think the City should go along with him. So far his plan has not incorporated any solutions for our basic problems. The eastern area of Lakeland was originally planned for 300 units of medium density...This part was given up as residences in favor of controlled light industry in order to save money.”⁶⁴²

⁶³⁸ “City Administrator’s Annual Budget Message to the Mayor and City Council For the Fiscal Year Beginning July 1, 1977 And Ending June 30, 1978,” n.d., City of College Park.

⁶³⁹ “Presentation of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Development Plans to the Mayor and Council,” August 1, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁴⁰ Sharon Conway, “Lakeland Plan Upsets Residents,” *The Washington Post*, August 11, 1977.

⁶⁴¹ Mark Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project,” *The Diamondback*, April 21, 1978.

⁶⁴² Mary Braxton, “Mary Braxton Statement to the City of College Park,” 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

Jack Callahan stressed that inflation made the costs for single-family homes prohibitive, as “homes that cost \$52,000 today could have been built in 1969 for less than \$25,000.”⁶⁴³ Ed Finder added, “it would be nice if we could come in and say, ‘Everyone wants single family homes, here they are.’ But, economics enters into it.”⁶⁴⁴ Finder also clarified that UMD did not participate in devising Weiner’s proposal, and the apartment building would be available to both the public and university affiliates.⁶⁴⁵ Weiner’s proposal had integrated the findings of a market survey of College Park and adjacent areas to combine a variety of housing types, uses, and financing.⁶⁴⁶ Weiner contended that his study had disclosed a low level of demand for single family housing.⁶⁴⁷ Patrick Grady, Assistant Director of Community Development, maintained that the 16 responses to Weiner’s study were indicative of “a very small need for single-family homes...[and it] wasn’t enough to warrant more than six single-family homes.”⁶⁴⁸ Weiner posited that profits were only attainable with the high-rise buildings, explaining:⁶⁴⁹

“I have made a proposal according to the advertisement for this project. If someone made a commitment to you, it is not my responsibility. It is not my responsibility to build it for you, but to build it so it will fly (in the market). That land has been paid for by all the people in College Park, not just Lakeland...They have some notion that all the land belongs to them. It doesn’t.”⁶⁵⁰

Tensions surfaced when Weiner threatened to file suit against Leonard Smith, Chairman of PAC, for slander, as he allegedly accused Weiner of collusion with College Park’s Mayor and City Council for his developer-builder designation.⁶⁵¹ Private correspondence from Robert C. Embry, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development at HUD, compounded the controversy by alluding that Smith had charged collusion; however, “HUD could not substantiate [these] reports” when it reevaluated records, and the suit did not proceed.⁶⁵² Mayor Reeves refuted these charges and added that Weiner had been consulted before the Official Notice publications because Ed Finder knew about Weiner’s reputation, and the city ultimately chose Weiner for his “proven track record” in urban renewal development.⁶⁵³ Finder was a member of the National Housing Conference, a group where Weiner was President.⁶⁵⁴ In 1968, Weiner’s national recognition on affordable housing earned him an appointment by President Lyndon Johnson to the Kaiser Commission on Urban Housing and later the White House Commission on Aging during the Nixon administration.⁶⁵⁵ Jack Perry, Chairman of College Park’s Community Development Advisory Committee, added that “Weiner had big ties with the Johnson and Carter HUD. He knew all the Democrats, and that’s what it took.”⁶⁵⁶ In a letter to Smith, Embry Jr. underscored that HUD “could not satisfy his group’s preference of developers and insisted that this prerogative was the City’s.”⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁴³ Fortmuller, “Lakeland: People Removal in College Park.” 9.

⁶⁴⁴ Vivian Dawn Ridgon, “Protests Greet Renewal Plans,” *The Sentinel Prince George’s*, August 11, 1977.

⁶⁴⁵ Terry Osterman, “Lakeland Plan Eyes Housing for University Faculty, Staff,” *The Diamondback*, August 22, 1977.

⁶⁴⁶ Conway, “Lakeland Plan Upsets Residents.”

⁶⁴⁷ “Special Meeting – Presentation of Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Development Plans,” August 3, 1977, City of College Park.

⁶⁴⁸ Fortmuller, “Lakeland: People Removal in College Park.” 9.

⁶⁴⁹ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁶⁵⁰ Conway, “Lakeland Plan Upsets Residents.”

⁶⁵¹ Ridgon, “Protests Greet Renewal Plans.”

⁶⁵² “Agenda Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council,” September 13, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁵³ Ridgon, “Protests Greet Renewal Plans.”

⁶⁵⁴ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁶⁵⁵ “Leon N. Weiner, Builder and Developer, Dies at 82 | Builder Magazine,” accessed April 15, 2025, https://www.builderonline.com/design/projects/leon-n-weiner-builder-and-developer-dies-at-82_o.

⁶⁵⁶ Wynter, “Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community.”

⁶⁵⁷ “Agenda Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council.”

At the meeting's conclusion, Mayor Reeves instructed Weiner to collaborate with PAC and Lakeland residents before putting forth a final proposal in late August.⁶⁵⁸ Lakeland residents then advocated to remove the apartment building for university employees, avoid concentrating public housing in a single area, and integrate medical offices, beauty salons, and recreational spaces into Lakeland.⁶⁵⁹ On August 3, 1977, Mayor Reeves sought to streamline the input process for Weiner's proposal by appointing the Lakeland Proposal Study Committee, whose members included Lakeland residents (Mary Braxton, Leonard Smith, James Claiborne, Lee Edwards, Agnes Gross, Mary Hollomand, Ed Douglas, and Ruth Lancaster), College Park citizens (Jack Perry, Sarah Wall, and Pat Varney), City Council members (Charles Carroll and Rose Fieghenne), the College Park Housing Authority, and city staff (D. Boone, Pat Grady, Jack Callahan, and Ed Finder).⁶⁶⁰ The Lakeland Proposal Study Committee was directed to report recommendations to the City Council by August 31, 1978 and proceeded to meet on four occasions.⁶⁶¹ A PAC Newsletter, dated November 17, 1977, addressed an open letter to the Mayor and City Council, to deliver "one last and final list of recommendations for the Project Area (our community)" while highlighting that this was the fourth set of recommendations submitted to city officials.⁶⁶²

Recommendations for Clearance Area West:

- "1. No high rise or mid rise rental apartments be built in this area
2. A senior citizen's building be constructed but, at 4-5 story level and the management of stated building be given to the College Park Authority
3. Public housing should be scattered through-out the project area and be limited to 24 units
4. A small commercial area should be provided for the service of the community
5. Spaces be provided for fraternal and religious organizations that have indicated their readiness to relocate and build
6. Many, many, more single family homes
7. At least 3 out-lets from Route #1, Lakeland Road, Navahoe Street, and Berwyn House Road be left open"⁶⁶³

Recommendations for the Conservation Area:

- "1. All buildable lots be developed with single-family detached homes
2. Provide a recreation area in the conservation area
3. Acquire the Lakeland special center when it becomes available"⁶⁶⁴

Recommendations for Clearance Area East:

- "1. Request that the Park & Planning Commission develop Lake Artemesia into a park area
2. The land in this clearance area east be developed into an industrial park
3. The RR crossing should be designed to forbid vehicle traffic over a certain weight limit to enter the conservation area"⁶⁶⁵

College Park officials maintained that several changes would only increase costs. Despite Lakeland residents' known displeasure and protest over Weiner's proposal, years of participation in City Council meetings, and appeals to federal officials, minimal revisions followed.⁶⁶⁶ By September 20, 1977, Weiner agreed to alter his proposal for Clearance Area West by placing the senior citizen's building deeper within

⁶⁵⁸ Conway, "Lakeland Plan Upsets Residents."

⁶⁵⁹ Osterman, "Lakeland Plan Eyes Housing for University Faculty, Staff."

⁶⁶⁰ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment," August 24, 1978, City of College Park.

⁶⁶¹ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment."

⁶⁶² "PAC Newsletter," November 17, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁶³ "PAC Newsletter," November 17, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁶⁴ "PAC Newsletter."

⁶⁶⁵ "PAC Newsletter."

⁶⁶⁶ Hass, "Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project."

the project area and the market rate building in closer proximity to U.S. Route 1; both buildings would also have less than 150 units.⁶⁶⁷ The public housing units would be numbered at 24 rather than 40.⁶⁶⁸ Weiner also “stated that he [was] studying the possibility of including neighborhood retail services establishments in plans for Clearance Area West. He emphasized that market determinations must be made that such establishments could sustain themselves...”⁶⁶⁹ Weiner then reiterated that his firm would supply a development proposal for Clearance Area East.⁶⁷⁰ Ed Douglas, a lifelong Lakeland resident, sharpened this pattern of blatant disregard by noting, “Whatever the city feels like doing, they did...The council gives us what they want without considering what we need. We’re always consulted after the decision is rendered. How could they know what the people’s best interests were?”⁶⁷¹ Mary Braxton added “We talk, we talk, we talk...but [they] don’t pay attention to what we say...The plans have all gone astray. The original plans had more single-family homes.”⁶⁷² Leonard Smith indicated that PAC had conferred with attorneys who suggested that court action to obstruct Weiner may be realizable because “the city has never listened to the community...and we’ve just about had it.”⁶⁷³

In October 1977, the Proposed Revised Land Use Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project served as the preliminary version to be further modified through the Plan Amendment process.⁶⁷⁴ Ed Finder affirmed that this document was “responsive to the recommendations of the Mayor’s Lakeland Proposal Committee and the plan modification agreed to by Mr. Weiner on September 20...”⁶⁷⁵ For Lakeland’s west side, the residential multi-family medium rise apartments in zones A and B of the map (see Figure 28) would consist of market rate and senior citizens housing, while zones C and D of the “residential multi-family medium density” district provided for low, moderate, and market rate development of detached or attached houses and garden apartments.⁶⁷⁶ Commercial zoning would be concentrated along U.S. Route 1. The Conservation Area retained its residential single-family zoning and inclusion of “neighborhood, public, quasi-public and fraternal facilities.”⁶⁷⁷ The map designated Lakeland’s east side for light industrial use under the I-3 type zone, which permitted development of a planned industrial park.⁶⁷⁸ The Proposed Revised Land Use Plan also dictated access routes: “Melbourne Place ceases to be a ‘through street;” a barrier at the B&O Railroad crossing prohibited travel except by emergency vehicles; “Navahoe to Lakeland

⁶⁶⁷ “Presentation by Mr. Leon N. Weiner of Leon N. Weiner and Associates, Responding to the Recommendations of the Lakeland Proposal Study Committee,” September 20, 1977, City of College Park.

⁶⁶⁸ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁶⁶⁹ “Presentation by Mr. Leon N. Weiner of Leon N. Weiner and Associates, Responding to the Recommendations of the Lakeland Proposal Study Committee,” September 20, 1977, City of College Park.

⁶⁷⁰ “Presentation by Mr. Leon N. Weiner of Leon N. Weiner and Associates, Responding to the Recommendations of the Lakeland Proposal Study Committee.”

⁶⁷¹ Fortmuller, “Lakeland: People Removal in College Park.” 9.

⁶⁷² Fortmuller, “Lakeland: People Removal in College Park.” 9.

⁶⁷³ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁶⁷⁴ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc.,” October 12, 1977, City of College Park.

⁶⁷⁵ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc.”

⁶⁷⁶ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc.”

⁶⁷⁷ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc.”

⁶⁷⁸ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc.”

Road [connected] via new street approximately following old 48th Avenue;" and "all streets east of railroad tracks except Detroit, 54th Avenue, and a portion of Cleveland Avenue [closed]."⁶⁷⁹ These elements were later reflected in the proposed Plan Amendment for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, described during a public hearing on August 24, 1978.⁶⁸⁰ Several Lakeland residents at this public hearing communicated a desire to "preserve the Lakeland School as a recreational facility" and "more single family homes."⁶⁸¹

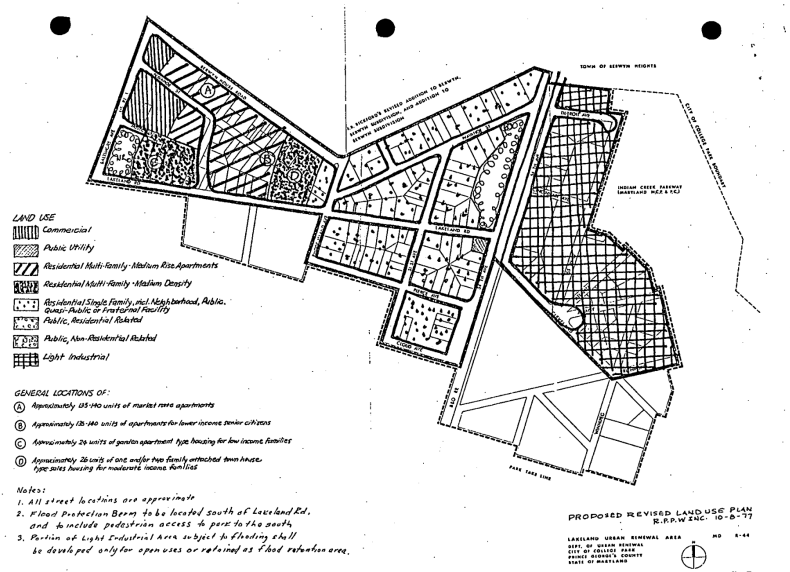


Figure 28. Proposed Revised Land Use Plan, October 1977⁶⁸²

In January 1978, the City of College Park held a public hearing to gather insights from College Park citizens—directly soliciting the Lakeland neighborhood's views—on community development and housing needs that would inform the fourth-year application to the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Program.⁶⁸³ These funds were tied to the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, which made the City of College Park eligible for about \$2.3 million in HUD funds over five years for "neighborhood revitalization, city redevelopment and housing improvement" projects.⁶⁸⁴ The passage of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 "shifted urban renewal from federal government oversight to local control" with flexible funding and a participatory process for local residents.⁶⁸⁵ For the first three years of the CDBG Program, HUD granted the city \$581,000 annually.⁶⁸⁶ The city was eligible for \$387,000 at this

⁶⁷⁹ "Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development, to Mayor and Council through Leon F. Shore, City Administrator, Subject: Worksession Briefing Paper No. 101 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project: Council Authorization For Mayor to Execute Letter of Intent Between City and Leon N. Weiner Assoc."

⁶⁸⁰ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment," August 24, 1978, City of College Park.

⁶⁸¹ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment."

⁶⁸² "Proposed Statement by Council Member Spivey in the Meeting Minutes for the Mayor and Council Meeting," December 21, 1976, City of College Park. 6.

⁶⁸³ Mayor St. Clair Reeves, "City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process," n.d., City of College Park.

⁶⁸⁴ Reeves, "City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process."

⁶⁸⁵ Thurston, "Urban Renewal in Lakeland." 43.

⁶⁸⁶ "Mayor Reeves' Statement at City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process," n.d., City of College Park.

juncture and then \$194,000 for the 1980 Fiscal Year.⁶⁸⁷ To elicit meaningful participation from community attendees, they were provided with an information packet. "Exhibit I – CDBG Project Report" showed that the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project had been allocated \$450,000 through the end of the 1978 Fiscal Year and required another \$131,000 as amendments to the approved plan were currently underway.⁶⁸⁸ In early February 1978, another public hearing would seek citizens' input on the proposed application, and the city's final application submission was expected for late that month.⁶⁸⁹ The Draft Application of the 1979 Fiscal Year CDBG acknowledged "that necessary financial resources were not available to meet the objectives of the original Urban Renewal Plan, [and] the City has been in the process of replanning."⁶⁹⁰ The short-term objectives of the CDBG were "to complete the acquisition and clearance of substandard housing in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project...[and] all site improvements in the western clearance section...to begin construction on the housing units."⁶⁹¹

Pursuant to the city's acquisition of land for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Resolution 77-UR-17 allowed for parcel disposal at fair reuse values determined by two appraisers.⁶⁹² The motion was carried unanimously on the premise that as parcels became available, they would be offered for bid and displaced residents given first priority, yet some were deemed unbuildable.⁶⁹³ A PAC Newsletter published in November 1977 included discussion on the sale of lots in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.⁶⁹⁴ In April 1978, the PAC Newsletter urged Lakeland residents to submit complaints, if any, to the Urban Renewal Authority about tree planting, sodding, curbs, and sidewalks.⁶⁹⁵ PAC's documentation of community activity underscored that Lakeland residents were not resigned but continued to resist and stay informed. By 1978, College Park officials underscored that close to 30 lots in the Conservation Area were available for displaced families seeking to return to Lakeland to build single family homes.⁶⁹⁶

On February 28, 1978, the Mayor and City Council approved a policy, under Agenda Item 78-G-23, that prioritized the sale of land in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area to the highest bidder for development by the following tiers: "(a) displaced residents of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area; (b) former residents of Lakeland; (c) residents of Lakeland who wish to act as developers; (d) residents outside of Lakeland who wish to act as redevelopers; and (e) all others."⁶⁹⁷ This meant that the city had a practice of prioritizing bids from displaced Lakeland residents for parcel sales in the Conservation Area even when higher bids attempted to compete.⁶⁹⁸ LMW Enterprises, a Lakeland-based development firm, headed by Leonard Smith, Morris Gustave, and William Parish, actively sought these land purchase opportunities. On one occasion, a displaced Lakeland resident purchased a lot from the city with a bid that was \$404 below that of LMW Enterprises.⁶⁹⁹ By spring of 1978, LMW Enterprises had bid on four lots and purchased two, and

⁶⁸⁷ "Mayor Reeves' Statement at City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process."

⁶⁸⁸ "Mayor Reeves' Statement at City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process."

⁶⁸⁹ Mayor St. Clair Reeves, "City of College Park Public Hearing on Community Development and Housing Needs Pursuant to U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Fourth Program Year (1978-1979) Application Process," n.d., City of College Park.

⁶⁹⁰ "City of College Park Draft Application CDBG Fiscal Year 1979," n.d., City of College Park.

⁶⁹¹ "City of College Park Draft Application CDBG Fiscal Year 1979."

⁶⁹² "Agenda: Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council" (City of College Park, September 13, 1977).

⁶⁹³ "Agenda: Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council."

⁶⁹⁴ "PAC Newsletter," November 2, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁹⁵ "PAC Newsletter," April 25, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁶⁹⁶ Hass, "Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project."

⁶⁹⁷ "Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council," March 23, 1982, City of College Park. 3.

⁶⁹⁸ Hass, "Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project."

⁶⁹⁹ Hass, "Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project."

Smith contended, “At least we’ll get houses built a lot faster than they are.”⁷⁰⁰ The City of College Park frequently departed from a federal regulation that obligated the city to acquire all vacant parcels in Lakeland’s Conservation Area by permitting Lakeland residents to hold vacant land if they had plans for the property.⁷⁰¹ The city, for example, provided this exception for Smith’s property on Navahoe Street, where he then constructed two houses valued each at approximately \$50,000.⁷⁰² By March 1982, the Mayor and City Council, under Agenda Item 82-G-42, revised the policy that delineated priority groups for the sale of land in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.⁷⁰³ At this juncture, the city had nine lots in the Conservation Area available for sale and development, and “to achieve some economies of scale and keep the sale price of the homes as low as possible,” the city carried a motion to amend the policy to first prioritize developers who would purchase and develop all nine lots.⁷⁰⁴ The new houses, however, had to be owner-occupied and first offered “to former residents of Lakeland who were displaced by the Urban Renewal Project; second, to present residents of Lakeland; third to former residents of Lakeland who moved prior to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project going into execution in August, 1973; and fourth to all others.”⁷⁰⁵ City Council members added that all Lakeland residents who experienced displacement “be notified and surveyed as to the value and type of home in which they would be interested...and that this be done prior to development specifications.”⁷⁰⁶

New county and federal regulations then precluded the City of College Park from completing its landfill operation with dirt from Metro excavations, raising costs from \$600,000 to \$2 million.⁷⁰⁷ At the request of the Mayor and City Council, Greenhorne & O’Mara, Inc., engineers for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, prepared a Development Feasibility Study relative to drainage, grading, and flood protection for Clearance Area West in August 1978 and recommended a “single major storm drainage system with minimum site grading necessary to provide local flood control” at a cost estimate of \$1,806,500.⁷⁰⁸ In an October 1978 City Council work session, Ed Finder communicated the need for more urgent needs grant funding from HUD to proceed with Greenhorne & O’Mara, Inc.’s flood control measures, which consisted of landfill on Lakeland’s westside, “a berm on the northern bank of Paint Branch Creek,” “and a major drainage system which would run into the creek.”⁷⁰⁹

On October 10, 1978, City Council unanimously approved and submitted a modified development plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, and a Lakeland resident who was present condemned City Council for the politically expedient revisions at the expense of the community’s needs.⁷¹⁰ The new version dictated “multi-family high density residential north of and east of Melbourne Place, multi-family medium density south of Melbourne Place, single-family residential density eastward to the railroad and industrial use east of the railroad to Indian Creek” (see Figure 30).⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁰ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁷⁰¹ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁷⁰² Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁷⁰³ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” March 23, 1982, City of College Park. 3.

⁷⁰⁴ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” March 23, 1982, City of College Park. 4.

⁷⁰⁵ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” March 23, 1982, City of College Park. 4.

⁷⁰⁶ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” March 23, 1982, City of College Park. 5.

⁷⁰⁷ Ridgon, “Protests Greet Renewal Plans.”

⁷⁰⁸ Greenhorne & O’Mara, “Development Feasibility Study Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Clearance Area West College Park, Maryland,” August 1978, City of College Park.

⁷⁰⁹ Janet Fisher and Anne Rogers, “More Funds Needed,” *College Park Citizen Call*, October 10, 1978.

⁷¹⁰ Anne Rogers, “Lakeland Plan Goes to HUD,” *College Park Citizen Call*, October 24, 1978.

⁷¹¹ Jack Callahan, “Prince George’s County Zoning Map Amendments,” November 1, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

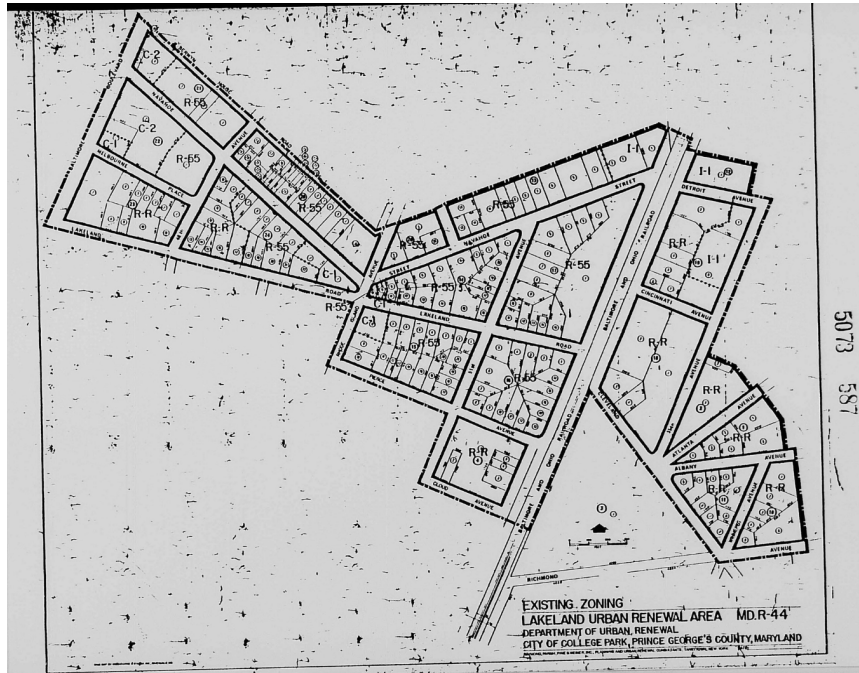


Figure 29. Zoning prior to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project was predominantly residential and reserved for single-family detached houses⁷¹²

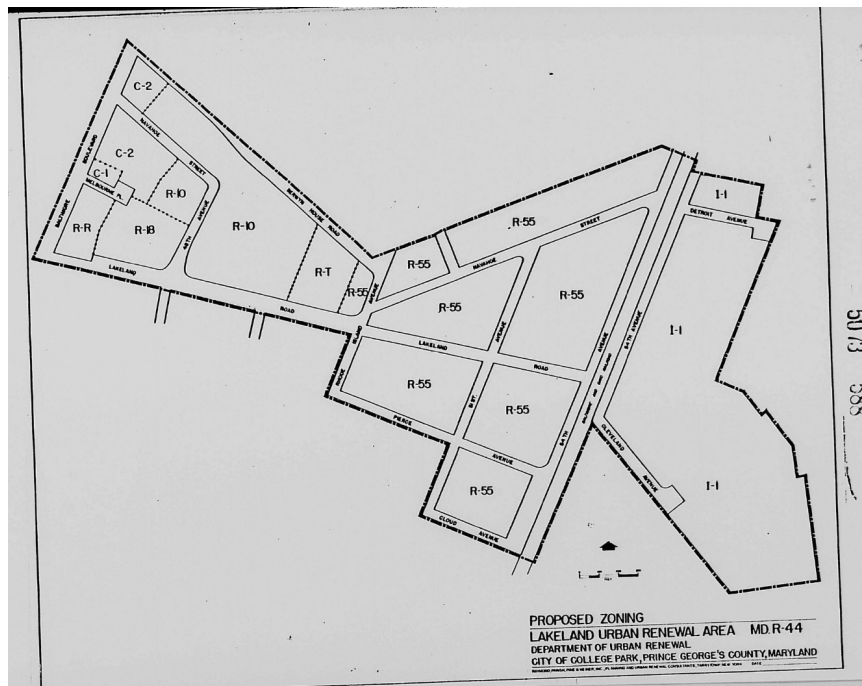


Figure 30. The Lakeland Urban Renewal Project changed zoning to include multi-family high density, townhouses, single-family detached houses, and light industrial use⁷¹³

⁷¹² "Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland" (Mayor and Council of the City of College Park, Maryland, October 1978), Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷¹³ "Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland" (Mayor and Council of the City of College Park, Maryland, October 1978), Lakeland Digital Archives.

The Relocation Case of Lakeland Tavern

In 1979, Leonard Smith filed a \$5 million lawsuit against the City of College Park, Leon N. Weiner & Associates, and HUD for the closure and destruction of Lakeland Tavern, of which Smith was proprietor, without relocation options in Lakeland, thus extinguishing his livelihood.⁷¹⁴ George A. Brugger, legal representative of Leonard Smith, stated that Smith only agreed with the sale in 1976 because the original plans for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project had two commercial areas where he could move his business.⁷¹⁵ The modified plan of October 1978 removed the commercial area along Rhode Island Avenue and reduced the U.S. Route 1 zone to accommodate what had already been constructed for commercial use.⁷¹⁶ This meant that the existing businesses on U.S. Route 1 would not be moved. Brugger emphasized that the “amendments come at a time when all of the Black-owned commercial properties within Lakeland have been acquired pursuant to the Plan, but when none of the white-owned commercial properties which had been scheduled for acquisition have been acquired.”⁷¹⁷ Brugger summarized, “Urban Renewal will have effectively removed all Black-owned business from Lakeland, leaving all of the neighborhood clientele to patronize the white-owned businesses which have remained untouched by Urban Renewal.”⁷¹⁸

Brugger spoke at length during the public hearing for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment on August 24, 1978.⁷¹⁹ Smith had been renting the building he formerly owned to keep Lakeland Tavern open until he could relocate.⁷²⁰ Smith had been in discussion with Mr. Boone, who was Assistant Director of the Urban Renewal Authority, when he indicated to Smith that if he wanted to be relocated in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, he would have to send a letter to the Urban Renewal Authority for the opportunity to bid, and Smith acted on that assurance.⁷²¹ On March 20, 1978, the city notified Smith about vacating the property by June 30, 1978, but the city’s relocation referrals were limited to a commercial tract of land priced above Smith’s financial limits and three realtors with no authority over the city-owned property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.⁷²² Brugger argued that the city had a legal obligation through the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 to equip Smith with information on “comparable commercial properties and locations” and to help with “obtaining and becoming established in a suitable replacement location.”⁷²³ Since Smith’s clientele was mostly Lakeland residents, Brugger contended that the only “comparable” and “suitable” options were within Lakeland.

When Smith’s attorneys appealed to HUD with a letter of complaint, Carolyn W. Gross, HUD Area Office Relocation Specialist, visited the College Park Urban Renewal Office on June 23, 1978.⁷²⁴ Upon examining Smith’s relocation file, Gross found no record that the city had ascertained Smith’s needs or provided potential relocation sites with addresses and costs.⁷²⁵ HUD’s investigation found:

⁷¹⁴ Vivian Dawn Ridgon, “Officials of College Park Besieged on Two Fronts: Lakelander Sues,” *The Sentinel Prince George’s*, March 15, 1979.

⁷¹⁵ Ridgon, “Officials of College Park Besieged on Two Fronts: Lakelander Sues.”

⁷¹⁶ Ridgon, “Officials of College Park Besieged on Two Fronts: Lakelander Sues.”

⁷¹⁷ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment,” August 24, 1978, City of College Park.

⁷¹⁸ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷¹⁹ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷²⁰ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷²¹ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷²² “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷²³ “Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment.”

⁷²⁴ “Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, Area Manager for Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III to Edwin W. Finder, College Park Community Development Administrator on Leonard J. Smith’s Relocation Assistance,” June 29, 1978, City of College Park.

⁷²⁵ “Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, Area Manager for Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III to Edwin W. Finder, College Park Community Development Administrator on Leonard J. Smith’s Relocation Assistance,” June 29, 1978.

"reasonable cause to believe that the City of College Park has not provided relocation advisory services in keeping with the intent of Section 205(c)(4) of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Properties Acquisition Policies Act of 1970...and is therefore in noncompliance. The City of College Park is herein directed to stay the notice to vacate issued to Mr. Leonard J. Smith for a period of six months from the June 30, 1978 expiration date."⁷²⁶

College Park officials maintained that an existing ban on taverns within the project area would have precluded Lakeland Tavern's move to either commercial area, so relocation assistance would be focused on sites external to Lakeland.⁷²⁷ Brugger refuted the city's position by asking why Long's Liquor Store and "Town Hall, a tavern/restaurant much like the Lakeland Tavern, but on a much larger scale, [were] allowed to remain within the Project area, when, according to the City, the Plan 'does not have provision for the operation of a business' of that type...?"⁷²⁸ Smith's attorney argued, and the HUD Area Office concurred, that Lakeland Tavern was a gathering place that sold food and could classify as a restaurant.⁷²⁹

The August 24, 1979 minutes of the City Council meeting specified that Smith's Attorney had "approved the Memorandum of Understanding [MOU] and Johnson, McCordic, and Thompson's description of this 17,500 square foot parcel in Lakeland (see Figure 31)."⁷³⁰ The draft MOU appended to the meeting minutes specified that the City of College Park, Leonard J. Smith, and Leon N. Weiner & Associates would propose a Consent Decree before the court and call to dismiss all claims and counterclaims to the lawsuit.⁷³¹ In summary, the city would sell Smith a parcel in Clearance Area West, not larger than 17,500 square feet, at fair re-use value for the relocation of Lakeland Tavern—conditioned on obtaining commercial zoning—and Smith would "withdraw his opposition to the pending street abandonment petition, Equity No. E-5857 before the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland."⁷³² The draft MOU stipulated that Smith vacate the former site of Lakeland Tavern by December 31, 1979 and that a Land Disposition Agreement precede construction at the new site. The draft MOU also stated that "Smith's entitlement to the parcel of land to be sold to him...shall be contingent upon 'success' of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project...as used herein, 'success' of the project shall be deemed to mean that point in time one (1) year from the date upon which the City's designated redeveloper commences construction in the Clearance Area West."⁷³³

⁷²⁶ "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, Area Manager for Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III to Edwin W. Finder, College Park Community Development Administrator on Leonard J. Smith's Relocation Assistance," June 29, 1978.

⁷²⁷ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment," August 24, 1978, City of College Park.

⁷²⁸ "Public Hearing on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Amendment."

⁷²⁹ Ridgon, "Officials of College Park Besieged on Two Fronts: Lakeland Sues." ; "Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, Area Manager for Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III to Edwin W. Finder, College Park Community Development Administrator on Leonard J. Smith's Relocation Assistance," June 29, 1978, City of College Park.

⁷³⁰ "Minutes of the Meeting of College Park Mayor and Council," August 24, 1979, City of College Park.

⁷³¹ "Draft Outline of Memorandum of Understanding Between the City and Smith, August 22, 1979, in Minutes of the Meeting of College Park Mayor and Council," August 24, 1979, City of College Park. 1.

⁷³² "Draft Outline of Memorandum of Understanding Between the City and Smith, August 22, 1979, in Minutes of the Meeting of College Park Mayor and Council." 1.

⁷³³ "Draft Outline of Memorandum of Understanding Between the City and Smith, August 22, 1979, in Minutes of the Meeting of College Park Mayor and Council." 1.

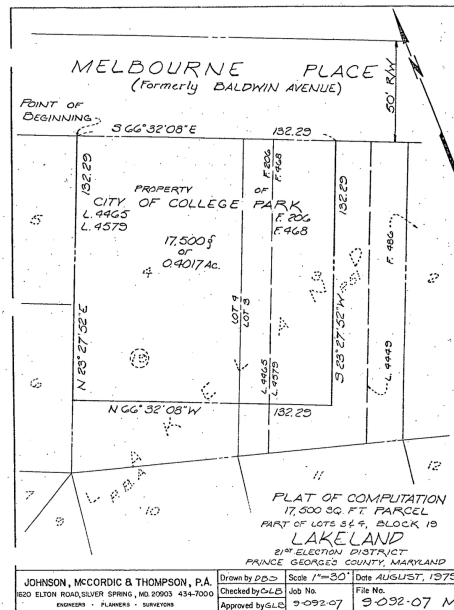


Figure 31. Plat of Computation for the relocation of Lakeland Tavern⁷³⁴

The Financial Settlement of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project

In February 1979, the City of College Park submitted to HUD an Application for a Categorical Program Settlement Grant for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Md. R-44, requesting \$3,181,000.⁷³⁵ In this application, the city attributed growing expenses in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project to higher project improvement costs, which had been calculated in 1967 as \$1,858,000 and then updated for a 1979 estimate of \$5,258,140.⁷³⁶ The city “now envisioned...only \$3,348,000 or a reduction of 64% in the scope of project improvements” through “elimination of a very costly highway overpass and the street and utility work related thereto; reduction in land fill through careful study of alternatives; change from residential to industrial use in clearance area east in order to reduce street, utility and land fill costs.”⁷³⁷ In a December 13, 1979 letter, Robert C. Embry, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development at HUD, informed Congresswoman Gladys Noon Spellman that the settlement grant amount would be lower than the city’s initial ask because there was “no development scheme for Clearance Area East and the possibility of the area being a Metro right-of-way.”⁷³⁸ Embry Jr.’s letter also included the following:

“In addition, HUD has determined that the City [of College Park] has against it a general finding of apparent non-compliance with Title VI and Section 109 of the block grant regulations. These findings indicate that on the basis of race, the CDBG/Urban Renewal program, as administered by

⁷³⁴ “Urban Renewal Plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area | City of College Park, Maryland” (Mayor and Council of the City of College Park, Maryland, October 1978), Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷³⁵ “Application for a Categorical Program Settlement Grant for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Md. R-44 Submitted to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by The City of College Park, Md.,” February 1979, City of College Park.

⁷³⁶ “Application for a Categorical Program Settlement Grant for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Md. R-44 Submitted to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by The City of College Park, Md.”

⁷³⁷ “Application for a Categorical Program Settlement Grant for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, Md. R-44 Submitted to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by The City of College Park, Md.”

⁷³⁸ “Letter from Robert C. Embry, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to U.S. Representative Gladys Noon Spellman, Concerning College Park, Maryland’s Continuing Difficulties in Connection with the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (MD-R44) and Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Program,” December 13, 1979, City of College Park.

the City, appears to have had a discriminatory effect with respect to the allocation of Federal and local resources and the type of benefits accrued.”

Resolution 80-UR-5, signed by Mayor Reeves on May 13, 1980, specified that HUD had offered a Categorical Program Settlement Grant of \$1,942,635 “to financially settle the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.”⁷³⁹ On May 27, 1980, the College Park Urban Renewal Authority signed the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Closeout Agreement “to effect a financial settlement of the Project for \$1,942,635 which will result in the full repayment of all temporary loans pursuant to Section 112(b) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-383) and the provisions of 24 CFR Part 570, Subpart N.”⁷⁴⁰ This meant that almost \$2 million in federal funds were released for the City of College Park to finish the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁷⁴¹ The city would utilize a portion of these funds to add landfill and build storm sewers, streets, curbs, gutters, and sidewalks to equip sites on the west side before their eventual sale to Leon N. Weiner & Associates.⁷⁴² The rest would resolve the city’s \$1.23 million debt from prior land acquisitions and site development.⁷⁴³ HUD had previously issued a one-time grant, laden with conditions, to settle part of the debt, demanding the city to locate a site for an extra 24 units of subsidized housing outside of Lakeland as part of the city’s Housing Assistance Plan; this resulted in “landswap negotiations” between UMD and Leon N. Weiner & Associates for a site in the vicinity of Metzert Road.⁷⁴⁴ On February 4, 1982, Weiner disclosed to the Mayor and City Council that funds for the Metzert Road site may be unavailable.⁷⁴⁵

Leon N. Weiner & Associates’ Property Purchases and Development

In January 1981, Resolution 81-UR-1 approved the HUD-established reuse value of \$500 for each of the 141 units of senior citizen housing, totaling \$70,500, for the three acres of Parcel A (see Figure 32) in Clearance Area West.⁷⁴⁶ HUD reviewed two independent appraisal reports that issued fair reuse values of \$183,000 and \$200,000 for Parcel A, but HUD’s disposition price took precedence to make the Section 8 “housing economically feasible.”⁷⁴⁷ Resolution 81-UR-6 approved the sale of Parcel A by the City of College Park to Leon N. Weiner & Associates, Inc. for \$70,500.⁷⁴⁸ A deed (Liber 5414, Folio 682-686) dated June 9, 1981 recorded this transaction. That year, Leon N. Weiner & Associates began constructing the \$6.5 million apartment building with 141 one-bedroom units for rent under HUD’s Section 8 program for elderly residents; it would be named after Congresswoman Gladys Noon Spellman of Maryland’s 5th District.⁷⁴⁹ With occupancy of Spellman House Apartments expected in late summer of 1982, Leon N. Weiner stated,

⁷³⁹ City of College Park, “Resolution 80-UR-5 Resolution Approving the Closeout Agreement and Financial Settlement of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (MD-R-44)” (1980).

⁷⁴⁰ “Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Closeout Agreement Project No. MD-R-44,” May 27, 1980, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁴¹ Brent Byers, “HUD, College Park Free Lakeland Payment,” *Prince George’s Post*, n.d., Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁴² Stephanie Reynolds, “City To Complete Urban Renewal,” *Prince George’s Post*, August 16, 1984. ; Byers, “HUD, College Park Free Lakeland Payment.”

⁷⁴³ Byers, “HUD, College Park Free Lakeland Payment.”

⁷⁴⁴ Byers, “HUD, College Park Free Lakeland Payment.” ; “Letter from Robert C. Embry, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to U.S. Representative Gladys Noon Spellman, Concerning College Park, Maryland’s Continuing Difficulties in Connection with the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (MD-R44) and Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Program,” December 13, 1979.

⁷⁴⁵ “Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council with Leon N. Weiner,” February 4, 1982, City of College Park.

⁷⁴⁶ “Resolution 81-UR-1 Resolution Approving the Fair Reuse Value of the Elderly Housing Parcel in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project,” (1981).

⁷⁴⁷ “Resolution 81-UR-1 Resolution Approving the Fair Reuse Value of the Elderly Housing Parcel in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project,” (1981).

⁷⁴⁸ “Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” City of College Park, MD, February 24, 1981.

⁷⁴⁹ Frances Suave, “Efforts for Lower Rents: Apartments for Low- and Moderate-Income Elderly To Be Named in Honor of Gladys Spellman,” *The Washington Post*, April 23, 1981.

"Our firm, in addition, plans to move forward with commercial/industrial development in the portion of Lakeland east of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad tracks."⁷⁵⁰

At a meeting with the Mayor and City Council on February 4, 1982, Weiner mentioned an Advisory Committee on tenant selection policies that he would appoint to advise his firm. Weiner agreed to include members of PAC and the Lakeland community in the Advisory Committee and affirmed that he had a "responsibility to supply housing for those who had lived in Lakeland and who had to move because of Urban Renewal."⁷⁵¹ At the April 13, 1982 meeting of the City Council, a motion passed unanimously that outlined the city's tenant selection policy for federally-assisted housing in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, prioritizing: "1. displacees of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, 2. present residents of Lakeland, 3. former residents of Lakeland who moved prior to execution of [the] project [in August 1973], 4. other residents of the City, 5. residents of Prince George's County and, 6. all other applicants."⁷⁵² This motion also called for the City Council to present this tenant selection criteria to Weiner for him to forward to HUD.⁷⁵³ Only a few weeks prior, on March 26, 1982, Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park, notified the Mayor and City Council that HUD had only agreed to two priority groups.⁷⁵⁴ Families displaced by local governmental action, including the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project and code enforcement, would have first priority, while those residing or employed in Prince George's County would have second priority.⁷⁵⁵

On May 25, 1982, College Park Mayor Alvin J. Kushner signed Resolution 82-UR-2, approving the city's acquisition of UMD property on Lots 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 on Block 19 in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area "on a land exchange basis, when funds are available...from the sale of urban renewal land...[and] the sale price for this described property will be at the value of \$250,000."⁷⁵⁶ The transaction was subject to UMD supplying a right of entry to the city for storm drain construction through this property.⁷⁵⁷

At a meeting with the Mayor and City Council on August 16, 1982, Leon N. Weiner described the plan for several parcels on Lakeland's westside (see Figure 32).⁷⁵⁸ Parcel C, for example, would contain 24 rental units under Section 8, while Weiner's firm welcomed another developer to construct the four single lots on Parcel H.⁷⁵⁹ In mid-December that year, City Council, under Agenda Item 82-G-181, carried a motion that the city would approve a cooperative housing concept for Weiner's 24 units of Section 8 townhouses in Parcel G (see Figure 32), about 3.65 acres of land in Clearance Area West, on the condition that "HUD provides the City with written assurance...[that this] would then satisfy the long standing obligation that HUD had imposed...for the construction of 24 units of Section 8 housing outside the Lakeland Project [referred to as the Alden Park Apartments on Metzert Road]."⁷⁶⁰ In January 1982, Leon N. Weiner had

⁷⁵⁰ "Fact Sheet Gladys Noon Spellman House Apartments for Senior Citizens," April 15, 1981, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁵¹ "Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council with Leon N. Weiner," February 4, 1982, City of College Park.

⁷⁵² "Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council," April 13, 1982, City of College Park.

⁷⁵³ "Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council." 1982. City of College Park, MD.

⁷⁵⁴ Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Mayor and Council, Subject: Tenant Selection Criteria, city records, City of College Park, MD, March 26, 1982.

⁷⁵⁵ Letter from Terry C. Chisholm, Area Manager for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Region III, to Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority, city records, City of College Park, MD, March 17, 1982.

⁷⁵⁶ Resolution 82-UR-2 Resolution Approving the Acquisition of University of Maryland Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, city records, City of College Park, MD, May 25, 1982.

⁷⁵⁷ Resolution 82-UR-2 Resolution Approving the Acquisition of University of Maryland Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area, city records, City of College Park, MD, May 25, 1982.

⁷⁵⁸ Meeting of the Mayor and Council with Leon N. Weiner Associates (Developer for Lakeland), city records, City of College Park, MD, August 16, 1982.

⁷⁵⁹ Meeting of the Mayor and Council with Leon N. Weiner Associates (Developer for Lakeland), city records, City of College Park, MD, August 16, 1982.

