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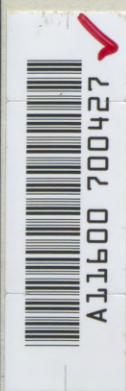
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HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS AND RECREATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
S. 835 and H.R. 5968
BILLS TO ESTABLISH THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME



OCTOBER 17, 1969



Printed for the use of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

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CONTENTS

	Page
S. 835.....	1
Departmental reports:	
Department of the Budget.....	3
Department of the Interior.....	2
H.R. 5968.....	3
Report by the House of Representatives, 91st Cong., 1st sess., amending the act establishing the Frederick Douglass Home.....	4
Report by the House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 2d sess., on the establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home, approved Sep- tember 5, 1962.....	14

STATEMENTS

Anderson, Reverend Jesse.....	57
Anderson, Stanley J., councilman, District of Columbia City Council.....	34
Carter, Franklin, Richmond, Va., and letter to Senator Bible dated October 17, 1969.....	49
Case, Hon. Clifford P., a U.S. Senator from the State of New Jersey.....	32
Coates, Rev. James E., president, District of Columbia Board of Educa- tion.....	36
Davis, Mrs. Alice, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.....	54
Ellis, William L., Columbia Historical Society, at the request of its presi- dent, Dr. Homer T. Rosenberger.....	47
Frazier, Rev. Samuel, Jr., member, District of Columbia Human Relations Commission.....	34
Gregory, Mary, president, Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association.....	38
Hamilton, Jesse H., chairman, board of directors, Frederick Douglass United Community Center, Inc.....	45
Hart, Hon. Philip A., a U.S. Senator from the State of Michigan.....	29
Hartzog, George P., Jr., director, National Park Service.....	11
Jenkins, Mrs. Howard, Jr., national cochairman, Social Action Committee, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.....	50
Knorr, Mrs. Janice, Friends of Frederick Douglass Committee.....	47
Moses, Sibyl E., legislative representative, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.....	41
Moten, Claude, Douglass Junior High School.....	53
Ollison, Myrtle, president, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.....	43
Perry, Aaron, Jr., Black Drama, Inc.....	53
Phillips, Rev. Channing E., National Committeeman for the District of Columbia.....	56
Pope, Mrs. Mary E., Washington, D.C.....	56
Scott, Hon. Hugh, a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.....	33
Smallwood, Lillian G., Capital Headstart teacher, Anacostia.....	52
Thompson, Mrs. Llewelyn.....	40
Wesley, Dr. Charles, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History..	44

REPORT

The following report was prepared by the Committee on the part of the Board of Directors of the American Association of Economic Geologists, in response to a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Association at St. Louis, Missouri, December 29, 1907.

The Committee was organized on January 1, 1908, and has since that time been engaged in a study of the subject of the economic geology of the United States. It has held numerous public hearings, and has received many suggestions from the public and from the scientific community. It has also conducted extensive research into the various problems connected with the economic geology of the United States.

The results of its study are set forth in this report, which is divided into two main parts. The first part deals with the general principles of economic geology, and the second part deals with the specific problems of the United States.

The first part of the report is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of economic geology. It deals with the various factors which enter into the production of minerals, and with the various methods of mining. It also discusses the various problems connected with the distribution and use of minerals.

The second part of the report is devoted to a discussion of the specific problems of the United States. It deals with the various mineral resources of the United States, and with the various problems connected with their production and use. It also discusses the various problems connected with the distribution and use of minerals.

The report is intended to be a guide to the public and to the scientific community, and to be a basis for the formulation of public policy. It is the hope of the Committee that it will be of service to the public and to the scientific community.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1969

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS AND RECREATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 3110, New Senate Office Building, Senator Alan Bible (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Bible, Allott, and Bellmon.

Senator BIBLE. The hearing will come to order.

This is the time that we have regularly noticed to take testimony on the two bills, one a Senate bill introduced by Senator Hart, of Michigan, who has been a longtime advocate and greatly interested in the establishing of the Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the park system in the National Capital.

A similar bill passed the House on October 6. It differs from the Senate bill only in the amount proposed to be authorized to carry out the purposes of the proposal.

Both bills, as introduced, authorize the sum of \$450,000. The House version, as now before us, has been amended, reducing the amount to \$413,000.

As it was passed in 1962, the bill provided for an expenditure of \$25,000 to rehabilitate and refurbish the Frederick Douglass Home known as Cedar Hills. Very obviously, a serious miscalculation of cost must have been made at that time in view of the present estimate of 17 times as much. I will listen with keen interest to the justification.

I am sure the Park Service is prepared to present such justification.

We will make a part of the record, Mr. Reporter, the reports of the executive agency; the House Report 91-540 will also be made a part of the record at this point.

(The documents above referred to follow:)

[S. 835, 91st Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To amend the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes", approved September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated not more than \$450,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill in furtherance of the purposes of this Act."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1969.

Hon. HENRY M. JACKSON,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your Committee has requested this Department's views on S. 835, a bill "To amend the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital."

We recommend that the bill be enacted with one amendment.

The Frederick Douglass home was established as part of the park system of the National Capital by the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435). It authorized the appropriation of not more than \$25,000 for repairing and refurbishing the home of this famous educator. The present bill would increase the appropriation authorization to \$450,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill.

Only a surface examination had been made of the Frederick Douglass home at the time the 1962 Act was passed. This examination indicated that the house was structurally sound. It was anticipated at that time that donated funds would cover any costs in excess of the amount authorized to be appropriated in the 1962 Act. However, donations have not been forthcoming, and it now appears only small donations, if any, can be expected in the future.

When the Department assumed control of the Frederick Douglass home on June 25, 1964, an intensive study was made of the interior structure of the home. The study revealed that structural members of the building had decomposed to such extent that it would be unsafe to permit the public to enter the home. Such decomposition is apparently the result of termite and water damage or dry rot, and it is now proceeding rapidly.