⁷⁶⁰ Minutes for the Regular Meeting of the College Park City Council, Page 6, City of College Park, MD, December 14, 1982.

informed Jack Callahan that his market studies positioned the Metzert Road units as “particularly suitable for families associated with the University of Maryland.”⁷⁶¹

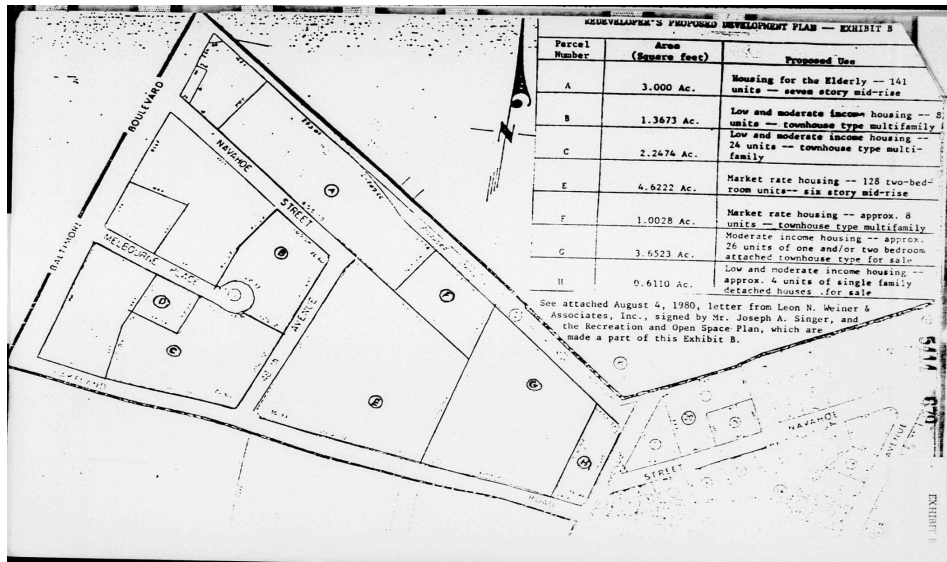


Figure 32. Leon N. Weiner & Associates' Proposed Development Plan for Lakeland's west side⁷⁶²

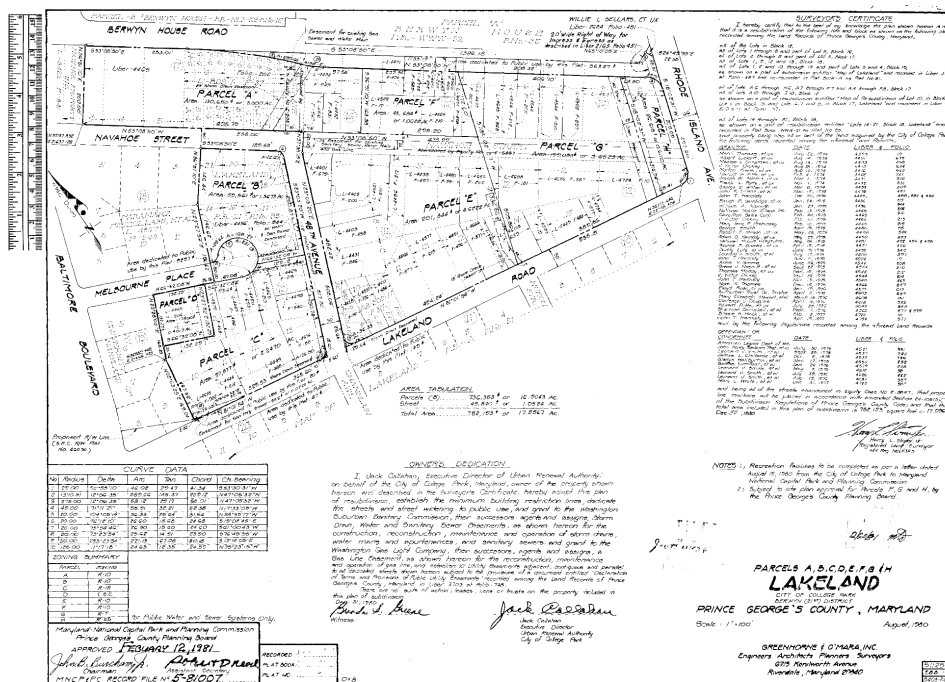


Figure 33. Map of parcels on Lakeland's west side with former property owners listed on the right⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹ Letter from Leon N. Weiner of Leon N. Weiner & Associates, Inc. to Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority, City of College Park, MD, January 15, 1982.

⁷⁶² "Redeveloper's Proposed Redevelopment Plan - Exhibit B (Liber 5414, Folio 070)," n.d., Prince George's County Land Records.

⁷⁶³ Greenhorne & O'Mara, Parcels, A, B, C, D, E, F, G & H Lakeland, City of College Park, Berwyn District, August 1980.

The second phase of low- to moderate-income townhouses and mid-rise apartment buildings reached a pause in late 1982 when the city denied Leon N. Weiner & Associates' offer of \$192,000 for the sale of 12 acres (presumably consisting of Parcels B, C, E, and G).⁷⁶⁴ City Council was frustrated by Weiner's offer because it was exceedingly below fair market value and voted to counter with a purchase price of about \$304,000 (the purchase price for Parcels B, C, E, and G ultimately amounted to \$303,600).⁷⁶⁵ By this time, 104 of Lakeland's homes had already been destroyed.⁷⁶⁶ Two years prior, on August 19, 1980, a contract between the City of College Park and Leon N. Weiner & Associates, Inc. stipulated under "Section 3. Determination of Purchase Price" that the city would first determine the fair market value for parcels on Lakeland's west side, and Weiner could accept such value as the purchase price or reject and issue a counteroffer with what he was "willing to pay."⁷⁶⁷ The contract allowed for the purchase price of parcels on Lakeland's west side to be negotiated. The contract also integrated language that described the city's intent as "carrying out a program for the renewal of slum and blighted areas" and that redevelopment envisioned in the approved plan and this contract was "in the vital and best interests of the City and the health, safety, and welfare of its residents"⁷⁶⁸

At a meeting of the College Park Housing Authority on January 25, 1983, Jack Callahan announced that the city and Weiner had agreed to modifications in the plan. Parcel G would still consist of 24 units of cooperative Section 8 housing," but the meeting minutes indicated that "these units were previously designated for the Metzert Road Site."⁷⁶⁹ Callahan also reported that Weiner would start constructing 32 townhouses as Section 8 rentals on Parcels B and C and a six-story apartment building with 128 market rate units on Parcel E.⁷⁷⁰ The city had Parcel F (zoned R-10 for multi-family high density), Parcel H (zoned R-55 as single-family detached), and Clearance Area East.⁷⁷¹ On March 8, 1983, College Park Mayor Alvin J. Kushner signed Resolution 83-UR-3 to approve the sale of Parcel G to Leon N. Weiner & Associates for \$39,600, a price the city had reduced from the fair reuse value of \$185,908 "due to many mitigating factors among which are...providing marketable housing for low and moderate income families at the lowest feasible cost..."⁷⁷² On October 4, 1983, Mayor Kushner signed Resolution 83-UR-9 to approve the sale of Parcels B, C, and E—together forming 8.24 acres of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area—to Leon N. Weiner & Associates, Inc. for \$264,000.⁷⁷³ Both Resolution 83-UR-3 and Resolution 83-UR-9 specified that the sale to Leon N. Weiner & Associates could also be completed with a "limited partnership in which either Leon N. Weiner and Associates Inc., or Leon N. Weiner individually is a general partner." As such, a deed (Liber 5697, Folio 512-518) dated June 1, 1983 recorded the sale of Parcel G to Alden Park Associates, L.P, and a deed dated September 30, 1983 (Liber 5768, Folio 752-756) documented the sale of Parcels B, C, and E to Berkley Associates, L.P. In 1984, Leon N. Weiner & Associates' Alden Park (24 units) and Berkley (32 units) townhouses were ready for occupancy and prioritized former Lakeland residents who wished to

⁷⁶⁴ Barbara Carlin, "Lakeland Snagged Over Land Bidding Price," *The Prince George's Post*, December 16, 1982.

⁷⁶⁵ Carlin, "Lakeland Snagged Over Land Bidding Price."

⁷⁶⁶ Wynter, "Lakeland: Urban Renewal Erases College Park Community."

⁷⁶⁷ "Agreement between City of College Park and Leon N. Weiner and Associates (Redeveloper) (Liber 5414, Folio 614)," n.d., Prince George's County Land Records.

⁷⁶⁸ "Agreement between City of College Park and Leon N. Weiner and Associates (Redeveloper) (Liber 5414, Folio 614)," n.d., Prince George's County Land Records.

⁷⁶⁹ College Park Housing Authority Regular Meeting, page 2, City of College Park, MD, January 25, 1983.

⁷⁷⁰ College Park Housing Authority Regular Meeting, page 2, City of College Park, MD, January 25, 1983.

⁷⁷¹ College Park Housing Authority Regular Meeting, page 2, City of College Park, MD, January 25, 1983.

⁷⁷² Resolution 83-UR-3 Resolution Approving the Sale of Parcel G in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area to Leon N. Weiner and Associates, Inc., City of College Park, March 8, 1983

⁷⁷³ Resolution Approving the Sale of Parcels B, C, and E in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area to Leon N. Weiner and Associates, Inc. City of College Park, Maryland.

return; these residents would also receive HUD assistance with rental payments under Section 8.⁷⁷⁴ Weiner's Berkley apartment building offered 128 two-bedroom units for rent at full market value.⁷⁷⁵

A Lakeland resident stressed that the transactions between the City of College Park and affiliates of Leon N. Weiner & Associates produced harms almost irrevocable in effect by transferring wealth from individual property owners to a corporate owner, stripping residents of the ability to own their property, and bolstering corporate owners to have authority over a significant portion of the Lakeland community. Corporate owners' land acquisitions and development of higher density, rental properties on the west side overturned Lakeland's high homeownership, destabilizing the community with transient residents. By 1984, College Park had expended about \$8.5 million in HUD grants while developers had spent \$9 million on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.⁷⁷⁶

Additional Developers of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project

A deed, dated August 13, 1985 (Liber 6251, Folio 477), marked the sale of Parcel F by the City of College Park to Nutri, Inc. for \$34,500. After developing Lakeland Park Townhouse Condominium, Nutri, Inc. then sold these condominium units on Parcel F to individual buyers for between \$69,000 and \$80,000 (the exact values for these transactions can be located at Liber 6353, Folio 306-437). In the Conservation Area, the city had helped Lakeland homeowners obtain "grants and low interest loans for rehabilitation work."⁷⁷⁷ Callahan confirmed in 1984 that Nutri Inc. was selected to construct the seven single family homes mandated by City Council because Leon N. Weiner & Associates was disinterested in doing so.⁷⁷⁸ On July 1, 1985, Lakeland residents contested the rezoning of vacant property at Navahoe Street and 54th Avenue for Nutri Associates to develop 13 townhouses.⁷⁷⁹ At this meeting with Callahan and Nutri Associates officers, Lakeland residents argued that townhouses would contrast with the detached, single family homes that were characteristic of the Conservation Area.⁷⁸⁰ Lakeland residents added that the chosen site dimensions were too small, and townhouses would diminish property values and compound traffic congestion.⁷⁸¹ To appeal to Nutri Associates' profit-oriented objectives, Lakeland residents presented the construction of detached homes and the sale of lots for individual development as alternatives.⁷⁸²

For Lakeland's east side, the City of College Park had tentative plans in 1984 for Nutri Associates to construct \$50,000 to \$70,000 homes for sale, deviating from projected light industrial development for the area.⁷⁸³ However, the city delayed home construction to await and then examine final plans for the east side by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA).⁷⁸⁴ The design stage of the WMATA Green Line calculated that the cost of buying sand and gravel and then trucking the mixture to build a track bed and parking lot in the area would range from \$8 to \$10 million.⁷⁸⁵ The soil material from land owned by M-NCPPC and acquired by the City of College Park for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project

⁷⁷⁴ Reynolds, "City To Complete Urban Renewal."

⁷⁷⁵ Reynolds, "City To Complete Urban Renewal."

⁷⁷⁶ Young, "College Park Completing Project: 15-Year-Old Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Enters Its Final Phase."

⁷⁷⁷ Reynolds, "City To Complete Urban Renewal."

⁷⁷⁸ Gayle Young, "College Park Completing Project: 15-Year-Old Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan Enters Its Final Phase," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 1984.

⁷⁷⁹ "Letter from James Adams, President of the Lakeland Civic Association to Mayor Alvin J. Kushner," July 5, 1985, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁸⁰ "Letter from James Adams, President of the Lakeland Civic Association to Mayor Alvin J. Kushner," July 5, 1985.

⁷⁸¹ "Letter from James Adams, President of the Lakeland Civic Association to Mayor Alvin J. Kushner," July 5, 1985.

⁷⁸² "Letter from James Adams, President of the Lakeland Civic Association to Mayor Alvin J. Kushner," July 5, 1985.

⁷⁸³ Reynolds, "City To Complete Urban Renewal."

⁷⁸⁴ Reynolds, "City To Complete Urban Renewal."

⁷⁸⁵ The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Department of Parks and Recreation, Prince George's County, "Lake Artemesia Park: 600 Cleveland Avenue College Park, Maryland," n.d.

was a known resource for rail line development, and WMATA confirmed that using this material would be money-saving.⁷⁸⁶ In 1984, Prince George's County Council, M-NCPPC, the City of College Park, and the Town of Berwyn Heights had given "conceptual approval" for the 35- to 40-acre lake and recreational space at Lakeland's east side in exchange for a one million cubic yard excavation of sand and gravel material for three miles of WMATA Green Line track to College Park and a parking site at Greenbelt.⁷⁸⁷ When M-NCPPC requested that WMATA supply "replacement land for any parkland taken for Metro construction," the city-owned Clearance Area East of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project became that "replacement land."⁷⁸⁸ M-NCPPC had also previously acquired 66.5 acres of land on Lakeland's east side for \$1.5 million in February 1973.⁷⁸⁹ In a letter to Warren W. Kershaw, a Land Acquisition Officer at M-NCPPC, dated August 17, 1976, Mary E. Braxton requested that if paths or trails were to be named in the proposed park that Weems Trail or Lane be considered to honor the memory of her parents Morris L. Weems (1889–1964) and Mary E. Weems (1892–1976).⁷⁹⁰ By 1988, a City Council member asserted that the sale of Clearance Area East would help the city settle a \$1.9 million debt to HUD.⁷⁹¹ On September 20, 1990, the City of College Park and the College Park Urban Renewal Authority sold the land to WMATA for \$1,475,000.⁷⁹² The dedication for Lake Artemesia Park was held on July 23, 1992.⁷⁹³ While a brochure for Lake Artemesia Park praised the public benefits of a cost-conscious approach and a recreational facility, the fact that a third of the Lakeland community had been destroyed and submerged in the process remained unsaid.⁷⁹⁴

In 1999, the Lakeland Civic Association shared their concerns about property covenants and floodplain requirements in a meeting with the architect and builder of the new housing development on the corner of Navahoe Street and 54th Avenue.⁷⁹⁵ Residents stressed that the required elevations could create an unwelcome distinction from neighboring homes and depreciate property values. Residents also felt that property covenants mandating 13 years of owner-occupancy did not satisfy "the overall welfare of the community" and the desire for a sense of permanency.⁷⁹⁶ The fear was that the stability would dissipate after 13 years, as properties could become rentals for students and reduce the value of longtime residents' homes.⁷⁹⁷ A rental property at 5107 Lakeland Road, neighboring Embry AME Church, had already eroded

⁷⁸⁶ The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Department of Parks and Recreation, Prince George's County, "Lake Artemesia Park: 600 Cleveland Avenue College Park, Maryland." In spring 1972, M-NCPPC's Prince George's County Planning Board acquired a gift of ten lots from Artemesia N. Drefs, daughter of Edwin A. Newman, whose stipulation for the donated land's use as park and open space aligned with an adopted plan for Indian Creek Park (see source: Sheldon Golub, "History of Lake Artemesia Reported," *The P.G. Post*, March 2, 1972.). Prince George's County Executive Order No. 26-173 and complementary County Council motion enabled M-NCPPC to purchase Lake Artemesia, effective May 25, 1973, for preservation and protection as a recreational space (see source: William W. Gullett, "Executive Order No. 26-1973 - To The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission," February 16, 1973, Lakeland Digital Archives.).

⁷⁸⁷ "A Lake and Metro in One Handy Package," *The Prince George's Journal*, May 18, 1984.

⁷⁸⁸ Thomas H. Countee, "M-NCPPC 85-25 Resolution" (1985).

⁷⁸⁹ Thurston, "Urban Renewal in Lakeland." 38.

⁷⁹⁰ Mary E. Braxton, "Letter to Mr. Kershaw of the Maryland National Park & Planning Commission," August 17, 1976, The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (in process). Hereafter referred to as TBWP. ; Warren W. Kershaw, "Letter to Mary E. Braxton," April 7, 1977, The Billy Weems Papers, Braxton Institute Archives, subset, Joanne M. Braxton Papers, TBWP.

⁷⁹¹ "College Park Delays Decision on Land for Metro Green Line," *The Washington Post*, July 13, 1988.

⁷⁹² "Deed between the College Park Urban Renewal Authority and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority," September 20, 1990, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁹³ "Dedication of Lake Artemesia," July 17, 1992, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁷⁹⁴ The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Department of Parks and Recreation, Prince George's County, "Lake Artemesia Park: 600 Cleveland Avenue College Park, Maryland."

⁷⁹⁵ Ioanni C. Gatsiounis, "Lakeland Meeting Focuses on Housing Proposal, Rental Unit," *Special to the Prince George's County Gazette*, April 8, 1999.

⁷⁹⁶ Gatsiounis, "Lakeland Meeting Focuses on Housing Proposal, Rental Unit."

⁷⁹⁷ Gatsiounis, "Lakeland Meeting Focuses on Housing Proposal, Rental Unit."

public safety in the weeks prior with a verbal threat, “cars dropping off visitors to the house in a surreptitious manner, unleashed dogs frightening children attending the church, illegal parking, littering and loitering on church grounds, and the disruption of a funeral service.”⁷⁹⁸ In response, the Lakeland Civic Association and Embry AME Church wrote a letter to the tenants and the City of College Park to document these incidents and prevent further harm.⁷⁹⁹ A year later, an elderly Lakeland resident hoped to shop on U.S. Route 1 and became a victim of assault.⁸⁰⁰ Lakeland residents reported that “there [weren’t] enough officers on patrol and there [was] a lack of communication between community and law-enforcement officials.”⁸⁰¹

The Involvement of the University of Maryland (UMD)

While the urban renewal process unfolded, public safety concerns compelled Earl M. Harnest, Director of the Office of Code Enforcement in College Park, to address a letter to UMD. On November 1, 1974, Harnest wrote:

“As a property owner in the Lakeland area near Baltimore Boulevard, you are aware of the trash, litter, and weeds that [permeate] the general area. The general conditions in that area are not only offensive, it presently is an ideal harborage and breeding place for rats. It is, therefore, a health hazard...there is another hazard that is present, that of violent crime. This aspect of the area has culminated in the shooting that took place on the 15th of September. The entire City joins the people of Lakeland in their demand for a clean up of the area and breaking up the public drinking and loitering that goes on around the Melbourne Road area...Each owner and operator must keep their properties free of debris, litter or refuse of any description, and weeds, as set forth in Chapter 24 Section 6 and 8 and Chapter 39 Section 7.B1 of the Code of the City of College Park...The City also requests that each property owner and operator post his property for ‘No Trespassing’. The City will request of the Prince George’s County Police Department to respond and enforce, at your request, any and all violators of the loitering or trespassing posting.”

UMD’s inaction in this example produced appalling conditions, but the institution’s action in matters of housing also endangered the Lakeland community. A letter from UMD Chancellor C.E. Bishop to Robert A. Edwards, City Administrator for College Park, dated March 9, 1971, affirmed the university’s enduring interest in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, which had been undergoing regular reviews by the University Liaison Committee.⁸⁰² In February 1974, UMD Chancellor Bishop communicated interest in a “jointly planned student development in connection with the Lakeland project.”⁸⁰³

On June 11, 1976, Mayor Reeves wrote to UMD Chancellor Dr. Robert L. Gluckstern after learning about a study of the university’s housing needs (i.e. UMCP Housing Program) to share that potential changes to the approved Lakeland Urban Renewal Project could free up city land resources to house married students or faculty of UMD.⁸⁰⁴ Mayor Reeves then assured that further exploration of alternatives “would, of course,

⁷⁹⁸ Gatsiounis, “Lakeland Meeting Focuses on Housing Proposal, Rental Unit.”

⁷⁹⁹ Gatsiounis, “Lakeland Meeting Focuses on Housing Proposal, Rental Unit.”

⁸⁰⁰ Philip Henery, “Lakeland Residents Seek an Increase in Police Presence,” *Prince George’s County Gazette*, January 6, 2000.

⁸⁰¹ Henery, “Lakeland Residents Seek an Increase in Police Presence.”

⁸⁰² “Letter from University of Maryland Chancellor C. E. Bishop to Robert A. Edwards, City Administrator for the City of College Park,” March 9, 1971, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁰³ Hass, “Lakeland Residents Angered by Renewal Plans; Residents, Developers Clash over Lakeland Renewal Project.”

⁸⁰⁴ “Letter from College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves to University of Maryland Chancellor Robert L. Gluckstern,” June 11, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

take place in concert with the residents of the Lakeland community.”⁸⁰⁵ Yet, UMD Chancellor Gluckstern’s reply only invited Mayor Reeves to deliver “input and comments about the report and how it may impact on the future development of the Lakeland Urban Renewal.”⁸⁰⁶ In September 1976, Finder’s review of UMD’s 15-year housing plan led to a meeting with the campus capital improvements committee to present an outline of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project’s status and to explore ideas of Lakeland property functioning as potential university housing.⁸⁰⁷ Finder disclosed that “the city could not finance special student housing in Lakeland with urban renewal funds because federal regulations say the housing needs of project residents must be satisfied first.”⁸⁰⁸ As such, “the proposed housing would not be owned by the University but by a private developer to be selected by the city to fulfill its urban renewal plan.”⁸⁰⁹ Mayor Reeves even added that he was “confident” that UMD would want to consider housing opportunities in Lakeland.⁸¹⁰ Mary Hollomand, Community Coordinator for the Lakeland residents’ liaison group, contested this decision by emphasizing that “nothing like this should be done undercover” and without community input.⁸¹¹ The Open Letter, signed by 56 individuals affected by the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, disclosed:

“For generations, this community has lived in fear of the possibility of Maryland University taking over the land. With Ed Finder’s help (his conference with Maryland University officials on alternative uses of future housing in the Lakeland area) this fear has become closer to realization than ever before as high-rises would accommodate such transients..”⁸¹²

Ed Finder’s position as the City of College Park’s Director of Community Development made him a key administrator of urban renewal programs, and his engagement with UMD contradicted a convention of his department, namely that programs “are developed and carried out under close liaison and with the direct input and guidance of...For the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project, the Project Area Committee [PAC].”⁸¹³ UMD’s complicity in a process that dispossessed Lakeland residents trivialized how this “community serviced the university as clerks and janitors, maids and cooks, and childcare workers” for generations and contributed to the university’s growth.⁸¹⁴

The Weygandt Case

In July 1974, the City of College Park’s Urban Renewal Authority gave W. Earl Weygandt a purchase offer of \$141,600 for Lakeland east side property at 5415 Detroit Avenue, being Lots 1, 12, 13, 14, and 15, Block 44; it was an industrial building with an apartment on the second floor.⁸¹⁵ Due to Weygandt’s rejection, the city

⁸⁰⁵ “Letter from College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves to University of Maryland Chancellor Robert L. Gluckstern,” June 11, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁰⁶ “Letter from University of Maryland Chancellor Robert L. Gluckstern to College Park Mayor St. Clair Reeves,” July 6, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁰⁷ Kidwell, “Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area.”

⁸⁰⁸ Kidwell, “Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area.”

⁸⁰⁹ Kidwell, “Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area.”

⁸¹⁰ Kidwell, “Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area.”

⁸¹¹ Kidwell, “Campus Eyes City for Housing: Officials Discuss Lakeland Area.”

⁸¹² “Open Letter From Concerned and Affected Residents of the Lakeland Community and Environs. To Mayor and Council, January 1977, Subject: Selection of a Developer for the Urban Renewal Project. – City of College Park, MD.” 1977.

⁸¹³ City Administrator’s Annual Budget Message to the Mayor and City Council For the Fiscal Year Beginning July 1, 1977 And Ending June 30, 1978 “Department of Community Development” – from City of College Park, MD city records.

⁸¹⁴ Braxton, “Symbolic Geographies and Psychic Landscapes: Decoding the Hegemonic Discourse of Urban Renewal in the Case for Billy Weems v. the City of College Park, Maryland.” 179.

⁸¹⁵ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal to Donald Byrd, Acting City Administrator on the Possible Purchase of Weygandt Property,” September 10, 1986, Lakeland Digital Archives. ; Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.” 78.

filed a condemnation suit in the Circuit Court for Prince George's County in May 1975.⁸¹⁶ On August 16, 1976, Theodore L. Miazga, attorney for W. Earl Weygandt, requested that Ed Finder, College Park Director of Community Development, postpone the condemnation suit that had been scheduled for late September on 5415 Detroit Avenue.⁸¹⁷ At this juncture, the City of College Park had no plans to construct residences on the east side, and the pending condemnation suit against Weygandt sought to redevelop the land for residential use.⁸¹⁸ On August 30, 1977, two attorneys for the City of College Park, Morris Topf and Donald P. McLaughlin, corresponded on how the budgetary crisis facing the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project could alter the entire plan for Clearance Area East and "obviate the necessity of acquiring the subject property" at a "very substantial expenditure of very scarce project funds."⁸¹⁹ Topf exhorted McLaughlin to delay the eminent domain proceeding against Weygandt on September 15, 1977 for at least six months as the city waited to receive Leon N. Weiner & Associates' plan for Clearance Area East.⁸²⁰ On September 16, 1977, the City of College Park and W. Earl Weygandt decided to dismiss the pending condemnation suit "with an agreed-to figure of \$7,000 for the legal, appraisal, and engineering fees mentioned in Article 12-109(e) Real Property, Annotated Code of Maryland."⁸²¹

On January 17, 1978, W. Earl Weygandt and Velma Weygandt signed a proposed contract that would oblige the City of College Park to sell 5400 Detroit Avenue, "being Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4, Block 43, Lakeland Subdivision" to the Weygandts for \$120,000 and the Weygandts to transfer "Lot 100 and the west 10 feet of Lot 99, Block 12, Berwyn Heights" to the City of College Park.⁸²² Important to note was that the contract positioned HUD's approval as a precondition for the transaction.⁸²³ Despite being involved in several hours of negotiations, the City of College Park did not sign this proposed contract.

On January 25, 1978, Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority for the City of College Park, addressed a memorandum to Ed Finder to oppose the city's strategy for Weygandt's properties in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.⁸²⁴ Topf and Miazga had agreed on 1) the City of College Park purchasing "part of lot 99 and all of lot 100 in Block 12, Berwyn Heights Sub-division" from Weygandt to build "a public right-of-way for 54th Avenue East of the railroad tracks;" 2) the City of College Park selling back to Weygandt "lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, Block 43, Lakeland Sub-division;" and 3) the City of College Park abandoning the pending condemnation suit against Weygandt for "lots 1, 12, 13, 14 and 15, Block 44, Lakeland subdivision."⁸²⁵ Callahan cautioned that these transactions could jeopardize the millions of public dollars already poured into Lakeland since a "prime objective of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan is to rid the

⁸¹⁶ "Letter from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal, to Morris Topf, Attorney for the City of College Park on Earl Weygandt, Lots 1, 14, and 15, Block 44 Lakeland Subdivision," June 17, 1985.

⁸¹⁷ "Letter from Theodore L. Miazga, Attorney for Weygandt, to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Law #60,472 and 60,497 for Lots 12, 13, 14, 15 and 1 of Block 44, Earl Weygandt et al, Condemnee," August 16, 1976, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸¹⁸ "Letter from Theodore L. Miazga, Attorney for Weygandt, to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Law #60,472 and 60,497 for Lots 12, 13, 14, 15 and 1 of Block 44, Earl Weygandt et al, Condemnee," August 16, 1976.

⁸¹⁹ "Letter from Morris Topf, City Attorney to Donald P. McLaughlin, City Attorney on Weygandt," August 30, 1977, City of College Park.

⁸²⁰ "Letter from Morris Topf, City Attorney to Donald P. McLaughlin, City Attorney on Weygandt," August 30, 1977.

⁸²¹ "Letter from Morris Topf, City Attorney to Donald P. McLaughlin, City Attorney on College Park Versus Weygandt, 5415 Detroit Avenue," September 16, 1977, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸²² "Contract Between the City of College Park and W. Earl Weygandt and Velma Weygandt," January 17, 1978, City of College Park.

⁸²³ "Contract Between the City of College Park and W. Earl Weygandt and Velma Weygandt," January 17, 1978, City of College Park.

⁸²⁴ "Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Weygandt Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area," January 25, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸²⁵ "Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Weygandt Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area."

Lakeland Area of the blight caused by existing industrial activities.”⁸²⁶ Callahan added that the city had already purchased 106 parcels from Lakeland property owners, most of whom were loath to sell, and to grant an exception for Weygandt would be inexpressibly unfair and pose constraints on developing Clearance Area East.⁸²⁷

The following day, on January 26, 1978, Ed Finder’s memorandum to the Mayor and City Council specified how “a reduction in the land acquisition schedule” for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project functioned as a cost-saving measure.⁸²⁸ The 1978 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan no longer stipulated the acquisition of U.S. Route 1 commercial property and galvanized the city further, as the city “informally adopted a policy with regard to other parcels which would not be needed.”⁸²⁹ Offering the Weygandts as an example, Finder explained, “The policy might best be described as a willingness to discuss alternatives with property owners who step forward voluntarily and through their own initiative to express a preference regarding the acquisition or non-acquisition of properties.”⁸³⁰ The decision to preserve the Weygandt’s private ownership not only reduced the City of College Park’s expenses but conformed with a forecast of light industrial zoning for Clearance Area East.⁸³¹

Lakeland residents resisted the preferential treatment afforded to the Weygandts, who were white property owners, and conveyed their indignation before city officials. A PAC Newsletter, published on March 14, 1978, urged Lakeland residents to attend a meeting of the Mayor and City Council in protest of legislation that would permit W. Earl Weygandt to maintain ownership over select properties.⁸³² PAC argued that this action violated the plan for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project and the community’s best interests.⁸³³

On February 6, 1979, W. Earl Weygandt wrote a letter to the Mayor and City Council to expedite action on the agreement that Topf and Miazga concluded a year prior.⁸³⁴ Weygandt recounted that a jury in the Circuit Court for Prince George’s County determined the market value of 5400 Detroit Avenue to be \$146,474.00. The City of College Park had faced direct costs of \$154,720.94 to acquire 5400 Detroit Avenue, which excluded relocation expenses, administration, and services by the city’s urban renewal staff.⁸³⁵ In subsequent negotiations, Topf and Miazga subtracted the value of Lot 100 and the west 10 feet of Lot 99 from the 5400 Detroit Avenue market value to establish the \$120,000 total that Weygandt would

⁸²⁶ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Weygandt Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.”

⁸²⁷ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Weygandt Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.”

⁸²⁸ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council on Worksession Briefing Paper No. 114 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Weygandt Property – Clearance Area East,” January 26, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸²⁹ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council on Worksession Briefing Paper No. 114 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Weygandt Property – Clearance Area East.”

⁸³⁰ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council on Worksession Briefing Paper No. 114 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Weygandt Property – Clearance Area East.”

⁸³¹ “Memorandum from Ed Finder, Director of Community Development to Mayor and Council on Worksession Briefing Paper No. 114 Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Weygandt Property – Clearance Area East.”

⁸³² “PAC Newsletter on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project,” March 14, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸³³ “PAC Newsletter on the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project.”

⁸³⁴ “Letter from Earl Weygandt to the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park on 5400 Detroit Avenue Lots 1, 2, 3, 4; Block 43 Lakeland Subdivision and Lot 100 and West 10 Ft. of Lot 99 Block 12, Berwyn Heights,” February 6, 1979, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸³⁵ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on the Weygandt Property,” November 1, 1978, Lakeland Digital Archives.

pay to the city.⁸³⁶ Weygandt closed his letter by reaffirming his willingness to adhere to this agreement and his entitlement to fair treatment by the city given how “much financial, physical, and mental strain” resulted.⁸³⁷ About a week later, Topf’s letter to Carl Harrison Lehmann, attorney for Weygandt, contested “a right to specific performance” because the “contract was never in turn signed or approved by the City or by HUD.”⁸³⁸ Final reuse appraisals had also augmented the purchase price to \$124,500, but Weygandt’s refusal to accept this updated value further suspended contractual rights.⁸³⁹

On April 10, 1979, City Council unanimously passed a motion to approve the contract between the City of College Park and the Weygandts for the sale and transfer of the aforesaid properties at \$120,000.⁸⁴⁰ By mid-June, W. Earl Weygandt and Velma Weygandt had signed a new version of the contract, but the City of College Park’s signature was absent. A notable change to this contract included the City of College Park’s expectation that the Weygandts maintain 5415 Detroit Avenue, being Lots 1, 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Block 44, “in a seemly condition consistent with the proposed development of Clearance Area East of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project as marketable I-1 [light industrial] property, and that the said 5415 Detroit Avenue be zoned to I-1 as to such portions of it that are not already I-1.”⁸⁴¹ This version of the contract documented the City of College Park’s expectation of light industrial development for Clearance Area East and acceptance of ongoing zoning violations by the Weygandts.

In a meeting held on July 10, 1979, City Council member Charles Carroll announced that the protracted discussions between the City of College Park and the Weygandts had failed to reach a mutually agreeable end, and the City Council unanimously passed a motion to withdraw the contract approved on April 10 for the sale of land to the Weygandts.⁸⁴² A few days later, W. Earl Weygandt cited economic reasons, land use, and his attorney’s counsel to announce the permanent closure of Lot 100 and a portion of Lot 99 at Block 12, constituting a privately owned section of 54th Avenue, to the public.⁸⁴³ College Park officials had known that “access from Greenbelt Road along the east side of 54th Avenue would be required to properly develop Clearance Area East” as an industrial area.⁸⁴⁴ Weygandt’s decision to close the section of land that had been central to the proposed contracts and to the development of the east side marked his fallout with the City of College Park.

Microfiche cards of the Prince George’s County Circuit Court listed December 1979 as the first entry for *W. Earl Weygandt, et al vs. City of College Park*. In a letter to Jack Callahan on July 14, 1980, Morris Topf outlined the status of this case. The Prince George’s County Circuit Court had supported the City of College Park’s (defendant) demurrer on Weygandt’s (plaintiff) original declaration, and the same outcome

⁸³⁶ “Letter from Earl Weygandt to the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park on 5400 Detroit Avenue Lots 1, 2, 3, 4; Block 43 Lakeland Subdivision and Lot 100 and West 10 Ft. of Lot 99 Block 12, Berwyn Heights,” February 6, 1979.

⁸³⁷ “Letter from Earl Weygandt to the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park on 5400 Detroit Avenue Lots 1, 2, 3, 4; Block 43 Lakeland Subdivision and Lot 100 and West 10 Ft. of Lot 99 Block 12, Berwyn Heights,” February 6, 1979.

⁸³⁸ “Letter from Morris Topf, City Attorney to Carl Harrison Lehmann, Attorney for the Weygandts on Weygandt vs. College Park,” February 15, 1979, City of College Park.

⁸³⁹ “Letter from Morris Topf, City Attorney to Carl Harrison Lehmann, Attorney for the Weygandts on Weygandt vs. College Park,” February 15, 1979.

⁸⁴⁰ “Meeting Minutes of the College Park Mayor and Council Concerning the Sale of Property to Weygandt,” April 10, 1979, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁴¹ “Contract between the City of College Park and W. Earl Weygandt and Velman Weygandt,” June 1979, City of College Park.

⁸⁴² “Minutes – Regular Meeting of the College Park Mayor and Council,” July 10, 1979, City of College Park.

⁸⁴³ “Letter from W. Earl Weygandt (Weygandt Engineering Incorporated) to Mayor and Council of College Park on Private Road Closing – 54th Avenue, Berwyn Heights,” July 14, 1979, Lakeland Digital Archives.

⁸⁴⁴ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of the Urban Renewal Authority to Ed Finder, Director of Community Development on Weygandt Property in the Lakeland Urban Renewal Area.”

resulted with the plaintiff's amended declaration.⁸⁴⁵ Per the requirement of the Circuit Court, the plaintiffs filed a second amended declaration with five cases: Case I claimed damages of \$75,000 for the "unnecessary condemnation" of the Weygandt's property at 5400 Detroit Avenue; Case II demanded \$25,000 for the loss in value of the Weygandt's property at 5415 Detroit Avenue due to the prolonged and then discontinued condemnation suit; Case III claimed \$10,000 in damages for "the refusal of the City to honor its contract;" Case IV and V integrated and elaborated upon the allegations of the first three cases to call for punitive damages (\$100,000 for Case IV and unlisted value for Case V).⁸⁴⁶ The defendants filed a demurrer on the second amended declaration, and in November 1980, supplemental grounds for the demurrer to the second amended declaration were filed.⁸⁴⁷ That month, a motion for the Circuit Court to entertain the suit was filed; the demurrer was argued in open court and granted without leave to amend.⁸⁴⁸ In December 1980, a notice of appeal was filed, and by February 1981, a dismissal of appeal was filed.⁸⁴⁹

On June 17, 1985, Callahan wrote to Topf about the Mayor's request for action on Weygandt's violation of the Zoning Ordinance. Lots 1, 14, and 15 of Block 44 at 5415 Detroit Avenue had a rural-residential (R-R) designation but had been used for industrial purposes for years.⁸⁵⁰ In 1985, a paving company utilized an office trailer and building at this site, and when the City of College Park initially complained to the Prince George's County Chief Zoning Inspector in 1971, Weygandt kept "storage of construction vehicles, flatbed trailers, and telephone poles."⁸⁵¹ That year, the Mayor and City Council had recommended the Prince George's County Board of Appeals to issue a waiver for this zoning and land use discrepancy on Weygandt's property until the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project delineated property acquisition. The Board of Appeals granted the waiver on March 31, 1971, and it remained de facto valid until the 1980s.⁸⁵² On June 21, 1983, the City of College Park submitted a complaint with Prince George's County while Weygandt pursued rezoning for Lots 1, 14, and 15 of Block 44 to light industrial (I-1). The City of College Park rejected Weygandt's rezoning application, and the Prince George's District Council also denied Weygandt's request on June 10, 1985.

Over a year later, a memorandum from Callahan to Donald L. Byrd, Acting City Administrator, dated September 10, 1986, revealed that the Mayor and City Council requested to add the "Possible Purchase of Weygandt Property" to the work session agenda of September 16. The text implied that Lots 1, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of Block 44 at 5415 Detroit Avenue were under consideration, and Callahan estimated the market value of this property to be in the \$300,000 to \$350,000 range. Along with calculating that urban renewal funds were likely insufficient to acquire Weygandt's property, Callahan underscored many limitations: "The Urban Renewal Financial Closeout Agreement of 1980 does not authorize the expenditure of funds for acquisition in Clearance Area East;" "The Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan as amended in October 1978 shows the Weygandt property as NOT to be acquired;" "HUD would have to authorize the expenditure of acquisition funds and the Mayor and Council would have to go through the change process to amend the

⁸⁴⁵ Topf, Morris. Letter to Jack Callahan, "Re: W. Earl Weygandt, et al vs. City of College Park Law No. 79629," July 14, 1980.

⁸⁴⁶ "Second Amended Declaration in the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland, W. Earl Weygandt and Velma Weygandt, His Wife (Plaintiffs) vs. City of College Park, a Municipal Corporation Law Number 78,629," n.d., City of College Park.

⁸⁴⁷ "In the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland Daily Sheet, Law No. 78,629, Weygandt (Plaintiff) vs. City of College Park (Defendant)," June 6, 1980.

⁸⁴⁸ "In the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland Daily Sheet, Law No. 78,629, Weygandt (Plaintiff) vs. City of College Park (Defendant)," June 6, 1980.

⁸⁴⁹ "In the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland Daily Sheet, Law No. 78,629, Weygandt (Plaintiff) vs. City of College Park (Defendant)," June 6, 1980.

⁸⁵⁰ "Letter from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal, to Morris Topf, Attorney for the City of College Park on Earl Weygandt, Lots 1, 14, and 15, Block 44 Lakeland Subdivision," June 17, 1985.

⁸⁵¹ "Letter from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal, to Morris Topf, Attorney for the City of College Park on Earl Weygandt, Lots 1, 14, and 15, Block 44 Lakeland Subdivision," June 17, 1985.

⁸⁵² "Letter from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal, to Morris Topf, Attorney for the City of College Park on Earl Weygandt, Lots 1, 14, and 15, Block 44 Lakeland Subdivision," June 17, 1985.

Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan...”⁸⁵³ The city’s reconsideration of Weygandt’s property years after withdrawing the proposed contract and in clear violation of the Financial Closeout Agreement and the 1978 Lakeland Urban Renewal Plan showed a pattern of exception in the city’s engagement with Weygandt.

Summary

The housing discrimination that compelled Black families to live in flood-prone areas of Lakeland generated cyclical material losses and physical damages to homes that went unaddressed for the greater part of the 20th century. Although governmental neglect and inaction perpetuated this and other forms of structural violence, the City of College Park and others labeled Lakeland as a “slum,” “blighted,” and “deteriorated” to obtain and act upon urban renewal powers. Lakeland was a family-oriented neighborhood that cultivated an atmosphere of love and unity and flourished socially, spiritually, and academically. From the 1960s to the late 1980s, the compounding effects of urban renewal and a prolonged desegregation process shattered Lakeland’s stability and community-centered institutions. Actions by HUD, the City of College Park, Prince George’s County, Leon N. Weiner & Associates, WMATA, M-NCPPC, and others resulted in the displacement, dispossession, and erasure of a beloved community. Lakelanders were vocal throughout the urban renewal process and frequently contested policy decisions and plans that undermined their needs and desires, but they were continually dismissed and disempowered.

Approach to Impact Analysis

A community where neighbors were family, in the literal and figurative sense, defined the Lakeland neighborhood. As one Lakelander shared, “You cannot measure what we lost because of what we lost...” In the immediate aftermath of urban renewal, 104 of 150 households in Lakeland were displaced. Some families relocated to nearby neighborhoods in Prince George’s County, others to the Baltimore area, and a few were forced to relocate outside of the D.C. metropolitan region altogether. Homes were demolished, and businesses closed, but some of the most important losses that the community suffered were intangible. This impact analysis proceeds from the understanding that urban renewal impacted Lakeland in ways that are not easily measured. Public data does not capture all the people that were displaced and the ways that their lives changed as a result. Many of those directly impacted have passed on. Still, others find the memories and the trauma too difficult to share.

For this reason, a mixed-methods approach was adopted to capture, to the extent possible, the impact of urban renewal in Lakeland. This approach acknowledges the limitations of conventional data and embraces community memory as equally, if not more, important.

For approximately a year, scholars engaged with and performed collaborative research alongside Lakelanders (current residents of the community and the diaspora) and organizations throughout College Park and Prince George’s County to understand the contemporary experiences of Lakelanders and the long-term impacts of urban renewal. This collaboration took shape through oral interviews and a combination of virtual and in-person gatherings. Below is an analysis of the impacts.

⁸⁵³ “Memorandum from Jack Callahan, Director of Urban Renewal to Donald Byrd, Acting City Administrator on the Possible Purchase of Weygandt Property.”

United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs) provide a framework for evaluating the resulting harms of urban renewal.⁸⁵⁴ Established in 2015 by the United Nations, the SDGs are a set of 17 global objectives for achieving a more just world by 2030.⁸⁵⁵ The SDGs address an array of human rights issues and call for countries around the world to focus on improving housing, education, health, and the environment, among other areas.⁸⁵⁶ The SDGs also encompass over 100 targets to measure progress.⁸⁵⁷ In the United States, several cities have used the SDGs to identify gaps in their policies and practices.⁸⁵⁸ This model situates Lakeland within the broader movement for human dignity.

Following the lead of Lakelanders, five primary areas of impact, aligned with the SDGs have been identified:

- Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities
- Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land
- Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure
- Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education
- Gathering – UN SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions

The remaining 12 SDGs will also be addressed; however, additional research is needed to gain a deeper understanding of the impact associated with these goals. Therefore, the remaining 12 SDGs should be considered a starting point for future development by the City of College Park.

Pillar: Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

Prince George's County is among the country's wealthiest majority Black communities and is often celebrated for the high rates of Black homeownership.⁸⁵⁹ 61.8% of Black people in the county own their homes, compared to the national average, where only 44.3% of Black people own their homes.⁸⁶⁰ This did not come without decades of struggle. Black homeownership was hard fought in the face of discrimination and exclusion from the area's housing markets.⁸⁶¹

At the start of the 20th century, many Black families moved from Washington D.C. and states further South to Prince George's County in pursuit of home ownership. In Washington D.C., housing stock was becoming

⁸⁵⁴ The 17 Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development, 2025, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

⁸⁵⁵ The 17 Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development, 2025, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

⁸⁵⁶ The 17 Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development, 2025, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

⁸⁵⁷ The 17 Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development, 2025, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

⁸⁵⁸ Ryan Hennessy, "Black Kansas City stories to be presented to United Nations." KCTV, March, 14, 2024, <https://www.kctv5.com/2024/03/14/black-kansas-city-stories-be-presented-united-nations/>; Malachi Barret, "Detroit reparations task force hosts town halls with Black Audit Project" *Bridge Detroit*, March 11, 2024.

⁸⁵⁹ Michael Brice-Saddler and Lateshia Beachum, "Fed work helped build Black wealth in this suburb. Now families worry." *The Washington Post*, April 7, 2025.

⁸⁶⁰ John Walsh and Jung Hyun Choi, "Black Housing Wealth Varies across Local Markets, Despite Recent Improvement in the Black Homeownership Rate Nationally" *Urban Institute*, February 18, 2025.