In addition, we learned after the Department assumed control of the home that damage to the roof of the house in 1958 by Hurricane Hazel and in 1962 by another storm resulted in serious water damage to furnishings such as floor coverings, draperies, paintings, and furniture. The roof had been repaired after these storms and the damage to the furnishings was not readily apparent. The damage was discovered in our recent intensive studies of the home, which revealed that the furnishings of the house will require extensive restoration before they can be placed on public display again.

The condition of the grounds around the home has also deteriorated in recent years. We believe the grounds must be improved to make the site suitable for an interpretative program and for public enjoyment.

The \$25,000 authorized in the 1962 Act has already been appropriated. Of that sum \$12,959 has been obligated as follows:

Historical research.....	\$3, 000
Plans, surveys and supervision.....	4, 250
Removal and storage of mantel, mirrors and other items of historic interest.....	1, 375
Miscellaneous expenses such as pest control, removal of items not associated with the original structure and repairs to prevent further deterioration.....	4, 334
Total.....	12, 959

After a careful analysis of the home and the surrounding grounds, we find that an additional \$463,000 beyond the approximately \$13,000 already obligated, is required to enable the Department to repair and refurbish the home. The additional costs are as follows:

1. \$62,800 for repair of the furnishings;
2. \$17,200 for exhibits and interpretive devices;
3. \$40,000 for the historic road leading to the home, additional foot trails and a parking area; and
4. \$343,000 for general restoration of the interior and exterior of the home including the utility system, the heating system and related research.

These cost figures are based on January 1969 estimates. In order to refurbish Cedar Hill along the lines indicated above, it will be necessary to raise the dollar limitation from \$450,000 to \$476,000. We recommend the following amendment:

On page 1, line 9, change "\$450,000" to "\$476,000".

The amendment raises the appropriation limitation which applies only to repairing and refurbishing, rather than, for example, annual administrative, opera-

tion, and maintenance costs which are a recurring expense under the original legislation of 1962 providing for inclusion of the Frederick Douglass home in the park system of the National Capital.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., June 18, 1969.

Hon. HENRY M. JACKSON,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reply to your request for the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 835, a bill "To amend the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital."

The Bureau of the Budget would have no objection to the enactment of S. 835.

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED H. ROMMEL,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

[H.R. 5968, 91st Cong., first sess.]

AN ACT To amend the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes", approved September 5, 1962

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes", approved September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than \$413,000, as may be needed for the restoration and development of buildings and grounds at Cedar Hill."

Passed the House of Representatives October 6, 1969.

Attest:

W. PAT JENNINGS,
Clerk.

AMENDING THE ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME AS A PART OF THE PARK SYSTEM IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES", APPROVED SEPTEMBER 5, 1962

SEPTEMBER 30, 1969.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. TAYLOR, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 5968]

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 5968) to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes", approved September 5, 1962, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

Page 1, beginning on line 8, strike out all of section 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Sec. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than \$413,000, as may be needed for the restoration and development of buildings and grounds at Cedar Hill.

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 5968, by Representative Diggs, and eight companion bills by Representatives Chisholm (H.R. 9359 and H.R. 11928), Dulski (H.R. 12293), Roybal (H.R. 12385), McClory (H.R. 12480), Adams (H.R. 12830), Conyers (H.R. 12872), and Horton (H.R. 13009) is to authorize increased appropriations for the restoration and development of the Frederick Douglass Home in order that this memorial to an outstanding American may be used and enjoyed by the general public.

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

In 1962, the Congress considered and enacted legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to designate the former home of Frederick Douglass, known as Cedar Hill, for preservation as a part of the park system of the National Capital (Public Law 87-633, 76 Stat. 435). Subsequently, on June 25, 1964, the house, located at 1411 W Street, SE., and approximately 8 acres of land were deeded, without cost, to the Federal Government by the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association.

At the time of the authorization, it was recognized that extensive repairs might be necessary. The committee report on the legislation (H. Rept. 2190—87th Cong.) stated that "Cedar Hill appears to be structurally sound but it is badly in need of repairs"; however, the funds authorized to be appropriated to rehabilitate and refurbish it were limited to \$25,000. It was anticipated that additional costs might very likely be incurred, but it was hoped that they could be absorbed from donated funds expected to be raised for this purpose. Unfortunately, both premises upon which the modest authorization was founded proved faulty. First, an intensive study revealed extensive deterioration of the structure due to damage caused by water and insects and, second, the anticipated donations never materialized.

The result of these regrettable, but unforeseeable, circumstances has been that Cedar Hill has been closed to the public, that it is continuing to deteriorate, and that the objective of the Congress in making it a part of the national park system has been thwarted. If enacted, H.R. 5968 will rectify the situation and enable the National Park Service to make it a meaningful and useful park facility.

NEED

No action which the Congress can take can make a place in history for any man. That, he must do for himself. But the Congress can, by legislative action such as this, recognize the significance of a man's contributions and, in so doing, it can help to make them meaningful examples for the guidance and inspiration of generations to follow. It is highly appropriate that the Congress should commemorate the memory of Frederick Douglass. He was the kind of man who should be remembered.

Frederick Douglass was born a slave; he struggled for his liberty. A Negro, he suffered all of the torments of the people of his race, but he converted his frustrations into constructive energy which was the driving force of his character. Raised in ignorance, he educated himself; reared in complete poverty, his industry brought him wealth and independence; lacking in social standing, he became one of the foremost orators and powerful writers of his age. Facing all of the prejudices against his race in his times, he became a champion in the political arena. All of this did not come without effort or hardship, but it came because his ideals were unimpeachable and his methods of achieving them were compatible with the American system.