⁸⁶¹ John Mohammadi, "Mapping Racially Restrictive Housing Covenants in Prince George's County" Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability National Center for Smart Growth, Fall 2021.

scarce and nearby Montgomery County strictly enforced racially restrictive covenants.⁸⁶² Even in Prince George's County, Black people were met with hostilities.⁸⁶³ Many of the new developments sprouting from the once rural areas were built to bring white middle class families.⁸⁶⁴ In fact, Lakeland history reflects this struggle. As evidenced in the *Historiography*, Edwin A. Newman subdivided and developed Lakeland as an all-white community. When Newman divested himself of land holdings in Lakeland after years of unfavorable market conditions, he still denied home ownership and leasing opportunities for the Black community. Blockbusting at the turn of the century motivated white residents' departure from Lakeland, and many homes were burned to prevent Black families from obtaining ownership. But Lakelanders persisted, and by 1904, the community was largely African American and had established two churches and a school.⁸⁶⁵

For many Black people who moved to the area, homeownership had the potential to provide stability and generational wealth.⁸⁶⁶ Urban renewal snatched that possibility away from many families.

Broken Promises

Prior to urban renewal, Lakeland was a Black community, primarily made up of single-family homes and local businesses.⁸⁶⁷ During the height of urban renewal, 104 of 150 households were displaced under the guise of flood control and home improvement.⁸⁶⁸ Some residents relocated to Hyattsville, Riverdale, Laurel and Lanham.⁸⁶⁹ Others, much further.⁸⁷⁰

Although the city promised to revitalize the neighborhood and allow displaced residents to return, that promise largely went unfulfilled. By 1984, only 25 of the 104 displaced families had returned. Around the same time, high-density housing was constructed in Lakeland: Spellman House Apartments, Alden-Berkley Townhouses, and Parkside Apartments. These developments did not reflect the original character of Lakeland and made it nearly impossible for displaced Lakelanders to return to the community they once knew. Today, Lakelanders report that only 12 households in the neighborhood are occupied by original Lakelanders, or those families who lived in the neighborhood prior to urban renewal.

The Economic Cost of Urban Renewal

Homeownership has long been a primary source of wealth in the United States.⁸⁷¹ For most families, especially Black families, it is the single most important means for building wealth.⁸⁷² Due to a long history of discriminatory policies like redlining and predatory lending, homeownership has been difficult, and

⁸⁶² "Working Draft Of The Mapping Segregation Report: Racial Restrictive Covenants, Black Homeownership, And Holc Loans In The Downcounty Planning Area" Montgomery Planning, December 1, 2022.

⁸⁶³ John Mohammadi, "Mapping Racially Restrictive Housing Covenants in Prince George's County" Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability National Center for Smart Growth, Fall 2021.

⁸⁶⁴ John Mohammadi, "Mapping Racially Restrictive Housing Covenants in Prince George's County" Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability National Center for Smart Growth, Fall 2021.

⁸⁶⁵ "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁸⁶⁶ Michael Lerner, "One home, a lifetime of impact" *The Washington Post*, July 23, 2020.

⁸⁶⁷ "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁸⁶⁸ "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁸⁶⁹ "Relocated Households from LAKELAND URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA since 1973." March 20, 1981.

⁸⁷⁰ "Relocated Households from LAKELAND URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA since 1973." March 20, 1981.

⁸⁷¹ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷² Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

sometimes nearly impossible, for Black families to obtain.⁸⁷³ Today's racial wealth gap can be attributed, in part, to this history.⁸⁷⁴

To be clear, income is different from wealth.⁸⁷⁵ The wealth disparities between Black families and white families are even more pronounced than the income disparities.⁸⁷⁶ In 2019, the median household income for Black families was \$43,862, while the white median income was \$71,644.⁸⁷⁷ At the same time, in 2019, the median Black household held 1/8 the wealth of the median white household.⁸⁷⁸

Homeownership is an important source of wealth for Black families. In fact, for Black homeowners, the value of their home accounts for 60% of their total net worth compared to about 43% for white homeowners. This means that disruptions to homeownership, like displacement, often come with steep economic consequences.

Lakeland is an example of this. In 1975, at the height of urban renewal, the average home in Lakeland was valued at \$45,000. By 2024, the average home in Lakeland was valued at \$456,000. This is a nominal increase of \$411,000. When adjusted for inflation, the real gain would still be \$193,620.72. The loss of this home equity meant displaced families were denied the opportunity to build wealth. That wealth could have been used to pay for college or start a business. It could have served as a buffer in times of economic hardship, especially in 2009, when the housing crisis hit Black homeowners in Prince George's County particularly hard.⁸⁷⁹ Of course, it was not one or two Lakelanders who lost their home. It was hundreds. On average, a homeowner would have gained 1.76% in real value each year. Spread across many families, the wealth loss reaches into the millions.

Now, many displaced Lakelanders and their descendants are shut out of the community altogether. Most Lakelanders express a desire to return to the community but cite the high cost of homeownership and limited housing stock as two of the major barriers that prevent them from returning. Meanwhile, the community has become a wealth-building opportunity for developers, who have bought up some of the limited housing stock to rent to nearby University of Maryland (UMD) students.

Changes in Character of Neighborhood & Student Housing

The changes in the character of the Lakeland neighborhood have been driven, in part, by the steady expansion of the University of Maryland. Over the past decade, the university's student population has grown by more than 8%, leading to a demand for student housing.⁸⁸⁰ Like other universities across the country, UMD's growth has come at the expense of the nearby Black community, Lakeland.⁸⁸¹ At UMD, many

⁸⁷³ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁴ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁵ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁶ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁷ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁸ Alana McCargo, Jung Hyun Choi, "Closing the Gaps: Building Black Wealth through Homeownership" *Urban Institute*, November 23, 2020.

⁸⁷⁹ Alex Kellogg, "Racial Gap in Homeownership Widens in U.S. Slump." *NPR*, August 23, 2011.

⁸⁸⁰ Institution Data Dashboard for University of Maryland, College Park, 2024. <https://www.usmd.edu/IRIS/?view=UMCP>.

⁸⁸¹ Louis Hansen, "Virginia's Public Universities Have a Long History of Displacing Black Residents" *ProPublica*, September 11, 2023.

students turn to off-campus housing to offset the costs of expensive living on campus.⁸⁸² Developers have capitalized on this opportunity and have taken to buying single-family homes in the Lakeland neighborhood, and renting them to large groups of students.⁸⁸³ While Prince George's County zoning regulations provide that "only one family or five unrelated individuals can live in single-family homes at a time," enforcement is nearly impossible.⁸⁸⁴ Owners are forewarned about inspections, and can often prepare to appear in compliance ahead of time.⁸⁸⁵

For Lakelanders, these changes have disrupted the neighborhood's character. Darren P. Smith, refers to this phenomenon as "studentification," where a neighborhood's cultural norms and housing stock are changed by an influx of students and their needs.⁸⁸⁶ The community often goes from quiet and stable to noisy and transient.⁸⁸⁷ Lakelanders have consistently raised this issue, and new data supports their concerns. Between 1980 and 2023, the number of owner-occupied homes in College Park dropped by 21%, indicating that more houses are likely being turned into student rentals.⁸⁸⁸ Since 2022, five properties have been sold to landlords.⁸⁸⁹ If that trend continues, 100 percent of the neighborhood's housing stock will be owned by landlords by 2033.⁸⁹⁰

For the single-family homes that are available to Lakelanders, the area is becoming increasingly unaffordable.⁸⁹¹

Affordability

Today, Prince George's County faces a growing housing affordability crisis that disproportionately affects Black homeowners and renters.⁸⁹² More than half (51%) of renters in the county are housing cost burdened, meaning they spend more than 30% of their income on housing. This is the highest level in the DC region.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸² Clara Niel, "UMD students often turn to off-campus houses for affordability. But challenges persist" *The Diamondback*, May 10, 2021.

⁸⁸³ Pera Onal, "College Park City Council discussed solutions to residential over-occupancy" *The Diamondback*, April 3, 2025.

⁸⁸⁴ Clara Niel, "UMD students often turn to off-campus houses for affordability. But challenges persist" *The Diamondback*, May 10, 2021.

⁸⁸⁵ Clara Niel, "UMD students often turn to off-campus houses for affordability. But challenges persist" *The Diamondback*, May 10, 2021.

⁸⁸⁶ Nzingha Campbell, Cole Shultz, "Studentification in Communities Along the Purple Line: A Preliminary Analysis on How the Purple Line Impacts Students, Housing, and Culture in Communities Near the University of Maryland, College Park." *National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*, April 2025.

⁸⁸⁷ Nzingha Campbell, Cole Shultz, "Studentification in Communities Along the Purple Line: A Preliminary Analysis on How the Purple Line Impacts Students, Housing, and Culture in Communities Near the University of Maryland, College Park." *National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*, April 2025.

⁸⁸⁸ Nzingha Campbell, Cole Shultz, "Studentification in Communities Along the Purple Line: A Preliminary Analysis on How the Purple Line Impacts Students, Housing, and Culture in Communities Near the University of Maryland, College Park." *National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*, April 2025.

⁸⁸⁹ Katherine Wilson, "UMD students, Lakeland residents advocate for "revolutionary" change in neighborhood" *The Diamondback*, December 7, 2023.

⁸⁹⁰ Katherine Wilson, "UMD students, Lakeland residents advocate for "revolutionary" change in neighborhood" *The Diamondback*, December 7, 2023.

⁸⁹¹ Cat Goughnour, Krystle Okafor, "Separate and Unequal Neighborhoods: A Baseline Report for the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development Division of Just Communities" *Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development*, October 2024.

⁸⁹² Advancing Affordable Housing: Prince George's County, *Prince George's County Department of Housing and Development*, May 2021, <https://purplelinecorridor.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Affordable-Housing-in-Prince-Georges-Aspasia-Xypolia.pdf>.

⁸⁹³ Advancing Affordable Housing: Prince George's County, <https://purplelinecorridor.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Affordable-Housing-in-Prince-Georges-Aspasia-Xypolia.pdf>.

In February 2020, the median price of a home in Prince George's County was \$316,500.⁸⁹⁴ In 2023, the median price was \$415,000, more than a 31% increase.⁸⁹⁵ The City of College Park has also acknowledged the affordability crisis. The former mayor noted: "[t]he city has been in an affordable housing shortage for a while due to its location in a metropolitan area..." And new construction has not kept up with the demand.⁸⁹⁶ For Lakeland residents, this makes the fear of further displacement all the more real. For Lakelanders hoping to return, this makes it nearly impossible. An 8-bedroom home in the neighborhood that recently sold, was listed at \$850,000.

Future Threats & The Purple Line

The City of College Park will soon be home to four stations on the Purple Line, a 16-mile light rail train that will run from New Carrollton to Bethesda. The city has called it a "joy to see come to fruition..."⁸⁹⁷ UMD is looking forward to the connectivity it will bring for its students, faculty, and staff.⁸⁹⁸ For Lakelanders, the Purple Line is a helpful addition for public transit access. At the same time, there is growing concern among the community about further displacement.

Historically, new transit systems have helped and hurt Black communities.⁸⁹⁹ While they bring some increased access to public transportation, they also often lead to increased property values, rents and thereby displacement.⁹⁰⁰ The incoming Purple Line has the potential to do the same to the Lakeland community, and in fact, between 2015 and 2017, rents for two-bedroom apartments within a half-mile of the planned Purple Line stations in Montgomery County rose by about \$480 annually.⁹⁰¹ In other areas, there was only an average \$360 increase. Three and four bedroom apartments climbed \$600 compared to \$320 in other neighborhoods.⁹⁰²

Between the growing student population, rising housing costs, and a new public transit system, Lakeland faces new pressures that, if left unchecked, threaten to harm the community yet again.

Pillar: Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land

Structural racism refers to the ways that racial discrimination is embedded and maintained across interconnected systems of housing, education, employment, and criminal justice, among others. One of the most harmful impacts of structural racism is its role in creating wide health disparities, especially for Black people.⁹⁰³ In July 2020, Prince George's County acknowledged this reality and passed a resolution declaring racism a public health crisis that "undergirds [the] health disparities" throughout the county."⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁴ Anirban Basu, "Despite best intentions, Prince George's County housing policy moving in wrong direction" *Maryland Matters*, May 17, 2023.

⁸⁹⁵ Anirban Basu, "Despite best intentions, Prince George's County housing policy moving in wrong direction" *Maryland Matters*, May 17, 2023.

⁸⁹⁶ Clara Niel, "UMD students often turn to off-campus houses for affordability. But challenges persist." *The Diamondback*, May 10, 2021.

⁸⁹⁷ State Highway Administration's \$56.9 Million Project Enhances Safety, Improves Bicycle and Pedestrian Access Along US 1 Corridor, Maryland Department of Transportation State Highway Administration, November 9, 2024.

⁸⁹⁸ Purple Line FAQs, University of Maryland Division of Administration. <https://admin.umd.edu/initiatives-and-projects/purple-line/purple-line-faqs>

⁸⁹⁹ Nick Finio, "Displacement, Gentrification, and Maryland's Purple Line Light Rail" *Howard University*.

⁹⁰⁰ Nick Finio, "Displacement, Gentrification, and Maryland's Purple Line Light Rail" *Howard University*.

⁹⁰¹ Maggie Haslam, "Rents Already Rising Along Purple Line, UMD Study Finds" *MarylandToday*, April 26, 2023.

⁹⁰² Maggie Haslam, "Rents Already Rising Along Purple Line, UMD Study Finds" *MarylandToday*, April 26, 2023.

⁹⁰³ Maggie Haslam, "Rents Already Rising Along Purple Line, UMD Study Finds" *MarylandToday*, April 26, 2023.

⁹⁰⁴ Prince George's County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

The resolution identified systemic racism as a root cause of chronic stress, mental health challenges, and inequitable access to healthcare.⁹⁰⁵ Two years later, Prince George’s County produced a report that further demonstrated the disparities:

- An estimated 150,000 county residents live with mental health needs, and many do not have access to culturally sensitive care.⁹⁰⁶
- Heart disease and cancer are the two leading causes of death in the county.⁹⁰⁷ Both of which disproportionately impact Black residents.⁹⁰⁸
- Hypertension rates are highest among Black residents.⁹⁰⁹
- Black residents have the highest cancer mortality rate in the county.⁹¹⁰

The trauma of losing our home and community has haunted me for decades. I was diagnosed with PTSD in 2017—not from my military service, but from childhood experiences rooted in displacement and disruption.

Lakelanders, who lived through the community’s forced displacement between the 1960s and 1980s, report living with some of these same health challenges today, including anxiety, depression, grief, stress and pre-cancerous physical diseases. Many believe that the conditions are either direct consequences of urban renewal or have been compounded by the long-term harms it caused. Their experiences reflect broader research on the lasting health impacts of urban renewal.⁹¹¹ When people are forcibly displaced from their communities, the impacts go beyond a physical relocation.⁹¹² The mental, emotional and physical consequences of displacement are profound and long-lasting.⁹¹³ Social psychiatrist and author, Dr. Mindy Fullilove, refers to this phenomenon as root shock or a traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one’s emotional ecosystem.⁹¹⁴ Dr. Fullilove described that “it has similarities to the physiological shock experienced by a person who, as a result of injury, suddenly loses massive amounts of fluids.”⁹¹⁵

⁹⁰⁵ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹⁰⁶ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹⁰⁷ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹⁰⁸ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹⁰⁹ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹¹⁰ Prince George’s County (2020): Resolution to Declare Racism a Crisis of Public Health (Resolution CR-66-2020).

⁹¹¹ Dr. Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It* (NYU Press; New Village Press, 2016) 11-14.

⁹¹² Dr. Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It* (NYU Press; New Village Press, 2016) 11-14.

⁹¹³ Dr. Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It* (NYU Press; New Village Press, 2016) 11-14.

⁹¹⁴ Dr. Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It* (NYU Press; New Village Press, 2016) 11-14.

⁹¹⁵ Dr. Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It* (NYU Press; New Village Press, 2016) 11-14.

Mental Health

Mental health refers to emotional, psychological, and social well-being.⁹¹⁶ It affects how people think, feel, and act.⁹¹⁷ It also helps to determine how people handle stress, relate to others, and make choices.⁹¹⁸ Lakelanders, including current residents and the diaspora, report ongoing struggles with their mental health, primarily, anxiety, depression, and grief. Research consistently shows that early intervention and access to care are important for treating mental illness and improving outcomes.⁹¹⁹ However, there are grave disparities in access to high-quality mental health care, and Black people often bear the brunt of this inadequacy.⁹²⁰ This holds true both nationally and within Prince George's County.

Prince George's County, at large, is often referred to as a mental health desert.⁹²¹ A mental health desert is a region where access to mental health services is limited or altogether nonexistent.⁹²² This can be the result of a lack of medical professionals, facilities, culturally responsive care, or a combination.⁹²³ In Prince George's County, many adults in the area are forced to seek care in nearby communities.⁹²⁴ But when people do not get the care that they need, the consequences can be life-altering: struggles with substance abuse, encounters with the criminal justice system, and even self-harm.⁹²⁵ Although the county's 2022 Community Health Needs Assessment did not flag behavioral health as a disproportionate issue for Black people, research shows that Black communities are far less likely to report mental health issues and seek treatment for mental health, even when they are struggling.⁹²⁶ This suggests that the reality of mental health concerns in the Black community is underreported and likely underestimated in the county's official data. Still, national research estimates that the Black community is 20% more likely to experience serious mental health issues, like Major Depressive Disorder and Generalized Anxiety Disorder.⁹²⁷ Yet, one in three Black people with mental illness receive treatment.⁹²⁸ According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, between 2011 and 2021, the suicide rate among Black people rose by 36.6%.⁹²⁹ If national and countywide trends are any indicator, then the mental health needs of the Lakeland community are similarly underreported but just as urgent.

⁹¹⁶ About Mental Health, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/about/index.html#:~:text=Mental%20health%20is%20the%20component,and%20contribute%20to%20our%20community>.

⁹¹⁷ About Mental Health, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/about/index.html#:~:text=Mental%20health%20is%20the%20component,and%20contribute%20to%20our%20community>.

⁹¹⁸ About Mental Health, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/about/index.html#:~:text=Mental%20health%20is%20the%20component,and%20contribute%20to%20our%20community>.

⁹¹⁹ About Mental Health, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/about/index.html#:~:text=Mental%20health%20is%20the%20component,and%20contribute%20to%20our%20community>.

⁹²⁰ Let's talk about Black mental health, The Center for Black Health & Equity, 2025.

⁹²¹ Tracee Wilkins, "Prince George's Opens Facility to Address Mental Health Desert" *NBC4*, June 21, 2022.

⁹²² Kelly Livingston, Maggie Green "America's mental health care deserts: Where is it hard to access care?" *ABC News*, May 18, 2022.

⁹²³ Kelly Livingston, Maggie Green "America's mental health care deserts: Where is it hard to access care?" *ABC News*, May 18, 2022.

⁹²⁴ Tracee Wilkins, "Prince George's Opens Facility to Address Mental Health Desert" *NBC4*, June 21, 2022.

⁹²⁵ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹²⁶ Nirmita Panchal, Latoya Hill, Samantha Artiga, Liza Hamel, "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Mental Health Care: Findings from the KFF Survey of Racism, Discrimination and Health" *KFF*, May 23, 2024.

⁹²⁷ Thomas Vance, "Addressing Mental Health in the Black Community" *Columbia University Department of Psychiatry*, February 8, 2019.

⁹²⁸ 2020 National Survey on Drug Use and Health, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, January 11, 2022.

⁹²⁹ Deborah Stone, Karin Mack, Judith Qualters, "Recent Changes in Suicide Rates, by Race and Ethnicity and Age Group — United States, 2021" U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Stress

Stress is the body's natural response to physical, emotional, or psychological demands and challenges.⁹³⁰ Most people experience some level of stress in their daily lives.⁹³¹ But, when stress lasts over an extended period, it can damage nearly every system in the body.⁹³²

Research shows that Black people, especially those living in poverty, often have higher rates of chronic stress.⁹³³ Lakelanders report that the initial stress of watching their loved ones being displaced and then experiencing displacement themselves “never went away.” Instead, it continues to affect their daily lives. This type of stress is disabling and what Dr. Arline Geronimus refers to as weathering, a process that prematurely ages the body and increases vulnerability to autoimmune conditions, diseases, and even premature death.⁹³⁴ While Lakeland has long been characterized as a middle-class community, research on weathering shows that even access to education, professional employment, and high-quality resources, does not protect marginalized groups from these health consequences. Instead, “members of marginalized groups suffer from much more disproportionately than their middle-and upper-class white counterparts.”⁹³⁵

Diseases and Chronic Conditions

Chronic conditions last one year or more, require ongoing medical attention and/or limit activities of daily living or both.⁹³⁶ Living with a chronic condition can significantly reduce a person's quality of life.⁹³⁷ It interferes with their ability to work and care for their family.⁹³⁸ This kind of disruption to daily life can lead to stress.⁹³⁹ Lakelanders have shared concerns about stress-related physical diseases and pre-cancerous conditions that have developed as a result of displacement.

Heart disease is one of two chronic conditions that are the leading cause of death in Prince George's County.⁹⁴⁰ Hypertension, or high blood pressure, is a major risk factor for developing heart disease.⁹⁴¹ A third of residents in Prince George's County have been diagnosed with hypertension, and it is most

⁹³⁰ Managing Stress, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/living-with/index.html>.

⁹³¹ Managing Stress, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/living-with/index.html>.

⁹³² Managing Stress, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. <https://www.cdc.gov/mental-health/living-with/index.html>.

⁹³³ David R. Williams, “Stress and the Mental Health of Populations of Color: Advancing Our Understanding of Race-Related Stressors” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, December 2018.

⁹³⁴ Dr. Arline T Geronimus, *Weathering: The Extraordinary Stress of Ordinary Life in an Unjust Society*, (Little Brown Spark, 2023).

⁹³⁵ Dr. Arline T Geronimus, *Weathering: The Extraordinary Stress of Ordinary Life in an Unjust Society*, (Little Brown Spark, 2023).

⁹³⁶ About Chronic Diseases, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention <https://www.cdc.gov/chronic-disease/about/index.html>.

⁹³⁷ About Chronic Diseases, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention <https://www.cdc.gov/chronic-disease/about/index.html>.

⁹³⁸ About Chronic Diseases, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention <https://www.cdc.gov/chronic-disease/about/index.html>.

⁹³⁹ About Chronic Diseases, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention <https://www.cdc.gov/chronic-disease/about/index.html>.

⁹⁴⁰ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴¹ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

widespread among Black residents.⁹⁴² The county recognizes race and chronic stress as some of the most significant risk factors for heart disease.⁹⁴³ Race being a risk factor for disease shows how social disparities may play an equally, if not more important role, than genetic predisposition or individual choice in outcomes.

Cancer is the second leading cause of death in the county, and Black residents have the highest mortality rate for the disease.⁹⁴⁴ Across all gender, race and ethnic groups, Black men have the highest mortality rate when they are diagnosed with cancer.⁹⁴⁵ Black women have the highest incident rate and mortality rate for breast cancer.⁹⁴⁶ Alarming, between 2019 and 2022, the incidence of breast, colorectal, lung and bronchus cancer has increased for Black residents.⁹⁴⁷

Health Equity Index

The countywide data points to a pattern of health disparities that disproportionately affect Black residents. The Health Equity Index, which measures how socioeconomic need correlates with poor health outcomes, provides an even more local view of which communities are most burdened.⁹⁴⁸

The Lakeland neighborhood (within zip code 20740) currently scores a 3 on the index. This score rose from the recorded 2 in 2020, indicating a worsening trend.⁹⁴⁹ Many of the areas that displaced Lakelanders relocated to face similar challenges.⁹⁵⁰ Nearby Hyattsville and Riverdale score between 4 and 5.⁹⁵¹ Laurel and Lanham score between 2 and 3.⁹⁵² While not all current health disparities in Lakeland can be traced solely to the urban renewal project, the forced displacement undeniably had health consequences.

⁹⁴² Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴³ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴⁴ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴⁵ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴⁶ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴⁷ Prince George's County Health Department, 2022 Community Health Assessment, https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/media-document/2022%20Community%20Health%20Needs%20Assessment_Reduced.pdf.

⁹⁴⁸ Health Equity Index, PGC Health Zone, <https://www.pgchealthzone.org/indexsuite/index/healthequity?localeType=3&parentLocale=1260>.

⁹⁴⁹ Health Equity Index, PGC Health Zone, <https://www.pgchealthzone.org/indexsuite/index/healthequity?localeType=3&parentLocale=1260>.

⁹⁵⁰ Health Equity Index, PGC Health Zone, <https://www.pgchealthzone.org/indexsuite/index/healthequity?localeType=3&parentLocale=1260>.

⁹⁵¹ Health Equity Index, PGC Health Zone, <https://www.pgchealthzone.org/indexsuite/index/healthequity?localeType=3&parentLocale=1260>.

⁹⁵² Health Equity Index, PGC Health Zone, <https://www.pgchealthzone.org/indexsuite/index/healthequity?localeType=3&parentLocale=1260>.

This data supports what Lakelanders have long said: urban renewal caused deep harm, including on Lakelanders' health. Those consequences have manifested for some, causing chronic stress, anxiety, depression, and in some cases stress-related physical disease and precancerous conditions.

Barriers to Care

Lakelanders report that they are caring for their physical and mental health through a combination of resources: visits with primary care doctors, mental health counseling, self-care practices like journaling and meditation, and community care through church services and prayer groups. However, one important healing resource, Lake Artemesia Park, that is closest to home is largely inaccessible, as a direct result of urban renewal.

It's so hard for me to even talk about...it brings tears to my eyes. Especially when I hear people who still live in Lakeland that have their grandmother's house. I never will have my house again. My house is literally in the lake.

Before urban renewal reshaped Lakeland, the area now known as Lake Artemesia Park was an important part of daily life for Lakelanders, especially for those who lived on the east side of the railroad tracks.⁹⁵³ This area made up a third of the community and included woods, streams, and trees that provided children and adults with an area for fishing, ice skating, and other recreation.⁹⁵⁴

By 1972, residents had been forced to move, and the land was absorbed into the county's development plans.⁹⁵⁵ Today, Lake Artemesia Park is hailed as one of the county's most beautiful natural areas, with its lakeside trails and fishing piers.⁹⁵⁶ But for Lakelanders, the view of the lake is obstructed by a wall and even visiting the park is difficult. Lakelanders can either walk through a narrow underpass by Paint Branch Elementary School to reach the trail or walk to the Berwyn neighborhood, where an existing structure allows pedestrians to climb up and over train and Metro tracks. These access points are especially difficult for elders, young children, and people with mobility challenges. Moreover, for the community that was displaced to create the park, not even being able to reach it, reflects the very disregard that shaped its development.

Studies have shown that access to parks and green spaces significantly improves physical and mental health.⁹⁵⁷ Time in nature reduces stress, encourages physical activity, and enhances mood.⁹⁵⁸ It is even associated with longer lifespans.⁹⁵⁹ These benefits are even greater when natural environments include water.⁹⁶⁰ For a community like Lakeland, the proximity to green space could be a healing resource. Instead, it remains a reminder of what was lost.

⁹⁵³ The Loss of Lake Artemesia & Its Impacts (draft statement, 4/21/2025) © 2025 by Joanne M. Braxton and Rebecca Ann Parker, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

⁹⁵⁴ Maxine Gross, "Lake Artemesia: My childhood lake" *Streetcar Suburbs Publishing*, July 15, 2022.

⁹⁵⁵ Maxine Gross, "Lake Artemesia: My childhood lake" *Streetcar Suburbs Publishing*, July 15, 2022.

⁹⁵⁶ Freelance Reporter, "For your walking pleasure: Here are the best trails in College Park" *The Diamondback*, April 15, 2021.

⁹⁵⁷ "3 ways getting outside into nature helps improve your health" *UC Davis Health*, May 3, 2023.

⁹⁵⁸ "3 ways getting outside into nature helps improve your health" *UC Davis Health*, May 3, 2023.

⁹⁵⁹ "3 ways getting outside into nature helps improve your health" *UC Davis Health*, May 3, 2023.

⁹⁶⁰ "3 ways getting outside into nature helps improve your health" *UC Davis Health*, May 3, 2023.

Flooding

Prince George's County has had its share of floods over the last 100 years.⁹⁶¹ In 1972, Hurricane Agnes hit the area particularly hard, and Lakeland was one of the worst hit areas.⁹⁶² Floods are expected to be even more severe and frequent as climate change intensifies.⁹⁶³ In the northeastern United States, these heavier rain events are expected to increase the size of the 100-year floodplain by up to 45% by the end of the century.⁹⁶⁴ Given Lakeland's position in a flood-prone area and history of flood damage, the community is likely very vulnerable to these impacts.

Across Prince George's County, the risks associated with extreme weather are growing. In 2019 alone, over 20 people in the county died due to extreme heat. At the same time, flooding has become one of the most urgent climate threats. Between 1996 and 2016, the county experienced 33 historical flood events, and damage from future flood events is projected to exceed \$1.28 billion. Heavy rains, which are becoming more common, have overwhelmed local drainage systems and contributed to more than 4,300 water-related complaints to the county's 311 system in just three years. Complaints range anywhere from flooded homes and streets to sinkholes and sewer backups.

The county has acknowledged that their development patterns have not made the problem any better, as they continue to encourage suburban sprawl (e.g., low-density, car-dependent residential development, often at the expense of green spaces and agricultural land). Forests and farmland are being replaced by parking lots, roads, and rooftops. This prevents rainwater from being absorbed into the ground. Instead, stormwater rushes into local streams and rivers, increasing the risk of floods. Many homes and buildings, including those in Lakeland, sit within or near these floodplains.

The county's flood control systems, including the dams and levees, are aging. They were designed using outdated weather data, as many of these systems were built to handle 100-year flood levels based on mid-20th century estimates. These estimates no longer reflect current or future precipitation levels.

Pillar: Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

Transportation access has always been linked to race. Under Jim Crow, Black people were relegated to the back of buses and streetcars.⁹⁶⁵ The creation of the interstate highway system was to benefit suburban, largely white commuters while at the same time displacing Black communities.⁹⁶⁶ Today, the limited access to adequate public transportation can be linked, in part, to this racialized history, as well as discriminatory policies and practices.⁹⁶⁷ This pattern persists in many places, including Prince George's County.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶¹ Local Flood Hazards, Mapping & History of Flooding, Prince George's County Maryland (2025) <https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/departments-offices/environment/sustainability/flood-management/local-flood-hazards-mapping-history-flooding>.

⁹⁶² Local Flood Hazards, Mapping & History of Flooding, Prince George's County Maryland (2025) <https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/departments-offices/environment/sustainability/flood-management/local-flood-hazards-mapping-history-flooding>.

⁹⁶³ Leslie Delcid, Owen Flood, Emma Grier, Kathryn Hasting, et al. "Community Engagement for Vulnerable Communities: Flooding Impacts and Adaptation in East Riverdale-Beacon Heights" *National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*, Fall 2021.

⁹⁶⁴ Leslie Delcid, Owen Flood, Emma Grier, Kathryn Hasting, et al. "Community Engagement for Vulnerable Communities: Flooding Impacts and Adaptation in East Riverdale-Beacon Heights" *National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*, Fall 2021.

⁹⁶⁵ Robert Bullard, "Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity" *South End Press*, 2004.

⁹⁶⁶ Robert Bullard, "Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity" *South End Press*, 2004.

⁹⁶⁷ Robert Bullard, "Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity" *South End Press*, 2004.

⁹⁶⁸ "Prince George's County Transportation Equity Practices Inventory" Prince George's County Master Plan of Transportation, August 11, 2022. https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/MPOT2035_App_05.pdf.

On the surface, Prince George's County appears well connected. Despite the fact that 65% of people drive while only 11% of people use public transit, Prince George's County boasts one of the most robust public transit systems in the country.⁹⁶⁹ The county is home to 15 Metrorail stops, and a bus route with 28 stops.⁹⁷⁰ In 2027, with the opening of the Purple Line, public transportation will expand even more.⁹⁷¹ But across the county, there are obvious differences in access and quality.⁹⁷² In some parts of the county, residents face barriers to access, despite living near transportation corridors.

The same is true for the City of College Park. The city provides e-bikes and e-scooters through a partnership with VeoRide.⁹⁷³ Residents have free access to the University of Maryland's Shuttle-UM bus system.⁹⁷⁴ The Route 1 Ride bus service provides transportation along the Route 1 corridor.⁹⁷⁵ Then, regional transit is also available through two metro stations: College Park-UMD or Greenbelt.⁹⁷⁶ For those 62 and older, transportation is free within an 8-mile radius.⁹⁷⁷

For the Lakeland neighborhood, however, there are ongoing transportation challenges, many of which flow from the harms of urban renewal. From 1899 until 1962, at the intersection of Rhode Island Avenue, Lakeland Road, and Navahoe Street, the Lakeland community was connected to the larger metro region by the electric streetcar.⁹⁷⁸ This changed in the early 20th century, with a nationwide turn towards prioritizing buses and cars as a solution to the traffic they believed to be caused by the streetcar system.⁹⁷⁹ By the 1980s, some of the confiscated urban renewal land was transferred to WMATA for the construction of the Green Line, which runs through the community today.⁹⁸⁰ By then, the boundaries of the community had changed so much that the neighborhood no longer stretched to U.S. Route 1, a major access point for private vehicles and public transit.

As a result, Lakeland has a much more complicated relationship to transportation today. Whether by car or public transportation, Lakelanders report that getting into and outside of the community is difficult.

Private Vehicles

For Lakelanders, traveling in and out of the community by car comes with significant challenges: limited alternative routes, traffic delays, and the real risk of accidents. These are not merely hypothetical concerns.

⁹⁶⁹ Prince George's County Transportation Equity Practices Inventory" Prince George's County Master Plan of Transportation, August 11, 2022. https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/MPOT2035_App_05.pdf.

⁹⁷⁰ Prince George's County Transportation Equity Practices Inventory" Prince George's County Master Plan of Transportation, August 11, 2022. https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/MPOT2035_App_05.pdf.

⁹⁷¹ Prince George's County Transportation Equity Practices Inventory" Prince George's County Master Plan of Transportation, August 11, 2022. https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/MPOT2035_App_05.pdf.

⁹⁷² Prince George's County Transportation Equity Practices Inventory" Prince George's County Master Plan of Transportation, August 11, 2022. https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/MPOT2035_App_05.pdf.

⁹⁷³ "Guide: Transportation", City of College Park <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/188/Transportation>.

⁹⁷⁴ "Guide: Transportation", City of College Park <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/188/Transportation>.

⁹⁷⁵ "Guide: Transportation", City of College Park <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/188/Transportation>.

⁹⁷⁶ "Guide: Transportation", City of College Park <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/188/Transportation>.

⁹⁷⁷ "Guide: Transportation", City of College Park <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/188/Transportation>.

⁹⁷⁸ "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁹⁷⁹ Ronald H. Deiter, *The Story of Metro: Transportation and Politics in the Nation's Capital*, Interurban Press, 1985.

⁹⁸⁰ Anaya Truss-Williams, "Community members talk history of racism and urban renewal along Purple Line corridor" *The Diamondback*, April 22, 2021.

U.S. Route 1 has been named as one of the most congested roadways in the area.⁹⁸¹ Prince George's County consistently reports the highest number of road fatalities in Maryland.⁹⁸²

There are only three entry points into Lakeland, each of which are inadequate to meet community needs, and in some instances unsafe.⁹⁸³ One entry point at U.S. Route 1 and Navahoe Street does not have a traffic signal.⁹⁸⁴ While drivers use this entry point, the intersection can be unsafe. The other entry point from Navahoe Street ultimately leads back to Lakeland Road.⁹⁸⁵ Berwyn House Road and Lakeland Road provide entry points, accessible from the west, but the access from all other points is inconsistent at best and entirely inaccessible at worst.⁹⁸⁶

54th Avenue is the only roadway that could connect cars to the community from other points, but it is privately owned and often blocked by a gate.⁹⁸⁷ When open, it is the only route other than U.S. Route 1 to reach Lakeland by car.⁹⁸⁸ This bottleneck of access points is problematic for Lakelanders who have to travel outside of the neighborhood for daily errands and essentials employment and healthcare. More concerning, however, is the challenge that this limited access could create for first responders that are called to the community. This is especially concerning in a community with a significant population of elders, who may be more likely to experience emergencies that require urgent care or mobility issues that prevent them from evacuating safely or rapidly in the event of a fire or natural disaster.

Public Transportation

For Lakelanders who choose to use public transportation, the options are plentiful, but they tend to skirt the neighborhood rather than enter it directly. While Metrobus, TheBus, and the Green Line all have nearby stops, their routes mostly stay along Baltimore Avenue and thus require Lakelanders to walk outside of the community to reach them.⁹⁸⁹ For example, the nearest metro stop, College Park-UMD station, is a 20 minute walk from the neighborhood.⁹⁹⁰ Shuttle-UM is the only service that enters the community.⁹⁹¹ The forthcoming Purple Line will likely improve public transit access by bringing new stations closer to Lakeland. This could greatly benefit residents who rely on public transportation. However, without special attention to housing stock and affordability, the Purple Line also threatens to trigger displacement. (Discussed further in *Housing*.)

Although the neighborhood is close to nearby roadways and public transportation, it is largely cut off from their benefits. In some ways, the removal of the streetcar and loss of easy access to the larger metro region foreshadowed urban renewal. Then, when the urban renewal plans were in full swing, local institutions like Black's Store, a neighborhood grocery, and Ms. Waller's Beauty Salon closed. Lakelanders could no longer get their essentials and services directly in the community. At the same time, the boundaries of the neighborhood changed; Lakeland no longer stretched to U.S. Route 1, a major access point for vehicles and public transit.

⁹⁸¹ Study: Washington area tops Baltimore area for region's worst congested highways" *The Capital*, March 21, 2019.

⁹⁸² Randy Chow, "Prince George's far outstrips other Maryland jurisdictions in highway death" *Capital News Service*, May 15, 2025.

⁹⁸³ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁴ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁵ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁶ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁷ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁸ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁸⁹ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁹⁰ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

⁹⁹¹ Lakeland Neighborhood Plan (draft), City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, 2025.

Today, Lakelanders must still leave the neighborhood for groceries, healthcare, and other services, but it is not easy to get out either by car or public transit.

Pillar: Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education

Since its founding, schools have always been an important institution in the Lakeland community.⁹⁹² In fact, one of the community's earliest efforts was to build a school for its children, which opened in 1904.⁹⁹³ The quality of education in Lakeland before urban renewal plans were ever in place was characterized by pride and respect for the teachers, like Ms. Reed and Ms. Harold, who were "very nurturing." Some of the teachers boarded at homes in the neighborhood. In fact, the education they received in Lakeland was so inspiring, many Lakelanders went on to have long teaching careers themselves.

But since the founding of the community's beloved Lakeland High School, education has changed drastically. The 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision declared school segregation unconstitutional, though meaningful desegregation did not occur in Prince George's County until nearly 20 years later.⁹⁹⁴ When the schools were mandated to desegregate in 1972, schools in Lakeland changed yet again. Of course, urban renewal further added to this.

Today, the conditions in Prince George's County schools, including the neighborhood schools that serve the Lakeland community are altogether different. Students who live in Lakeland are zoned to attend the following public schools: Paint Branch Elementary School (Paint Branch ES), Buck Lodge Middle School (Buck Lodge MS), and Parkdale High School (Parkdale HS). Despite the desegregation order that was issued over 50 years ago, Maryland schools, including Prince George's County are still deeply segregated.⁹⁹⁵ All of Lakeland's schools now serve a majority Hispanic student body, while Black students, who once made up the overwhelming majority in Lakeland's neighborhood schools, are a small minority. The displacement caused by urban renewal also impacted the community's ability to maintain institutions that reflected its identity and needs.

The Maryland State Department of Education releases a Maryland Public Schools Report Card every year that evaluates school performance, with disaggregated data for nearly every metric.⁹⁹⁶ This card offers a look at the conditions inside the schools across the state, including Prince George's County Public Schools.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹² "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁹⁹³ "History of Lakeland" Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

⁹⁹⁴ "Maryland County Scheduled to Put Court-Ordered School Integration Into Effect Tomorrow" *Washington Post*, Jan 28, 1973.

⁹⁹⁵ Jennifer Ayscue, "Settle for Segregation or Strive for Diversity? A Defining Moment for Maryland's Public Schools" *The Civil Rights Project*, April 2013.

⁹⁹⁶ "MSDE Releases Annual Maryland School Report Card" Maryland State Department of Education, December 3, 2024.

⁹⁹⁷ "MSDE Releases Annual Maryland School Report Card" Maryland State Department of Education, December 3, 2024.

A child’s neighborhood school can shape their future.⁹⁹⁸ Research shows that access to a well-resourced, high-quality education is closely linked to academic achievement, college prospects, and career opportunities.⁹⁹⁹ On the other hand, struggling schools leave students at a long-time disadvantage.¹⁰⁰⁰

Paint Branch Elementary School

Paint Branch ES opened in 1972 under complicated circumstances. Lakelanders fought to ensure that their “children [could] be educated in their own community.”¹⁰⁰¹ At the same time, the School Board insisted on building the new school where Lakelanders lived.¹⁰⁰² In the end, the school was built at the cost of displacing the same community it was supposed to serve.¹⁰⁰³ Today, the school remains in the same place and serves 481 students in grades K–5.¹⁰⁰⁴

In 2024, the Maryland State Department of Education gave Paint Branch ES, a 3 out of 5-star rating.¹⁰⁰⁵ Among the state’s elementary schools, Paint Branch lands in the 13th percentile rank, meaning 87% of elementary schools outperformed the school.¹⁰⁰⁶ Paint Branch ES especially fell short in what the state classifies as academic achievement and academic progress, where only 15% of students were proficient in math and 25% in English Language Arts.¹⁰⁰⁷ Importantly, gaps in academic achievement are often tied to inadequate resources rather than a student’s ability to learn.¹⁰⁰⁸ Although there are programs in place to support Paint Branch students academically, they no longer fully serve the Lakeland community that they were intended to.¹⁰⁰⁹ One of those programs, Lakeland STARS, was designed in 1996 to build stronger connections between Lakeland students and the University of Maryland.¹⁰¹⁰ Lakelanders report that today, few, if any, students currently enrolled in the program are Lakeland community residents.¹⁰¹¹ This disconnect is yet another broken promise that flows from displacement.

⁹⁹⁸ Sarah Sparks, “In Many Districts, a Child’s Academic Trajectory Is Set by 3rd Grade” *Education Week*, February 12, 2020.

⁹⁹⁹ Sarah Sparks, “In Many Districts, a Child’s Academic Trajectory Is Set by 3rd Grade” *Education Week*, February 12, 2020.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Sarah Sparks, “In Many Districts, a Child’s Academic Trajectory Is Set by 3rd Grade” *Education Week*, February 12, 2020.

¹⁰⁰¹ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009).

¹⁰⁰² The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009).

¹⁰⁰³ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009).

¹⁰⁰⁴ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰⁰⁷ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰⁰⁸ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰⁰⁹ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁰ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰¹¹ Lakeland Community, Collecting Oral Histories on Education in Lakeland, African American Redress Network, Zoom, March 3, 2025.

Lakeland Elementary School was largely Black until the late 1960s; the racial makeup of the community's elementary school changed when Paint Branch ES opened in 1972.¹⁰¹² Today, there are 229 students who identify as Hispanic, 106 identify as Asian, 40 identify as white, and 98 identify as Black.¹⁰¹³ In some ways, this change suggests that the racial makeup in Lakeland has changed so drastically since the urban renewal period, and beyond. The community who fought to keep a school in their neighborhood, even at the cost of their homes, is now alienated from it.

Buck Lodge Middle School

In 2022, school boundaries changed in the county and students in Lakeland were rezoned from Greenbelt Middle School to Buck Lodge MS.¹⁰¹⁴ In 2024, the Maryland State Department of Education gave Buck Lodge MS, a 2 out of a 5-star rating. Among the state's middle schools, Buck Lodge lands in the 15th percentile rank, meaning 85% of middle schools outperformed the school.¹⁰¹⁵ Similar to Paint Branch ES, the school fell short in academic achievement and progress.¹⁰¹⁶ Less than 5% of students were proficient in math, and only 20.9% were proficient in English Language Arts.¹⁰¹⁷

The school serves 1,154 students. 886 identify as Hispanic, 62 identify as Asian, 15 identify as white, and 178 identify as Black.¹⁰¹⁸

Parkdale High School

Similar to Buck Lodge ES, in 2024 the Maryland State Department of Education gave Parkdale HS a 2 out of a 5-star rating.¹⁰¹⁹ Parkdale HS is in the 6th percentile, so 94% of high schools outperformed the school.¹⁰²⁰ Their academic achievement, graduation rate, and readiness for post-secondary success, did not meet the annual target.¹⁰²¹ Though, the readiness for post-secondary success has seen improvement.¹⁰²² About 8% of students were proficient in math, and 44% were proficient in English Language Arts.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹² 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰¹³ 2024 Paint Branch Elementary At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/Demographics/Enrollment/3/14/9/16/2123/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁴ Anna Bedford-Dillow, "School Boundary Changes Impact Greenbelt Elementary and Middle" *Greenbelt News Review*, October 26, 2022.