Cedar Hill is symbolic of the achievements of this 19th century leader. It sits on the crest of a hill in a residential neighborhood of the Anacostia section of the District of Columbia. With proper

development of appropriate visitor facilities (including a visitor contact station, parking space, and the like, it could be a significant unit of the park system in the National Capital region. Through interpretive devices, this man and his contributions could assume their proper place in the historic panorama depicted by the various historic sites located throughout the Nation and visitors of all ages and races could benefit from the experience associated with a tour of the home.

Although the extensive restoration contemplated by H.R. 5968 was not the objective of the original act in 1962, it is apparent that minor repairs will not adequately improve the property to make it useful as an interpretive historic facility. It is now unsafe for visitors to enter the house, because of the deterioration of the structural members, and most of the furnishings and memorabilia associated with Frederick Douglass have been removed to protect them from destruction. If the site is to be useful, a new approach is essential; a smaller investment would be inadequate to accomplish the objective.

COST

To provide a meaningful facility, it will be necessary to restore completely the buildings and grounds so that they reflect Cedar Hill as Frederick Douglass knew it. This will involve the reconstruction of the carriage approach to the house, the installation of new heating and utility systems, and the general restoration of the interior and exterior of the home. In addition, the plan for the site includes the construction of a visitor contact station and the installation of modern interpretive devices.

All of these undertakings require substantial sums of money. H.R. 5968, as recommended, increases the authorization for this purpose from the present \$25,000 limitation to \$413,000—an increase of \$388,000. On the basis of current estimates, this should make the Frederick Douglass home a most attractive memorial to an outstanding American.

AMENDMENT

The committee amendment revises the language of section 4 so that the funds authorized to be appropriated accurately reflect the amount expected to be expended for major improvements at the site. While the ceiling proposed in H.R. 5968 and in the departmental report both exceed the committee recommendation, it should be noted that the reduction reflects the exclusion of funds estimated to be needed for repairing and storing furnishings and other costs generally attributable to maintenance. Since these costs are not usually charged against the authorization ceiling, the committee considers it inappropriate to include such costs in this legislation.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs recommends the enactment of H.R. 5968, as amended.

DEPARTMENTAL REPORT

The favorable report of the Department of the Interior, together with the views of the Government of the District of Columbia are as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1969.

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
*Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your committee has requested this Department's views on H.R. 5968, a bill to amend the act entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes," approved September 5, 1962.

We recommend that the bill be enacted with one amendment.

The Frederick Douglass home was established as part of the park system of the National Capital by the act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435). It authorized the appropriation of not more than \$25,000 for repairing and refurbishing the home of this famous educator. The present bill would increase the appropriation authorization to \$450,000 for repairing and refurnishing Cedar Hill.

Only a surface examination had been made of the Frederick Douglass home at the time the 1962 act was passed. This examination indicated that the house was structurally sound. It was anticipated at that time that donated funds would cover any costs in excess of the amount authorized to be appropriated in the 1962 act. However, donations have not been forthcoming, and it now appears only small donations, if any, can be expected in the future.

When the Department assumed control of the Frederick Douglass home on June 25, 1964, an intensive study was made of the interior structure of the home. The study revealed that structural members of the building had decomposed to such extent that it would be unsafe to permit the public to enter the home. Such decomposition is apparently the result of termite and water damage or dry rot, and it is now proceeding rapidly.

In addition, we learned after the Department assumed control of the home that damage to the roof of the house in 1958 by Hurricane Hazel and in 1962 by another storm resulted in serious water damage to furnishings such as floor coverings, draperies, paintings, and furniture. The roof had been repaired after these storms and the damage to the furnishings was not readily apparent. The damage was discovered in our recent intensive studies of the home, which revealed that the furnishings of the house will require extensive restoration before they can be placed on public display again.

The condition of the grounds around the home has also deteriorated in recent years. We believe the grounds must be improved to make the site suitable for an interpretative program and for public enjoyment.

The \$25,000 authorized in the 1962 act has already been appropriated. Of that sum \$12,959 has been obligated as follows:

Historical research.....	\$3, 000
Plans, surveys, and supervision.....	4, 250
Removal and storage of mantel, mirrors, and other items of historic interest.....	1, 375
Miscellaneous expenses such as pest control, removal of items not associated with the original structure, and repairs to prevent further deterioration.....	4, 334
Total.....	12, 959

After a careful analysis of the home and the surrounding grounds, we find that an additional \$463,000, beyond the approximately \$13,000 already obligated, is required to enable the Department to repair and refurbish the home. The additional costs are as follows:

1. \$62,800 for repair of the furnishings;
2. \$17,200 for exhibits and interpretive devices;
3. \$40,000 for the historic road leading to the home, additional foot trails and a parking area; and
4. \$343,000 for general restoration of the interior and exterior of the home including the utility system, the heating system, and related research.

These cost figures are based on January 1969 estimates. In order to refurbish Cedar Hill along the lines indicated above, it will be necessary to raise the dollar limitation from \$450,000 to \$476,000. We recommend the following amendment:

On page 1, line 9, delete "\$450,000 to carry out" and insert in lieu thereof "\$476,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill in furtherance of."

The amendment raises the appropriation limitation and, further, makes clear that the appropriation limitation applies only to repairing and refurbishing, rather than, for example, annual administrative, operation, and maintenance costs which are a recurring expense under the original legislation of 1962 providing for inclusion of the Frederick Douglass home in the park system of the National Capital.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1969.

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
*Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. ASPINALL: The government of the District of Columbia has for report H.R. 5968, 91st Congress, a bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes," approved September 5, 1962.

Under the original act providing for the establishment of the former home of Frederick Douglass as part of the park system in the District

of Columbia (act approved Sept. 5, 1962; Public Law 87-633; 76 Stat. 435), there was authorized to be appropriated not more than \$25,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill, as the former home of Frederick Douglass, located at 1411 W Street SE, Washington, D.C., is known. H.R. 5968 amends the 1962 act to increase this authorization to allow for a maximum appropriation of "not more than \$450,000 to carry out the purposes of this act."

Although the government of the District of Columbia favors in principle the restoration of the former home of Frederick Douglass, it believes that since this historical site is to be a part of the National Capital park system, administered by the Department of the Interior, the District government should defer to the views of the Secretary of the Interior with respect to the degree of repairing and refurbishing deemed necessary in this matter.

It is the understanding of the government of the District of Columbia that the cost of such repair and refurbishing will be borne by the Department of the Interior.

The government of the District of Columbia has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant to the Commissioner
 (For Walter E. Washington, *Commissioner*).

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In compliance with clause 3 of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

ACT OF SEPTEMBER 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435)

That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to designate, for preservation as a part of the park system in the National Capital, the former home of Frederick Douglass located at 1411 W Street, Washington, District of Columbia, and known as Cedar Hill, to be described by metes and bounds, so as to exclude that part of the original fourteen acres which is presently leased to the Glen Garden as a housing development, together with such land, interests in land, and improvements thereon as he may deem necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act: *Provided*, That the area so designated shall not exceed fourteen acres.

SECTION 2. When the land, the Frederick Douglass home, and such objects therein of historical significance as the Secretary of the Interior may designate have been donated to the United States,

establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital shall be effected by publication of notice in the Federal Register.

SEC. 3. Upon the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, the home shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior and shall be subject to the provisions of the act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented, and the act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes", approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), as amended.

[SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated not more than \$25,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill in order to accomplish the purposes of this Act.]

Sec. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than \$413,000, as may be needed for the restoration and development of buildings and grounds at Cedar Hill.

Senator BIBLE. We have a long list of witnesses, and I would certainly suggest to those who are listed as a witness, if you agree and do not have differing viewpoints, I do not think there is any particular need of cumulative evidence, using a legal phrase, in support of this legislation. I think we are convinced that this is a very worthwhile project, to create the Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the park system has been so designated and has been implemented, and the problem now is that they are short of funds, which happens in so many cases.

I think we recognize that this is a proper exercise of congressional authority, and the fact that the Congress did in 1962 establish this home does show congressional intent to make it a part of the park system.

So we can hurry the testimony along. Those of you who do desire to be heard, can simply stand and introduce yourselves, identify yourselves, and say, "We are for the bill." That will make the testimony very quick. If you have some additional factors to add which we should hear in making our final determination, I hope you will stress that.

The first witness—we have two—first, Senator Hart will be here in a short period of time, and I will recognize him when he comes in; that likewise goes for Senator Case who is also listed as a witness in support of this. If he is unable to come before the hearing is terminated we will make the statement a part of the record.

Our first witness this morning will be the Honorable George Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service.

Mr. Hartzog.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE P. HARTZOG, JR., DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Mr. HARTZOG. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I appear as a departmental witness in support of S. 835, a bill to amend the act providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the national park system, by increasing the limitation on appropriations to permit proper restoration of the home.

Mr. Chairman, in the interest of your time and that of the committee, I have prepared a statement which I would like to have inserted in the record, with your permission.

Senator BIBLE. Without objection, that will be the order.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Hartzog, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF GEORGE P. HARTZOG, JR., DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Subcommittee, we appreciate this opportunity to testify in support of S. 835, a bill to amend the Act providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the park system, by increasing the limitation on appropriations to permit proper restoration of the home.

Frederick Douglass was a 19th century abolitionist, orator, journalist, author politician and diplomat. He was born a slave in 1817, but escaped to freedom at the age of twenty-one. He had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and a burning desire to improve his own lot and that of others.

At an abolitionist convention shortly after his escape, he told of his experiences as a slave and thereby began his life-long dedication to the cause of freedom for all oppressed peoples, particularly the Negro in America.

Frederick Douglass has a long and very distinguished career: in 1874, President Grant appointed him Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau; in 1882, President Garfield made him Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia; and in 1889, President Harrison appointed him U.S. Minister to Haiti. Douglass gained widespread influence both in the United States and abroad for his work.

He carefully invested his money and in 1877 bought "Cedar Hill," at 14th and W. Streets, S.E., here in the District of Columbia, which was his home during the remaining 17 years of his life. Here his love of nature was reflected in the extensive plantings surrounding the house—numerous varieties of trees, flowers, fruits and vegetables—which Mr. Douglass proudly cultivated and showed to the many relatives and guests who came in large numbers to visit him.

Cedar Hill was established as a part of the park system of the National Capital by the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435). At that time, only a surface examination of the Douglass home had been made, indicating that the house was structurally sound. An appropriation of not more than \$25,000 was then authorized for the repairing and refurbishing of the house. However, recent intensive studies have revealed considerable decomposition of the structure primarily by storm, water damage, termite activity, and dry rot. It is now unsafe for visitors to enter the house.

The tireless efforts of Frederick Douglass to better the lives of all Americans, not just those of his own race, are worthy of appropriate commemoration. In our opinion, the restoration and maintenance of Cedar Hill as it was when Mr. Douglass lived there would be a fitting memorial to him and an inspiration to those who come to learn from his example.

S. 835 differs slightly from the bill passed by the House of Representatives. The Department recommends enactment of S. 835, if amended to comport with the bill which was passed by the House of Representatives, to provide \$413,000 for restoration and development of the Frederick Douglass home.

Mr. Chairman, I shall be happy to answer any questions you may have at this time.

Thank you.

Mr. HARTZOG. Mr. Chairman, the property is shown on this insert on this map in connection with Fort Stanton, the circled Fort System in the District of Columbia, involving some 8½ acres.