¹⁰¹⁵ 2024 Buck Lodge Middle At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/2108/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁶ 2024 Buck Lodge Middle At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/2108/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁷ 2024 Buck Lodge Middle At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/2108/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁸ 2024 Buck Lodge Middle At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/2108/2024>.

¹⁰¹⁹ 2024 Buck Lodge Middle At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/2108/2024>.

¹⁰²⁰ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.

¹⁰²¹ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.

¹⁰²² 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.

¹⁰²³ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education
<https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/#!/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.

The school serves 2,571 students. 1,804 identify as Hispanic, 79 identify as Asian, 77 identify as white, and 591 identify as Black.¹⁰²⁴ The school has a 76.2% graduation rate, well below the 88% graduation rate in the state.¹⁰²⁵ In 2023, which is the most recent data available, about 41.2% of all students enrolled in college within 12 months of graduation.¹⁰²⁶

Pillar: Gathering – UN SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions

Over the last year, Prince George's County has reported a decrease in crime. In College Park, Lakelanders report that they generally feel safe in the community. But safety can mean different things to different people. For many Lakelanders, safety has never been just about crime rates or police presence, it has also meant community stability. In the past, Lakeland was a place where neighbors knew one another well enough to leave their doors unlocked. That sense of security came not only from community connections, but from a shared understanding that the neighbors were more like family and would look out for one another. Displacement disrupted that.

Today, the threat of future displacement remains.

UN SDG 1: No Poverty

Prince George's County is widely recognized as one of the wealthiest majority-Black communities in the United States, with a median household income of \$100,708.¹⁰²⁷ Yet there is growing concern about the fragility of this economic security.¹⁰²⁸ Eleven percent of people in Prince George's County are living in poverty.¹⁰²⁹ The U.S. Census uses the federal poverty threshold to measure this among populations.¹⁰³⁰ Federal poverty defines a household of four living on \$32,150 or less as living in poverty.¹⁰³¹

"I was a kid, but I could feel the difference...like I said you could leave your doors open and didn't have to worry about anybody coming in your house in Lakeland but when we moved behind PG Plaza all that had to change."

¹⁰²⁴ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.
¹⁰²⁵ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.
¹⁰²⁶ 2024 Parkdale High At A Glance, Maryland State Department of Education <https://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov/Graphs/AtaGlance/Index/3/17/6/16/1909/2024>.
¹⁰²⁷ QuickFacts: Prince George's County, Maryland, US Census Bureau, July 2024, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/princegeorgescountymaryland/RHI125223>.
¹⁰²⁸ Marisa Peñaloza, Hansi Lo Wang, "Federal work shaped a Black middle class. Now it's destabilized by Trump's job cuts" *NPR*, April 27, 2025.
¹⁰²⁹ QuickFacts: Prince George's County, Maryland, US Census Bureau, July 2024, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/princegeorgescountymaryland/RHI125223>.
¹⁰³⁰ How the Census Bureau Measures Poverty, April 9, 2025, <https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/poverty-measures.html#:~:text=To%20calculate%20total%20family%20income,with%20their%20individual%20poverty%20threshold>.
¹⁰³¹ How the Census Bureau Measures Poverty, April 9, 2025, <https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/poverty-measures.html#:~:text=To%20calculate%20total%20family%20income,with%20their%20individual%20poverty%20threshold>.

The U.S. government developed this threshold in the 1960s by defining poverty as pretax income less than three times the USDA's food plan.¹⁰³² Although the figure has been adjusted for inflation, it does not account for other essentials like housing, transportation, and healthcare.¹⁰³³ In a high-cost area like Maryland, this definition ignores very real burdens that many people face.

Between 2010 and 2021, the percentage of Prince George's County households in poverty rose from 6.8% to 8.8%.¹⁰³⁴ Beyond federal poverty measurement, those relying on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits nearly doubled, from 5.5% to 10.1%.¹⁰³⁵ In the City of College Park, the median household income is \$74,867, with a 29.3% poverty rate.¹⁰³⁶

Earlier this year, the Trump administration eliminated tens of thousands of roles across the federal government and additional cuts are possible.¹⁰³⁷ In a county like Prince George's, where federal employment has been a driving factor in building the Black middle class—a position that is already fragile—the impact can further threaten economic security.¹⁰³⁸

UN SDG 2: Zero Hunger

Food insecurity is a growing concern across the state of Maryland, especially in Prince George's County.¹⁰³⁹ Half of residents experience food insecurity, making it the most food-insecure area in the D.C. metropolitan region.¹⁰⁴⁰ For comparison, food insecurity in the area is at 37%.¹⁰⁴¹ This trend is growing the most among the middle class and those with high levels of education.¹⁰⁴² The largest jump in food insecurity was among households earning \$100,000 to \$150,000 a year.¹⁰⁴³ Food insecurity is driven by many factors, including rising food costs and limited access to food.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰³² Areeba Haider, Justin Schweitzer, "The Poverty Line Matters, But It Isn't Capturing Everyone It Should" *The Center for American Progress*, March 5, 2020.

¹⁰³³ Areeba Haider, Justin Schweitzer, "The Poverty Line Matters, But It Isn't Capturing Everyone It Should" *The Center for American Progress*, March 5, 2020.

¹⁰³⁴ Prince George's County: Population, Housing, And Economic Survey, The Maryland-National Capital Park And Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, 2023, https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/02.2024.Population-Housing-Economic-Survey_web.pdf.

¹⁰³⁵ Prince George's County: Population, Housing, And Economic Survey, The Maryland-National Capital Park And Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, 2023, https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/02.2024.Population-Housing-Economic-Survey_web.pdf.

¹⁰³⁶ QuickFacts: College Park, Maryland, US Census Bureau, July 2024, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/collegetparkcitymaryland/RHI425223>.

¹⁰³⁷ Elena Shao, Ashley Wu, "The Federal Work Force Cuts So Far, Agency by Agency" *The New York Times*, May 12, 2025.

¹⁰³⁸ Marisa Peñaloza, Hansi Lo Wang, "Federal work shaped a Black middle class. Now it's destabilized by Trump's job cuts" *NPR*, April 27, 2025.

¹⁰³⁹ Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

¹⁰⁴¹ Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

¹⁰⁴² Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

¹⁰⁴³ Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Capital Area Food Bank, Hunger Report 2024: Insights on Food Insecurity and Inequity in Greater Washington, <https://hunger-report.capitalareafoodbank.org/report-2024/#food-insecurity-trends-in-greater-washington>.

For years, local officials in Prince George’s County have pointed out the lack of upscale retail options in the area, even though the county includes many of the nation’s wealthiest majority-Black communities.¹⁰⁴⁵ Research confirms that high-end grocery stores tend to avoid majority-Black neighborhoods, even when those areas have strong household incomes, and instead are far more likely to be found in communities where Black residents make up less than 10% of the population.¹⁰⁴⁶ This lack of access is not random, rather it is deeply racialized and more accurately described as food apartheid.¹⁰⁴⁷ Black communities are more likely to live in a neighborhood where there is an inadequate grocery store or no grocery store at all.¹⁰⁴⁸

In 2017, the City of College Park was listed as a “low access, low income area” by the USDA, often described as a food desert, or a community with limited access to healthy and affordable food.¹⁰⁴⁹ Although grocery stores like Aldi and Trader Joes have since opened nearby and MOMS Organic Market has expanded, access does not necessarily mean food security. In fact, issues with affordability and transportation still remain, and these conditions are sometimes referred to as a food mirage.¹⁰⁵⁰ The effects of food insecurity include the risk of chronic health conditions and cognitive problems.¹⁰⁵¹

UN SDG 5: Gender Equality

In 2022, Maryland ranked as first among states for gender equality. Despite this, serious disparities persist for women, especially Black women, in Prince George’s County.

From 2008 to 2017, the pregnancy-related mortality rate in Prince George’s County was higher than the state average, and Black, non-Hispanic mothers faced the highest mortality rate at 37.4 deaths per 100,000 live births. Black women in the county were also less likely to receive adequate prenatal care compared to white and Asian mothers. Additionally, Black infants in the county had an alarmingly high mortality rate.

UN SDG 6: Clean Water and Sanitation

Across the state, approximately five million residents get their drinking water from public water systems.¹⁰⁵² In Prince George’s County, 26,410 rely on a public system.¹⁰⁵³ Of all places, the most glaring concerns about the area’s water quality can be seen in the public schools. Last year, 150 Prince George’s County Schools were reported to have lead in some of their water sources.¹⁰⁵⁴ That list included several

¹⁰⁴⁵ DW Rolands, “Premium grocery stores are missing from the region’s high-income Black neighborhoods” *Greater Washington*, April 19, 2023.

¹⁰⁴⁶ DW Rowlands, Manann Donoghoe, Andre M. Perry, “What the lack of premium grocery stores says about disinvestment in Black neighborhoods” *Brookings Institution*, April 11, 2023.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Nina Sevilla, “Food Apartheid: Racialized Access to Healthy Affordable Food” *National Resources Defense Council*, April 2, 2021.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Nina Sevilla, “Food Apartheid: Racialized Access to Healthy Affordable Food” *National Resources Defense Council*, April 2, 2021.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Caitlin McCann, “College Park is a food desert. A supermarket would be our oasis.” *The Diamondback*, November 16, 2017.; Nina Sevilla, “Food Apartheid: Racialized Access to Healthy Affordable Food” *National Resources Defense Council*, April 2, 2021.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Daniel Monroe Sullivan, From Food Desert to Food Mirage: Race, Social Class, and Food Shopping in a Gentrifying Neighborhood, *Scientific Research*, January 2014.

¹⁰⁵¹ Arohi Pathak, Ryan Richards, Marc Jarsulic, “The United States Can End Hunger and Food Insecurity for Millions of People” *The Center for American Progress*, August 11, 2022.

¹⁰⁵² Number of People Receiving Water from a Public Water System (PWS), Maryland Environmental Public Health Tracking (EPHT) Data Portal, <https://maps.health.maryland.gov/ephtportal/drinkingWater/status/recipients>.

¹⁰⁵³ Number of People Receiving Water from a Public Water System (PWS), Maryland Environmental Public Health Tracking (EPHT) Data Portal, <https://maps.health.maryland.gov/ephtportal/drinkingWater/status/recipients>.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sam Gauntt, “County schools grapple with lead in drinking water” *Streetcar Suburbs Publishing*, May 9, 2024.

College Park schools, including Paint Branch Elementary School and Parkdale High School.¹⁰⁵⁵ Lead is a toxic metal that can enter drinking water through pipes and plumbing fixtures.¹⁰⁵⁶ There is no safe level of lead exposure, especially for children, as even small amounts can have devastating consequences.¹⁰⁵⁷ Then, long-term lead exposure can cause developmental delays and irreversible cognitive damage.¹⁰⁵⁸

UN SDG 7: Affordable and Clean Energy

Across the state, residents have been hit with rising energy costs.¹⁰⁵⁹ As of June, the cost of utilities have risen again.¹⁰⁶⁰ Pepco customers, who make up the large majority of Prince George’s County, can expect to see a \$14 increase on their bills.¹⁰⁶¹ BGE customers, who make up a smaller part of the county’s residents, will see an even larger increase at \$21.¹⁰⁶² In 2023, one in four Marylanders struggled to pay their energy bills.¹⁰⁶³ These rising costs can force households to choose between essentials like food and medicine or heating and cooling.¹⁰⁶⁴

UN SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth

Before urban renewal, Lakeland was home to several locally owned, Black businesses including Mack’s Market, Black’s Store, and Miss Waller’s Beauty parlor.¹⁰⁶⁵ Today, those stores no longer exist.¹⁰⁶⁶ Studies have shown that urban renewal destroyed economic bases for numerous Black communities; in fact, more than 40,000 Black businesses were lost to mid-century redevelopment projects and highway expansion.¹⁰⁶⁷ Although Prince George’s County is now Maryland’s number one county for creating Black-owned businesses, disparities persist.¹⁰⁶⁸ Business ownership is an important wealth building tool for Black families, yet far too many aspiring, Black entrepreneurs have difficulty in accessing and sustaining capital.¹⁰⁶⁹ Today, they are more likely to face predatory lending and high interest rates.¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁵⁵ Sam Gauntt, “County schools grapple with lead in drinking water” *Streetcar Suburbs Publishing*, May 9, 2024.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Lead Exposure Symptoms and Complications, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <https://www.cdc.gov/lead-prevention/symptoms-complications/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Lead Exposure Symptoms and Complications, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <https://www.cdc.gov/lead-prevention/symptoms-complications/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Lead Exposure Symptoms and Complications, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <https://www.cdc.gov/lead-prevention/symptoms-complications/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Christine Condon, “Despite efforts by lawmakers, energy bills are going up again. Here’s why” *Maryland Matters*, June 5, 2025.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Christine Condon, “Despite efforts by lawmakers, energy bills are going up again. Here’s why” *Maryland Matters*, June 5, 2025.

¹⁰⁶¹ Christine Condon, “Despite efforts by lawmakers, energy bills are going up again. Here’s why” *Maryland Matters*, June 5, 2025.

¹⁰⁶² Christine Condon, “Despite efforts by lawmakers, energy bills are going up again. Here’s why” *Maryland Matters*, June 5, 2025.

¹⁰⁶³ Joie D. Acosta, “Pushing People into Poverty and Public Health Crisis: Maryland’s Recent Energy Cost Increases Could Add Up to an Equity Disaster” *RAND*, March 26, 2024.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Joie D. Acosta, “Pushing People into Poverty and Public Health Crisis: Maryland’s Recent Energy Cost Increases Could Add Up to an Equity Disaster” *RAND*, March 26, 2024.

¹⁰⁶⁵ “West” Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

¹⁰⁶⁶ “West” Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2025.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ron Knox, Susan Holmberg “The Fall and Potential Rise of a Black Business District”, *Institute for Local Self-Reliance*, June 6, 2024.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Richard D. Elliot, “Prince George’s: Maryland’s New Leading County for Black-Owned Business” *The Washington Informer*, May 22, 2024.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lauren Wolters, “Predatory Lending Is Hurting Small Businesses. Here’s How You Can Fight Back.” *National Community Reinvestment Coalition*, January 21, 2025.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Lauren Wolters, “Predatory Lending Is Hurting Small Businesses. Here’s How You Can Fight Back.” *National Community Reinvestment Coalition*, January 21, 2025.

UN SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities

For much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, racially restrictive covenants were common in Prince George's County.¹⁰⁷¹ This practice limited opportunities for Black homeownership and building wealth.¹⁰⁷² Despite these restrictions, Prince George's County eventually became a stronghold for the Black middle class, as many families purchased homes and built communities.¹⁰⁷³ Still, some of those historic injustices have led to disparities that persist today.¹⁰⁷⁴

Both Prince George's County and the City of College Park have taken steps to address this history and repair the harms. In 2022, the County adopted a resolution aimed at understanding the root causes of racial disparities, and working to close the gap.¹⁰⁷⁵ College Park took similar action in 2020, by officially acknowledging its role in reinforcing systemic racism.¹⁰⁷⁶ The city issued an official apology and pledged to work in partnership with the Black community.¹⁰⁷⁷

UN SDG 12: Responsible Consumption and Production

In 2020, Prince George's County generated about 1.8 million tons of waste: 816,249 tons of municipal solid waste and 703,555 tons of construction and demolition debris and other waste (scrap metal, land clearing debris, and recycled fluids).¹⁰⁷⁸ Black communities are more likely to be situated near landfills and hazardous waste sites and exposed to their potential harmful effects.¹⁰⁷⁹ Efforts across Prince George's County and its cities to reduce waste by cutting back on single-use plastics and offering composting services are important.

In June 2023, Prince George's County Council passed the Better Bag Bill to reduce plastic pollution and litter caused by disposable shopping bags.¹⁰⁸⁰ The law aims to cut down on single-use items by encouraging shoppers to bring reusable bags or skip bags altogether.¹⁰⁸¹ Retailers can no longer give out plastic bags unless they meet certain standards, and they must charge at least 10 cents for each paper or

¹⁰⁷¹ John Mohammadi, "Mapping Racially Restrictive Housing Covenants in Prince George's County" Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability National Center for Smart Growth, Fall 2021.

¹⁰⁷² John Mohammadi, "Mapping Racially Restrictive Housing Covenants in Prince George's County" Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability National Center for Smart Growth, Fall 2021.

¹⁰⁷³ Michael Brice-Saddler, Latesisha Beachum, "Fed work helped build Black wealth in this suburb. Now families worry." *The Washington Post*, April 7, 2025.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Michael Brice-Saddler, Latesisha Beachum, "Fed work helped build Black wealth in this suburb. Now families worry." *The Washington Post*, April 7, 2025.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Jenny Gathright, "Prince George's County To Develop Racial Equity Framework For Policymaking" *DCist*, October 5, 2022.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Clara Niel, "Systemic racism has plagued this College Park neighborhood. Now, the council apologizes" *The Diamondback*, June 10, 2020.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Clara Niel, "Systemic racism has plagued this College Park neighborhood. Now, the council apologizes" *The Diamondback*, June 10, 2020.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Linda Villarosa "Pollution Is Killing Black Americans. This Community Fought Back" *The New York Times*, July 28, 2020.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

¹⁰⁸¹ Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

other type of carryout bag.¹⁰⁸² The City of College Park adopted a similar law around the same time.¹⁰⁸³ Within five months, the number of customers bringing reusable bags or opting out of bags entirely rose from 12% to 69%.¹⁰⁸⁴

College Park also increased its composting efforts. Initially, the city had food scrap drop off.¹⁰⁸⁵ In 2022, the city started a curbside collection program that encourages residents to set out food scraps for pickup each week with their regular trash.¹⁰⁸⁶ These efforts make it easier to keep waste out of the landfill.¹⁰⁸⁷

UN SDG 13: Climate Action

Although climate change is often framed as a global issue that affects everyone, Black communities are disproportionately affected.¹⁰⁸⁸ In part, historic injustices have forced many Black families into flood prone areas and heat islands, which makes them more vulnerable to extreme weather.¹⁰⁸⁹

In Prince George's County, the impacts of climate change are already being felt.¹⁰⁹⁰ Residents have endured increasingly severe flooding, heatwaves, snow, and storms in recent years, and these weather events are only expected to become more frequent.¹⁰⁹¹ The county's average daily maximum temperature has been 66°F, but projections show it could rise by 8 degrees by 2040 and 10 degrees by 2060.¹⁰⁹² While winters may become milder overall, they are also expected to bring more intense storm activity.¹⁰⁹³ There are a number of properties at risk of flooding in the county, in part, due to land use practices that convert forest land and agricultural land into the built environment.¹⁰⁹⁴

¹⁰⁸² Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

¹⁰⁸³ Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Sierra Club Maryland Chapter, 2024 Shopper Survey, <https://www.sierraclub.org/maryland/prince-georges/2024-shopper-survey>.

¹⁰⁸⁵ City of College Park Food Scrap Program, <https://www.sierraclub.org/sites/default/files/sce/prince-georges-group/College%20Park%20Food%20Scrap%20presentation.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Hannah Ziegler, "College Park to begin new curbside food scrap collection program" *The Diamondback*, September 28, 2022.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Hannah Ziegler, "College Park to begin new curbside food scrap collection program" *The Diamondback*, September 28, 2022.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Mariah Botkin, "Study reveals community that bears the brunt of escalating crisis: 'Another barrier to recovery'" *The Cool Down*, February 28, 2025.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mariah Botkin, "Study reveals community that bears the brunt of escalating crisis: 'Another barrier to recovery'" *The Cool Down*, February 28, 2025.

¹⁰⁹⁰ "Climate Action Plan" Prince George's County Climate Action Commission, January 15, 2022, https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?d=draft_climate_action_plan_01-15-2022&hidelssuuLogo=true&showOtherPublicationsAsSuggestions=true&u=environment.mypgc.us.

¹⁰⁹¹ "Climate Action Plan" Prince George's County Climate Action Commission, January 15, 2022, https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?d=draft_climate_action_plan_01-15-2022&hidelssuuLogo=true&showOtherPublicationsAsSuggestions=true&u=environment.mypgc.us.

¹⁰⁹² "Climate Action Plan" Prince George's County Climate Action Commission, January 15, 2022, https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?d=draft_climate_action_plan_01-15-2022&hidelssuuLogo=true&showOtherPublicationsAsSuggestions=true&u=environment.mypgc.us.

¹⁰⁹³ "Climate Action Plan" Prince George's County Climate Action Commission, January 15, 2022, https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?d=draft_climate_action_plan_01-15-2022&hidelssuuLogo=true&showOtherPublicationsAsSuggestions=true&u=environment.mypgc.us.

¹⁰⁹⁴ "Climate Action Plan" Prince George's County Climate Action Commission, January 15, 2022, https://e.issuu.com/embed.html?d=draft_climate_action_plan_01-15-2022&hidelssuuLogo=true&showOtherPublicationsAsSuggestions=true&u=environment.mypgc.us.

UN SDG 14: Life Below Water

In May, the Chesapeake Bay Legacy Act was signed into law.¹⁰⁹⁵ This legislation aims to strengthen water quality monitoring and sustainable farming.¹⁰⁹⁶ One of its major provisions requires tracking the health of at least 25 aquatic species.¹⁰⁹⁷ The Chesapeake Bay watershed includes over 100,000 tributaries, some of which run through the City of College Park.¹⁰⁹⁸ Given the compounding risks to wildlife and humans (e.g. population growth, development, climate change, etc.), College Park should similarly take steps to protect its waterways.¹⁰⁹⁹

UN SDG 17: Partnerships for the Goals

Advancing a community where the sustainable development goals can be realized, requires deep partnership between the community, government, and other stakeholders. Conversations with Lakelanders reveal that the urban renewal plan disrupted trust in the institutions meant to serve the community, including the City of College Park, Prince George's County, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning, and the University of Maryland. In order to restore the trust and realize the targets of the SDGs, it is important for these institutions to pursue meaningful repair efforts.

Summary

Urban renewal and the subsequent harms that followed impacted nearly every aspect of life for Lakelanders. Many families lost their homes, and the opportunity to build and pass down generational wealth. Beyond the material losses, the displacement was deeply traumatic and left many with chronic conditions and ailments that they attribute, in part, to the disruption of that time period. Today, the community is cut off from the larger metro region due to the loss of transportation, and the neighborhood schools are altogether different from the community-centered institutions that they once were. The original justification for urban renewal, flood mitigation, is an ongoing issue that continues to threaten the neighborhood. The time for meaningful repair is now.

Database of Names

The table below reflects the names and property information for Lakeland community members who were directly affected by the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project. The research process included compiling and cross referencing several sources of information. These consisted of: individual assessments of property from the City of College Park Urban Renewal Authority, the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project Area's List of Relocated Households, names and addresses from District 3 of College Park in 1965, the report titled *Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970*, plat maps, deeds, and records of sale and acquisition for Lakeland properties.

Of the names listed below, some were not homeowners. Several Lakeland residences housed multigenerational and extended families. There were also renters who experienced displacement, especially in the mobile home park. Lakelanders recalled that six properties in Lakeland's east side were

¹⁰⁹⁵ Christine Condon, Danielle J. Brown "Moore signs Chesapeake Bay bill as federal cuts loom large" *Maryland Matters*, May 14, 2025.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Christine Condon, Danielle J. Brown "Moore signs Chesapeake Bay bill as federal cuts loom large" *Maryland Matters*, May 14, 2025.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Christine Condon, Danielle J. Brown "Moore signs Chesapeake Bay bill as federal cuts loom large" *Maryland Matters*, May 14, 2025.

¹⁰⁹⁸ "Bay Facts" Chesapeake Bay Program, <https://www.chesapeakebay.net/discover/bay-facts>.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "Bay Facts" Chesapeake Bay Program, <https://www.chesapeakebay.net/discover/bay-facts>.

not acquired by the city but by M-NCPPC during the same period as the urban renewal process. Most homeowners did not know the difference between the urban renewal process and the M-NCPPC process, as both acquisitions were made during the same period. The names of the displaced from both groups were often tracked together (e.g. Relocation list, Acquisition list). It must be noted that some had ownership interest in multiple Lakeland properties during urban renewal (e.g. John Hardisty, Leonard Smith, Victor Dickey, National Mobile Village). All of the Lakeland holdings may not be reflected in Table 2, but it serves as a solid foundation for further investigation.

Table 2. Names and Property Information of Lakeland Community Members Affected

Name	Address	Plot description (legal)	Descendants	Documentation	Notes	Liber	Folio	Assessment Value
Mr. Merrill Thomas	4902 Lakeland Road	Block 12, E. 44.51' of East 80' of lot 14	Linda Zelma Thomas Smith, Alice T. Thomas, Joyce P. Belton, Richard Thomas	Assessment, Relocated Household list	New kitchen, remodeled after flood	3492	952	\$22,900
Mrs. Hazel Thomas	Same as above							
Mrs. Joseph Adams	8103 48th Ave	Block 12 lot 9		Assessment		829	51	\$17,000
Mrs. Catherine Adams	Same as above							
Mrs. Frankie Barnett				Relocated Household list				
Mr. Benjamin Blue	5503 Atlantic Ave	Block 38, lot 7		Relocated Household list, Qualified voters of 3rd District Feb 1965, Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970		4393	17-18	
Mrs. Jennie Blue	same as above							
Mr. George Brooks Jr.	4810 Lakeland Rd	Block 12, w. 1/2 of lot 13	Shelia Lacey, Ronnie Brooks, Kathy Coleman, Michelle Davis, Lester Brooks	Assessment, Relocated Household list, LCA oral history	Beneficiaries c/o Suburban Trust	4491	496-497	
Mrs. Jeanette Brooks	same as above							
Mr. Albert Cager				Relocated Households list				
Mr. Frank Cager				Relocated Households list				
Mrs. Rose Adams	5105 Navahoe street	Block 13 45' E. Of lot 7		Assessment		539	161	\$2,200
Mrs. Ethel Brown				Relocated Households List				

Mr. Robert Campbell	8000 block Winnipeg Ave?			Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Helen Campbell	same as above							
Mrs. Norma Chambers				Relocated Households List				
Mr. James Douglas				Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Douglas	same as above							
Mr James Edwards	1425 Albany Ave	Block 38 lot 10		Relocated Households List, Qualified Voters of 3rd district Feb 1965, deed	Survived Martha V.	4618	552	
Mr. Jerry Hall				Relocated Households List				
Mr Jessie Hamilton				Relocated Households List				
Mr. Charles Hamlett	5502 Cleveland Ave	Block 34, lot 8,9,10		Relocated Households List, qualified voter list Feb 1965, Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970, Lakeland acquisition				\$13734?
Mrs. Nettie Hamlett				Relocated Households List				
Mr. Clifford Kinman				Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Kinman				Relocated Households List				
Ms. Terry Johnson				Relocated Households List				
Mr. Buddy Lutz	Baldwin Ave?	Block 19 lot 1		Relocated Households List, Newman map		4499	540-541	
Mrs. Roberta Lutz	same as above			Relocated Households List				
Mr Robert Mason	8204 Navahoe Street	Block 16 lot 1 (part)		Relocated Households List, deed		4488	545-546	
Ms. Marva McGhee				Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Katie Lyons				Relocated Households List				

Mrs. Grace Nesbitt	4826 Navahoe Street	Block 16, lots 6 and 7		Relocated Households List, Qualified Voters of 3rd district Feb 1965, deed		4544	210-211	
Mrs. Thomas Moody (Elise)	Columbus Ave	Block 16 lot 6 (parts)		Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Paul Parker	8104 51st Ave			Relocated Households List				
Mr. Edward Potts		Block 16, Lot 5		Relocated Households List		4645	568-569	
Amy G. Brooks	same as above			Relocated Households List				
Ms. Mary J Prahinski	8106 48th Ave	Block 19- E. 87.1 ft, lot 1		Assessment, Relocated Household list		4234	529	\$6,400
Mr. Harold Sampson				Relocated Households List				
Mr. Enoch Sandidge	4805 Navahoe street	Block 12 Lot S/E half of lot 6		Assessment, Relocated Household list		1522	91	\$6,000
Mrs. Hattie Sandidge	Same as above							
Mr. William Sharps	5507 Albany Ave	Block 34 Lot 6 & 7	Violetta Sharpes Jones	Relocated Households list, Qualified Voters of 3rd District Feb 1965, Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970		4458	571-574	
Lucille Sharps	Same as above							
Mr. George Smith	4811 Navahoe street	Block 12- w 1/2 of lot 4 8500 sq. ft.		Assessment		1024	413	\$9,320
Mrs. Gloria Smith				Relocated Households list				
Mrs. Mary Smith				Relocated Households list				
Mr. Sammuel Stewart	4903 Navahoe Street	Block 12 E. part of lot 3		Assessment, Relocated Households list		3426	699	\$28,000
Mary Stewart	Same as above							
Earl Conway	Same as above							
Raymond Conway	Same as above							

Mrs. Nora Thomas	4806 Lakeland Rd.	Block 12 lot 11		Relocated Households list, assessment		4566	877-878	
Mr. William Edward Thomas		Block 15, lot 17		Relocated Households list		4711	502-503	
Mr. Obery Thompson				Relocated Households list				
Ms. Betty Turner				Relocated Households list				
Mr. Curtis Thompson	5504 Richmond Ave	Block 35, lot 10		Relocated Households list, East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970				
Mrs. Gertude Brooks Thompson	Same as above							
Mr. Milton Bradley Williams	Navahoe street	Block 15 lot 17		Relocated Households list, deed	Moved 10/78	4711	504-505	
Mrs. Hattie Beatrice Williams	same as above							
Ms. Bobby Adkins				Relocated Households list	Moved 8/75			
Mr. Walter Bailey					Moved 3/76			
Mr. Sam Chayt				Relocated Households list	Moved 7/74			
Mr. William S.E. Craig				Relocated Households list	Moved 8/74			
Ms. Ernestine Davis				Relocated Households list	Moved 9/75			
Mr. Frank Douthit				Relocated Households list	Moved 8/75			
Mr. James Donnelly				Relocated Households list	Moved 9/74			
Mrs. Donnelly	Same as above							
Mr. Terry Dyroff				Relocated Households list	Moved 2/76			
Mr. John Evans				Relocated Households list	Moved 5/75			
Mr. Henry Darryl				Relocated Households list	Moved 6/75			
Mr. Isam Hineidi				Relocated Households list	Moved 2/76			
Mr. Kenneth Judd				Relocated Households list	Moved 3/74			

Mr. Robert J Karl				Relocated Households list	Moved 5/13/74			
Mrs. Karl	same as above							
Mr. W Hunter Lucke Jr.				Relocated Households list	Moved 8/1/75			
Mr. Gordon Miller				Relocated Households list	Moved 12/9/75			
Mr. Henry Neese				Relocated Households list	Moved 1/22/76			
Ms. Patricia M. O'Brien				Relocated Households list	Moved 10/75			
Ms. Ann E. Matthesius				Relocated Households list	Moved 2/75			
Mr. Gene Olmsted				Relocated Households list	Moved 8/75			
Mr. Stephen Powell				Relocated Households list	Moved 1/76			
Mr. James McDonnell				Relocated Households list	Moved 3/76			
Mrs. Roxie Reich				Relocated Households list	Moved 7/76			
Mr. Robert Schwartz				Relocated Households list	Moved 9/74			
Mr. Ronald Seaman				Relocated Households list	Moved 7/74			
Mrs. Seaman	same as above							
Mr. Joseph Sorensina, Sr.				Relocated Households list	Moved 4/75			
Mr. Alan G. Tyler				Relocated Households list	Moved 10/75			
Mrs. Virginia Zentz				Relocated Households list	Moved 12/74			
Mr. Michael Valadez				Relocated Households list	12/75			
Mr. Robert Wellen				Relocated Households list	Moved 11/75			
Mr. Thomas Weidaman				Relocated Households list	Moved 5/75			
Mr. Albert Woodward				Relocated Households list	Moved 2/76			
Mr. John Zajic				Relocated Households list	Moved 1/76			
Mr. James Hill				Relocated Households list	Moved 7/79			
Mrs. Helen Hill	same as above							
Mr. Richard Barber				Relocated Households list	Moved 12/79			

Mrs. Barber	same as above							
Ms. Earlene Williams				Relocated Households list	Moved 9/79			
Mazie Adams	Navahoe street	Block 15 lots 16 and 17		Deed		4711	502-503	
Bessie Mack	5030 Navahoe Street	Block 12 lot 1		Assessment	Store and pool house after fire	2738	389	\$18,820
John Chesley Mack Jr	Same as above							
Julie Carrol	Same as above							
James Claiborne	4802 Lakeland Rd	part of lot 10 Block 12		Assessment	Sold to URA, Negotiated price \$35k			\$10,570
Vera Claiborn	Same as above							
Bruce Campbell	8104 51st street	Block 13, N. 1/2 of lot 2		Assessment, inquisition		1287	408	\$3,540
Henry B. Campbell	Same as above		Fannie Mae Buchanan Featherstone (niece)					
Inez Campbell	Same as above							
Harold Pitts	4800 Lakeland Road	West 69' of lot 10, Block 12		Assessment	Two Different assessment amounts listed; improvements since basement flooding of \$1000	1257	59	\$18,000
Julia Mae Pitts	Same as above							
Manton Chapman	8005 48th Ave	Block 12 S. 60' of lot 8		Deed, Assessment		3189	149	\$27,000
Dalphine Chapman	Same as above							
Leonard Smith	4910 Navahoe Street	Block 12 lot E half lot 4 w 50' x 60' lot 3		Assessment		3656	123	\$1,370
Sherman Campbell	4812 Lakeland Rd	Block 12, East 1/2 of lot 13 west 12' of lot 14		Assessment		4666	877-880	
Saxoline Campbell	Same as above							

Elise White	8112 51st Ave	Block 13 lot 4		Assessment	Deceased at time of appraisal	1866	166	\$4,970
Alice Nickens	Same as above				Deceased at time of appraisal			
Floyd Azalian Ross	4808 Lakeland Rd	Block 12 lot 12		Assessment	Home 13 years old at time of assessment, two assessment prices listed	2461	259	\$31,500
William J. Thomas	4806 Lakeland Rd	Block 12 lot 11	Nora Thomas	Assessment	Area flooding alleviated by Army Corps of Engineers' work	325	253	\$3,404
Beatrice Thomas	same as above							
John T. Hardisty	4708 Lakeland Rd	Block 19- Lot 12- W.50' of E. 69', E. 19' of lot 12 & w. 31' of lot 13, w. 15.5' of lot 12 & 34.5' of lot 11		Assessment		4178	91	
J. Victor Dickey	4704 Lakeland Rd	Block 19- lot 11		Assessment		3163	187	\$6,090
Marie Douglas	4702 Lakeland Rd	Block 19- lot 10		Assessment, deed	Clarence J. Douglas on deed	1180	375	\$32,500
James Clemons	5110 Lakeland Rd	Block 14 S.W. 104' x 97.5' of lot 20		Assessment		1559	468	\$8,390
Mrs. Bessie Clemons	same as above							
Mr. James Daley			Sherry W. (Dailey) Jacobs	Relocated Households List				
Mrs. Daley								
Mr. Nathaniel Dixon				Relocated Households list				
Mr. James Fields				Relocated Households list				
Mr. Roy Clymer								
John Watkins	4714 Navahoe Street	Block 17- Lots A6, B6, C6 & H6		Lancaster & Taylor Acquisition				

Martha M. Watkins	same as above							
Jack Shier	8135 Baltimore Blvd	Block 18- Lot 8 and 9		Lancaster & Taylor Acquisition	Town Hall Tavern, gas station, car repair			
David Jacobson	same as above							
Walter Lasick	8117 54th Ave.	Block 44, lot 4		Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970, deed	Owned liquor store on Rt. 1, rental Property	4488	543-544	
Mildred Lasick	same as above							
Gilbert Thomas	8121 54th Ave.	Block 44 Lots 2&3		Assessment, Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970, Inquisition	Deceased at time of closeout, condemned			\$31,245
Dervey A. Lomax	8115 54th Ave.	Block 44 lot 5		deed		4577	621-622	
New Zion Fire Baptized Holiness Baptist Church	8006 Winnipeg	Block 34 Lots 3,4,5		Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970	Rosenwald School then church	4686	570-571	\$27,121
Harry Braxton	5508 Richmond	Block 35 lot 12	Dr. Joanne Braxton	Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970	To Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning	4047	644	
Mary Braxton	same as above							
Earl Weygandt	Detroit Ave	Block 43, lots 1-4		Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970	Multiple properties		4575	658-659
Mr. Paul Parker	5400 Cleveland Ave	Block 45, lot 6		Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks 1890-1970	Lodging Business			
Delores Parker	Same as Above							
Jack J. Sapienza	Baltimore Ave	Block 17, Lot 1 (part)		Deeds		3392	392-393	
Gloria N. Sapienza	same as above							
Albert Lockett		Block 12 lot 7		Deed		4401	679-680	
Katherine B. Lockett	same as above							
Frank Morton								

Phyllis G. Morton	Columbus Ave	Block 16 lot 1		Deed , Lakeland subdivision map 1930		4416	942-943	
Frank L. Potts	Columbus Ave	Block 16 lot 1 (part)		Deed		4432	831-832	
Charlotte L. Potts	same as above							
George O. Weber		Block 15 lot 5 (part)						
Grace C. Weber	same as above			Deed		4433	809-810	
John F. Lillard	Columbus Ave	Block 12 lot 5		Deed		4438	497-498	
J. Bowie	same as above							
J. Edgar	same as above							
Clara Artemesia Drefs		Block 4 lot 12		Deed		4439	593-594	
Clara A.N. Drefs	same as above							
William A. Albaugh		Block 18 lot 14-21		Deed		4456	944-945	
Marionette T. Kelley		Block 45 lots 8-16		Deed		4473	127-128	
Leon E. Kelley	same as above							
Kelley Construction Company		Block 44 lots 7-11		Deed		4475	129-130	
Edwin Dallas Kennedy		Block 19 lot 2		Deed		4490	693-694	
Dora M. Kennedy	same as above							
S&M Trash		Block 15, lots 11 and 12		Deed		4510	832-835	
Eleanor Mary Boyle	54th Ave & Cincinnati Ave	Block 44 lot 6 (part)		Deed		4511	758-760	
Joseph J. Walsh	Winnipeg Ave	Block 35 lot 6		Inquisition	Condemned	4519	173-174	
The American Legion		Block 12 lot 6 (part)		Deed		4521	551-552	
Charles Arthur Thomas	8109 54th Ave	Block 44 lot 6 (part)		Deed, Qualified voters of third district		4527	225-226	
Regina L. Barton	8109 54th Ave	Block 44 Lots 2 & 3		Deed	Representative of estate for Gilbert Thomas	4527	227-228	

Bertha Lumford, et al		Block 19 lot 3 (part)		Inquisition	Condemned	4579	468-471	
Viola Johnson	Albany Ave	Block 38 lot 8		Deed, Qualified voters of third district		4583	146-147	
Theodore L. Miazga		Block 39 lots 3-10		Deed		4595	423-426	
Matilda M. Miazga								
Otway B. Zantzinger	4900 Lakeland Rd	Block 12 lot 14		Deed, appraisal	Beneficiary of Suburban Trust Company	4603	639-641	27,000
Andrew Mothershead	Winnipeg Ave	Block 35 lot 5		Deed		4618	554-555	
Matie Johnson	Richmond Ave, Winnipeg	Block 35 lot 8		Deed	Estate represented by Robert Griffin	4670	942-943	
Thelma Fulcher		Block 4 lot 5		Inquisition	Condemned	4717	415-418	
Mary L. White		Block 16 lot 3 (part)		inquisition	Condemned	4722	589-590	
Sue L. White	same as above							
Noel R. White	same as above							
Joseph Canova		Block 15 lots 12 and 13 (part)		Inquisition	Condemned	4737	84-86	
Elizabeth Canova	same as above							
Charles E. Black		Block 4 lot 10		Deed		4763	848	
Aline Black Hicks	same as above							
Arlener Laney	5108 Pierce Ave	Block 3 lot 18		Deed		4792	313	
Willie Laney	same as above							
Mary Falls (Mary Coghill)		Block 38 lot 9		Inquisition		4704	285-287	
Carl A. Konosky		Block 15 lot 1		Deed		4839	9-10	
Mary L. Konosky	same as above							
Willie Lee Sellers	5500 Cincinnati Ave	Block 16 lot 9 (part)		Deed		4921	110-111	

Marry Emma Sellers	same as above							
Walter Bey	Atlanta Ave	Block 38 lots 5 & 6		Deed	Financed a \$13,000 home kit in 1970	4563	29	

Policy Research and Repair

Timeline of Repair: Chronicling Restorative Justice Actions

No one can return what was taken, but the Lakeland community has consistently uplifted its rich history, identity, and needs to combat erasure and to unearth the material and embodied effects of harm. The Braxton Institute bears witness to a pattern and practice in history of excluding and eliminating recognition of local and minoritized communities’ leadership and endeavors.¹¹⁰⁰ Within this context, it is important to note “that any effort to document repair efforts over time may fail to fully represent the efforts of the community on its own behalf.”¹¹⁰¹ The table below integrates Lakeland community feedback and prioritizes their knowledge and experience. The table gives presence to the fact that the City of College Park’s restorative justice process operates as an extension of the Lakeland community’s decades-long resilience and persistent advocacy for repair.

Year	Community	City
1920s	On March 3, 1921, the Community Club of Lakeland published their principles as an organization in <i>The Baltimore Afro-American</i>: “1 To better traveling conditions. 2 To have lights installed. 3 The last but not the least bring about a Christian unity in this, our community.”¹¹⁰² Another article published on May 27, 1921 indicated that Mary Walls served as president and Hannah Thomas served as secretary of the Community Club.¹¹⁰³ On April 29, 1921, an article in <i>The Baltimore Afro-American</i> referenced a “Citizens Association of Lakeland.”¹¹⁰⁴ This is one of the earliest references to what would be known as the Lakeland Civic Association.¹¹⁰⁵ George Brooks Sr. served as the first president of the Lakeland Civic Association for 25 years, and the leaders who succeeded him include but are not limited to James Claiborne, Leonard Smith, Elwood	

¹¹⁰⁰ Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, and Rebecca Parker, “Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute,” March 28, 2025.

¹¹⁰¹ Braxton, Oxendine, and Parker, “Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute.”

¹¹⁰² “Untitled Newspaper Clipping about the Community Club of Lakeland,” *The Baltimore Afro-American*, March 3, 1921.

¹¹⁰³ “Lakeland,” *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1921.

¹¹⁰⁴ “State News: Lakeland,” *The Baltimore Afro-American*, April 29, 1921.

¹¹⁰⁵ Connie Sandidge et al., “History of Lakeland,” ed. Joanne Braxton and D.R. Rodenhuis, May 21, 1972.

	Gross, Julia Carroll, Hattie Sandidge, Dervey Lomax, James Weems, James Adams, Fannie Featherstone, Karen Roberts, Maxine Gross, Diane Weems Ligon, and Monroe Dennis, and Robert Thurston among others. ¹¹⁰⁶	
1960s	Lakeland residents “advocated for equal housing resources and homeownership opportunities through organizations such as the Lakeland Citizens Association.” ¹¹⁰⁷	
1965	“The Lakeland Committee was organized in 1965 as a coalition of individuals and thirteen member churches in the College Park area. The purpose of the Committee [was] to develop inter-faith, inter-racial, and inter-community relationships.” ¹¹⁰⁸	
1970s and 1980s	The Project Area Committee (PAC), a HUD-mandated group of Lakeland leaders appointed by the Mayor and City Council of College Park, was involved at the policy-making level of the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project; PAC advocated for Lakeland’s needs and preferences and disseminated newsletters to continually inform the community throughout the process. ¹¹⁰⁹	
2002	In 2002, the Lakeland History Project, now the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, held its first event, providing a Lakeland history tour, a scholar’s guide, an oral history workshop, and a small collections event to begin gathering memorabilia. ¹¹¹⁰	
2008	The Lakeland Community Heritage Project formalized its nonprofit status, advancing the mission to preserve the history and heritage of the Lakeland community. ¹¹¹¹ This all-volunteer organization was led by	

¹¹⁰⁶ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Inc., *Lakeland: African Americans in College Park* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009). 79.

¹¹⁰⁷ Courtne N. Thurston, “Urban Renewal in Lakeland” (Morgan State University, 2024). 4.

¹¹⁰⁸ James Claiborne, Hattie Sandidge, and David Rodenhuis, “Lakeland Community Day,” May 21, 1972.

¹¹⁰⁹ Thurston, “Urban Renewal in Lakeland.” 31.

¹¹¹⁰ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park* (Route 1 Corridor Conversations: Lakeland Community Heritage Project, Hyattsville Aging in Place, Helping Hands University Park, Neighbors Helping Neighbors College Park, Explorations on Aging College Park, 2022), <https://hyattsvilleaginginplace.org/a-history-of-the-lakeland-community-of-college-park/>.