The proposal is to restore the home, refurbish the artifacts, and papers and library of Mr. Douglass, and to build a visitors' center for the reception of visitors, and also for community programs and to restore the grounds which we feel are a very important part of this entire interpretive story of the Frederick Douglass Home.

He was a distinguished man, having distinguished himself as an orator, journalist, a politician and a diplomat during his lifetime.

Born into slavery, he achieved a distinction and an eminence in our society which is rare even today, and I would be delighted to try to answer any questions you might have with respect to the need for this increase in ceiling.

We have pointed out in the statement that \$25,000, the figure, was based on a rather cursory examination of the property in 1962. Since that time I have had a detailed architectural survey of the property made. I have passed up to the rostrum there some photographs showing the condition of the property and water damage, termite damage, and dry rot damage which necessitate this amount of money for the proper restoration.

Senator BIBLE. I think it would be well if we would make a part of the record the report which was filed by this committee when this bill was reported out on July 13, 1962, which was over seven years ago. It has a very fine statement as to the very important place in history that Frederick Douglass held, and it is extremely well written.

I think it is completely accurate and is a fine biography of Frederick Douglass, and so without objection this report will be made a part of the record. It gives the significance to the homestead and to the event which we are trying to commemorate at that time by making this part of a park system.

(The document above-referred to, follows:)

Calendar No. 1686

87TH CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ REPORT
No. 1727ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME
AS A PART OF THE PARK SYSTEM IN THE NATIONAL
CAPITAL

JULY 13, 1962.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. BIBLE, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 2399]

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to whom was referred the bill to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass National Memorial, and for other purposes, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with amendments and recommends that the bill, as amended, do pass.

The amendments are as follows:

On page 1, lines 4 and 5, strike out the words "as the Frederick Douglass National Memorial" and substitute in lieu thereof the words "as a part of the park system in the National Capital".

On page 2, line 8, strike out the words "National Memorial" and substitute in lieu thereof the words "home as a part of the park system in the National Capital".

On page 2, strike out lines 10 through 13 and substitute in lieu thereof the words

SEC. 3. Upon the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, the home shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior and shall be subject to the provisions of.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

The following excerpts of a biography of Frederick Douglass prepared by Phyllis T. Plotrow reveal the remarkable accomplishments of a man whose home in Washington, D.C., would be established as

a unit of the park system of the National Capital by the enactment of S. 2399.

Frederick Douglass was born some time in February 1817 in Tuckahoe, Talbot County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The child was brought up by his grandparents, Isaac, a free Negro, and Betsey Bailey, until the age of 7 when he was taken to the Lloyd Plantation run by his master, Capt. Aaron Anthony.

Although he always remembered the kindness of individual slaveowners, like his master's daughter, Mistress Lucretia Auld, he began to hate the system with a burning passion.

In 1825, the slave was sent to a relative of his master in Baltimore. There for 7 years he worked first as a house servant and then as a laborer in the shipyards. Being in Baltimore opened new horizons for the boy. His mistress finally agreed to teach him to read, but the master, upon discovery, forbade the practice completely. Nevertheless Douglass persevered, bought the *Columbia Orator*, and continued to observe and meditate upon cruelties of slavery.

In 1833, Captain Anthony's death brought him to a new master, Thomas Auld, who returned Douglass to the plantation, forbade his teaching Sunday school classes for the colored children, and hired a professional slavebreaker to teach him his place again. Douglass finally turned on him and beat him up. The struggle was a turning point in Douglass' thinking. As he later declared "I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact."

After an escape attempt had failed, Auld decided to try kindness and sent Douglass back to Baltimore with the promise of freeing him at the age of 25 if he behaved well. Douglass quickly became an expert caulker in the shipyards. He persuaded his master to let him hand over \$3 a week and keep the remainder. Here Douglass came into contact for the first time with white laborers who hated Negroes because they worked for nothing as slaves and as a result depressed the wages of all. He also took a great interest in the various Baltimore societies for free Negroes and began to desire his own freedom most urgently. After a quarrel with Auld, Douglass planned his escape and left Baltimore and slavery on September 3, 1838.

At first, living was not easy for the former slave, but he soon came into contact with other free Negro groups, who sent him on to New Bedford, Mass. His first step was to change his name from Bailey to Douglass, after the hero in Sir Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake." He then married Anna Murray, a free Negro from Baltimore, and together they struggled to overcome the prejudice against Negroes which even in the North made white workers reluctant to work beside black ones.

Gradually, Douglass began to attend the abolitionist meetings in the town. He was deeply moved by William Lloyd Garrison and finally, in 1841, he was summoned

himself to the platform to describe his personal experiences as a slave. Although wholly inexperienced, he managed a creditable performance. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society offered him a temporary position as lecturer, which he rather timidly accepted.

From this point on, Douglass devoted himself to the problems of his race and of all persecuted groups, becoming in America and in Europe, the most outstanding Negro spokesman of his race. In addition to the initial advantage which he claimed in being himself "a graduate from the peculiar institution with his diploma written on his back," Douglass rapidly became a very effective speaker, waxing eloquent over the wrongs of slavery and illustrating very effectively that all slaves were not inferior.

When people suspected that he was too well read and intellectual to be convincing in his role of former slave, he wrote a "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass." The book had a very wide sale in the North, but since it mentioned names and places, it put Douglass in danger of recapture and return to Auld as a runaway slave. To avoid this fate, his friends persuaded him to undertake a lecture tour in Europe. Speaking in Ireland, Scotland, and England he was heard everywhere by large and sympathetic audiences. He came into some conflict with other American abolitionist groups and with temperance societies because of his passionate criticisms of American morality on the slave question and because of his insistence that freeing the slaves should take precedence over temperance activities. But on the whole, his trip was a great success, and he returned to America in 1846 with a greatly enhanced reputation.