¹¹¹¹ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park*.

	several generations of Lakelanders who wanted to document the community's story to maintain historical memory, unite the origin community and the diaspora, and share Lakeland's heritage with their children and grandchildren. ¹¹¹²	
2009	The Lakeland Community Heritage Project published a book titled <i>Lakeland: African Americans in College Park</i> using photos that were collected digitally to encourage Lakeland residents to keep what they already preserved in their family archive. ¹¹¹³ Archival material remained in hard drives and stored in bookshelves or closets for several years; access was limited to use for community projects. ¹¹¹⁴	In February 2009, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project shared images and artifacts for an exhibit of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission's Black history program. ¹¹¹⁵ The exhibit titled "A View From the Lakes: A History of the African American Community of Lakeland" was housed in the Montpelier Cultural Arts Center in Laurel, Maryland and showcased Lakeland's religious, educational, and cultural history. ¹¹¹⁶
2009 – 2017	Lakeland Heritage Weekend took place every September as a reunion of the community. A joint church service was held, and the Lakeland Community Heritage Project hosted history-oriented events; these included a genealogy workshop, discussions about cultural themes in the community, and collecting activities that formed the foundation of the Lakeland archive. ¹¹¹⁷ In 2009, Dr. Mary Corbin Sies at the University of Maryland's Department of American Studies and her students collaborated with the Lakeland Community	

¹¹¹² *Engaging the Community Through Digital Archives: The Lakeland Community Heritage Project* (University of Maryland, 2013), <https://youtu.be/X6tgafA63lO?feature=shared>.

¹¹¹³ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park*.

¹¹¹⁴ Laurie Robinson, "A Community Archive Preserves the History of a 130-Year-Old African American Community," *University of Maryland College of Information* (blog), July 10, 2023, <https://ischool.umd.edu/news/a-community-archive-preserves-the-history-of-a-130-year-old-african-american-community/>.

¹¹¹⁵ *A History of the Lakeland Community of College Park*.

¹¹¹⁶ "Remembering the History of Lakeland: Community Members Recount Neighborhood's Educational, Religious Role," *Southern Maryland News*, June 25, 2012, https://www.somdnews.com/archives/remembering-the-history-of-lakeland/article_cbb7OadO-694c-5a44-8fbc-a8d7e5217b45.html.

¹¹¹⁷ *Engaging the Community Through Digital Archives: The Lakeland Community Heritage Project*.

	Heritage Project to develop a research forum and online Lakeland archive using Omeka, a digital collection management system.¹¹¹⁸ The Omeka webpage integrated a variety of Lakeland primary sources, including 66 oral histories, appraisal documents, newspaper clippings, maps, and photographs.¹¹¹⁹ Following are projects that resulted from the ongoing collaboration between the Lakeland Community Heritage Project and Dr. Mary Corbin Sies' students at the University of Maryland:¹¹²⁰ • Historic preservation project that involved a thorough documentation of Lakeland's east side. James Edwards and Pearl Lee Campbell Edwards contributed tremendously with a map of the east side that depicted the sites of neighbors' homes. • A project that focused on education in Lakeland before, during, and after desegregation using oral histories and contextual research. Students presented the findings in a video presentation. • A study of the urban renewal process in Lakeland to produce a timeline of what transpired in report form. • Campaign to make Lakeland's history salient within the landscapes that were taken away. The Lakeland Community Heritage Project began lobbying the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission for Lakeland historical markers at Lake Artemesia Park. Dr. Mary Corbin Sies' students then did a project to develop a walking tour and brochure for Lake Artemesia Park. In June 2010, University of Maryland	
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¹¹¹⁸ *Engaging the Community Through Digital Archives: The Lakeland Community Heritage Project.*

¹¹¹⁹ *Engaging the Community Through Digital Archives: The Lakeland Community Heritage Project.*

¹¹²⁰ *Engaging the Community Through Digital Archives: The Lakeland Community Heritage Project.*

	students from the Department of American Studies and the School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation prepared a report titled “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970” for the Lakeland Community Heritage Project.¹¹²¹ Lakeland community members served as partners and knowledge producers in the study, participating in oral histories and research workshops: Diane Weems Ligon, Violetta Sharps Jones, Maxine Gross, Maggie Johnson, Sandy Tyler and Dr. Forrest Tyler, Eli Pousson, Monroe Dennis, James Edwards and Pearl Lee Campbell Edwards, Charlotte King, Regina Thomas Barton, Dr. Joanne Braxton, Monroe Dennis, Mildred Ridgley Gray, Betty Greene, Delphine Gross, Dorothy T. Holman, and Johnny Smith. The Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission partnered with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project to develop two Lakeland historical markers at Lake Artemesia Park; the historical markers were unveiled on September 16, 2011 during the fifth annual Lakeland Heritage Weekend.¹¹²² Joanne M. Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency, and Joy (Braxton Institute) formed on March 27, 2012.¹¹²³ On August 6, 2016, the Weems–Braxton Lakeland Archive was “gifted to the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. The archive contains additional information regarding Lakeland efforts for repair that will be revealed.”¹¹²⁴	
2018	On August 28, 2018, a mural “painted by a team of local artists working with college	

¹¹²¹ Portia Barker et al., “Lakeland East of the Railroad Tracks, 1890–1970, A Historical Report Prepared by the Students of AMST 629D/HISP 635 in Cooperation with the Lakeland Community Heritage Project,” June 2010.

¹¹²² Maxine Gross, “Markers for Lake Artemesia,” *Lakeland Community Heritage Project* (blog), July 26, 2011, <https://lakelandchp.com/2011/07/26/markers-for-lake-artemesia/>.

¹¹²³ “Mission, Vision & Goals,” Braxton Institute, accessed May 14, 2025, <https://www.braxtoninstitute.org/our-mission>.

¹¹²⁴ Braxton, Oxendine, and Parker, “Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute.”

	and high school students” was unveiled “underneath the Baltimore Avenue bridge...[recreating] photographs of residents of Lakeland.”¹¹²⁵ A Maryland state grant and local nonprofits shared the cost of the mural.¹¹²⁶ In 2018, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project and the University of Maryland’s College of Information Studies, Department of American Studies, and the Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities partnered to formally redesign the Lakeland Digital Archive website, memorializing Lakeland’s history, remedying erasure of historic harms, and enhancing public accessibility to community knowledge.¹¹²⁷	
2020		On June 9, 2020, the Mayor and City Council of College Park passed Resolution 20-R-16 Renouncing Systemic Racism and Declaring Support of Black Lives.¹¹²⁸ The Mayor and City Council voted to “acknowledge and apologize for our city’s past history of oppression, particularly with regards to the Lakeland community, and actively seek opportunities for accountability and truth-telling about past injustice, and aggressively seek opportunities for restorative justice.”¹¹²⁹
2021		On February 9, 2021, the Mayor and City Council of College Park “established a Restorative Justice Steering Committee (‘RJSC’) to recommend the

¹¹²⁵ Ryan Teague Beckwith, “New Art Honors College Park’s Lost History,” *The Hyattsville Wire* (blog), August 28, 2018, <https://www.hyattsvillewire.com/2018/08/28/college-park-lakeland-mural/>.

¹¹²⁶ Beckwith, “New Art Honors College Park’s Lost History.”

¹¹²⁷ Robinson, “A Community Archive Preserves the History of a 130-Year-Old African American Community.”

¹¹²⁸ City of College Park, “20-R-16 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Renouncing Systemic Racism and Declaring Support of Black Lives” (2020).

¹¹²⁹ City of College Park, 20-R-16 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Renouncing Systemic Racism and Declaring Support of Black Lives.

		scope of work, membership, process, facilitation, and training, for a Restorative Justice Commission.”¹¹³⁰ On November 2, 2021, the RJSC presented a final report to the Mayor and City Council of College Park¹¹³¹ On December 14, 2021, the Mayor and City Council of College Park passed Resolution 21-R-25 Establishing a Restorative Justice Commission.¹¹³² The Commission received the charge of “promoting reconciliation and restoration for the Lakeland Community of the City of College Park through the development and implementation of a successful process of restorative justice through community engagement, truth, and reconciliation, and restorative measures.”¹¹³³
2022	The Restorative Justice Commission held its first meeting on May 26, 2022 and organized committees on restorative & transformative justice, community engagement, and truth & reconciliation.¹¹³⁴ In Fall 2022, University of Maryland graduate students in the Community Planning Studio course authored “Scenario Planning for Restorative Justice in Lakeland,” a report that explicated	In January 2022, City Council considered, and ultimately, accepted a \$15,000 grant from the Maryland Heritage Areas Authority (FY 2022) for the Lakeland Community Heritage Augmented Reality Tour. The City matched the grant with \$15,000 and in-kind services to enhance an existing walking tour with photographs and oral

¹¹³⁰ City of College Park, “21-R-25 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Establishing a Restorative Justice Commission” (2021).

¹¹³¹ City of College Park, 21-R-25 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Establishing a Restorative Justice Commission.

¹¹³² City of College Park, 21-R-25 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Establishing a Restorative Justice Commission.

¹¹³³ City of College Park, 21-R-25 Resolution of the Mayor and Council of the City of College Park Establishing a Restorative Justice Commission.

¹¹³⁴ Clara Irazábal et al., “Chapter 12: Decolonizing Planning Studio Pedagogy: Grappling with Tensions and Dissonances,” 2025.

	alternative futures using status quo, reform, and revolutionary outcomes with co-leadership and advising by Maxine Gross, Dr. Joanne M. Braxton, Robert Thurston and other Lakelanders advancing the restorative justice process.¹¹³⁵ The local leadership of the Braxton Institute, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, and the Lakeland Civic Association guided students' research on protecting Lakeland's past and envisioning future possibilities. Funding for the Community Planning Studio course came from a partnership between the University of Maryland Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability (PALS) program and the City of College Park.¹¹³⁶	histories made available with QR codes on physical markers. Phase I would involve developing new content and Phase II would require creating a free mobile app.¹¹³⁷ With city support in 2022, LV Collective purchased the land of the Campus Village Shoppes, a key site for local businesses in the Lakeland area, to construct a student-oriented apartment complex.¹¹³⁸
2023	On April 22, 2023, the Lakeland community "held a Banner Day and unveiled the Maryland Roadside Historic Marker for the community;" the University of Maryland's 1856 Project and the Lakeland Community Heritage Project partnered in this effort.¹¹³⁹ On May 2, 2023, the Lakeland Civic Association hosted a community meeting with the owners of Alden Berkley and Leon N. Weiner & Associates to discuss their redevelopment plans and Lakeland residents' requests.¹¹⁴⁰ In Fall 2023, University of Maryland graduate students in the Community Planning Studio course authored "Visioning Lakeland: Restorative Justice Through Scenario Planning," a report that enhanced	On April 22, 2023, the Maryland Historical Trust and the Maryland Department of Transportation erected a Lakeland historic marker at the intersection of Baltimore Avenue and Lakeland Road.¹¹⁴⁴ After years-long research and fundraising, the College Park Community Preservation Affordable Housing Land Trust, managed by the College Park City-University Partnership, formed in May 2023 to provide a source of permanently affordable homeownership options for people in College Park.¹¹⁴⁵ Recognizing the

¹¹³⁵ John Abban et al., "Scenario Planning for Restorative Justice in Lakeland" (University of Maryland Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability, 2022), <https://lakelandchp.com/lakelands-corner/>.

¹¹³⁶ Irazábal et al., "Chapter 12: Decolonizing Planning Studio Pedagogy: Grappling with Tensions and Dissonances."

¹¹³⁷ Fazlul Kabir, "City to Build a Walking Tour Promoting Lakeland's History," *Kabir Cares* (blog), January 23, 2022, <https://www.kabircares.org/city-to-build-a-walking-tour-promoting-lakelands-history/>.

¹¹³⁸ Katharine Wilson, "Lakeland Residents Hope Proposed Community Center Celebrates Neighborhood's History," *The Diamondback* (blog), February 26, 2024, <https://dbknews.com/2024/02/26/lakeland-community-center-neighborhood-history/>.

¹¹³⁹ "History in the Making: Honoring the History of Lakeland," University of Maryland Department of African American and Africana Studies, 2023, <https://aaas.umd.edu/news/history-making-honoring-history-lakeland>.

¹¹⁴⁰ "Lakeland Civic Association Invites You," *Lakeland Community Heritage Project* (blog), April 27, 2023, <https://lakelandchp.com/lakeland-civic-association/>.

¹¹⁴⁴ "Lakeland," The Historical Marker Database, December 1, 2023, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=237129>.

¹¹⁴⁵ "Community Preservation Trust – College Park City-University Partnership," accessed May 14, 2025, <https://collegeparkpartnership.org/community-preservation-trust/>.

	the 2022 report with updated strategies and objectives for Lakeland's future using status quo, reform, and revolutionary scenarios.¹¹⁴¹ Maxine Gross, Dr. Joanne M. Braxton, Robert Thurston, Ruth Murphy and other Lakelanders advancing the restorative justice process provided co-leadership and advising.¹¹⁴² Each contributed their time, knowledge, experiences, and their history of activism through the Braxton Institute, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, and the Lakeland Civic Association. Funding for the Community Planning Studio course also came from a partnership between the PALS program and the City of College Park.¹¹⁴³	restorative justice process and urgent challenges with owner occupancy, the city agreed to give priority to Lakeland and has since purchased one home on 51st Avenue. Low market prices, limited availability, and proximity to campus has meant that investors consistently target properties in Lakeland. There has been community support for a Lakeland Trust, where Lakeland residents hold the majority of governing board seats.
2024 – 2025	The Restorative Justice Commission (RJC) formalized its collaboration with the Braxton Institute and the Lakeland Community Heritage Project to advance the restorative justice process in the City of College Park on January 23, 2024.¹¹⁴⁶ In February 2024, following over a year of discussions, LV Collective's apartment complex will include a Lakeland Legacy Center, equipped with "a library, kitchen, and flexible-use space."¹¹⁴⁷ The Lakeland Community Heritage Project will manage the community center and museum exhibits, while LV Collective pays for the rent, cleaning, and furnishing.¹¹⁴⁸ In late spring of 2024, Maxine and Delphine Gross received historic designations for the properties that they own. Now, three	Per the request of the Lakeland Civic Association and the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, the City of College Park's Department of Planning and Community Development published a draft "Lakeland Neighborhood Plan" in 2024.¹¹⁵⁵ The University of Maryland student reports underpinned many of the ideas included in the plan. City staff has since requested community input from the Lakeland Civic Association, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, and the Restorative Justice Commission to revise the draft. Multi-stakeholder meetings and the Lakeland

¹¹⁴¹ Paul Abel et al., "Visioning Lakeland: Restorative Justice Through Scenario Planning" (University of Maryland Partnership for Action Learning in Sustainability, 2023), <https://lakelandchp.com/lakelands-corner/>.

¹¹⁴² Abel et al., "Visioning Lakeland: Restorative Justice Through Scenario Planning."

¹¹⁴³ Irazábal et al., "Chapter 12: Decolonizing Planning Studio Pedagogy: Grappling with Tensions and Dissonances."

¹¹⁴⁶ "Restorative Justice Commission, City of College Park, Tuesday, January 23, 2024," January 23, 2024, https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/AgendaCenter/ViewFile/Minutes/_01232024-1798.

¹¹⁴⁷ Wilson, "Lakeland Residents Hope Proposed Community Center Celebrates Neighborhood's History."

¹¹⁴⁸ Wilson, "Lakeland Residents Hope Proposed Community Center Celebrates Neighborhood's History."

¹¹⁵⁵ "Draft Lakeland Neighborhood Plan" (City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development, n.d.), <https://lakelandchp.com/lakelands-corner/>.

	residences in Lakeland have historic designations. There is also recognition in place for the Rosenwald school that is currently the Washington Brazilian 7th Day Adventist Church; it was initially Lakeland High School from 1928 to 1950 and an elementary school until 1972. The Braxton Institute’s <i>Reparations for Lakeland Now!</i> Campaign in 2024, with funding from the Decolonizing Wealth Project, advanced goals to document harms and identify impacted descendants; remember Lakeland’s history of resistance; broaden reparations education; bring a trauma informed lens; forge a community consensus for reparations; and strengthen communication.¹¹⁴⁹ Reparations 4 Lakeland Now!¹¹⁵⁰ • RJ Book Club Introduction to <i>Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It</i> by Dr. Mindy Fullilove on March 19, 2024 • Men of Lakeland and Their Stories at Embry AME Church on April 2, 2024 • Sanctuary Space: A trauma-informed listening session for and by Lakelanders with Dr. Mindy Fullilove, author of <i>Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It</i> at Embry AME Church on April 16, 2024 • Reparations as Peacebuilding: A Lakeland Movement for Black Lives Toolkit on April 30, 2024 • RJ Book Club with Nkechi Taifa <i>Reparations on Fire, How and Why it’s Spreading Across America</i> on June 4, 2024	Civic Association’s survey of community preferences have focused priorities for future builds and goals. On March 11, 2024, the City of College Park released RFP No. CP-24-05 to hire a Research Consultant for the Restorative Justice Commission.¹¹⁵⁶ The African American Redress Network (AARN) submitted an application, and it was initially denied due to funding. The RFP was released again in May 2024. AARN submitted a revised RFP with a condensed timeline to accommodate a lower budget, and AARN was awarded the RFP contract. • What is AARN doing here? Why is this different? The value proposition is the city’s engagement and the impact of the study. The historical record of the Lakeland community is to be the reference point for the City of College Park, providing an officially recognized account and recommendations for reparative actions. Lakeland elders perceived this work as a transition from the historical preservation of community stories to making the case for desired outcomes.
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¹¹⁴⁹ “Lakeland Reparations,” Braxton Institute, accessed May 14, 2025, <https://www.braxtoninstitute.org/lakeland-reparations>.

¹¹⁵⁰ “Reparations Now! Let’s Learn and Stand Together,” Braxton Institute, accessed May 14, 2025, <https://www.braxtoninstitute.org/love-of-lakeland>.

¹¹⁵⁶ City of College Park, “RFP NO. CP-24-05 Request for Proposals for Research Consultant for the Restorative Justice Commission,” March 11, 2024.

	• Reckon, Repair, and Heal: A Lakeland Community Convening, co-sponsored with the Lakeland Civic Association, at the College Park Community Center on May 9, 2024 • From Harm to Hope: Honoring Our Restorative Justice Leaders, Chic Events Venue, Bowie, MA on August 23, 2024 • Restorative practices training for community members, including an introduction to techniques for collective healing from collective trauma on May 18, 2024. RJC Town Halls, in partnership with the Braxton Institute: • Town Hall: Lakeland and <i>Root Shock</i> with Dr. Mindy Fullilove at Washington Brazilian Seventh Day Adventist Church on April 17, 2024 • Town Hall: #Reparations4LakelandNow! – Restorative Action: What and How? at Embry AME Church on May 18, 2024. This event included presentations by Nkechi Taifa, Esq., movement leader and author of <i>Reparations On Fire, How and Why it is Spreading Across America</i>, Rev. Dale Snyder of Bethel AME Church in Pittsburgh, Mr. Corey Shaw, Jr., Empower DC, Mayor Daniel Biss of Evanston, Illinois, and Rev. Dwight Cokely, Embry AME Church, as well as a response by Dr. Joanne Braxton of the Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resilience, and Joy. • Town Hall: Legacy Percussion, <i>Shadows of Lakeland</i> performance at The Clarice Smith Performing Arts Center, University of Maryland on July 27, 2024. Braxton Institute community strategy documents developed in 2024:	On June 3, 2024, the City of College Park adopted Resolution 24-R-05 to establish the Lakeland Legacy Scholarship Fund for Lakeland descendants engaged in higher education, vocational education, and/or restorative and transformative justice.¹¹⁵⁷ The first cycle of applications closed on August 5, 2024, with recipients selected after the City Manager received the final recommendations from the scholarship committee. Additional scholarship award application cycles followed. During Lakeland Day on August 24, 2024, City Council member Susan Whitney and Tawfiq Abdul-Karim of the Community Preservation Trust shared the following: • The City of College Park purchased a property in Lakeland on the 5000 block of Pierce Avenue and would distribute a survey to Lakeland residents during fall 2024 to determine what the community would like to see the city do with the site. • The City of College Park recently gave funding to Habitat for Humanity to administer the Aging in Place Home Repair Program. Lakeland was named as a priority community. The program is for people 62 years and older with
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¹¹⁵⁷ "Form Center • Restorative Justice Scholarship Application," City of College Park, <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/FormCenter/Pay-Apply-15/Restorative-Justice-Scholarship-Applicat-144>.

	• <i>Six Strategies for 2024: Reparations for Lakeland Now!</i> was developed in August of 2023 in collaboration with Lakeland leaders Maxine Gross, Violetta Sharps-Jones and Braxton Institute team members in response to an invitation to apply for a grant from the Decolonizing Wealth Project. The strategies were implemented from January through September 2024.¹¹⁵¹ • <i>Lakeland's Five Pillars of Beloved Community</i> were identified in a follow-up consultation with Dr. Mindy Fullilove, MD, author of <i>Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It</i>, and reflects her specialized knowledge in the field of social psychiatry, architecture, and urban planning.¹¹⁵² • <i>Restorative Justice for Lakeland: 2025 Goals and Objectives</i> were formulated in the May 18, 2024 community leadership convening with local and regional ministers, community leaders, a University of Maryland Urban Planning doctoral candidate, Braxton Institute team members, the Lakeland Civic Association Vice President, and the President of the Lakeland Community Heritage Project and Chair of the Restorative Justice Commission.¹¹⁵³ Between January and February 2025, the Restorative Justice Commission unanimously passed motions to work	a qualifying income and provides up to \$30,000 for improvements that make the home safe for aging residents. Additional funding is available for home weatherization. • The City of College Park has homeownership programs. The New Neighbors Homeownership Grant Program offers down payment or closing cost assistance for people who are employed full time in College Park: \$20,000 is for first responders, \$5,000 for all others, and \$10,000 for those buying former rental homes.¹¹⁵⁸ This program is combinable with grants offered by the College Park City-University Partnership. • The College Park City-University Partnership Live+Work Program is for anyone employed in the city and provides \$20,000 in down payment or closing cost assistance for homes purchased
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¹¹⁵¹ Braxton, Oxendine, and Parker, "Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute."

¹¹⁵² Braxton, Oxendine, and Parker, "Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute."

¹¹⁵³ Braxton, Oxendine, and Parker, "Review of AARN Timeline of Repair (Revised 3/28/25): Prepared by Braxton Institute Team Members Joanne Braxton, Nicole Oxendine, Rebecca Parker for March 24, 2025 Meeting between AARN and the Braxton Institute."

¹¹⁵⁸ "Form Center • New Neighbors Homeownership Grant Program," City of College Park, <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/FormCenter/Planning-Community-Development-8/New-Neighbors-Homeownership-Grant-Progra-67>.

	toward a commemorative structure in Lakeland, appoint a new committee, and explore grant opportunities that would assist with restorative planning. In May 2025, University of Maryland students through the PALS program integrated Lakeland in their “15-Minute Cities in College Park” course and presented a framework for accessing amenities and services “within a 15-minute walk, bike ride, or transit trip from their homes...[to] enhance quality of life, and foster stronger community connections.”¹¹⁵⁴ On May 13, 2025, Carlos Nunes and Miriam Bader from the City of College Park Department of Planning and Community Development presented the final draft of the Lakeland Neighborhood Plan to the Mayor and City Council. Since the city does not have planning authority, the Lakeland Neighborhood Plan delivers community goals and a strategy to inform future decisions on equitable redevelopment. AARN performed historical research and learned from Lakeland community leadership, knowledge, and experience from August 2024 to June 2025 through: • Weekly standing meetings with Lakeland community members • Attendance at Restorative Justice Commission meetings • Attendance at Lakeland Civic Association meetings • Meetings with University of Maryland leadership: Gloria Blackwell, Dr. Tania Mitchell, Dr. Georgina Dodge • Attendance at Lakeland Day on August 24, 2024 and the	in the city; it is structured as a 7-year, zero-interest, forgivable loan.¹¹⁵⁹ • A commemorative bench was installed in honor of Lakeland and former City Council member Chesley Mack. On September 9, 2024, the Director of the Prince George’s County Department of Parks and Recreation informed the Director of Planning & Community Development for the City of College Park that the renaming had been approved. New signage would reflect Lake Artemesia Natural Area at Lakeland and the Lakeland College Park Community Center after approval from the Prince George’s County Planning Board.¹¹⁶⁰ After months of RFP contract negotiations, the City of College Park and Columbia University finalized the contract on December 16, 2024, formally engaging AARN to conduct research, develop a record of harm, and recommend restorative justice actions for the Lakeland community.
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¹¹⁵⁴ Fazlul Kabir, “The 15-Minute City: A Vision for a More Connected, Livable College Park – Kabir Cares,” May 5, 2025, <https://www.kabircares.org/the-15-minute-city-a-vision-for-a-more-connected-livable-college-park/>.

¹¹⁵⁹ “Live+Work College Park – College Park City–University Partnership,” College Park City–University Partnership, accessed May 14, 2025, <https://collegeparkpartnership.org/liveworkprogram/>.

¹¹⁶⁰ “Letter from Bill Tyler, Director of the Department of Parks & Recreation at The Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission to Miriam D. H. Bader, Director of Planning & Community Development at the City of College Park,” September 9, 2024.

	Community Block Party on September 14, 2024 • Two historic tours of Lakeland on September 14, 2024 and March 21, 2025. • Planning and hosting the following events: ○ Community Listening Session on September 25, 2024 ○ Lakeland Town Halls featuring guest speaker Justin Hansford, J.D. on January 28 and 29, 2025 ○ Focus group discussion on transportation on February 19, 2025 ○ Interviews on education on March 3, 2025 and April 11, 2025 ○ Convening on Housing and Repair on April 4, 2025 ○ Pre-Workshop Community Meeting on May 7, 2025 ○ Workshop Series on May 15, 2025 and June 9, 2025.	
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Mapping Lakeland’s Legislative Landscape

Black’s Law Dictionary defines legislative as “of, relating to, or involving lawmaking or to the power to enact laws; concerned with making laws.”¹¹⁶¹ The legislative process involves several different elected officials, branches of government, and levels of government ranging from the federal level down to the local municipality level. Every community is governed by its own set of documents and rules that make the legislative process unique. What might be possible in one community, might not be possible in another, and vice versa. Accordingly, in order to develop an effective and sustainable reparative policymaking strategy for Lakeland, it is important to first map out the legislative landscape that envelopes the community. By understanding the unique legislative architecture of Lakeland, community members can effectively engage with the legislative process and use it to repair the harms of decades of urban renewal.

The first step in the process of legislative landscape mapping is understanding all of the different levels of government. In the case of Lakeland, the four levels are the federal government, the state government, the county government, and the municipal government. Specifically, the legislative branches at each of these levels are as follows: Congress at the federal level, the Maryland State General Assembly at the state level, the Prince George’s County Council at the county level, and the College Park City Council at the municipal/local level. Zooming in even further to the *hyperlocal* level, the College Park City Council established the Restorative Justice Commission, which is tasked with advancing restorative justice

¹¹⁶¹ LEGISLATIVE Definition, *Black’s Law Dictionary* (12th ed. 2024), available at Westlaw.

measures for the Lakeland community specifically. These levels are listed below, according to their size and scope.

- 5: Federal Government (Congress)
- 4: State Government (Maryland General Assembly)
- 3: County Government (Prince George’s County Council)
- 2: Municipal/Local Government (College Park City Council)
- 1: Hyperlocal (Restorative Justice Commission)

For each level of government, there is a corresponding governing document that establishes the foundations, powers, and structures of the government, along with a code that contains the laws established by the government.¹¹⁶² All of these documents and levels of government interact with each other in complex and varied ways. These interactions form the legislative pathways that allow policies to develop from the initial idea stage to the final implementation stage. Understanding how to navigate these governing documents and codes is critical to advancing reparative policies in Lakeland. The following table lists the level of government, its corresponding governing document, and its code.

Level	Name of Legislative Body	Governing Document	Code
Federal	Congress	U.S. Constitution	U.S. Code
State	General Assembly	Maryland State Constitution	Annotated Code of Maryland
County	Prince George’s County Council	Prince George’s County Charter	Prince George’s County Code
Municipal/Local	College Park City Council	City of College Park Charter	City of College Park Code

Figure 34. Table of the different levels of government, their corresponding legislatures, the governing documents that establish the systems structures and powers of the government, and the code that contains the laws generated by the government.

Policy Pathways

Each level has its own unique procedures for passing policies, though there is considerable overlap. Generally speaking, in order for a bill to move along the policy lifecycle from idea to implementation, it must first be introduced to the legislative body. This happens during the regularly scheduled meetings of the legislative body. Once a bill is introduced, it is usually up to the leadership of the respective legislative body to determine what happens next. Typically, the bill is assigned to a committee that deals with the subject matter of the bill. From there, the chair of the committee is responsible for determining the next steps, including when the bill is discussed and voted on. If the bill is successfully passed in the committee, it returns to the entire legislative body’s floor, where the entire legislative body will vote. In bicameral legislatures, where there is an upper chamber and a lower chamber, both chambers need to vote on and

¹¹⁶² Black’s Law Dictionary defines “Governing Document” as “a document that defines or organizes an organization, or grants or establishes its authority and governance. • An organization’s governing documents may include a charter, articles of incorporation or association, a constitution, bylaws, and rules. A charter or articles of incorporation or association, if they have been granted or adopted, are an organization’s most authoritative governing document, followed by the constitution, bylaws, and rules, in that order.” DOCUMENT definition, *Black’s Law Dictionary* (12th ed. 2024), available at Westlaw.

pass their own versions of the bill. The differences between the two versions then need to be reconciled such that the entire legislative body presents a single, unified version to the executive, who is then responsible for signing the bill into law or vetoing the bill. This is a general outline of the process, and it varies based on the level of government, and the state, county, and city being analyzed.¹¹⁶³ The following table lists each level of government, whether its legislative body is bicameral or unicameral, and the title of the leadership for each body.

Level	Name of Legislative Body	Bicameral or Unicameral	Title of Leadership
Federal	Congress	Bicameral Upper Chamber: <i>Senate</i> Lower Chamber: <i>House of Representatives</i>	Senate Majority Leader Speaker of the House
State	Maryland State General Assembly	Bicameral Upper Chamber: <i>State Senate</i> Lower Chamber: <i>House of Delegates</i>	President of the Senate Speaker of the House of Delegates
County	Prince George's County Council	Unicameral	County Council Chair
Municipal/ Local	College Park City Council	Unicameral	Mayor

Figure 35. Table breaking down the legislatures of each level of government, including whether the legislature is bicameral or unicameral, and the titles of key leadership positions within each legislature.

Power Mapping and Stakeholder Analysis

Power Core Map

There are different types of power maps, and each power map is a model that reveals different aspects of the power dynamics within a given system. The Power Core Map is one such model. The Power Core Map, presented below, makes use of concentric circles. The idea is for community members to map out the elected officials who are key in getting a particular piece of policy passed. In this model, the core/center circle represents elected officials who both occupy influential positions within the legislature and who are highly accessible. Here, accessibility is divided into 3 levels. Level 3 represents officials who specifically represent the community's district. These are the officials who should be the most receptive and responsive to the needs of the Lakeland community. Level 2 represents officials who are not necessarily the elected officials of the Lakeland community, but who are otherwise particularly accessible for whatever reason. Level 1 represents elected officials who do not represent the Lakeland community and who are inaccessible, or put another way, are equally accessible to essentially all Maryland residents while giving no preference to the Lakeland community. Influence is measured by the positions these

¹¹⁶³ "The Legislative Process: Overview (Video) | Congress.Gov | Library of Congress." The Legislative Process: Overview. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://www.congress.gov/legislative-process>.

elected officials hold within their respective legislatures. Level 2 represents key decision makers who are able to control the movement of a bill through the legislature by virtue of their position. For example, chairs of committees and officials who hold titles of leadership are at level 2. Level 1 represents officials who have the ability to introduce legislation, which in most instances, encompasses all elected officials.

Each elected official within the legislature is assigned a score based on these 2 metrics and are mapped into their respective circle accordingly. The innermost circle contains officials with a score greater than 3. The secondary circle contains elected officials with a score greater than 2 but less than or equal to 3. The outermost tertiary circle contains all elected officials in the legislature who are not in the first two circles. The table below shows the State Senate Power Core Scores and the chart that follows is the corresponding Power Core Map generated from the State Senate Power Core Scores.

2024 Maryland General Assembly Power Core Scores			
State Senate			
Power Core Score	Elected Official + Position	Accessibility Score	Influence Score
4.5	Jim Rosapepe <i>Budget and Taxation Committee (Vice Chair)</i>	3	1.5
4	Michael A. Jackson <i>Prince George's County Select Committee (Chair)</i>	2	2
3.5	Ron Watson <i>Prince George's County Select Committee (Vice Chair)</i>	2	1.5
3	Bill Ferguson <i>President of the Senate</i>	1	2
2.5	Nancy J. King <i>Majority Leader</i>	1	1.5
2.5	Joanne C. Benson <i>Majority Whip</i>	1	1.5
3	Guy Guzzone <i>Budget and Taxation Committee (Chair)</i>	1	2
2.5	Brian J. Feldman <i>Education, Energy, and the Environment Committee (Chair)</i>	1	1.5
3	Pamela Beidle <i>Finance Committee (Chair)</i>	1	2

Figure 36. The Power Core Score table lists key figures of the respective legislative body and assigns each an “Accessibility Score” and an “Influence Score” which combine to generate the Power Core Score. Accessibility is divided into 3 levels. Level 3 = the official directly represents the community using the power map. Level 2 = the official is not the direct representative of the community but is otherwise accessible for a particular reason. Here, though Michael A. Jackson and Ron Watson are not the elected officials who represent College Park specifically, they sit on the Prince George’s County Select Committee which means that Lakelanders, as residents of College Park and ultimately Prince George’s County, should have a higher degree of access to these officials. Level 1 = the elected official is not the direct representative nor are they an indirect representative of the community. Influence is divided into 2 levels. Level 2 = the elected official is a key decision maker, and they have the ability to control the movement of a bill through the legislature. Level 1 = the elected official has the ability to introduce legislation but does not otherwise hold a key position.

Accordingly, at the core of each circle will always be the elected officials who represent the community specifically. The officials will always have a score of at least 4 because they are the most accessible (+3) and they minimally have the power to introduce legislation (+1). The State Senate Power Core Map thus functions as a quick visual representation of who can wield the most power for Lakelanders. It is important to note that this map is relative to the community that is using it, the legislature being mapped, and the respective policy goals of the community. Not every committee will be of importance to the community, for example. Furthermore, not every legislative body has a plethora of committees.

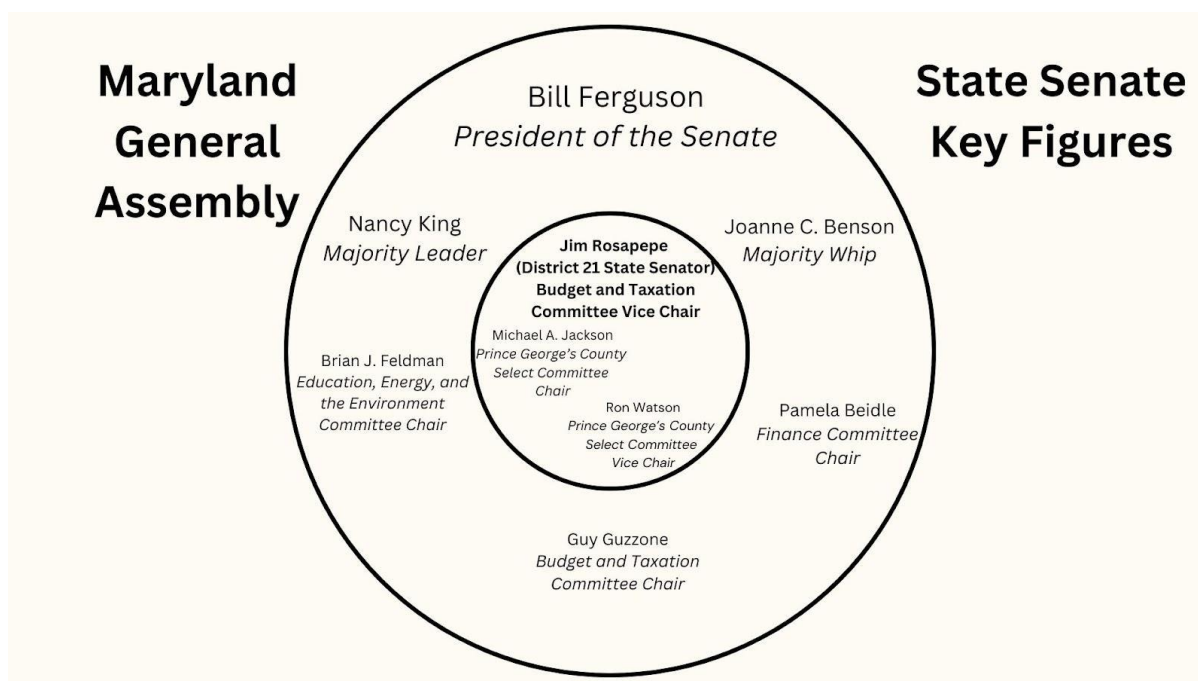


Figure 37. Power Core Map.
Circle 1 (innermost circle): PCS > 3
Circle 2 (outer circle): 3 ≥ PCS > 2
Circle 3 (not pictured): PCS = 2

Ultimately, the value of power mapping is found in its utility as an organizing tool. There is no hard and fast science to it, and there are many different kinds of power maps one can use. It is merely a way to organize and build consensus around otherwise subjective assessments. Furthermore, power mapping helps make sense of complex ecosystems with wide arrays of stakeholders all playing different roles at different levels. Reparative policymaking involves collaboration between these distinct stakeholders, so making sense of these complex ecosystems provides clarity during the reparative policymaking process. To help facilitate the power mapping process, presented below is a non-exhaustive list of some key stakeholders:

- Lakeland community members
- Restorative Justice Commission

- College Park Mayor and City Council
- College Park City Manager
- Prince George's County Council
- Maryland State General Assembly
- The Federal Government
- The University of Maryland
- The Lakeland Community Heritage Project
- The Lakeland Civic Association
- The Braxton Institute
- Leon N. Weiner & Associates
- Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA)
- Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC)
- Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC)
- Embury AME Church
- Washington Brazilian Seventh-day Adventist Church
- First Baptist Church of College Park
- Maryland Legal Aid

Legislative Timeline of Urban Renewal

Urban renewal drastically changed the fabric and character of Lakeland. Though the neighborhood still stands, few of its original inhabitants remain. 104 out of the 150 homes that stood prior to urban renewal were demolished, and community institutions like Mack's Market and Black's Store are now relics of the past. These changes did not happen overnight, however. Rather, urban renewal in Lakeland was part of a larger program of urban renewal that swept through the nation. What started as a federal program spread through the machinery of state, county, and local government until ultimately, Lakeland found itself in the crosshairs.

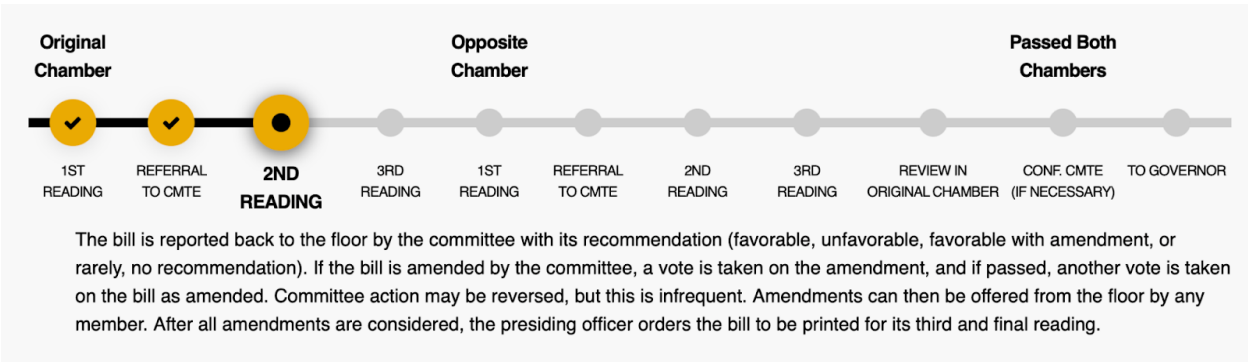
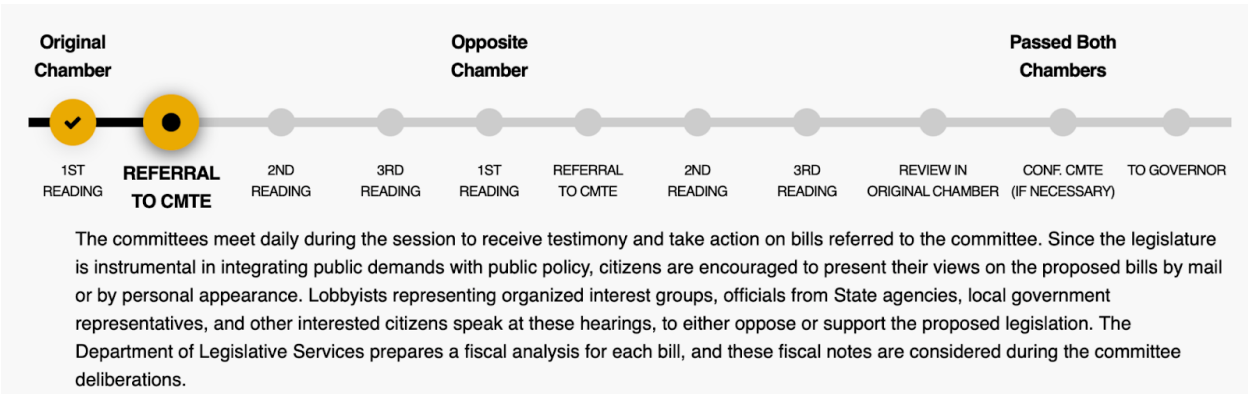
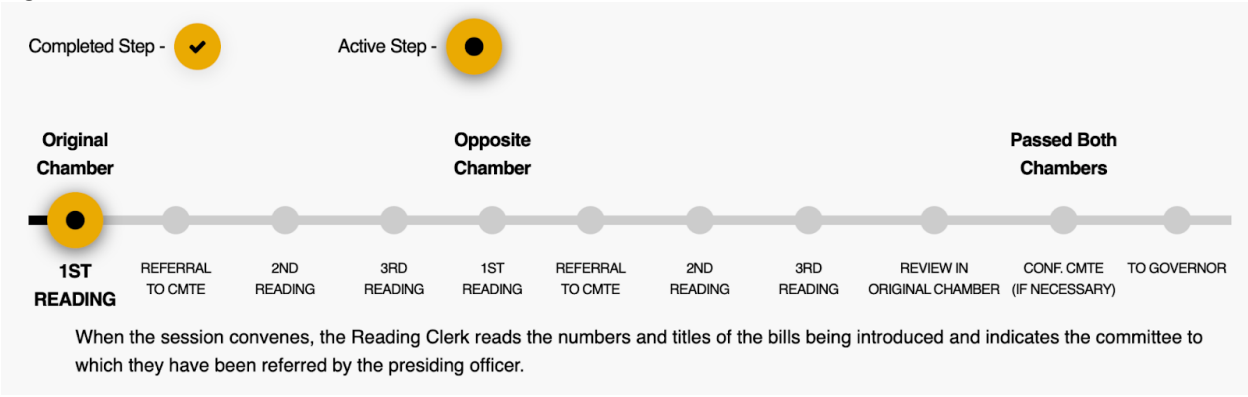
It is important to recognize that urban renewal was not a singular moment, nor was it a single law. It took a series of laws and several shifts in the balance of power to clear the way for urban renewal. The changes occurred over several decades and led to the current conditions that the Lakeland community experiences today. In that regard, an effective restorative justice approach needs to be similarly broad in scope and sweeping in effect. It will require coordination and collaboration between multiple levels of government, and it will need to be swift. The negative impacts of urban renewal continue to this day, and while there are legitimate reasons for a more slow and deliberate policy making process, there is value in expedience when it comes to restorative justice. Quick and small scale actions can be used to build momentum for larger scale policies. Pilot programs can be utilized to gather data and develop longer term and more sustainable solutions. There is no silver bullet, and there is no quick fix. Restorative justice for Lakeland will, and should be, an extensive process, and it is a process that should be led first and foremost by the community itself. Understanding the legislative mechanisms that enabled urban renewal to happen in the first place can potentially illuminate the way towards restorative justice. The legislative language that led to the harms of urban renewal can potentially be the seeds of legislation that reverses those very same impacts.

Overview of the Legislative Process

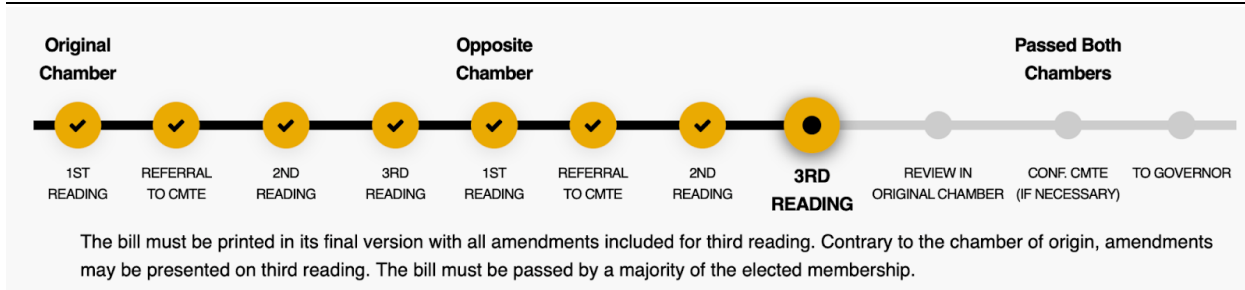
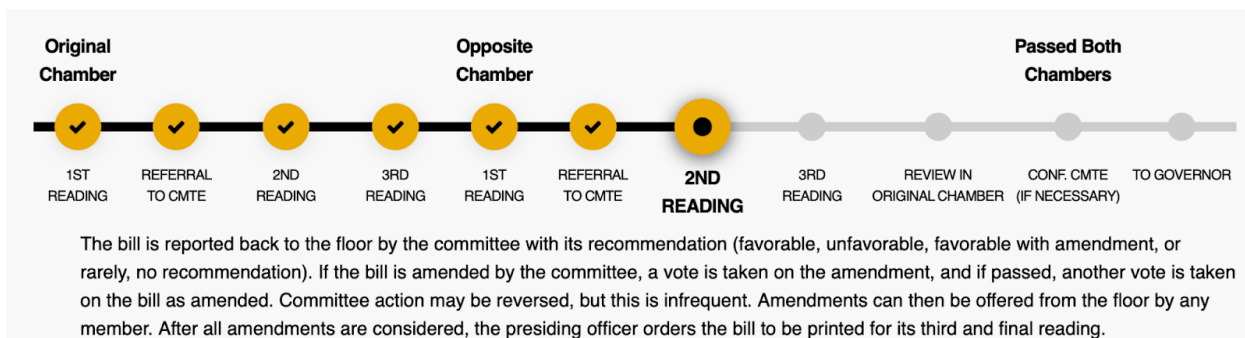
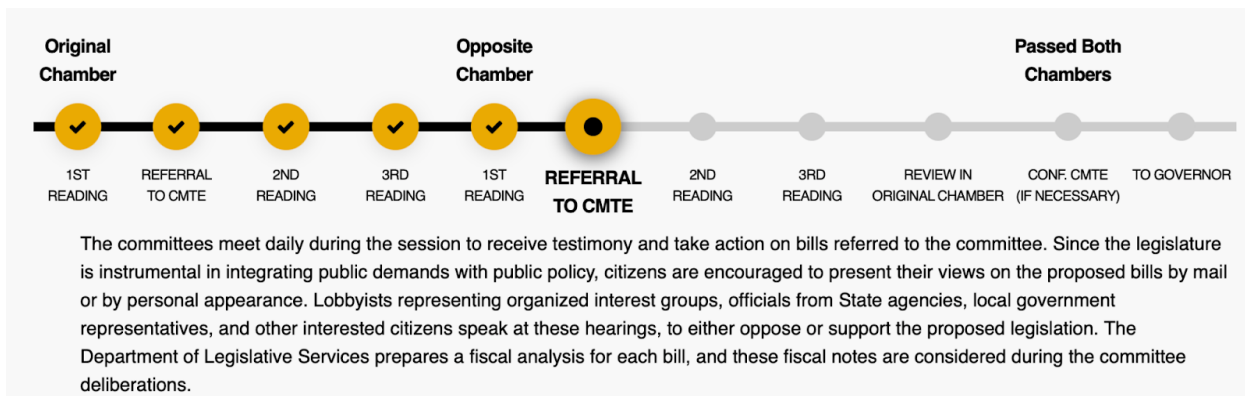
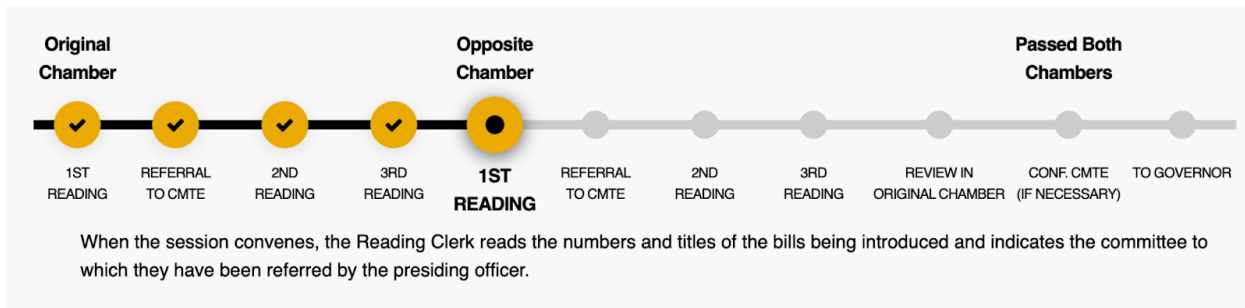
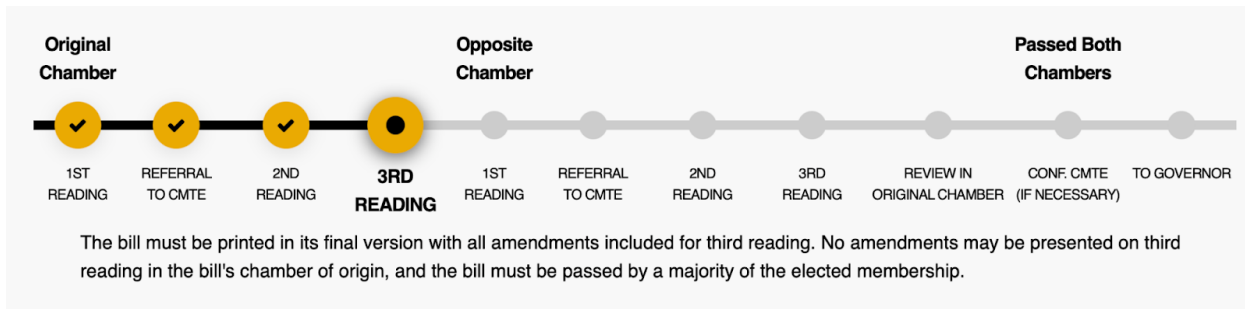
The policy life cycle traces a policy from its very inception as an idea, to its ultimate implementation and its eventual conclusion. A significant portion of the policy life cycle involves the legislative process, or the steps necessary to take a piece of policy from a proposed bill to an enacted law. The legislative process varies depending on the legislative body being analyzed, but generally speaking it involves the introduction of the bill, referral to a relevant committee, several readings, amendments, votes, and passage. This section

will breakdown the legislative process of the Maryland State legislature, a legislative body known as the General Assembly.

The Maryland State General Assembly is a bicameral legislature, like Congress at the federal level, and it includes both the House of Delegates and the State Senate. Accordingly, this section will break down the legislative process at the Maryland State General Assembly level.¹¹⁶⁴



¹¹⁶⁴ "The Legislative Process." Legislation – Charts. Accessed June 16, 2025.
<https://mgaleg.maryland.gov/mgawebbsite/Legislation/Charts>.



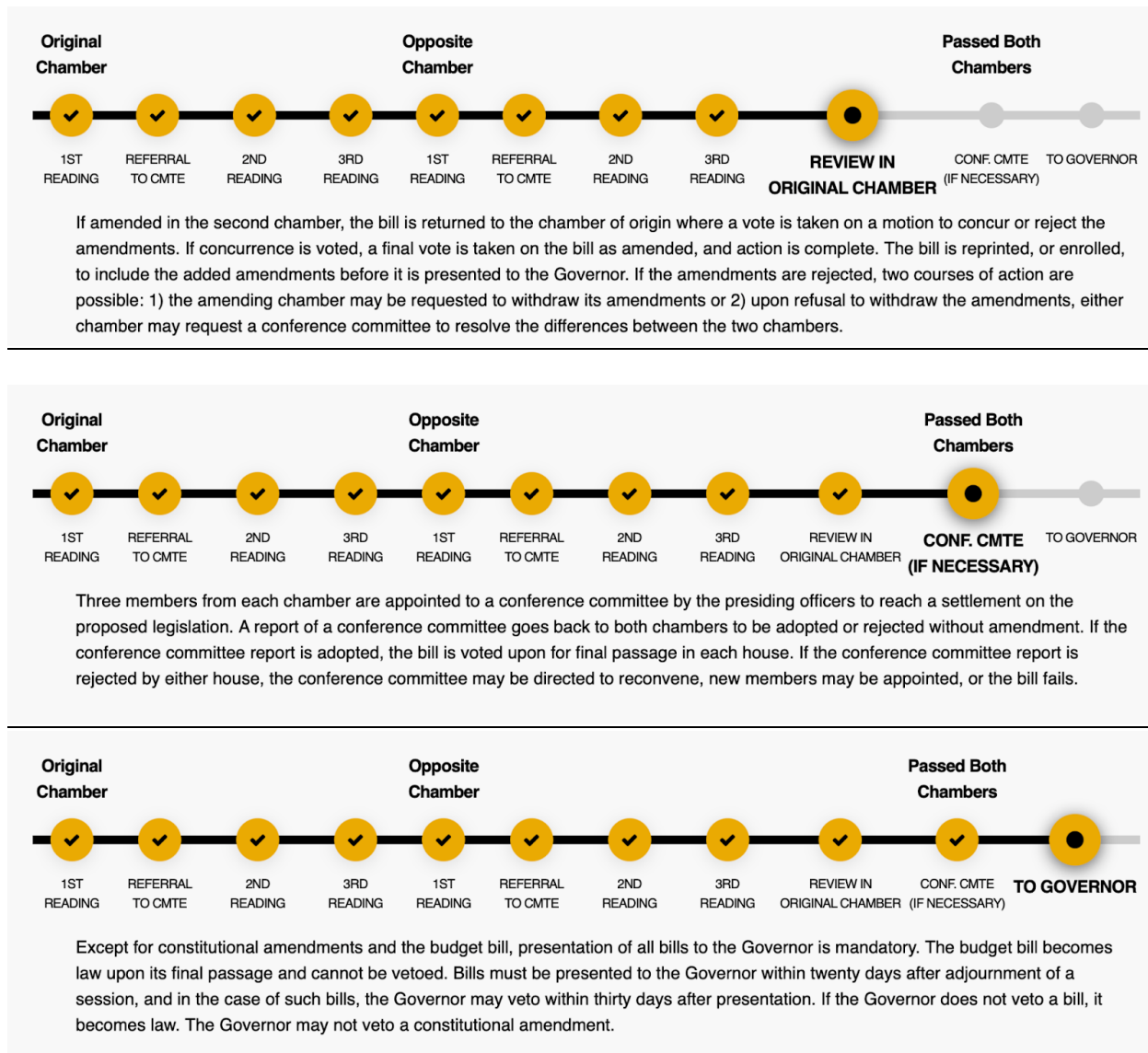


Figure 38. Detailed breakdown of each step of the policymaking process for the Maryland General Assembly.

This timeline represents the entire legislative process at the Maryland General Assembly. The process involves 11 steps, which means that it takes a long time for a bill to become a law at the state level. It also means there are many points in the process that can become roadblocks as well. The chart below shows the count by chamber, or in other words, how many bills are proposed in each chamber in the Maryland State General Assembly, and how many of those bills eventually become law.

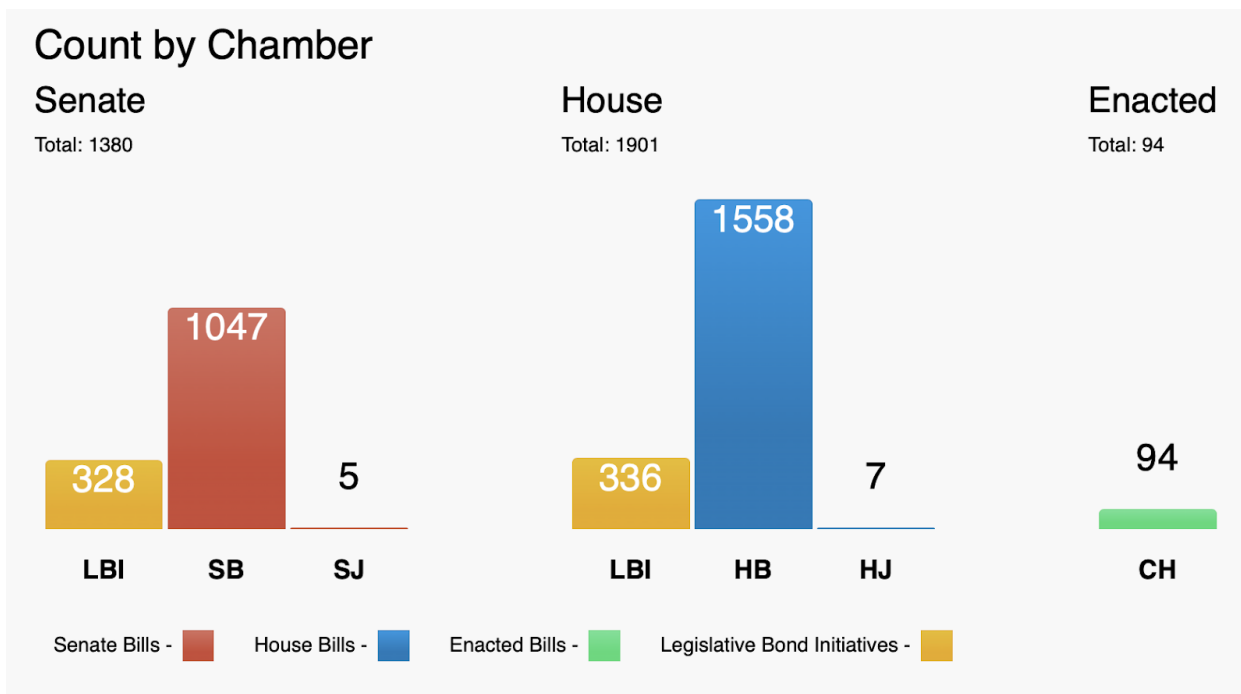


Figure 39. Total number of bills proposed by each chamber in the Maryland State General Assembly.

Two observations worth pointing out here are the difference between the House and the Senate, and the overall enacted bills count. The House outpaces the Senate in terms of the amount of bills proposed by a large margin. This makes sense to a degree. As in Congress, the House is the lower chamber. It has more members than the Senate. If we assume that each member passes a set number of bills per session, more members means more bills proposed. In all, across both chambers, there were 3,281 bills proposed. That is compared to the 94 bills that were actually enacted. That means that just 2.86% of the bills that were proposed actually made it all the way to the end of the legislative process.

It is worth noting here that the College Park City Council is a unicameral legislature, meaning it is not broken up into two distinct chambers. As such, the legislative process for the College Park City Council is a bit shorter because a single bill does not need to make it through two distinct parts of the same legislative body. Furthermore, the College Park City Council is a relatively small legislative body, with only four districts and two council members per district. Given these factors, this means that from a restorative justice perspective, the College Park City Council is a prime site for quick and unified action.

Key Pieces of Legislation

There are several key pieces of legislation that led to the passage and the implementation of urban renewal, and to its eventual repeal in 2023. The following section will trace the timeline of these pieces of legislation, explaining the impact of each and its relevance to the story of urban renewal in Lakeland. This section includes legislation passed at the federal level, the state level, and the municipal level.

HB 88 (1954)

On March 12, 1954, the Maryland State General Assembly approved HB 88. The full title of HB 88 is "AN ACT to propose an amendment to the Constitution of Maryland by adding a new Article thereto, to be known as Article 11-E under the title "Municipal Corporations", and to follow immediately after Article 11-D thereof, generally prohibiting the enactment by the General Assembly of local laws relating to those municipal corporations which are not authorized by Article 11-A of the Constitution to have a charter form of government with certain exceptions, and conferring powers of charter amendment and home rule upon such municipal corporations." While the title of this act is long and convoluted, in essence it added a new Article (11-E) to the Maryland State Constitution. Importantly, §3 of this new Article conferred an important power to municipalities. Section 3 reads "Any such municipal corporation, now existing or hereafter created, shall have the power and authority, (a) to amend or repeal an existing charter or local laws relating to the incorporation, organization, government, or affairs of said municipal corporation heretofore enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, and (b) to adopt a new charter, and to amend or repeal any charter adopted under the provisions of this Article." Section 3 of Article 11-E of the Maryland State Constitution allows municipal corporations in Maryland to amend or repeal their charters or even adopt a new charter. HB 88 was ratified 8 months later on November 2, 1954, and it laid the groundwork for the ultimate repeal of urban renewal. It is also valuable here to analyze the balance of power between local and state government and how HB 88 shifted this balance.

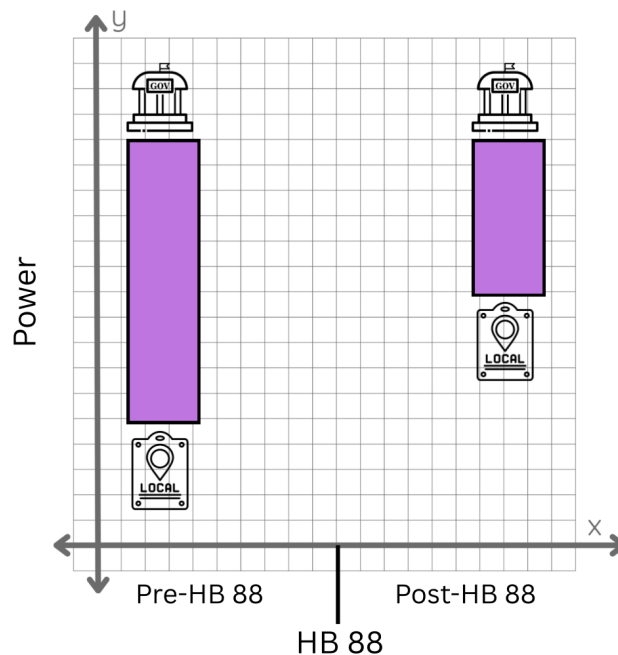


Figure 40. State and local government power gap before and after the passage of HB 88.

The figure above demonstrates a rudimentary analysis of the power dynamics between the Maryland State government and Maryland local governments broadly. The left side of the graph represents the power balance prior to the passage of HB 88 while the right side of the graph represents the power balance after the passage of HB 88. The figure labeled "GOV" at the top represents the state government while the figure labeled "LOCAL" at the bottom represents the local government. The purple bar represents the gap in power between these two levels of government. HB 88 conferred a certain degree of autonomy to local governments by empowering them to amend, repeal, or implement their own charters. Accordingly, after HB 88 was passed, local governments gained more power and closed the power gap to a degree.

HB 18 (1959)

On April 8, 1959, the Maryland State General Assembly approved HB 18. HB 18 is another bill with a long and convoluted title. The amended title reads as follows: "AN ACT to propose an amendment to Article III of the Constitution of the State of Maryland by adding thereto new Section 61, to follow immediately after Section 60 of said Article, providing that by public local law the general assembly of Maryland may authorize and empower any county or any municipal corporation, other than Baltimore City to carry out urban renewal projects involving the clearance and redevelopment and rehabilitation of slum areas or blighted areas, including the acquisition of property for such purposes with certain provisions in regard to such acquisition by the exercise of the power of eminent domain; declaring such activities when authorized by the general assembly, to constitute governmental functions in furtherance of which the general assembly may authorize such counties and municipal corporations to exercise the power of taxation, to expend public funds and to extend public credit: providing authority to the general assembly to grant to such county or municipal corporation additional powers and authority necessary or proper to carry into full force and effect the specific powers to be authorized and to place restrictions and limitations on any powers which the general assembly may grant to any county, municipal corporation or other public body or agency; providing authority to the general assembly to create public bodies or agencies or to utilize existing agencies to carry out such activities; and providing for the submission of said amendment to the qualified voters of the state for adoption or rejection." In essence, HB 18 amended the Maryland State Constitution by adding §61 to Article 3 and granting the Maryland State General Assembly the power to "authorize and empower any county or any municipal corporation" to carry out urban renewal projects. It is worth noting here that the state government, through HB 18, increased its own power. Using the same model as before, we can visually analyze the balance of power between state and local government and how HB 18 affected that balance.

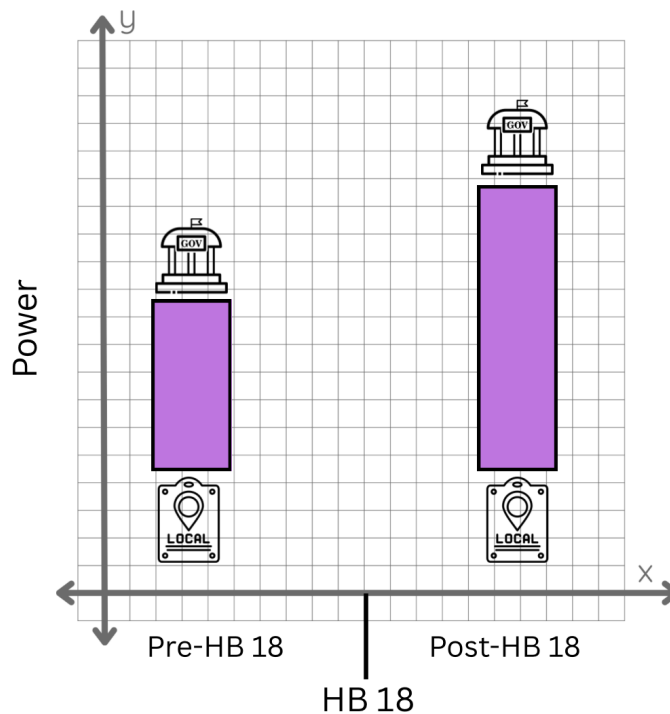


Figure 41. State and local government power gap before and after the passage of HB 18.

Note that in the graph above, the left side represents the balance of power between the state and local government prior to the passage of HB 18, while the right side of the graph represents that same balance after the passage of HB 18. HB 18 was approved on April 8, 1959, and was ultimately ratified on November

8, 1960, a little under a year later. Considering the HB 18 analysis in context with the HB 88 analysis, the Pre-HB 18 portion of the graph also represents the Post-HB 88 balance of power. HB 18 widens the gap of power between state and local governments by shifting the state government's power up the scale.

HB 686 (1963)

The next key piece of legislation is HB 686. HB 686 was approved on April 30, 1963 and its full title was "AN ACT to add 11 new sections under the new subheading "Redevelopment-Urban Renewal," to the Charter of the Town of College Park as this Charter is contained in the Code of Public Local Laws of Prince George's County (1953 Edition, as amended, being Article 17 of the Code of Public Local Laws of Maryland), title "Prince George's County," subtitle "College Park," to authorize and empower the Mayor and Council of College Park to carry out urban renewal projects, the redevelopment, rehabilitation of slum or blighted areas, including the acquisition of property for such purposes with certain provisions in regard to such acquisition by the exercise of the power of eminent domain; declaring such activities to constitute functions in furtherance of which the Mayor and Council of College Park may exercise the power of taxation, spend public funds and extend public credit; granting to the Mayor and Council of College Park certain additional powers and authority necessary or proper to carry into full force or effect the powers hereinabove mentioned and place certain restrictions and limitations on certain powers granted." It is important to emphasize that urban renewal is not the result of a single law. Rather, the process was enabled by a series of laws that were passed over a period of several years. These laws granted different government institutions different powers and authorities and ultimately cleared the way for the eventual implementation of urban renewal. That said, if urban renewal were to be reduced down to a single law, HB 686 would be that law. HB 686 directly altered the College Park Charter and authorized and empowered the Mayor and City Council to carry out urban renewal.

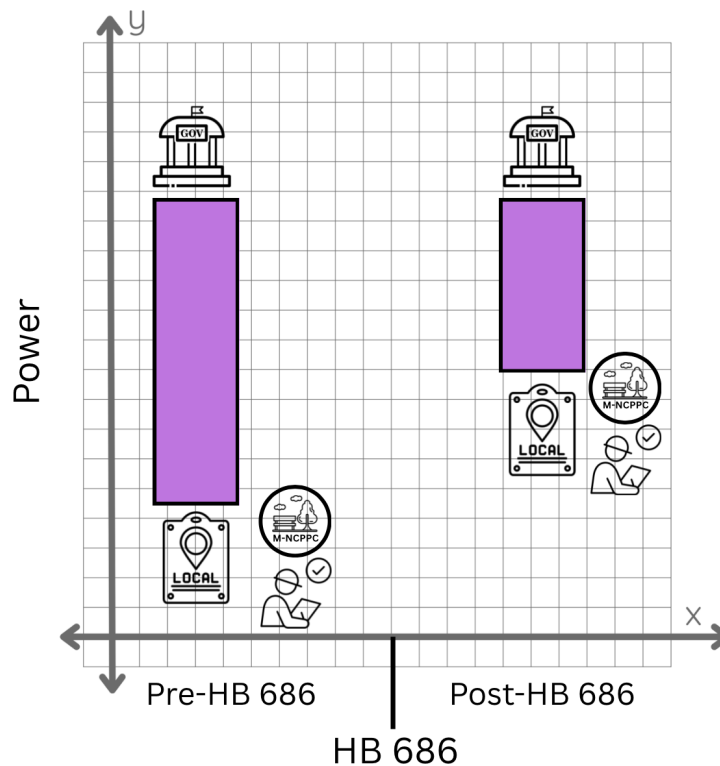


Figure 42. State and local government power gap before and after the passage of HB 686. The county building inspector and M-NCPPC are also graphed because subsection (7) of §A1-102 gave these two entities power.

In the graph above, we see that again, the power gap between the state and local governments closes as the local government gained more power after the passage of HB 686. Of the three Maryland General Assembly bills covered thus far, HB 686 is the largest and most extensive. Notably, it not only empowered the local government, but it also empowered other government agencies and figures. In particular, the Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M–NCPPC) and the County Building Inspector gained significant amounts of power as well, all thanks to a single provision. That provision is found in §A1–102. Subsection (7) of §102 provides that College Park was granted additional powers “to plan, replan, install, construct, reconstruct, repair, close or vacate streets, roads, sidewalks, public utilities, parks, playgrounds, and other public improvements in connection with an urban renewal project; provided the same shall be approved by the Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, and to make exceptions from city or town regulations, but not county building regulations unless the same shall be approved by the county building inspector....” A deeper dive into the legislative record shows that M–NCPPC and the County Building Inspector were specifically and intentionally empowered after the initial drafting of the bill. In fact, the original language of the provision was written as follows: “to plan, replan, install, construct, reconstruct, repair, close or vacate streets, roads, sidewalks, public utilities, parks, playgrounds, and other public improvements in connection with an urban renewal project: and to make exceptions from building regulations....”

or vacate streets, roads, sidewalks, public utilities, parks, playgrounds, and other public improvements in connection with an urban renewal project; PROVIDED THE SAME SHALL BE APPROVED BY THE MARYLAND-NATIONAL CAPITAL PARK AND PLANNING COMMISSION, and to make exceptions from ~~building regulations~~; CITY OR TOWN REGULATIONS, BUT NOT COUNTY BUILDING REGULATIONS UNLESS THE SAME SHALL BE APPROVED BY THE COUNTY BUILDING INSPECTOR;

Here, text written in all-caps is language that was added via an amendment to the original bill, and text that is ~~struck through~~ refers to matters that were stricken from the bill. Accordingly, it is clear from the record that at some point during the discussions on HB 686 an amendment was added that empowered M–NCPPC. These 15 words “provided the same shall be approved by the Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission” positioned M–NCPPC as the gatekeeper. Technically, no public improvements in connection with urban renewal could occur *without* the approval of M–NCPPC. Similarly, the original language of the bill gave the city the power to make exceptions from building regulations generally. Presumably, the drafters of the bill felt that this power was too extensive and so they amended it to give the city the ability to make exceptions from city or town regulations only, whereas county building regulations could only be circumvented via approval of the County Building Inspector.

City of College Park Legislation

23-CR-02 (2023)

On July 18, 2023, a bill was introduced to the College Park City Council that proposed repealing urban renewal from the College Park City Charter. During the introduction of the bill, it was established that there was no intention to go through the urban renewal process in the future and that based on the non-use of the Urban Renewal Authority and the fact that there was no need to maintain it in the charter, it should be repealed. A motion was made by Council member Llatetra Brown Esters and seconded by Council member Susan Whitney, the two city council members representing Lakeland, to introduce Charter Amendment 23-CR-02, a charter resolution to amend the charter by deleting Article XIII (urban renewal) in its entirety. The motion was passed, and a public hearing was scheduled for September 5, 2023.

On September 5, 2023, a public hearing was held to discuss 23-CR-02. Public sentiment supported the repeal of urban renewal, but there were also discussions around waiting to repeal it in order to afford the Restorative Justice Commission time to review the original law and explore potential restorative justice opportunities that may be found in the original language. Accordingly, there was a motion by Council member Esters, which was seconded by Council member Whitney, to continue deliberations on 23-CR-02 until after the Restorative Justice Commission provided input. That motion passed unanimously.

Finally, on December 12, 2023, the City Council voted on repealing urban renewal from the charter. A motion was made by Council member Whitney and seconded by Council member Esters to adopt Charter Amendment 23-CR-02 to delete Article XIII, Urban Renewal, in its entirety from the charter and to publicize this change to the Lakeland community. The motion passed unanimously, and the repeal of urban renewal became effective on January 31, 2024, a total of 198 days after its initial introduction.

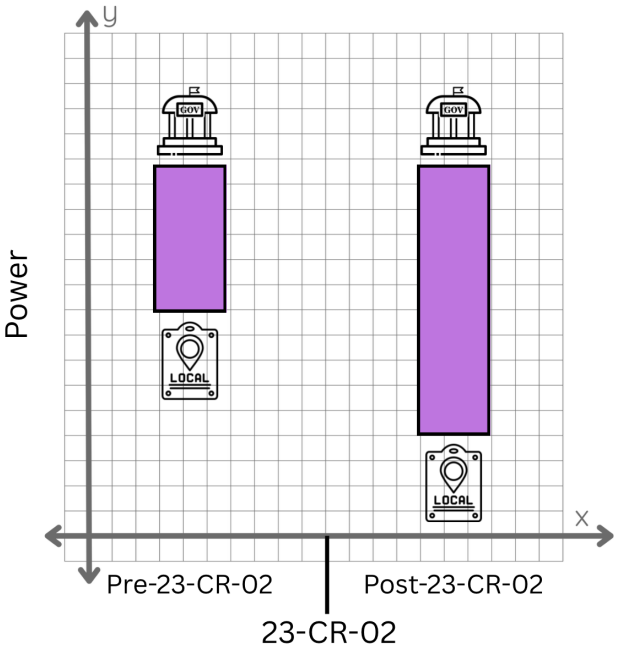


Figure 43. State and local government power gap before and after the passage of 23-CR-02.

The chart above shows how the balance of power between the state and local government was affected by the passage of 23-CR-02. Similar to the other charts, the power gap between the state and local government grows. What is unique about this chart, however, is that the power gap grows not because one level of government gained *more* power. Rather, the gap grows because the local government *lost* power. With 23-CR-02, the City of College Park removed some of its own power. This power (the ability to implement urban renewal) was used to harm the community of Lakeland and so removing that power also removed the ability for the city to harm Lakeland in this particular way in the future.

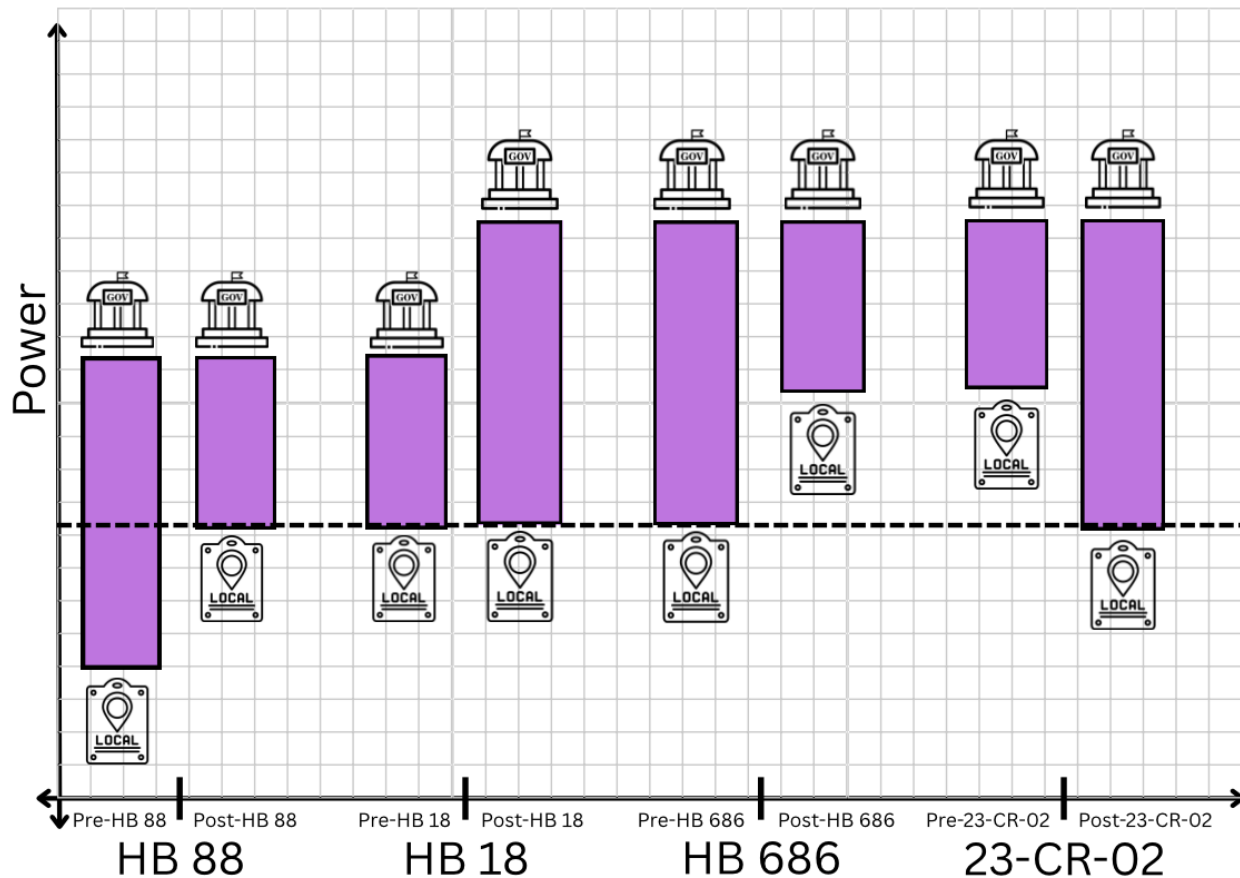


Figure 44. State and local government power gap before and after the passage of all key pieces of legislation and the state and local levels.

The chart above shows the changes in the balance of power between state and local government over time and in relation to the four key pieces of legislation that enabled urban renewal. The dotted line represents the threshold that, once passed, enabled the City of College Park to implement urban renewal. The point of this chart is not to show that it is inherently bad when local governments are empowered. Rather, the value of this visual is in its demonstration of the *peristalsis of policy* and what that means for restorative justice in Lakeland.

Peristaltic locomotion is a method of movement common to soft-bodied invertebrates like earthworms.¹¹⁶⁵ These animals move by contracting, and then elongating, their bodies continually. This series of contractions and elongations facilitate movement in a particular direction. The body politic works quite similarly. The power gap expands and contracts in cycles, moving the entire system in a particular direction set by the particular policy goal(s). In the case of Lakeland, the power gap went through this peristalsis, and it moved the government and the community in the direction of urban renewal. With the passage of 23-CR-02, the local government removed some of its own power and reverted the balance of power between the state and local government to the pre-HB686 elongated phase. By removing its own power to implement urban renewal, the local government increased the gap of power between the local and state government. Accordingly, in order to restore the balance of power between the state and local

¹¹⁶⁵ "Peristaltic Locomotion." Encyclopædia Britannica. Accessed June 16, 2025.
<https://www.britannica.com/science/peristaltic-locomotion>.

government, two options are possible. First, the state can follow suit and remove its own urban renewal authority by removing §61 of Article 3 of the Maryland State Constitution. This section gives the state the ability to give local governments the power to implement urban renewal. The same logic that the city used to remove urban renewal from its charter (the harm it caused and the improbability of implementing urban renewal in the future) also justifies removing urban renewal from the Maryland State Constitution. Second, the City of College Park can and should pass a series of anti-urban renewal, or rather, pro-restorative justice bills. Accordingly, the following section explores suggested policies.

Restorative Justice Policy Proposals

The five main issue areas that the Lakeland community focused on during the Workshop Series (see *Other Significant Restorative Justice Meetings* in the *Appendix*) are Health, Environment, Education, Housing, and Transportation. It is also important to note that this work took place within a continuum of earlier, ongoing, and organic efforts from community-led groups like the Braxton Institute whose *Goals and Objectives* document can be found in the *Appendix*.

There are numerous different policy proposals that would further the push for restorative justice for each of these categories. The full list can be found in the *Appendix*. The following section will highlight policy proposals that Lakelanders prioritized during the Workshop Series for each issue area. This deep dive will aim to elaborate on the policy, what implementation might look like, and how it would benefit the community of Lakeland.

There are several goals for this section. The first is to suggest tangible, actionable solutions that will allow Lakeland to continue moving forward on the path of restorative justice. The community has worked in partnership with the City of College Park to create the Restorative Justice Commission, and this report is a result of that collaboration. The Restorative Justice Commission makes recommendations to the City Council, and the City Council, ideally, implements those recommendations in the form of policy. The renaming of Lake Artemesia is a perfect example of that relationship in action. With continued collaborative efforts, Lakeland can build on the momentum these projects have already generated.

The second goal of this section is to show how individual reparative policies can work together to amplify their impact. Urban renewal did not occur in isolation. Rather, it was the end result of a series of policies that were passed; individuals, government entities, and private companies that were empowered; and communities that were excluded and disenfranchised. Conversely, restorative justice will require the empowerment of those very same communities, the collaboration between a diverse array of stakeholders, and a series of reparative policies that work in unison.

The last goal of this section is to engender a sense of hope. Lakeland is a beautiful and resilient community. Urban renewal certainly left its marks, but it did not destroy the soul, the spirit, nor the essence of this beloved community. The very existence of this report is a testament to that fact.

Pillar: Housing – UN SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

Primary Policy Proposal: Provide just compensation for the discrepancies between acquisition prices and fair market values.

As discussed earlier, the history of the City of College Park's urban renewal program, the resulting dislocation of Lakelanders, and the discrepancies between acquisition prices and fair market values for Lakeland properties, resulted in the most egregious impacts. 104 out of the 150 homes were razed. The families that once lived in this community and on these properties have been spread across the country.

Communal ties were severed, businesses were destroyed, and place became memory. Single-family homes were replaced with apartment buildings and student housing. It is hard to imagine what could truly repair a harm of such scope and magnitude. Nevertheless, that is the task and responsibility of those involved in the harm, and the community that was harmed. The following forms of repair are in direct response to the harms experienced by the Lakeland community.

First, the city's collaboration is required in investigating the reason for the discrepancy between the land acquisition prices and fair market values of Lakeland properties acquired via eminent domain. This investigation would include locating other appraisals and deeds for properties purchased in Lakeland to identify any additional discrepancies, and completing the dataset begun in Table 1.

Second, the research presented in this report shows that the city underpaid Lakeland homeowners when it purchased their properties. Therefore, an appropriate form of repair would be for the city to compensate the property owners affected, or their heirs, for the difference between the value paid and the value of the property at the time of purchase. In the long term, the goal of a full dataset would be to provide "just compensation" to all Lakeland property owners (or their heirs) who were paid less than the city's fair market value when it acquired their properties. This would fulfill the obligation statutorily established in §A1-102 of the original urban renewal bill.¹¹⁶⁶

Third, the city can remedy the effects of the takings discussed in this report by increasing current Lakelanders' access to Lake Artemesia Park. One major effect of the taking of Lakelanders' properties in the 1970s was the re-facing of the very landscape of the original community, including the demolition of homes that once had a view of Lake Artemesia. Measures to restore Lakelanders' access to the lake and the park might include constructing a path over the train tracks or increasing Lakelanders' access to public transportation to Lake Artemesia Park. Some of these measures are described more fully in other sections of this report.

Primary Policy Proposal: Establish a Return to Lakeland program for displaced members of the Lakeland diaspora.

Addressing housing repair in Lakeland necessitates a focus on the broader implications for community identity and cohesion, rather than a sole focus on the financial aspects. A key step in implementing effective reparative housing policies is to strengthen connections within the diaspora of Lakelanders. The direct community input received for this report demonstrated that individuals who had been displaced from Lakeland expressed a strong desire to return. Community events like Lakeland Day exemplify this longing; each summer, Lakelanders travel from various parts of the country to reconnect with their roots. The energy of these reunions is palpable—manifested in the vibrant music, the smoked barbecue, and the rich conversations between lifelong friends and family members.

To facilitate these reconnections, the creation of a "Return to Lakeland" program would engage both current residents and the broader diaspora. One of the most damaging consequences of past urban renewal efforts was the exclusion of Lakelanders from the decision-making process. While their voices were occasionally acknowledged, they were often overlooked. To prevent this from happening again, a primary aim of the housing repair strategy is to ensure that Lakelanders are integral participants in discussions about their community's future. This includes creating pathways for the return of those who have been displaced.

¹¹⁶⁶ Section A1-102, titled "Powers" requires just compensation: "...No land or property taken by the municipality for any of the aforementioned purposes or in connection with the exercise of any of the powers which by this appendix are granted to the municipality by exercising the power of eminent domain shall be taken without **just compensation**..."

In the immediate term, we recommend that the City Council commit to fostering this sense of community through monthly town hall meetings focused specifically on housing issues. These monthly meetings would provide a vital platform for Lakelanders to voice their thoughts, concerns, and aspirations. Collaboration with the Restorative Justice Commission will be essential in compiling and analyzing the feedback obtained from these sessions, facilitating the creation of long-term policy solutions that respond effectively to the community’s expressed needs. Although it might seem ineffectual to hold more meetings and to have more hearings on matters, it is important to move with care and informed intentionality. This can be best achieved by democratizing processes and ensuring regular feedback and input from the community.

Funding

In conjunction with the longer term effort to build a Return to Lakeland program, the city could implement a local cannabis tax to establish a fund to help displaced Lakelanders return. After a statewide referendum in November of 2022, the Maryland State General Assembly passed the Cannabis Reform Act (H.B. 556/S.B. 516) in spring 2023.¹¹⁶⁷ On May 3, 2023, Maryland officially legalized marijuana for adult use. “Maryland law imposes a 9% sales and use tax on retail sales of adult-use cannabis and cannabis products, which is the same rate that applies to the sale of alcoholic beverages.”¹¹⁶⁸ On July 3, 2024, Governor Wes Moore announced that “total medical and adult-use retail sales surpassed \$1.1 billion in the first 12 months following legalization.”¹¹⁶⁹ 9% of \$1.1 billion is \$99,000,000. Raising the cannabis tax rate by 1% would result in an additional \$11,000,000. That excess revenue can be used to provide housing grants to members of the Lakeland diaspora.