On his return, against Garrison's advice, he first purchased his freedom from Auld and then decided to undertake an antislavery paper of his own to aim particularly at the free Negroes. The first issue of the *North Star*, which Douglass had decided to publish in Rochester, N.Y., came out on December 3, 1847, with the slogan, "Right is of no sex—truth is of no color—God is the Father of us all, and we are all brethren." For 13 years, Douglass edited the *North Star*, and took the lead in denouncing segregation practices of the North, slavery in the South, and urging Negroes themselves to take a more active role. Eventually, despite a large circulation, the paper was overcome by debt.

In his editorial columns Douglass supported innumerable reform movements—including pacifism, chartism, temperance, universal peace, land reform, abolition of capital punishment, and women's rights. Douglass also took an active part in the Negro convention movement, which aimed to eliminate all legal restrictions upon free Negroes, and was instrumental in persuading its supporters to forswear violence in their efforts to help enslaved brothers. He continually denounced churches which practiced segregation, but he did favor a separate Negro press and sought support and subscribers for his own paper.

Douglass was at the head of the group within the national convention movement to set up an industrial college for free Negroes which could prepare them for the difficult problem of finding work; but lack of funds, personal jealousies, and the fear that the new fugitive slave laws might endanger the safety of those publicly associated with the struggle for Negro rights, hampered his efforts.

The new fugitive slave laws of 1850 were a frequent target of Douglass' attacks. Both before and after their passage he took an active part in the Rochester Underground Railway activities.

During the early 1850's Douglass unfortunately became involved in a bitter conflict with his former associate, William Lloyd Garrison. After leaving the heatedly abolitionist atmosphere of New England and conferring with New York abolitionists like Gerrit Smith, Douglass altered his former opposition to the Constitution and to the churches because they appeared to condone slavery. Douglass decided it was wiser to work with existing forces, especially since the issue of slavery was beginning to divide the country more clearly on North-South lines, leaving northern churches and institutions more free to take an independent position. The Massachusetts abolitionists denounced this shift and also blamed Douglass for starting his own newspaper. Both Douglass and his foes were bitter and acrimonious in their dispute.

In political affairs, Douglass was becoming more and more active during the fifties. Originally a supporter of the Liberty Party, he turned in 1848 to the Free Soil Party, pledged to support the Wilmot proviso. In 1852 he was elected secretary of the Free Soil convention. But the failure of that party to play a continuously strong role led Douglass in 1856 to welcome the founding of the Republican Party, even though he did not think that its desire to stop only the extension of slavery went far enough. Thus he continued to work for the radical abolitionists whenever they appeared to have a chance.

In 1859 Douglass was forced to return to England for a while because his name had been connected with John Brown and the raid on Harper's Ferry. The State of Virginia was preparing to try him for treason when he escaped into Canada and thence to Great Britain to renew old friendships and contacts. Actually, although John Brown had explained his plan to Douglass, the Negro had been somewhat skeptical and had tried to discourage the Harper's Ferry raid.

The outbreak of war roused Douglass from a growing discouragement. Even though the abolitionist greatly deplored Lincoln's hesitation in freeing the slaves, he personally was convinced that northern victory would inevitably have that result. Douglass lectured and toured the country trying to raise Negro interest and direct participation in the struggle. Resenting Lincoln's refusal to provide equal pay and equal treatment for Negro volunteers in the Union

armies, Douglass finally secured an interview with the President in July 1863. He came away impressed by the President's sincerity, but impatient with Lincoln's desire to move slowly. Nevertheless, he took an active role in recruiting Negro fighters for the celebrated 54th and 55th Massachusetts Regiments, also sending his own two sons. In August 1864, he had a second interview with Lincoln, and continued to press for granting the franchise and all other rights of citizenship to Negroes in both the North and the South.

After the conclusion of the war Douglass refused to be satisfied just with the liberation of the slaves. He had an interview with President Johnson and was highly dissatisfied with the latter's tendency to appease the former slaveowners. Thus he refused an offer to head the Freedman's Bureau which he interpreted as a purely political move on Johnson's part. He was active with the radical Republicans in working for the election of General Grant and the passage of the 15th amendment. He also undertook another journalistic endeavor, the *New National Era*, which had only a brief career.

In the clash between Grant and Sumner over the annexation of Santo Domingo, Douglass was appointed by Grant an assistant secretary to the three commissioners sent there to investigate possibilities of annexation. During the trip, he was won over to Grant's policy.

In 1872, although himself nominated for Vice President on a woman's suffrage ticket headed by Victoria Claflin Woodhull, Douglass took an active part in backing Grant. At the same time the burning of his Rochester, N.Y., house convinced him that he should move to Washington. His first political assignment after being the official messenger of the New York electoral commission to the Senate was as president of the Freedmen's Bank. The bank, already thoroughly corrupt, collapsed shortly thereafter, causing all its investors, including Douglass, considerable loss.

Douglass continued to lecture throughout this period, emphasizing above all the need for Federal protection of the newly won Negro rights. He accepted the appointment in 1877 of the U.S. marshal of the District of Columbia when it was offered to him by President Hayes, but he continued to criticize the Government. In 1881 President Garfield requested that he take instead the office of recorder of deeds, to which Douglass agreed.

In 1882 Anna Douglass died. Two years later he married his secretary, Helen Pitts.

Upon his return from a trip with his new wife through Europe, he was offered the position of Minister-Resident and consul general to the Republic of Haiti and *Chargé d'Affaires* for Santo Domingo. Douglass retained this position until a controversy with Secretary of State Blaine and others, who were trying to get possession of the harbor of Mole St. Nicolas as a naval base, led him to resign in opposition to a policy which he believed could only rouse Haitian nationalism.

Back in America, he continued to agitate for the protection of Negro rights, and most specifically, for a Federal anti-lynching law. He was still lecturing on the rights of women and of oppressed groups when he was stricken on the afternoon of February 20, 1895, with a heart attack at his home in Anacostia. The body lay in state in the Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, and then was transported to Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester for burial.

THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME

When Douglass died he left his homestead, consisting of a southern colonial mansion and 14 acres of woodland in Washington, D.C., in the village of Anacostia, known formerly as Cedar Hill, at 1411 W Street SE., Washington, D.C., to Helen Pitts Douglass, his wife.

Failure to have three witnesses sign the will made it possible for other heirs to lay claim to part of the property and although Mrs. Douglass wished other heirs to relinquish their claims and all together give the home of Douglass to the Negro citizens of this country as a shrine to the memory of her illustrious husband and their illustrious father. She did not succeed in this arrangement, and she finally had to place a mortgage of \$15,000 on the property and pay the claims demanded by the heirs. She succeeded in liquidating all of this mortgage but \$5,000 and finally organized the Frederick Douglass Memorial & Historical Association so as to have that association preserve the home after her death. She succeeded in having Congress incorporate this association and exempt the home from taxation. The object of this incorporated body was to preserve the home intact as a memorial to the life of the illustrious Douglass and to collect historical matter and mementos pertaining to the slave period and to the Negro race.

The original trustees were never able to pay off the \$5,500 and in 1916 at a meeting of the National Association of Colored Women in Baltimore, Md., this project was taken over by the National Association of Colored Women. Upon resignation of the five remaining male members of the Douglass Association, nine women trustees, members of the national association, were appointed, and the organization began the raising of the \$5,000 to lift the remainder of the mortgage. Under the leadership of Mary B. Talbert, this money was raised and the mortgage burned in Denver, Colo., in 1918.

This trustee board with the help of the National Association of Colored Women has raised and expended more than \$25,000 in the redemption and restoration of this home. Under the chairmanship of Sallie W. Stewart, they raised more than \$7,000 to build a caretaker's cottage so as to prevent actual occupation of the Douglass home property by the caretakers.

COSTS

Inasmuch as the Frederick Douglass home and adjoining property is to be donated to the United States, the only costs to be incurred are expenditures for development purposes and annual maintenance expenditures estimated at \$24,000. Estimated development costs to improve the access road and to prepare the home for public visitation is approximately \$25,000.

AGENCY REPORTS

The reports submitted by the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of the Budget are set forth below.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., February 21, 1962.

Hon. CLINTON P. ANDERSON,
*Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR ANDERSON: Your committee has requested a report on S. 2399, a bill to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass National Memorial in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

S. 2399 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to designate the former home of Frederick Douglass in the District of Columbia as the Frederick Douglass National Memorial when the home, the land on which the home is situated (excepting that portion of the original 14 acres eased to the Glen Garden housing development), and the objects of historical significance in the home have been donated to the United States.

The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments has considered the importance of Frederick Douglass in the history of this Nation. In its report to the Secretary of the Interior on September 19, 1961, the Advisory Board noted that the antislavery leader worked with William Lloyd Garrison and many other prominent leaders. Immediately prior to the Civil War his efforts to mold opinion were important, the Advisory Board reported, and his career was long and noteworthy. The Board recommended his home as a possible unit for National Capital parks.

The Department is in accord with the recommendation of the Advisory Board and recommends the enactment of S. 2399, if it is amended as we suggest.

Since the authenticity of the Frederick Douglass home, together with certain furnishings and memorabilia, is unquestioned, the designation of a memorial is inappropriate. Thus, we recommend, as the Advisory Board has, that this home be acquired and preserved as a part of the park system of the Nation's Capital where recognition may be accorded Frederick Douglass.

The Department's recommendation on designation can be accomplished by making the following amendments:

1. Change the title to read as follows: "To provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, and for other purposes."

2. On page 1, lines 4 and 5, strike out "the Frederick Douglass National Memorial" and substitute in lieu thereof "a part of the park system in the National Capital".

3. On page 2, line 8, strike out "National Memorial" and substitute in lieu thereof "home as a part of the park system in the National Capital".

4. Strike out lines 10 through 13, page 2, and substitute in lieu thereof: "SEC. 3. Upon the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, the home

shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior and shall be subject to the provisions of".

It is estimated that the cost of repairing and refurbishing the Douglass home will be no more than \$25,000. The property will be acquired by donation.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. CARVER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., February 8, 1962.

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON,
*Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 2399, a bill to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass National Memorial in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The report which the Secretary of the Interior is submitting on this bill recounts the historical significance of the property proposed for addition to the park system of the National Capital and recommends enactment if amended.

This Bureau would have no objection to the enactment of S. 2399 if amended as suggested by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sincerely yours,

PHILLIP S. HUGHES,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

Senator BIBLE. I would particularly like to have you—and I am sure the report itself develops this—Mr. Hartzog, tell us how you propose spending this amount of money. What is it going to be used for?

Mr. HARTZOG. Mr Chairman, \$40,000 is going to be used to restore the historic road and foot trails, and to provide a parking area at the site.

There was a historic carriage road and gravel leading to Mr. Douglass' home at the top of the hill at Cedar Hill, and we think this is an important part of the physical interpretation there, and we propose that this be restored.

We are proposing that \$17,200 be spent on exhibits and interpretive devices in the visitors' center as well as for audiovisual equipment for interpretation in the House.

We propose that, we estimate that, the restoration of the home itself will cost \$218,000.

The research that is necessary to complete the details that we need for authentic restoration is going to involve another \$14,000. The visitors' center facility is going to cost, in our estimate, \$111,000.