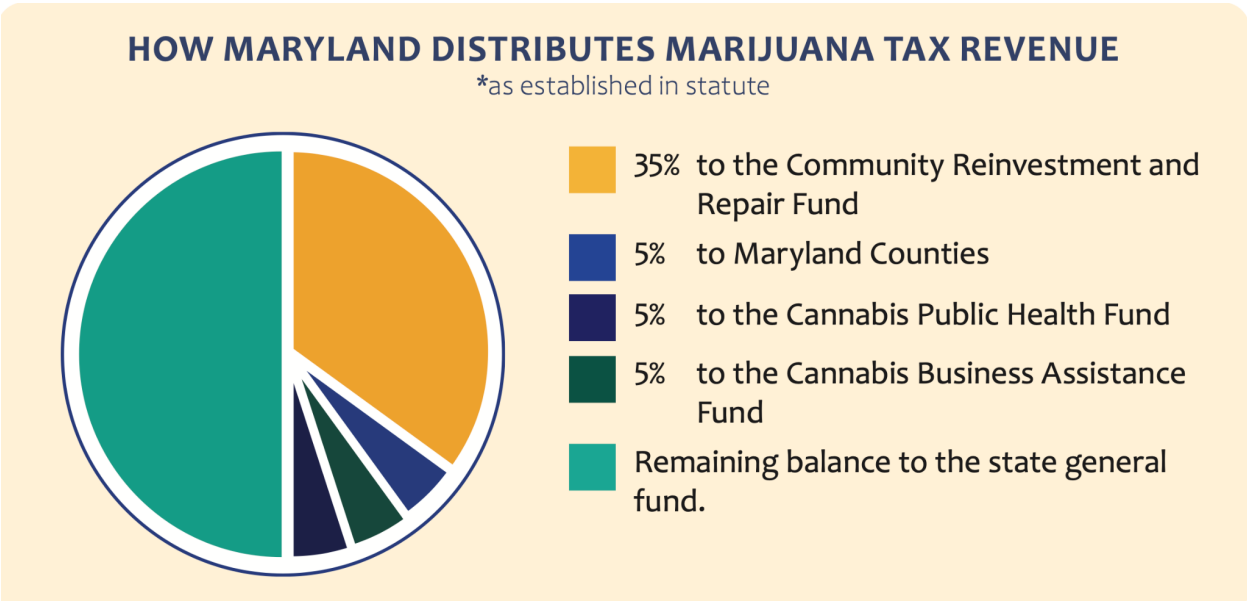


Figure 45. Breakdown of Maryland’s marijuana tax revenue distribution.

¹¹⁶⁷ “Adult Use Cannabis Information.” Maryland Comptroller. Accessed June 9, 2025.
<https://www.marylandcomptroller.gov/cannabis.html#:~:text=The%20bill%20took%20effect%20upon,the%20sale%20of%20alcoholic%20beverages.>

¹¹⁶⁸ “Adult Use Cannabis Information.” Maryland Comptroller.

¹¹⁶⁹ “Governor Moore Announces More than \$1.1 Billion in Total Sales during for First Year of Cannabis Legalization.” Press Releases – News – Office of Governor Wes Moore. Accessed June 9, 2025.
[https://governor.maryland.gov/news/press/pages/governor-moore-announces-more-than-11-billion-in-total-sales-during-for-first-year-of-cannabis-legalization.aspx.](https://governor.maryland.gov/news/press/pages/governor-moore-announces-more-than-11-billion-in-total-sales-during-for-first-year-of-cannabis-legalization.aspx)

Maryland already distributes its marijuana tax revenue to discrete funds.¹¹⁷⁰ As such, there is established precedent for allocating portions of tax revenue towards specific projects, at least with respect to marijuana tax revenue.

Second, the city could grant Lakelanders the right of first refusal on property sales and regulate investor purchases to prevent further displacement of Lakelanders. “The right of first refusal (ROFR) is a legal provision in real estate that gives a prioritized, interested party the exclusive opportunity to buy or lease a property before the owner can negotiate with other prospective buyers or tenants.”¹¹⁷¹ In the context of Lakeland, ROFR can be used to ensure that property stays within the Lakeland diaspora. If an individual wants to sell their property, members of the Lakeland diaspora with a ROFR would have the opportunity to purchase the property before other prospective buyers. This, coupled with regulations on investor purchasing, would allow land to stay in the hands of Lakelanders as opposed to large scale private developers. Add to this the funds from a local cannabis tax and there is now a viable pipeline for relocating displaced Lakelanders to the community they once, and still do, call home. From there, as the Lakeland diaspora re-coheres, there will be more community input and feedback on what the future of Lakeland and the future of housing in particular could and should look like.

Pillar: Nature – UN SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being and UN SDG 15: Life on Land

Primary Policy Proposal: Restore access to Lake Artemesia.

Currently there is a large wall that blocks both physical and visual access to Lake Artemesia. There are several potential options for restoring access to Lake Artemesia. First, the city, in partnership with the county, the state, and WMATA, could construct a footbridge that would function as a pedestrian overpass. The footbridge could be constructed above and around the railroad tracks and would allow Lakelanders to access Lake Artemesia without affecting the metro line that currently exists there. A similar footbridge exists in New York, connecting the east side of Manhattan to Randall’s Island. This bridge, sometimes referred to as the Randall’s Island Footbridge, or the Wards Island Bridge, spans the width of the East River, and was reconstructed in 2012 for \$16.8 million.¹¹⁷² A footbridge in Lakeland would be considerably smaller and presumably cheaper as well. Preliminary estimates on costs, considering building materials and cost per linear foot,¹¹⁷³ suggest that a footbridge of this nature could cost anywhere from \$1–2 million.

Another potential solution involves replacing the entirety of the wall, or at least a significant portion of it, with reinforced bulletproof glass. This would restore visual access to the lake for Lakelanders, and coupled with a footbridge, would go a long way towards restoring overall access to Lake Artemesia while retaining the metro line that currently exists. Glass-Clad Polycarbonate is a type of bulletproof glass that “offers superior strength and durability, making it ideal for high-risk environments such as government buildings and military installations.”¹¹⁷⁴ It ranges in cost from \$100–\$250 per square foot, and based on these figures, replacing the wall could cost anywhere from \$100,000–\$500,000.

¹¹⁷⁰ Lierman, Brooke. “Maryland Quarterly Cannabis Update.” Comptroller of Maryland, March 12, 2025. <https://www.marylandcomptroller.gov/content/dam/mdcomp/md/cannabis/reports/Cannabis-Update-q2-2024.pdf>.

¹¹⁷¹ “What Is Right of First Refusal? .” Chase. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://www.chase.com/personal/mortgage/education/owning-a-home/right-of-first-refusal>.

¹¹⁷² Margolies, Jane. “Two Sets of Two—Wheeling Adventures.” The New York Times, October 11, 2012. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/12/nyregion/randalls-island-paths-for-urban-biking.html>.

¹¹⁷³ “Commercial Pedestrian Bridges – Factors That Affect Their Cost.” Advanced Construction and Development, August 30, 2023. <https://www.advancedbuilds.com/commercial-pedestrian-bridges-factors-that-affect-their-cost/>.

¹¹⁷⁴ Types and Prices of Bulletproof Glass: How to Choose the Right Product for You?, May 2023. <https://www.betterglass.com/article/types-and-prices-of-bulletproof-glass-how-to-choose-the-right-product-for-you.html#:~:text=Glass%2DClad%20Polycarbonate%3A%20The%20cost,and%20level%20of%20protection%20required.>

Ultimately, these are just estimates based on market research. In order to seriously pursue these goals, several things should happen. First, the City Council should pass a resolution in favor of exploring this policy solution. The resolution is a symbolic commitment to the project and can be passed immediately with no cost or effort on the city's behalf.

The resolution would also serve a secondary purpose, and that is calling upon the county, state, and federal government to commit funds and other resources towards this project. The city was primarily responsible for urban renewal, but the other levels of government bear some responsibility as well. Accordingly, restorative justice, and more specifically footing the bill for restorative justice, should not fall entirely on the city. That makes sense both as a matter of fairness, and also from a fiscal point of view. Once the commitment is established, a steering committee could be tasked with doing the research, and/or it can put out a bid for contractors to see who can build a footbridge for the lowest price; the same can and should be done with the reinforced glass wall replacement. The city should seek to get a price estimate as well as a projected timeline. From there, appropriate budgetary measures can take place.

Again, partnership here is key. The city can work in collaboration with the county, the state, the federal government, WMATA, and other key stakeholders. The city can also pursue the use of general obligation bonds to help pay for the project. The text of the initial urban renewal law allowed for the use of general obligation bonds to fund urban renewal related projects. The same can and should be done to reverse the effects of urban renewal. Restoring access to the lake would create significant symbolic, health, and monetary benefits for the Lakeland community. For starters, this policy proposal is the result of a series of talks, town halls, and workshops with the Lakeland community. Over the course of the past year working in collaboration with the Lakeland community, restoring access to the lake has been a common theme that we have heard throughout the process. Regardless of the feasibility or the cost, this policy proposal should be taken seriously and should genuinely be considered. At the very least, the first two steps (passing a resolution in support and calling for assistance from the county, the state, the federal government, and WMATA; and putting out a bid/RFP to get a definitive cost and timeline estimate) should be done. These first two steps are no-to-low cost actions that can be done in a relatively short time frame. The actual construction of the bridge and the replacement of the wall are obviously higher cost, longer term projects, but the prospect of such an investment of both time and money should not prevent taking these critical and necessary first two steps.

Primary Policy Proposal: Implement a net metering program.

The city can create a solar panel program that allows Lakelanders to install solar panels on their homes. This would reduce energy costs for Lakelanders while also facilitating a switch to renewable energy which will benefit both the environment and the economy in the short and long run.

In addition to the savings benefits and the positive environmental impact, there are other benefits to moving towards solar energy. For example, solar panels increase the value of single-family homes. A team of seven professional home appraisers led by a researcher and home appraisal expert from the U.S. Department of Energy's Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory wrote a report titled "Appraising into the Sun: Six-State Solar Home Paired-Sales Analysis."¹¹⁷⁵ Though the results were obviously different by state, the report confirmed statistical modeling results from earlier research conducted by the Berkeley lab which showed that on average, "buyers were willing to pay \$15,000 more for a home with the average-size solar photovoltaic system (3.6 kilowatts), or about four additional dollars per watt of solar power...."¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷⁵ Weiner, Jon. "Team of Appraisers Across Six States Find Home Buyers Will Pay Premium for Solar Homes." Berkeley Lab News Center, November 12, 2015. <https://newscenter.lbl.gov/2015/11/12/premium-for-solar-homes/>.

¹¹⁷⁶ Weiner, Jon. "Team of Appraisers Across Six States Find Home Buyers Will Pay Premium for Solar Homes." Berkeley Lab News Center.

Lakelanders who install solar panels on their homes can also benefit from the Residential Clean Energy Credit and claim a 30% tax credit on their income taxes.¹¹⁷⁷ The IRS provides a detailed explanation on how the program works:

“The Residential Clean Energy Credit equals 30% of the costs of new, qualified clean energy property for your home installed anytime from 2022 through 2032. The credit percentage rate phases down to 26 percent for property placed in service in 2033 and 22 percent for property placed in service in 2034. You may be able to take the credit if you made energy saving improvements to your home located in the United States. The credit is nonrefundable, so the credit amount you receive can't exceed the amount you owe in tax. You can carry forward any excess unused credit, though, and apply it to reduce the tax you owe in future years. Do not include interest paid including loan origination fees. The credit has no annual or lifetime dollar limit except for credit limits for fuel cell property. You can claim the annual credit every year that you install eligible property until the credit begins to phase out in 2033.”¹¹⁷⁸

Based on the sunset provision of this tax credit, in order to maximize the benefits of going solar, the city should aim to establish this pilot program within the next few years, so that by 2032 all Lakelanders who want solar have it.

Another benefit of solar power is that it is not affected by disruptions in power. When homes make use of solar panels and battery storage units, often referred to as solar-plus-storage systems, they are able to remain powered despite disruptions to the grid. Furthermore, solar cells are becoming more affordable, they work all throughout the year (even in winter when there is less sunlight), and they are weather-resistant. The U.S. Department of Energy's Solar Energy Technologies Office (SETO) “funds five Regional Test Centers across the country -- each in a different climate -- to make sure panels perform as best they can, regardless of climate or weather” and the presence of solar panels in Alaska, where winters are longer, colder, and harsher, are proof of their viability.¹¹⁷⁹

The City of College Park can explore the potential of a large-scale, citywide solar panel project by implementing a pilot program to test its feasibility. Lakeland could, and should, be the primary beneficiary of such a pilot program. In implementing such a program, however, it is important to be considerate of the coercive nature of urban renewal and how it negatively impacted the community of Lakeland. It is possible that not every Lakelander would want to participate in such a program. Accordingly, if a solar panel pilot program were implemented, it would be important to make the program voluntary and give Lakelanders the option to opt-in.

The City of College Park can also establish a net metering program in conjunction with this solar panel pilot program. “Net metering is an arrangement between solar energy system owners and utilities in which the system owners are compensated for any solar power generation that is exported to the electricity grid.”¹¹⁸⁰ Essentially, homeowners who opt into the program would install solar panels on their homes/properties, and then any excess energy they generate could be sent back to the city's electrical grid, allowing

¹¹⁷⁷ “5 Benefits of Residential Solar.” U.S. Department of Energy, February 13, 2023. <https://www.energy.gov/energysaver/articles/5-benefits-residential-solar>.

¹¹⁷⁸ “Residential Clean Energy Credit.” Internal Revenue Service. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://www.irs.gov/credits-deductions/residential-clean-energy-credit>.

¹¹⁷⁹ “Residential Clean Energy Credit.” Internal Revenue Service.

¹¹⁸⁰ “Homeowner's Guide to Going Solar.” U.S. Department of Energy. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://www.energy.gov/eere/solar/homeowners-guide-going-solar>.

Lakelanders to profit from the sale and allowing the city to save on lower-cost energy. The money generated from energy savings, increased property value, and net metering profits, would represent a new revenue stream that could be invested towards other restorative justice projects. Reparative policies work together.

Pillar: Connectivity – UN SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

Primary Policy Proposal: Create a "Lakeland Pass" for free/reduced fare for residents.

The city can work together with WMATA to establish a Lakeland Pass that allows Lakelanders to ride for free or reduced fare along certain routes. The routes can match the old streetcar lines and would be a way to both symbolically and monetarily honor this aspect of Lakeland's legacy. Furthermore, it would help connect the Lakeland community to the wider DMV community and would encourage economic and cultural exchange. As a part of the Lakeland Pass, the University of Maryland could also expand their shuttle routes for Lakelanders. UMD already runs a shuttle bus service, Shuttle-UM. That shuttle service is mostly free, but routes and overall accessibility are affected by the university's schedule. For example, "during exams, breaks and inter-semester periods, buses run on modified schedules."¹¹⁸¹ Not only that, some Shuttle-UM "routes require passengers to present a university ID to the driver."¹¹⁸² UMD has had an outsized impact on the Lakeland community. While allowing Lakelanders to access the shuttle service is a good start, more can be done. The university can work in partnership with the city to regularly survey the Lakeland community in regard to transportation needs. Shuttle-UM services can be expanded to meet those needs and WMATA and the city can step in where the university's services end. This can include more routes, and continued service for Lakelanders during exams, breaks, and inter-semester periods.

The city can also work to establish cooling centers and heating stations along transportation routes for the summer and winter, respectively. In 2024, 9 people died as a result of extreme temperatures in Maryland. Of those 9 people, 4 were in Prince George's County.¹¹⁸³ Prince George's County currently has 25 cooling centers.¹¹⁸⁴ The city can work to expand access to cooling centers by increasing the overall number of cooling centers and providing shuttle services with dedicated routes that can transport Lakelanders to cooling centers. Likewise, the city can install heating units at bus stops in and around the Lakeland community so that during the winter, Lakelanders who utilize public transportation are protected from the harsh weather conditions. This, coupled with increased transportation accessibility, will mean shorter and safer wait times. Implementing a solar panel program would be tremendously helpful here as well. Cooling centers and heating stations can be powered by solar energy so that it does not pose an additional cost to the city. Bus stop shelters could be constructed at every stop in the community, and the roof of each shelter can be covered with solar panels. With a net-metering program put in place, the energy generated by the bus stop shelters and sent back to the grid will eventually turn into a revenue stream for the city after the initial construction costs are recouped. That revenue can be used to help fund the Lakeland Pass. This is another example of how reparative policies can and should work together to maximize the benefits for Lakelanders and College Park residents more broadly.

¹¹⁸¹ "Shuttle-UM FAQs." University of Maryland Transportation Services . Accessed June 16, 2025.
<https://transportation.umd.edu/shuttle-um-faq>.

¹¹⁸² "Shuttle-UM FAQs." University of Maryland Transportation Services.

¹¹⁸³ Gilstrap, Samantha. "Maryland Reports More Heat-Related Deaths." WUSA9, July 18, 2024.
<https://www.wusa9.com/article/news/local/maryland/maryland-reports-more-heat-deaths/65-ea47519a-ff5d-401c-be57-33f100f76948>.

¹¹⁸⁴ List of Prince George's County Cooling Centers. Accessed June 16, 2025.
<https://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/sites/default/files/Cooling-Centers.pdf>.

Pillar: Learning – UN SDG 4: Quality Education

Primary Policy Proposal: Establish a free undergraduate/graduate education program for Lakelanders at the University of Maryland.

The University of Maryland (UMD) has 12 different colleges that offer both undergraduate and graduate degree programs:

- College of Agriculture and Natural Resources (AGNR)
- School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (ARCH)
- College of Arts and Humanities (ARHU)
- College of Behavioral and Social Sciences (BSOS)
- Robert H. Smith School of Business (BMGT)
- College of Computer, Mathematical, and Natural Sciences (CMNS)
- College of Education (EDUC)
- A. James Clark School of Engineering (ENGR)
- College of Information (INFO)
- Philip Merrill College of Journalism (JOUR)
- School of Public Health (SPH)
- School of Public Policy (SPP)

Across the entire university, UMD has 107 bachelor's degree programs, 120 master's degree programs, 84 doctoral degree programs, and 311 degree programs overall. Additionally, UMD has 4,541 members of the faculty, along with 6,484 members of the staff and 4,232 graduate assistants. In all, UMD has 31,133 undergraduate students enrolled, 10,592 graduate students enrolled, and it awards 11,444 degrees annually.¹¹⁸⁵

UMD is a well-established, well-funded, and well-resourced institution with numerous accolades. Nevertheless, its history and relationship to the Lakeland community is tumultuous. Black people could not attend the University of Maryland's law school until 1935, and even then they were still barred from entering other departments of the university.¹¹⁸⁶ That means that for decades, Lakelanders were barred from receiving an education at the very institution that ultimately helped cause their displacement. Redressing this harm is imperative, and considering its large size and pool of resources, UMD is well equipped to help. Relatively speaking, the Lakeland diaspora is small in comparison to UMD's population. Accordingly, it should be feasible for the university to provide free undergraduate and/or graduate education to members of the Lakeland diaspora. The university could establish a pilot program where it surveys all eligible Lakeland diaspora members, gauges interest in one of the many programs it offers and enrolls an inaugural class of Lakelanders. According to the most recent figures, the cost of UMD tuition is \$5,904.50 per semester for resident full-time undergraduate students, and \$20,593.00 per semester for non-resident full-time undergraduate students. However, accounting for additional miscellaneous fees, the actual cost is \$7,449.80 and \$22,138.30 respectively.¹¹⁸⁷ One of the devastating impacts of urban renewal was the displacement and diasporization of Lakelanders. Accordingly, using the non-resident full-time cost as a baseline, it would cost \$44,276.60 for one year of education at UMD and \$177,106.40 for the cost of a 4-year undergraduate degree. The cost of higher education in the United States is exorbitant and college is becoming increasingly cost-prohibitive. This is even more problematic for Lakelanders when we consider the loss of generational wealth that resulted from urban renewal. It is common knowledge that

¹¹⁸⁵ "Facts and Figures." University of Maryland Division of Research, April 2025. <https://research.umd.edu/who-we-are/facts-and-figures>.

¹¹⁸⁶ Murray, Pauli, and Davison M. Douglas. 1951. *States' Laws on Race and Color*. Athens, GA: University Of Georgia Press, 51.

¹¹⁸⁷ "Undergraduate Tuition & Fees." University of Maryland Student Financial Services and Cashiering. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://billpay.umd.edu/UndergraduateTuition>.

home ownership is one of the primary ways to build generational wealth in the United States.¹¹⁸⁸ 104 out of the 150 homes in Lakeland were destroyed as a result of urban renewal. That extreme loss, compounded over time, means that there are Lakelanders today who could have afforded college but no longer can, or cannot as easily afford it. The University of Maryland played a role in the harm, and it can and should play a role in the repair as well.

Using the earlier estimated \$177,106.40 figure for four years of tuition costs at UMD, it would cost \$4,427,660 to enroll 25 Lakelanders at UMD. For reference, UMD's current operating budget for FY 2025 is \$2.97 billion.¹¹⁸⁹

FY 2025 CURRENT FUNDS BUDGET (\$2.97B)

Budget by Revenue Type

UNRESTRICTED TOTAL:	\$2,279M	77%
Revenue Type	Budget	Description
State Appropriation	\$870M	Funding provided by the Governor for our core state-supported mission.
Tuition & Fees	\$719M	Paid by students for instruction and course fees; includes Academic Year, Fall/Winter
Auxiliary Enterprises	\$383M	Business-like activities (dorms, dining, athletics, etc.)
Gov. & Private Gifts/Grants	\$182M	Indirect F&A cost recoveries from contract and grant activities & gift revenue from Foundation
Other Sources	\$81M	Interest and investments, rents, health center medical
Sales & Services of Educ. Activity	\$44M	Educational-related, such as internal sales, lab services, conferences and short courses, consortiums, licensing and royalties, etc.
RESTRICTED TOTAL:	\$692M	23%
Revenue Type	Budget	Description
Federal Contracts & Grants	\$483M	Federal Agencies - Defense, Commerce, HHS, NASA, etc.
Private Gifts, Contracts & Grants	\$141M	Foundations, corporations, universities, foreign organizations, etc.
State & Local Contracts & Grants	\$69M	State of Maryland, local government, other state governments
TOTAL REVENUE: \$2,971M		

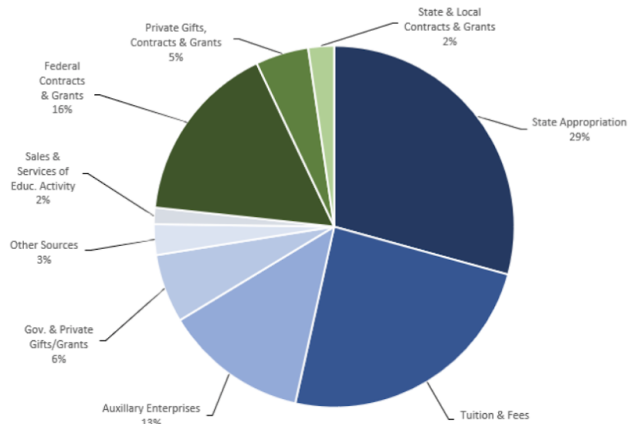


Figure 46. Breakdown of the University of Maryland FY2025 Operating Budget by revenue type.

\$4,427,600 represents 0.14% of the operating budget. UMD can enroll 25 Lakelanders for free without impacting its budget in any significant ways. Alternatively, UMD can explore this policy by taking a slower and less costly approach, beginning with an inaugural class of 5 Lakelanders at a cost of \$885,532 of forgone tuition revenue. That represents a mere 0.02% of the budget.

In order for this policy solution to happen, UMD will have to work in partnership with the City Council, the Restorative Justice Commission, and other community partners such as the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, the Lakeland Civic Association, and the Braxton Institute, to identify Lakelanders who are interested in going to UMD for free. It might be the case that very few Lakelanders would want to take advantage of such a program. Conversely, it might be the case that there is an overwhelming desire from the diaspora to engage in such a program. Working in partnership with the community to gauge interest at this initial stage is key to planning and designing an effective program.

¹¹⁸⁸ Hecht, Ben. "Homeownership as a Key Driver of Wealth." Huffington Post, April 19, 2017.

https://www.huffpost.com/entry/homeownership-as-a-key-driver-of-wealth_b_58f66a5de4b0c892a4fb7319.

¹¹⁸⁹ "University of Maryland Operating Budget." University of Maryland Finance. Accessed June 16, 2025.

<https://finance.umd.edu/budget/facts-and-figures/operating-budget>.

This policy proposal was explored by the education working group during one of the final community workshops. Two important points were brought up during the discussion. First, the group acknowledged the existence of several scholarship programs that are already in place, including the Restorative Justice Scholarship. Though these scholarships are beneficial and needed, it was agreed that UMD should still implement a free tuition scholarship program for Lakelanders. Rejecting this policy proposal on the basis that there already exists several scholarships is problematic because it shifts the onus onto Lakelanders to try to research, find, and apply to several different scholarship programs in a piecemeal fashion. It is a time consuming process and there is no guarantee of successfully finding enough scholarships to cover the full cost of tuition.

Second, the conversation expanded to the importance of revitalizing K-12 education in Lakeland so that future generations of Lakelanders will be able to take advantage of a free tuition program if and when it comes into existence. A projected timeline of 20 years was given for a program of that scale and impact. The importance of investing in the future generation of Lakelanders was expressed as critically important, and the working group engaged in serious dialogue to explore if, when, and how such a free college program would work in relation to the goal of revitalizing K-12 education. The dynamism of reparative policymaking for restorative justice is in its inclusive and strategic approach to solutions. Traditional policymaking is often presented as an “A or B” approach. This is a limited way of thinking about solutions and leads to protracted discussions and minimalist reforms. Reparative policymaking for restorative justice is not only about exploring how to make both “A and B” a reality, but also about seeing how A can lead to B, and how B can lead to A, and how A and B together can create C, D, and E benefits. Accordingly, the next section will explore the policy goal of revitalizing K-12 education.

Primary Policy Proposal: Revitalize K-12 education in Lakeland.

To ensure that the additional, yet equally important goal of revitalizing K-12 education is accomplished, the free UMD tuition program can be designed in a way that works in conjunction with that goal. There are other scholarship programs that work in a similar way. For example, the NAACP created the Marshall-Motley Scholars Program (MMSP). The MMSP, named after Thurgood Marshall and Constance Baker Motley, was launched in 2020 by the NAACP’s Legal Defense Fund (LDF). The MMSP’s initial goal was to identify and train 50 Marshall-Motley Scholars and equip them with the tools necessary to advance racial justice and equity in the South. According to a May 6, 2025 statement, with the selection of the 5th MMSP cohort, the program reached its initial goal of identifying 50 MMSP scholars.¹¹⁹⁰ In exchange for receiving full-tuition scholarships and a host of other benefits, MMSP scholars commit to spending the first few years of their careers after graduating law school to civil rights work in one of a list of several pre-approved southern states identified by LDF. The program is only 5-years old, so the true impact is still undetermined. Nevertheless, it is promising, and the current cohorts of Marshall-Motley Scholars have already completed impactful work. UMD can follow in LDF’s footsteps by creating a similar program and conditioning participation on a commitment to advancing and revitalizing K-12 education in Lakeland.

There are several other factors to consider. First, how can we define revitalizing K-12 education in Lakeland? During the same community workshop, the idea of establishing a 70% target goal was presented. If accomplished, 70% of students would graduate ready for college. That target would need to be broken down into other, more specific indicators, but once those guidelines and metrics are established, the community can begin working towards achieving that 70% college readiness goal. The second consideration is housing. The tuition costs do not include the cost of housing and other incidental expenses like books and groceries. The MMSP not only covers the cost of tuition but also room and board and these other expenses. Stakeholder collaboration is key here. Regarding housing costs, Leon N. Weiner

¹¹⁹⁰ “LDF’s Marshall-Motley Scholars Program Announces Its Fifth Cohort of Future Civil Rights Leaders.” Legal Defense Fund, May 6, 2025. <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldfs-marshall-motley-scholars-program-announces-its-fifth-cohort-of-future-civil-rights-leaders/>.

& Associates (LNWA) can and should be involved. According to their website, LNWA has developed 11,385 multifamily housing units, 4,584 single family homes, and 6,951 affordable housing apartment units that they own outright.¹¹⁹¹ LNWA can provide free housing to Lakelanders who are taking advantage of this free education program at UMD. 25 apartments represent a mere 0.35% of their total affordable housing apartment units. Furthermore, these units would be available again after students graduate. Regarding the cost of books and other incidentals like groceries, the city, county, state, and/or federal government could step in to subsidize these costs. Lastly, there is the question of eligibility. How can UMD determine who is eligible to benefit from such a program? The Restorative Justice Commission established the Restorative Justice Scholarship and created eligibility criteria that the university could use. For the Restorative Justice Scholarship, applicants must:

“Have 10 years of documented residence in the Lakeland community of College Park, Maryland – personally or by a person in their direct lineage (i.e.: parent, grandparent, great-grandparent, etc.)

– 1st priority will be given to individuals displaced by urban renewal and their direct descendants.

– 2nd priority will be given to individuals who themselves lived in Lakeland for at least 10 years during the community's urban renewal period (1965–1981) or who are a descendant (direct lineage) of someone who did.

– 3rd priority will be given to individuals who themselves lived in the Lakeland community for 10 years before or after the urban renewal period or who are a descendant (direct lineage) of someone who did.”¹¹⁹²

In terms of tangible next steps, the City Council can begin by passing a resolution outlining the basic structure and requirements of this sort of program and calling on UMD to commit to supporting the program. From there, all stakeholders should work together to identify potential program participants and create an application to facilitate the process. The application should ask students what program they intend to enroll in and should require them to indicate how they intend to use their education to help contribute to the goal of revitalizing K–12 education in Lakeland. The application can encourage creative and diverse approaches as well. Recipients can express interest in becoming a teacher or in becoming education consultants and helping to design curricula; recipients can develop their own non-profit organizations that deliver educational services for the Lakeland community. There are many ways to use one's education to contribute to the community and this program would facilitate that by removing the cost barriers that urban renewal and the overall high cost of higher education have placed in front of many Lakelanders.

Summary

As a result of urban renewal, the Lakeland community faced discrimination, exclusion, displacement, environmental disasters, exploitation, and extraction, among many other harms. Lakelanders met, and overcame, all of these things with a sense of determination, unity, joy, ingenuity, creativity, brilliance, and a general indefatigable radiance of the human spirit. They should not have had to, though. Highlighting the strength and resilience of the Black community has become a common refrain, often used to condemn

¹¹⁹¹ “Facts and Figures.” Leon N. Weiner & Associates, Inc. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://lnwa.com/>.

¹¹⁹² “Restorative Justice Scholarship Application.” City of College Park. Accessed June 16, 2025. <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/FormCenter/Pay-Apply-15/Restorative-Justice-Scholarship-Applicat-144>.

the wrongs of the past while passively accepting the harms that were inflicted. These injustices are frequently labeled as "regrettable" but ultimately deemed "irreparable." However, these harms are not beyond repair and there is a duty and obligation to ensure that they are addressed with a focus on restorative justice.

Reparative policymaking is a tool designed specifically for this task. By identifying the past harms with detail and precision, using all forms of data (quantitative, qualitative, and otherwise), we are able to build a comprehensive narrative told in collaboration with and from the perspective of the community. From there, we identify the throughline – how did these past harms inform the existing situation and create the current conditions that the community is tasked with facing? Again, the key is for this throughline to be built in collaboration with and from the perspective of the community, lest we replicate the very harms we aim to redress. By (re)constructing this link between the past and the present, we elicit accountability. Urban renewal was the result of many levels of government, many individuals, many agencies, and many actors, both private and public, coming together to decide what they thought was best for Lakeland. Decisions were made for, and not with, and 104 out of 150 homes were erased. Entire families were uprooted. Communal ties were severed. Businesses were destroyed. Labor was exploited. Generational wealth was stolen. Access to the restorative properties of the lake was disrupted. Lives were lost.

The responsibility for redress and repair falls on many laps. This report aims to highlight who, how, and why. Importantly, it also aims to serve as a guide for that repair. Rebuke without redress is a well-disguised means of maintaining the status quo. The Lakeland community and the City of College Park, as evidenced by their support of this harm report, are not interested in maintaining this status quo. A new future for Lakeland is possible. A future that is both tied to and built from a foundation of the positive moments and memories of the past. A future that does not extract and exclude, but one that includes and multiplies. The path forward must be designed by Lakelanders.

Furthermore, the members of the harmed community must be supported (symbolically, materially, and financially) by all those involved in the multitude of harms. The entire process of urban renewal, from inception to completion, took decades. Meanwhile, the effort to repeal urban renewal from the College Park City Charter took 198 days. We have seen that with strong leadership, teamwork, and a commitment to repair, it is possible for true change to happen in this lifetime. We must continue to build on this momentum. The time for redress is now. The time for repair is now. The time for the future of Lakeland, is now.

It is crucial, however, to recognize that the creation of this report was constrained by a six-month timeline. Prior to the issuance of the RFP, the research team spent an additional six months engaging with the community, as detailed in the *Appendix*. This immersion in the community was essential for fostering the deep trust needed to ensure that the report authentically captured the voices of those harmed. To mitigate the risk of retraumatization often seen with conventional research approaches, several team members will extend their engagement beyond the end of the contract to provide ongoing research insights and policy support, albeit in a less intensive capacity. This approach is recommended as a model for the City of College Park, illustrating the vital nature of community engagement in implementing restorative justice policies that truly resonate with the Lakeland community. Moreover, given that this research initiative was time-limited, it remains incomplete. This underscores that restorative justice is inherently an ongoing process, emphasizing the continuous efforts needed to repair harm rather than a singular endpoint. As indicated in the *Introduction*, following are areas for further exploration:

- Further research is needed to determine exactly when the City of College Park began to target and track properties in Lakeland for acquisition. Records indicate that there may have been an effort to identify and track a residence owned by a specific homeowner as early as 1961.

- Some homeowners, like Walter Bey, held debts related to the building or improvement of their lots that were not covered by the amount paid for their property (\$13,000 mortgage vs. \$13 consideration paid). Additional research is needed to understand the full scope of losses suffered by Lakeland homeowners.
- There is evidence of simultaneous property acquisition in Lakeland immediately prior to, after, and during urban renewal. Lakeland residents report homes being acquired during the urban renewal process that were not technically part of the official urban renewal plan. Some homeowners were not aware of which program their homes were acquired through until afterwards (e.g. the Braxton and Weems family homes on Lakeland's east side). How many different programs acquired Lakeland homes around the period of urban renewal (late 1960s to late 1980s), what were their processes, and how did the compounded effect work in tandem to reshape Lakeland? This would also include identifying homes acquired through seemingly routine condemnation proceedings that were not explicitly part of any organized acquisition effort.
- A 1950 office map used for the U.S. Census in Prince George's County shows a "proposed park" boundary in Lakeland's west side, moving from Melbourne Place to Navahoe Street and then cutting through to Lakeland Road and Rhode Island Avenue. This map indicates that a plan for a park in the Lakeland area predated urban renewal, but more information is needed on the actors involved in designating the "proposed park" boundary and the connection, if any, to the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project (see map in *Appendix*).
- Additional research is needed on the incoming Purple Line and its impact on renters in the Lakeland area, particularly Spellman House and Alden-Berkley Townhouses.
- Deeper analysis of contemporary impacts emanating from the City of College Park's urban renewal process for the following United Nations Sustainable Development Goals is needed: No Poverty; Zero Hunger; Gender Equality; Clean Water and Sanitation; Affordable and Clean Energy; Decent Work and Economic Growth; Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure; Reduced Inequalities; Responsible Consumption and Production; Climate Action; Life Below Water; Life on Land; Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions; and Partnerships for the Goals.
- Further investigation is needed on Maryland's cannabis tax and the extent to which the City of College Park is able to implement its own local cannabis tax.
- Additional research is needed on what, if any, obstacles there are to implementing a free college program for members of the Lakeland diaspora at the University of Maryland (UMD). Although UMD has a large budget, university financing, and in particular, the legal structures surrounding endowments can be complicated. That said, it might be as simple as not charging tuition while still allowing members of the Lakeland diaspora to attend class and earn credits toward a degree.
- More research is needed on family history and estate beneficiaries to determine the number and identity of descendants of displaced Lakeland residents.

Appendix

Lakeland Meetings

Dates	Meeting Summaries
July 29, 2024	The AARN team (Linda J. Mann, Jessica Avila, Charkera Ervin, and Pablo Vasquez) held its first meeting with Lakeland community leaders: Maxine Gross, Robert Thurston, Diane Ligon, Violetta Sharps Jones, Pamela Boardley, and Willie Sellers. AARN prepared questions to guide group discussion on Lakeland community needs and goals for repair. Following is a summary of key ideas. The discussion centered on creating actionable initiatives for the Lakeland community that involve its diaspora and narrate its story. Lakeland leaders highlighted the need for a clear overarching vision and fewer, more impactful projects to engage Lakeland descendants. Concerns about maintaining interest and elevating the community's voice were also raised. The community considered reparative goals, such as restoring access to Lake Artemesia and land return with protective measures to prevent past injustices. Overall, the dialogue sought to establish a united vision for Lakeland's future that honored its heritage and addressed historical harms.
August 5, 2024	The AARN team met with Lakeland community leaders to resume the previous week's discussion on the current landscape of restorative justice processes in College Park and to begin planning attendance at Lakeland Day. The discussion focused on the collaboration between the University of Maryland, the City of College Park, and the Lakeland community to address historical injustices and to implement reparative measures. There was an emphasis on the university and city providing historical documentation to assess past impacts and to participate in reparative actions. Lakeland leaders highlighted the university's historical discriminatory practices and the need for an honest review, including offering scholarships to descendants of affected individuals. Proposed reparative measures included: improving access to Lake Artemesia, creating legacy housing for displaced residents, and developing a cultural center, alongside involving additional stakeholders in the process. Community leaders also expressed frustrations over the slow progress in engaging stakeholders and emphasized the necessity of crafting a collective narrative and actionable solutions. Looking ahead, plans involved showcasing successful reparative examples during Lakeland Day and facilitating listening sessions to invite broader participation in the reparative process.
August 12, 2024	The AARN team presented drafts of the posters with examples of reparative measures: Bruce's Beach, California; Bethel AME Church, Pennsylvania; Prince

	Edward County, Virginia, and Georgetown University, Washington D.C. Lakeland community leaders then provided feedback on each poster. The group jointly determined that the desired outcome for AARN's participation in Lakeland Day was to collect contact information, conduct short interviews, and to introduce AARN to Lakeland community members with a brief speech. AARN's table at Lakeland Day would feature a large poster with the aforesaid examples of repair and ideas for Lakeland.
August 19, 2024	The AARN team shared that a meeting had been scheduled with Dr. Georgina Dodge, Vice President for Diversity and Inclusion at the University of Maryland, tomorrow afternoon to discuss the university's engagement with the restorative justice process. The AARN team had also begun to design the Eventbrite webpage for the listening session scheduled for September 25, 2024. To prepare for Lakeland Day, the AARN team presented a consent form, interview guide, online survey, and idea for a raffle with baked goods to promote participation. Lakeland community leaders then provided event details for Lakeland Day and discussed procedures for conducting oral history interviews.
August 26, 2024	The meeting began with reflections on Lakeland Day. The AARN team members who participated (Charkera Ervin, Pablo Vasquez, and Jessia Avila) described that attendees were more willing to provide their contact information than to participate in short interviews. Many had already told their stories on Lakeland and urban renewal and were hesitant to do so again because the purpose of the data collection was not quite understood. A few Lakeland community members verbally consented to being guided through the online survey, but technical difficulties also created challenges for data collection. The AARN team shared the Eventbrite link for the September 25th listening session, and the group determined that the event would begin with a reparations 101 segment and then transition into a focus group. The AARN team communicated a need for a list of community experts. Maxine offered to facilitate introduction to Avis Matthews (Lakeland Community Heritage Project) who had researched school desegregation in Lakeland and Prince George's County. Jessia stated that she would contact Ruth Murphy (Restorative Justice Commissioner and Vice President of Lakeland Civic Association) to request access to the data behind the consensograms, as they visualize Lakeland community members' preferences for reparative goals and future builds. The AARN team received access to the Lakeland Digital Archives with over 5,000 records. Maxine Gross recommended that the AARN team review the key documents on Urban Renewal, which totaled 330 records. Maxine Gross and Violetta Sharps Jones agreed to create a list of Lakeland community members who had been interviewed or had given their comments before in addition to a list of people for the AARN team to speak with at a future time.

September 9, 2024	Lakeland community leaders invited the AARN team to set up a table similar to Lakeland Day during a community block party held on the afternoon of September 14, 2024. The group planned a community-led tour of historic Lakeland for the morning of September 14, 2024. Maxine Gross shared access to a contact list of Lakeland community members who may be willing to speak with the AARN team. The group then discussed advertising strategies for the online listening session scheduled for September 25, 2024 and prepared for the AARN team to attend the next Restorative Justice Commission meeting. Conversation began on a potential town hall featuring Professor Justin Hansford in October.
September 18, 2024	Lakeland community leaders and the AARN team decided that the flyer and Eventbrite webpage for the September 25th online listening session would be shared with the Lakeland Civic Association, the Lakeland Community Heritage Project, First Baptist Church, Embury AME Church, the Braxton Institute, and "For the Love of Lakeland" webpage. Pablo Vasquez and Jessia Avila committed to calling individuals from a list of Lakeland community contacts and personally inviting them to the online listening session. The goals for the session were defined as: • Understanding Lakeland community members' reparative vision, including how they feel about the process thus far and what they hope will come out of this process • Clarifying how this stage of Lakeland's decades-long advocacy is different. The report commissioned by the City of College Park is meaningful because it will serve as an official response to the history of urban renewal and its cumulative, detrimental effects on Lakeland with recommendations for restorative justice actions. Lakeland community leaders also equipped the AARN team with information on College Park Day, emphasizing that city officials and local organizations would be present along with Lakeland community members. Afterward, planning for a potential town hall in October resumed with conversation centering on venues and dates.
September 25, 2024	The AARN team and Lakeland community leaders reviewed the program for the online listening session scheduled in the evening and discussed updates on contract negotiations for AARN's RFP submission to the City of College Park.
October 2, 2024	Jessia Avila presented a summary of archival research to Lakeland community leaders, which outlined findings from material located at the University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives.
October 30, 2024	The AARN team and Lakeland community leaders relayed updates on contract negotiations for AARN's RFP submission to the City of College Park and discussed strategies for advancing Lakeland's advocacy for repair. Dr. Linda J. Mann, for example, mentioned that the University of Maryland would be hosting the Universities Studying Slavery consortium in 2025; this would provide an opportunity for further engagement and visibility.

	Lakeland community members then stressed that it was difficult to specify remedies without specification of historical harms. A discussion of housing as a historical harm followed, with Maxine Gross stating that the Lakeland Digital Archives had two documents with lists of properties that were acquired in Lakeland during urban renewal. These records, however, were missing the amount of compensation given to Lakeland residents for their property value and relocation. The AARN team then shared the results of a second meeting with Dr. Georgina Dodge, Vice President for Diversity and Inclusion at the University of Maryland.
November 11, 2024	The AARN team and Lakeland community leaders brainstormed ideas for an Engagement Plan to be managed by the Restorative Justice Commission. This discussion touched on funding, milestones with the City Council to consider findings, and guidelines on the implementation of reparative policy. Pablo Vasquez shared a Congressional Research Service document titled “Equal Protection: Strict Scrutiny of Racial Classification” (2023) as a resource for developing constitutionally sound, reparative policy. Vasquez also described the option for the Restorative Justice Commission to request a Memorandum of Understanding by the city’s attorney on reparative policy. Lakeland community leaders then asked if the final deliverable from Howard University’s Movement Lawyering Clinic to the Restorative Justice Commission could include an engagement strategy.
November 20, 2024	The AARN team announced to Lakeland community leaders that the contract was being signed. The City of College Park formally engaged the AARN team to conduct research, develop a record of governmental harm against the Lakeland community, and recommend restorative justice actions. The contract would begin in December 2024 and continue through the summer of 2025. To advance research, Jessia Avila would finish reviewing all key documents on urban renewal in the Lakeland Digital Archives and identify relevant student organizations at the University of Maryland to connect. Diane and Violetta also agreed to compile a list of business establishments in Lakeland prior to urban renewal to understand the scope of loss and impacts on contracting (i.e., Black-owned businesses that would have served the Lakeland community even if their physical location was outside of the neighborhood). The group then continued planning for the in-person town hall and designated the end of January 2025 to host the event. For the evening session, Lakeland community leaders expressed preference for the Washington Brazilian Seventh-Day Adventist Church because it is an intact Rosenwald school. For the afternoon session, Spellman House Apartments were preferred because several Lakeland elders resided there.
December 16, 2024	AARN received an interview request from the <i>Diamondback</i> regarding its contract with the City of College Park, but the article was published before an interview was scheduled. Maxine Gross suggested that we contact the editor

	of the <i>Diamondback</i> directly to announce the town hall scheduled for January 2025. The group selected January 29 as the date for the evening session of the town hall. Gross volunteered to contact Washington Brazilian Seventh-Day Adventist Church for the evening session, and Robert Thurston volunteered to contact Spellman House for the afternoon session. The AARN team was assigned the design of the flyer for the event. Jessia Avila recorded Lakeland community leaders' feedback on the survey that the AARN team developed and made changes. Upon receiving final approval from Lakeland community leaders, Avila sent an email communication to Gross with a message that would accompany the survey on January 2. Emphasis was placed on AARN's commitment to honoring, elevating, and being guided by the Lakeland community's experience and knowledge. The survey was designed for households in the Lakeland community before urban renewal and seeks to measure the impacts of urban renewal between those households that remained and those that were displaced. These impacts include changes to household residence (e.g., rent, ownership status, location), mental health, employment, financial wellbeing, friendships and community relationships, church/religious community, and education.
January 8, 2025	After Maxine Gross and Robert Thurston reported on challenges with each of the preferred venues for the town hall (i.e., Washington Brazilian Seventh-Day Adventist Church and Spellman House), the group selected Embry AME Church as the venue for the afternoon (January 28, 2025) and evening session (January 29, 2025). Jessia Avila completed the event request form and submitted it to the administration at Embry AME Church on January 13, 2025. To support advertising of the town hall, Avila and Thurston contacted Apurva Mahajan (editor-in-chief of <i>The Diamondback</i>) and Jalen Wade (Associate Editor of the <i>College Park Here&Now</i>) on January 9, 2025, respectively.
January 15, 2025	The group shared updates on outreach for the town hall. Maxine Gross and Robert Thurston distributed posters at the Lakeland Community Bulletin Board and at Embry AME Church. Pablo Vasquez developed a plan for phone calls to community members. Willie Sellers did an interview with and provided the flyer to Channel 4. Thurston requested transportation from the city for Lakeland elders residing in Spellman House. Charkera Ervin developed materials for door-to-door outreach in the Lakeland community. Sellers also volunteered to coordinate catering for the town hall with Sweet Tooth Cafe & Cakes.
January 22, 2025	The group confirmed Keith Webster as the top candidate for the Community Fellow position. Linda J. Mann affirmed that she would call Webster to proceed with next steps. Robert Thurston announced that the bus had been reserved to transport Lakeland elders residing in Spellman House to the afternoon session of the town hall on January 28. Mann added that she would follow up with Columbia University staff to submit payment for the media

	technician that would assist with audiovisual needs at Embry AME Church.
February 5, 2025	The AARN team announced that it was preparing a summary report for each session of the town hall and distributed a survey to the Lakeland community leaders for their feedback on the execution of the event. To advance survey collection and completion, the AARN team proposed additional phone calls to Lakeland community members in collaboration with Willie Sellers and Keith Webster. When the group held space for reflections on the town hall, Willie Sellers recommended that AARN organize online sessions for each theme (i.e. transportation, education, housing, and public safety). Lakeland community leaders and the AARN team began to review an acquisition list of properties in Lakeland during urban renewal to verify the status of the homes (e.g. demolished or conserved) and their location in the neighborhood (e.g., east, west, conservation area). This activity would be resumed during the meeting scheduled for March 5, 2025. The group also began to list individuals from each sector in the neighborhood to invite to an online focus group on housing in Lakeland. Diane offered to contact individuals in her network who attended Lakeland schools for a potential interview. The meeting concluded with a discussion on education for Lakeland students during desegregation and urban renewal.
February 19, 2025	The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were selected to concentrate on, including Quality Education, Sustainable Cities and Communities with an emphasis on elements like housing, commercial life, green spaces, air quality, waste management, and flooding, as well as Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure related to transportation. Public Safety was also highlighted, alongside social determinants of health under Good Health and Well-being. Additionally, there was a discussion regarding the NBC 4 Lakeland documentary and a mapping activity scheduled for the meeting on March 5. Lastly, planning commenced on the next education-oriented focus group and organizing a separate group for transportation topics.
March 05, 2025	SDG conversation explored the interconnected issues of quality education, sustainable communities, transportation, public safety, and health in Lakeland. It emphasized social determinants of health, highlighting the effects of displacement and segregation in healthcare, illustrated by personal stories. Community engagement was encouraged through interviews and discussions about preserving local educational sites and addressing current needs. The challenges of funding scholarships and the importance of partnerships, such as with the College Park City–University Partnership, were noted. The group also examined legal aspects affecting affordable housing, stressing the need for outreach to residents about potential impacts on their communities.
March 19, 2025	The in-person housing session was scheduled for April 4, 2025, from 6:00 to 7:30 PM at Embry AME Church, with food and drinks to be provided. The session would focus on various aspects of housing, including historic harms related to urban renewal, displacement, security deposit disputes, and management challenges at Spellman House. The group anticipated discussion

	on policing disparities during the war on drugs, conditions in affordable housing, and the conversion of family homes into rental properties for UMD students. Additional areas of discussion would include enforcing regulations on the number of unrelated individuals in homes, necessary repairs, and the progress of the Lakeland Neighborhood Plan, which had a feedback deadline of April 10. Research on subsidized housing and preliminary meetings with Leon N. Weiner & Associates would be reviewed, along with updates on a forthcoming two-part workshop scheduled for May and June. Additional engagement strategies, like focus groups, community outreach, and distribution of flyers, would be organized. Participants would also address the differing needs of homeowners versus tenants and the desire for community spaces, including designated areas for collective gatherings. A survey collected insights from Lakeland residents regarding community needs, highlighting the importance of access to spaces previously utilized for social events.
April 02, 2025	The concepts discussed revolved around land records research. Alan Wierdak had been engaging in this research and collaborating with Maxine Gross to develop chains of title. Tools mentioned for property research included Maryland's State Department of Assessments and Taxation (MD SDAT) for property assessments and MDLandRec.Net for deed searches. A significant number of community resources and activities, such as the Prince George's County Planning Department and housing initiatives, were listed as potential sources of support. The ongoing discussions included Maryland's Reparations Bill and contributions from key figures and organizations in public service, indicating a broader interest in social justice and community development. Kayla Edwards-Scott was seeking additional contacts to explore the implications of urban renewal on education, particularly examining historical impacts related to school closures and consolidations.
April 16, 2025	Lakeland community leaders outlined plans for a commemorative structure. Discussions on the upcoming Workshop Series in May and June centered on individuals and groups to invite. These invitees included members of the Prince George's County Council, City Council, state representatives, University of Maryland, Restorative Justice Commission, and Lakeland organizations.
May 12, 2025	Discussion on the upcoming Workshop Series focused on engaging the community. Breakout groups would ensure representation from the origin community, diaspora, and current residents, aiming to facilitate a comprehensive dialogue about the community's concerns and needs.
May 13, 2025	This meeting focused on planning for a community celebration that would mark the completion of the report as part of the restorative justice process. The Sanctuary at Embury AME Church was selected, as it could provide the necessary technical and seating accommodations. Regular meetings were

	held with the Community Engagement Committee to finalize arrangements and divide responsibilities between AARN and the Restorative Justice Commission.
May 28, 2025	Discussion centered on the distribution and accessibility of the final report. Emphasis was placed on posting the report on various community organization websites to enhance visibility and to improve the report's reach and searchability through digital catalogs. In addition to digital access, there was a desire for printed copies available at the end-of-year celebration, with opportunities for community members to sign up for copies during Lakeland Day.

Meetings with the Braxton Institute

Dates	Meeting summaries
April 22, 2025 March 24, 2025 May 03, 2025	The Braxton Institute team and the AARN team got to know each other as collaborators through several meetings. The Braxton Institute was responsible for most of the reparative justice work that exists in Lakeland. Throughout the meetings, hopes and goals for collaboration were shared. Meetings covered rules of engagement, an invitation for the Braxton Institute to participate in bi-weekly meetings, and information about individual leads. Other key topics covered included a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between AARN and the Braxton Institute. The Braxton Institute's work and contributions would be acknowledged in the final report as well as during various workshops and community meetings. AARN discussed logistical planning for the Workshop Series and Pre-Workshop Community Meeting. AARN discussed their desire to have the Braxton Institute provide opening remarks to set the tone for the workshop and to acknowledge Lakeland as a beloved community. Documentation provided by the Braxton Institute also addressed the impact of the loss of Lake Artemesia, testimony before the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the history of Lakeland. Further discussions focused on mitigating harm in the present, feedback on AARN documents, and historical markers. The conversations also touched on historical accuracy. The importance of the sequence of actions in this work was also emphasized. The discussion highlighted the Braxton Institute's perspective on trauma-informed care and moral injury, the importance of telling Lakeland's story, and logistical action items for future meetings.



Restorative Justice for Lakeland 2025 Goals and Objectives

Background

In May 2024, the Braxton Institute, which has been an approved collaborator with the Restorative Justice Commission since January 2024, convened a representative group of Lakeland leaders and activists, along with invited consultants. The Convening was facilitated by healing-justice leader Richael Faithful (co-vice president of the Braxton Institute) who guided a consensus-building process to synthesize the outcomes of the spring series of events hosted by the Restorative Justice Commission and the Braxton Institute, which included community conversations, storytelling, town halls, reparation educational events, book discussions, healing space and meetings with Dr. Mindy Fullilove. Participants in the Convening included local and regional ministers, a University of Maryland Urban Planning doctoral student, Braxton Institute board members, the Lakeland Civic Association Vice President, the President of the Lakeland Community Heritage Project and the Chair of the Restorative Justice Commission.

The following goals and objectives were identified and prioritized by the group and serve as a blueprint for working on Restorative Justice for Lakeland in 2025.

GOAL ONE: STOP THE HARM FROM CONTINUING

Objective 1.1: Secure a *Community Benefits Agreement* to protect Lakeland from development projects that do not accord with the Community's needs, plans and hopes.

1. Prepare a draft model CBA tailored to Lakeland
2. Present the draft for review by all stakeholders
3. Achieve adoption of the CBA, forwarded for a successful vote from the Restorative Justice Commission to the College Park City Council

Objective 1.2: Support the successful completion of the College Park Planning Department *Comprehensive Plan for the Lakeland Community* (Note: The Comp Plan needs to be in place for the CBA to work.)

1. Research and review the work accomplished to date and the steps needed to finalize

2. Support the Community Review process for the final development of the Comp Plan, through community meetings and consultations with community organizations

Objective 1.3. Elevate Awareness and Understanding of *Past Harm and Continuing Risks for Harm* from entities that benefitted from Urban Renewal, “planned shrinkage”, and subsequent projects that violated the promises made to Lakeland and the present-day interests, hopes and needs of the Community. Document how Lakeland was a central economic force on the Route 1 corridor.

1. Prepare a narrative report and analysis that clarifies the events that led to how this once thriving black neighborhood was disrupted, much of its housing bulldozed or burned, and its residents displaced
2. Build relationships and seek support for Lakeland from present day leaders of entities that benefitted from policies and actions that negatively impacted Lakeland in the past:
 - a. University of Maryland
 - b. Maryland National Capitol Park and Planning Commission (MNCPP)
 - c. Prince George’s County Board of Education (owns property in Lakeland) land back)
 - d. Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA)

Objective 1.4: Support Historic Preservation Efforts by Lakeland Residents.

Objective 1.5: Assist Lakelanders to understand their options and apply for support from the College Park Community Preservation Trust, “a source of permanently affordable homeownership solutions.”

GOAL TWO: EXPAND BROAD-BASED COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC RESTORATIVE ACTIONS

Objective 2.1: Communicate and promote the Restorative Action Priorities (the RAPs) as developed by the May 2024 Consensus Convening of Lakeland Leaders.

1. Secure the Community Benefits Agreement (CBA).
2. Develop Access to Lake Artemesia from the Center of Lakeland.
3. Secure Land Back for Housing (affordable housing).

Objective 2.2: Bring together a broad base of community leaders, residents and civic organizations to align people who are currently active/newly activated to work together consistently over time on achieving meaningful reparations for Lakeland.

1. Representatives from Lakeland Civic Association and LCHP.
2. Legacy Lakelanders (residing in Lakeland or in the diaspora with continuing family ties to Lakeland people and institutions), especially Lakelanders whose trust and hope have been renewed/activated through the 2024 events and strategies.
3. Current and new residents of Lakeland committed to the future of Lakeland.
4. Representative leaders of Embry AME, the Baptist Church, and the Brazilian Adventist Church.

5. Advocates connected to the University of Maryland.
6. Concerned citizens of College Park who would be allies for improvements to Lakeland that benefit the whole city.
7. Allies from the Braxton Institute and larger metro community.

Objective 2.3: Educate, Train, Equip and Empower People for Restorative Actions

- 1) Workshops and educational sessions on Reparations as Peace Building, etc.
- 2) Sessions on Messaging and Communication, making use of communications training from the Decolonizing Wealth Project
- 3) Sessions on Spiritual Grounding for Healing and Sustainability
- 4) Organizational sessions to plan advocacy actions, as needed

GOAL THREE: PRODUCE HIGH-QUALITY COMMUNICATIONS MATERIALS

Objective 3.1: Produce materials that support the need and opportunities for restorative justice for Lakeland. Highlight how restorative justice actions will, at the same time, enhance the well-being and quality of life for all of College Park.

- 1) “For Love of Lakeland” Facebook page
- 2) Social Media Posts on various platforms
- 3) Production and posting of short videos
- 4) Production and distribution of brochures
- 5) Article writing and blog posting
- 6) Contacts and conversations with journalists

Objective 3.2: Conduct personal communications and relationship building through participation in national conferences, retreats, consultations, on-line meetings. Create events that can bring nationally recognized leaders to Lakeland.

Restorative Justice for Lakeland 2025 Goals and Objectives © 2024 by Richael Faithful, Esq. and Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker, [The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy](https://www.braxtoninstitute.org) is licensed under [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

The Braxton Institute co-creates collective strategies to repair and heal harms and traumas of historically oppressed communities and to lift up legacies of resistance and joy. For more information, visit www.braxtoninstitute.org.



Sustainability, Resiliency, Joy

LAKELAND'S FIVE PILLARS OF BELOVED COMMUNITY

Background

From 1900-1970, before it was devastated by “Urban Renewal,” Lakeland, the Beloved Community, was a thriving, close-knit African American neighborhood, founded as a self-sustaining town whose citizens worked together for generations to build a vibrant and strong community. Neighbors cared for neighbors in an atmosphere of trust and respect; they watched over one another and all the children. They created security and rootedness. “We were loved,” one descendant said, and “we were safe.”

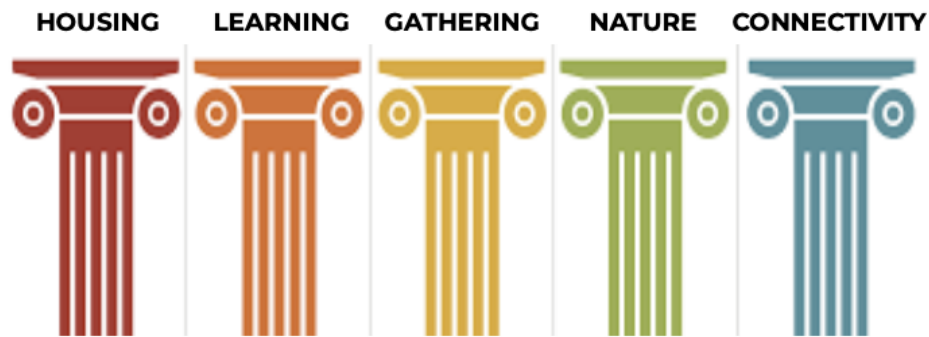
In the spring of 2024, The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency and Joy, in partnership with College Park Restorative Justice Commission, the Lakeland Community Historical Project and other community organizations sponsored a series of community gatherings in Lakeland, Maryland (now incorporated into College Park). The gatherings included “Men of Lakeland Tell Their Stories” held at Embury A.M.E. church, a Town Hall with Dr. Mindy Fullilove, book discussions, a time for confidential sharing of Lakelanders’ experiences, and culminated in a convening of a representative group of Lakeland leaders to forge a consensus on “Restorative Actions Priorities” (RAPs).

The Five Pillars

From the stories and testimonies of Lakelanders, five recurring themes emerged that describe the strength and vitality of the Lakeland Community before “Urban Renewal”. Dr. Mindy Fullilove, an expert on social psychiatry, observed that these “Five Pillars” – housing, learning, gathering, nature, and connectivity – represent all the necessary components of a healthy urban habitat.

Restorative Justice should aim to repair and restore these five pillars. “Put them back!” These five pillars work together, all are needed, and all are important for the whole city.

www.braxtoninstitute.org



HOUSING – affordable for families with children, adults, and elders; built with character and style, often by their own hands.

LEARNING – culturally appropriate schools where black children received an excellent education; youth organizations where youth learned strong values and leadership skills from their elders

GATHERING – ample spaces indoor and out for people to gather for community events, picnics and parties; vibrant churches, civic organizations, and clubs.

NATURE – access to the Lake and woods; big yards with gardens, fruit trees, and farm animals for producing healthy, fresh food.

CONNECTIVITY – economic interchange with one another, local, black owned retail businesses that served everyday needs; easy connection to the wider metro area through public transportation on the trolley car and points up and down the east coast through the train station.

Lakeland's Five Pillars of Beloved Community © 2024 by Rev. Dr. Rebecca Ann Parker, [The Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency & Joy](#) is licensed under [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0](#).

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Outreach with the University of Maryland

Dates	Meeting summaries
August 20, 2024	In attendance: Dr. Georgina Dodge, Maxine Gross, and Linda J. Mann. The discussion was centered around restorative justice for Lakeland. Restorative Justice: Past actions have included an apology from the Mayor and City Council and the formation of a Restorative Justice Steering Committee aimed at understanding the community's history and the impacts of urban renewal, particularly regarding employment, education, and housing disparities. University Role and Responsibility: The conversation highlighted the negative effects of urban renewal and the role the university played in prioritizing student housing over community needs. It also pointed out the educational disparities and proposed that the university support local schools and create funding opportunities to foster a more equitable environment. University Engagement: Dr. Dodge shared her extensive experience in diversity, equity, and inclusion, noting the university's awareness of the restorative justice process and interest from various departments. The importance of clear goals and collective efforts was emphasized, along with the need for the university to acknowledge its responsibilities in this process.
October 16, 2024	In attendance: Dr. Georgina Dodge, Maxine Gross, Jessica Avila, Linda J. Mann. Dr. Dodge emphasized her efforts to raise awareness about repair initiatives in the Lakeland community, focusing on the University of Maryland's (UMD) potential involvement. Key points included advocating for scholarships for Lakelanders, addressing employment and compensation disparities faced by Lakelanders working at the university, and acknowledging historical harms and housing challenges. Collaborative initiatives were highlighted, including Dr. Dodge and Maxine Gross' roles on the Advisory Board for the university's 1856 Project, as well as the Research Incubator that fosters partnerships between campus and community researchers. Since 2018, various programs have contributed to the Lakeland Digital Archives, and the College Park Community Preservation Trust has been actively pursuing affordable homeownership since 2023. Additional community-centered heritage and archaeology projects are planned for 2024, alongside UMD graduate students' restorative justice reports from 2022 and 2023. Housing discussions centered on the efforts by the Trust to promote affordable options and concerns about land ownership that could impact the community. Community members expressed the need for the right of first refusal and restrictions on development along U.S. Route

	1. The work on the Lakeland Digital Archives continues, alongside the recent appointment of Dr. Tania D. Mitchell as UMD's first Associate Provost for Community Engagement.
April 14, 2025	In attendance: Dr. Georgina Dodge, Gloria Aparicio Blackwell, Dr. Tania Mitchell, Jessie Avila, and Linda J. Mann. The agenda centered on restorative justice and engagement with the university. UMD representatives were asked if they had any questions or responses to the February 15 Milestone Report. AARN requested insights to facilitate more informed discussions in the community. AARN wanted to ensure that UMD representatives would be present at the Workshop Series. UMD's participation would be crucial for fostering open dialogue and collaboration. These workshops represented a vital platform for discussing the impacts of existing policies and practices while working towards meaningful solutions through consensus on restorative justice actions.
May 12, 2025	In attendance: Dr. Georgina Dodge, Gloria Aparicio Blackwell, Dr. Tania Mitchell, Jessie Avila, and Linda J. Mann. A meeting was held between UMD and AARN to advance discussion on restorative justice for the Lakeland community. The agenda included AARN acknowledging UMD's contributions, an overview of the Workshop Series scheduled for May 15 and June 9, UMD's participation in the education breakout group, and a discussion on UMD's resources and capacity. The May 15 workshop will focus on information sharing and include breakout groups on specific themes related to restorative justice.

Other Significant Restorative Justice Meetings

Event flyers can be found here: https://linktr.ee/AARN_Lakeland

- Community Listening Session on September 25, 2024
- Lakeland Town Halls featuring guest speaker Justin Hansford, J.D. on January 28 and 29, 2025



Lakeland community members, City of College Park officials, University of Maryland staff, and Howard Law students attend the evening session of the Town Hall held on January 29, 2025.

- Focus group discussion on transportation on February 19, 2025
- Interviews on education on March 3, 2025 and April 11, 2025
- Convening on Housing and Repair on April 4, 2025
- Pre-Workshop Community Meeting on May 7, 2025
- Workshop Series on May 15, 2025 and June 9, 2025



Representatives of the Lakeland community, the City of College Park, Prince George's County, the University of Maryland, and Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission engaged in policymaking discussions for restorative justice in Lakeland on June 9, 2025.

Historiography Timeline

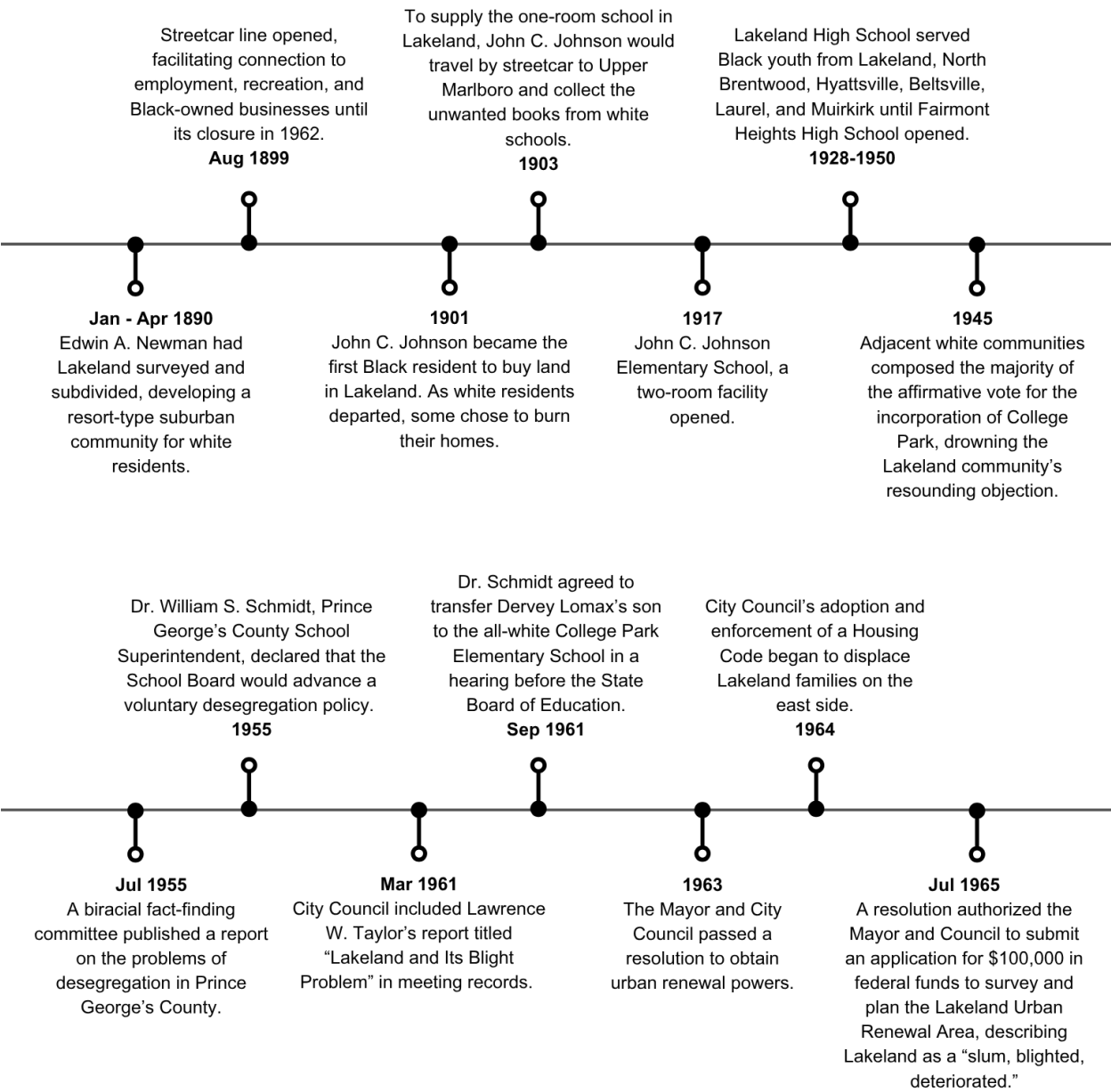


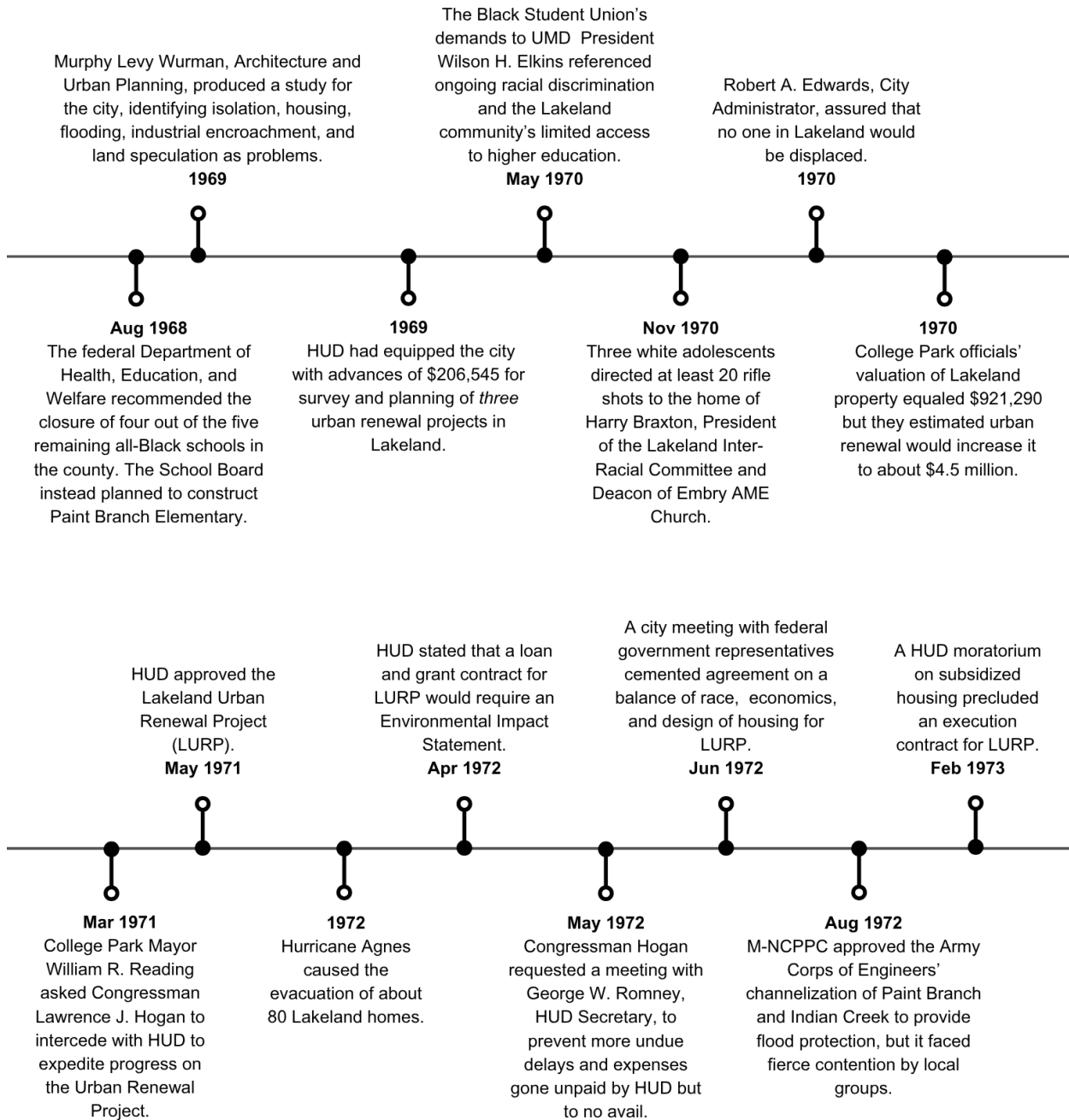
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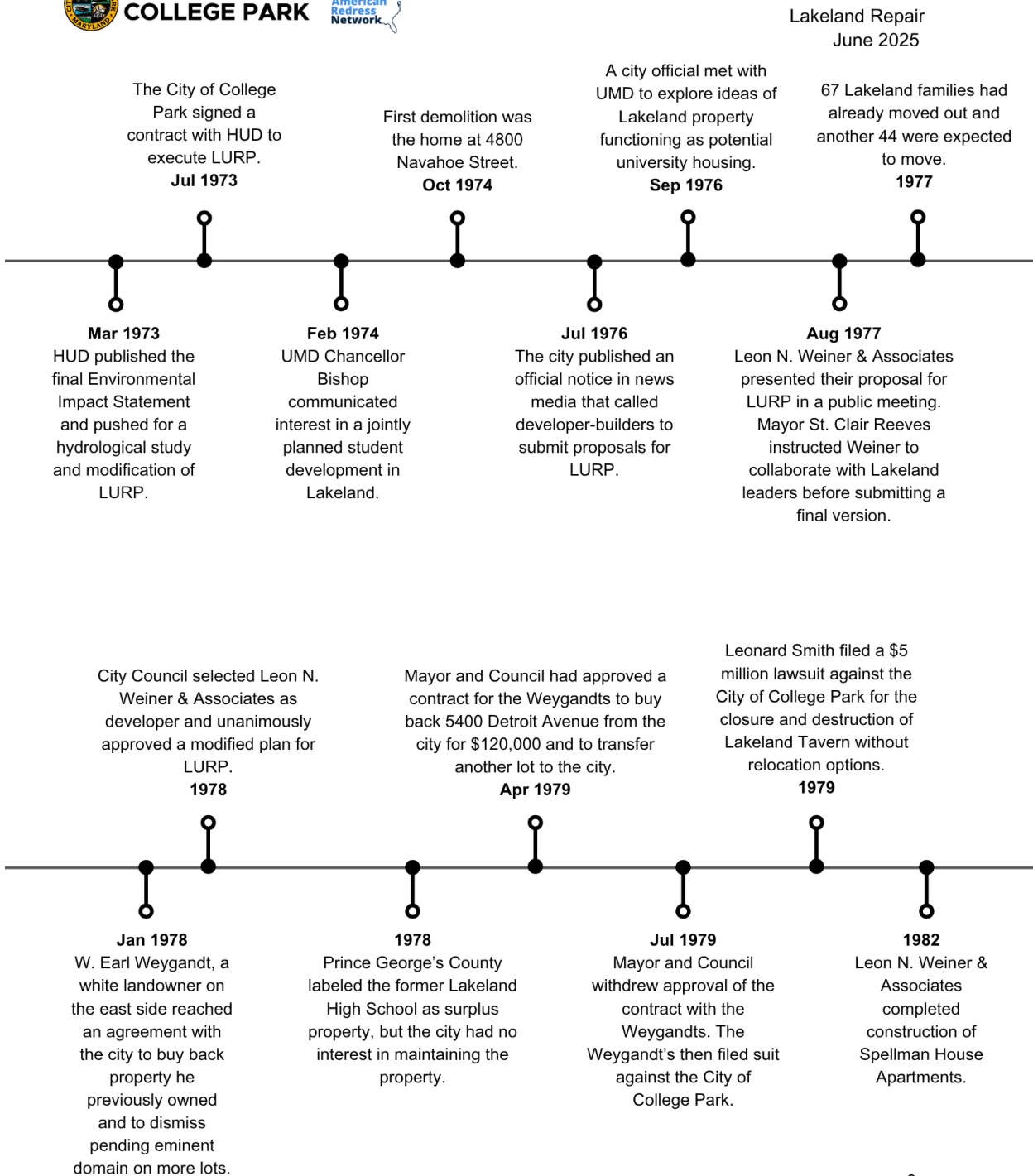


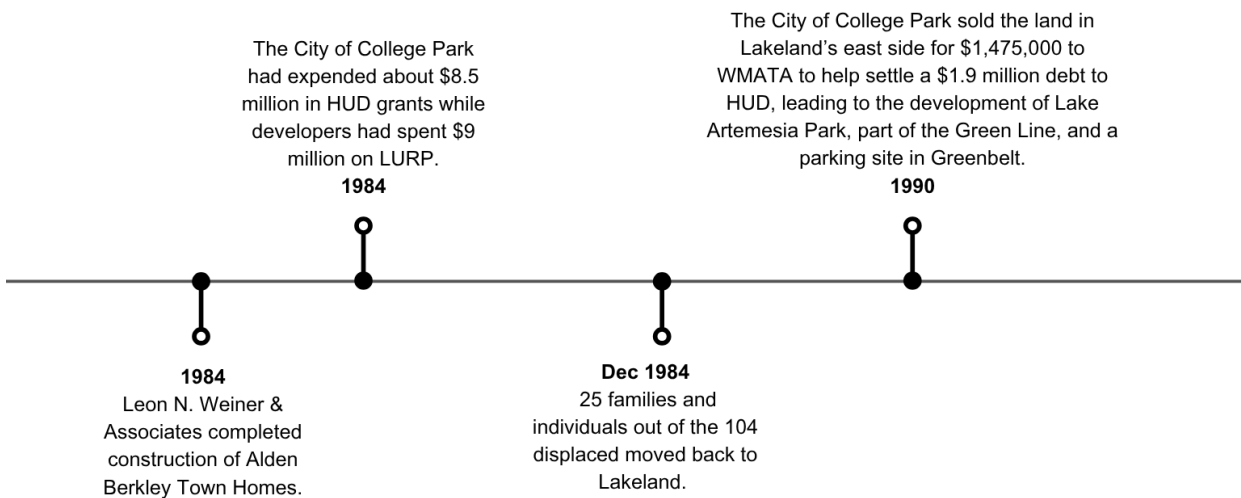
Lakeland Repair
June 2025

Historiography Timeline

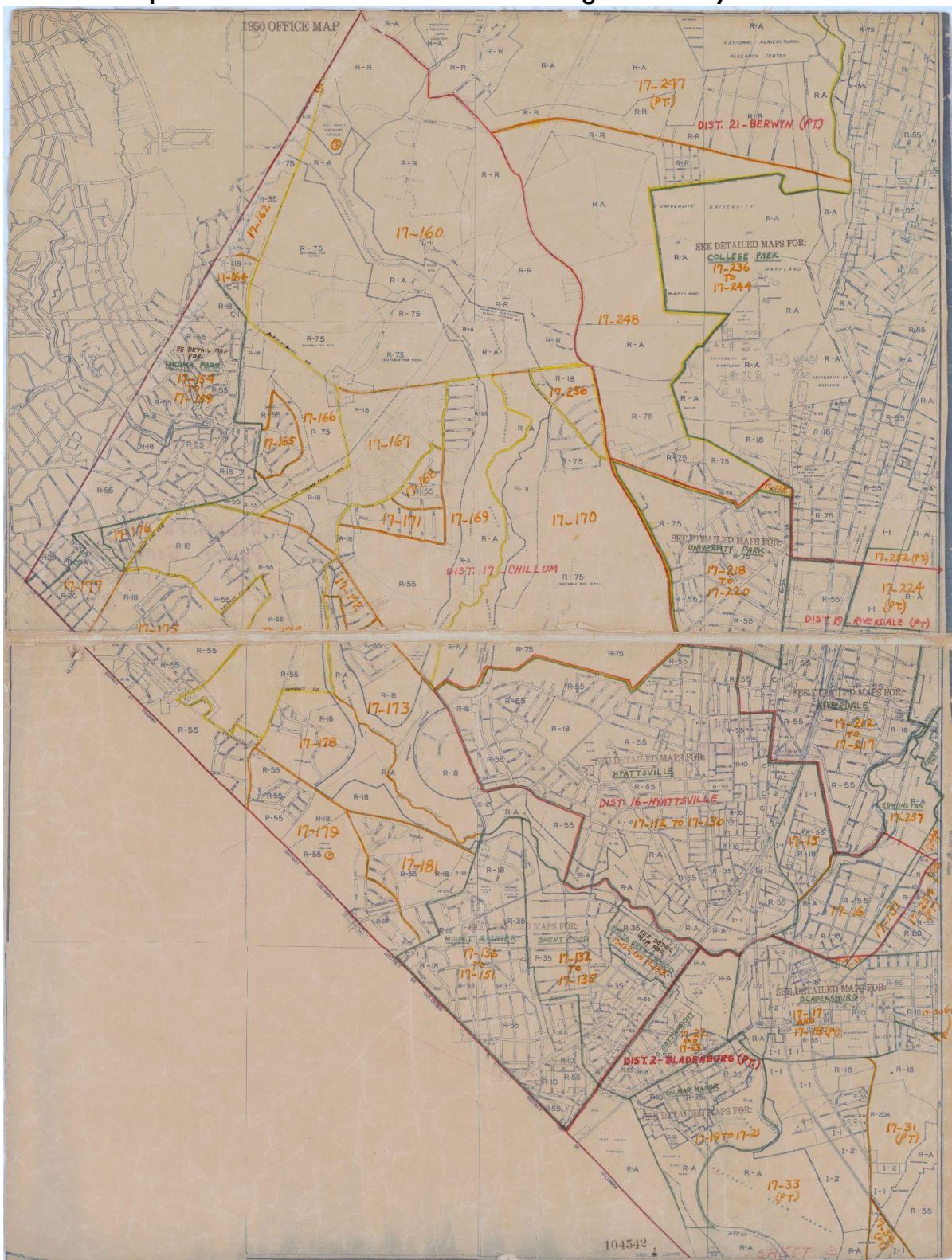








1950 Office Map for the U.S. Census in Prince George's County¹¹⁹³



¹¹⁹³ 1950 Office Map (Maryland, Prince George's: 1950 Census, 1950),
<https://1950census.archives.gov/search/?county=Prince%20George%27s&page=1&state=MD#>.

Additional Reparative Policy Recommendations



CITY OF
COLLEGE PARK



Lakeland Repair
May 2025

Housing Repair

- Land Banks : Use or create land banks for property transfers.
- Return Program : Establish housing support for returning Lakelanders.
- Grants : Provide housing grants funded by local cannabis taxes.
- Income Programs : Develop income-generating and land-based initiatives.
- Homeownership : Increase homeownership rates from 40% closer to the statewide average of 71%.
- Policy Rights : Grant residents the right of first refusal on property sales and regulate investor purchases to prevent displacement.
- Occupancy Regulations : Limit the number of unrelated occupants in homes.
- Financial Education : Enhance financial literacy and grant access for home acquisition.
- Purchase Parkside Apartment to provide new housing
- Have Spellman House and Alden Berkley town homes go to community corporation or operated as co-opts.

Education Repair

- Preserve school records, yearbooks, and teaching materials.
- Establish a research center for scholars and community members.
- Educate youth about local history with a Lakeland curriculum covering community development and notable figures.
- Create a repository for educational artifacts.
- Develop platforms to share community stories, emphasizing educational contributions
- Provide grants for counselors and social workers at Paint Branch Elementary.
- Explore free undergraduate education at the University of Maryland.
- Funding and access to Graduate programs for Lakeland.
- Enhance STEM support and career exposure.
- Create a school discipline diversion program.
- Preserve academic heritage and achievements.
- Develop mentorship programs and grants
- Revise the Lakeland Stars Program
- Develop exhibits and programs at the cultural center to teach local history and celebrate contributions.
- Install educational signage at the pocket park on Pierce Avenue and advocate for community garden plants that reflect local food production traditions.
- Provide trade school/vocational training scholarships.

Transportation Repair

- Expand shuttle routes in partnership with the University of Maryland.
- Introduce a "Lakeland pass" for free/reduced fare for residents.
- Collaborate with Prince George's County to create routes based on community surveys that connect to existing networks.
- Install heated bus shelters.
- Develop services for elderly and mobility-limited residents, including senior bus programs.
- Regularly survey residents on transportation needs
- Add bus stops near Rhode Island Avenue.
- Ensure routes connect to existing transportation networks.
- Explore use of low-speed vehicles (go carts, scooters).
- Regularly survey residents about transportation needs.

Preservation Repair

- Purchase Lakeland High School if available, to convert it into a museum/cultural center honoring its legacy and serving as a community hub.
- Support the Lakeland Community Heritage Project in documenting history, collecting oral histories, and preserving artifacts.
- Work with local government and organizations to designate historic landmarks like Lakeland High School and local churches.
- Community Partnerships:
- Collaborate with businesses and nonprofits to host events and activities that highlight local identity.
- Secure grants, donations, and community fundraising for a commemorative structure in Lakeland.

Health/Environment Repair

- Restore access to Lake Artemesia from Lakeland.
- Bury the power lines and bring more solar to Lakeland

Community Repair

- Pop ups with food and refreshments at Lake Artemesia.
- Third places where people feel comfortable gathering.
- Community Trust for Lakeland descendants.

Recommendations for the Lakeland Urban Renewal Project¹¹⁹⁴



Volume , Number OPEN LETTER NOVEMBER 17, 1977

TO: MAYOR & COUNCIL
CITY OF COLLEGE PARK
COLLEGE PARK, MD.

FOLLOWING THE SUGGESTION OF P.G. COUNTY DELEGATES: PARRIS GLENDENING, AND FRANK CASULA, I APPOINTED A COMMITTEE TO STUDY ALL THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED IN REGARD TO THE URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AND COME UP WITH ONE LAST AND FINAL LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PROJECT AREA. (OUR COMMUNITY), DURING OUR PAST P.A.C. REGULAR MEETING, WHICH WAS HELD ON NOVEMBER 7, 1977. THIS ACTION WAS TAKEN AFTER P.A.C. MEMBERS GAVE US: COUNCILMAN CARROLL AND THE P.A.C. OFFICIALS A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE; THAT WE WERE PROCEEDING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION TO GET THE THINGS WE WANT AND NEED IN THE PROJECT. IT WAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT WE BRING IT TO YOUR ATTENTION THAT THIS IS THE FOURTH SET OF RECOMMENDATIONS THAT HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO YOU ON THIS PROJECT.

TO GET A BROAD COVERAGE OF THE RESIDENTS, I APPOINTED THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE:

1. CHARLES CARROLL - COUNCILMAN
2. LEONARD SMITH - P.A.C. CHAIRMAN
3. CHARLES SMITH - PRESIDENT/TENANT ASSOC.
COMMANDER/AMER. LEGION POST #140
4. REV. TAYLOR - PASTOR OF EMBURY A.M.E. CHURCH
5. MARY HOLLOMAND - FORMER COMMUNITY COORDINATOR
6. MARY BRAXTON - CHAIRWOMAN/HOUSING COMMITTEE
7. RUTH LANCASTER - SENIOR CITIZEN REP.
8. DONALD BRISCOE - HOME-OWNER REP.
9. SHIRLEY BROWN - PRESENT COMMUNITY COORDINATOR
REP./YOUNG ADULTS

P.A.C. AUTHORIZED THIS COMMITTEE TO FORWARD IT'S RECOMMENDATIONS IMMEDIATELY TO THE APPROPRIATE PARTIES. THIS COMMITTEE HAS RECOMMENDED FOR CLEARANCE AREA WEST.

1. NO HIGH RISE OR MID RISE RENTAL APARTMENTS BE BUILT IN THIS AREA
2. A SENIOR CITIZEN'S BUILDING BE CONSTRUCTED BUT, AT 4 - 5 STORY LEVEL AND THE MANAGEMENT OF STATED BUILDING BE GIVEN TO THE COLLEGE PARK AUTHORITY.
3. PUBLIC HOUSING SHOULD BE SCATTERED THROUGH-OUT THE PROJECT AREA AND BE LIMITED TO 24 UNITS.
4. A SMALL COMMERCIAL AREA SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNITY.
5. SPACES BE PROVIDED FOR FATERMAL AND RELTGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE INDICATED THEIR READINESS TO RELOCATE AND BUILD.
6. MANY, MANY, MORE SINGLE FAMILY HOMES (ATTACHED DETACHED HOMES BE BUILT).
7. AT LEAST 3 OUT-LETS FROM ROUTE #1, LAKELAND ROAD, NAVAHOE STREET, AND BERWYN HOUSE ROAD BE LEFT OPEN.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONSERVATION AREA:

1. ALL BUILDABLE LOTS BE DEVELOPED WITH SINGLE-FAMILY DETACHED HOMES.
2. PROVIDE A RECREATION AREA IN THE CONSERVATION AREA.
3. ACQUIRE THE LAKELAND SPECIAL CENTER WHEN IT BECOMES AVAILABLE.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CLEARANCE AREA EAST:

1. REQUEST THAT THE PARK & PLANNING COMMISSION DEVELOP LARG ARTEMISTA INTO A PARK AREA.
2. THE LAND IN THIS CLEARANCE AREA EAST BE DEVELOPED INTO AN INDUSTRIAL PARK.(I-3)
3. THE RR CROSSING SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO FORBID VEHICLE TRAFFIC OVER A CERTAIN WEIGHT LIMIT TO ENTER THE CONSERVATION AREA.