Mr. Chairman, the item that reduces this request for authorization from the \$450,000 in S. 835, to \$413,000 is that in the original figure an item was included for repairing the furniture and the artifacts that were donated to us by the Association. These, in our judgment, are proper charges to maintenance money and should not be included as a part of the construction ceiling in this legislation, and that is the reason we recommend that the overall figure be reduced to \$413,000.

Senator BIBLE. Why would the estimate which was given to us by the Park Service some 7 years ago be so grossly inadequate? That is a great disparity. I wish you would address yourself to that because this is, without question, one that should be met headon.

Are you doing a lot more now than you proposed originally or have there been intervening events that have caused the home to deteriorate in the last 7 years? I wish you would develop that rather fully.

Mr. HARTZOG. Mr. Chairman, I would be pleased to try to.

I have spent several hours with our staff on this very question. It is perfectly obvious from my examination and the background of that issue that that estimate given to you in 1962 was not based—

Senator BIBLE. Was not what, sir?

Mr. HARTZOG. Was not based on any real examination of the physical condition of the property. It was not even prepared by a professional member of the staff, according to the information which has been given to me.

The only thing I can do, and I do agree with you it should be met headon, is to tell you what I told the committee on the other side of the Capitol, that I am sorry for it. I have taken steps to insure, as you, Mr. Chairman and members of this subcommittee, well know several years ago, to improve the quality of the estimates that have come to this committee. You were just given a bad figure, that is all.

Senator BIBLE. Well now, I think that is rather obvious, but I think we must share part of that blame. I would think, myself, that we should have known, at least I should have known, that you could not do very much for \$25,000, even in 1962, toward rehabilitating a home and building a road. It certainly would not go very far. Why

we permitted the figure of \$25,000 to stand at that time is something I really do not know.

I think we must share part of that blame. I personally think I should share part of that blame. I should have known, I think, having handled some of these parks and rehabilitation of homes and restorations that \$25,000 was not going to go very far, and particularly since we also intended to build roads into it, and now I do not know whether the visitors' center idea was offered to us before or not.

It seems to me that may be a new concept.

Mr. HARTZOG. I think that is a new concept in the interpretation of the facility.

It is our belief that the House itself does not lend itself to a proper interpretation of the historical values there in the life of Mr. Douglass and, at the same time, serve the needs of a reception visitor center, at which you present general orientation information, especially to school groups.

Senator BIBLE. How much acreage have you acquired, how large is this?

Mr. HARTZOG. They donated 8½ acres, Mr. Chairman. All of this property has been donated.

Senator BIBLE. And that title is now in the Federal Government?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir, it is.

Senator BIBLE. In reading the House report, I think they made comment on the fact that since 1962 we had one of the hurricanes—it was not Camille, but one of the sisters of Camille, Hazel I guess, hit this area and caused some flood damage and further havoc and internal harm to this home. Now, I think, you should make that a part of the record, if that is part of the reason for this additional cost.

Mr. HARTZOG. That, Mr. Chairman, is part of the record. There is no way in which we can tell you, however, how much of it was existing in 1962 and how much of it is post-1962. The only thing I can share with you is the fact that this estimate is based on the historical evaluation of our historic architects who are proficient in restoration of property of this type, and so we are not able to tell you what might have existed at the time in 1962.

There is one other facet that I think should be on the record, and that was there is some implication—I cannot put my hand on the document—but there was dialog developed in the previous hearing on this subject that there was some indication in 1962 that there might be some donations in addition to the property itself. The extent, when and by whom, the sources, is not clear, and I cannot do anything except share that piece of information with you.

Senator BIBLE. I notice that what came out during arguments on the floor when this bill was before the House of Representatives when it passed there. There was some representation made back in 1961 and 1962 that there would be donations, and the donations presumably would be sufficient to take care of the additional developments and rehabilitation and refurbishing, but they either did receive donations or they did not, so even if they made that suggestive offer of assistance it did not materialize. I do not know who you would particularly penalize at this stage.

Did you receive any donations?

Mr. HARTZOG. None whatsoever, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BIBLE. My own memory is fuzzy on that point, and I do not think the record is very clear.

Mr. HARTZOG. I have the committee report. What I was looking for in that book, and on page 3 of this subcommittee's Report No. 1727 is a reference to the fact that the committee amendment limits the amount authorized to be appropriated for rehabilitation and refurbishing the property to \$25,000:

There is reason to hope donations will take care of the remainder if, as seems likely, the actual cost overruns this amount.

Senator BIBLE. I am glad we, at least, expressed some doubt about holding in that figure. We hoped the difference would be made by donations, that were not coming, obviously.

What happens if this bill does not pass and we do not receive money; what would happen to this property now with the title in the Federal Government; what would you do?

Mr. HARTZOG. Well, Mr. Chairman, as you and the committee members can see there from that book of brochures, we have used the money that has been appropriated to stabilize the property. In other words, it is structurally unsound for visitation, so we have closed the building itself to the public. We have boarded up the windows. We have tried to shore up those members that are in danger of collapse, and it just stays in that condition.

In the meantime, we have cleaned up the grounds, and they have been actually used—as a matter of fact, the visitation is not excessively large, but it has been consistently increasing, and in 1969 it was 29,000. It was used as a part of the summer-in-the-parks program this year as well as last year, and we are having school groups there, and we have local interpretive services on the ground, but they are not permitted to get into the house.

Senator BIBLE. Twenty-nine thousand visited this summer, is that what you are saying?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes.

Senator BIBLE. Twenty-nine thousand.

Well, actually, there was not much to see from the visit; it was all boarded up.

Mr. HARTZOG. Nothing but the ground because they are not allowed in the house, and the house is boarded up.

Senator BIBLE. How far is it from here; will you orient us?

Mr. HARTZOG. It is 14th and W Street—about 4 miles.

Senator BIBLE. About 4 miles from here, from Capitol Hill?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir.

Senator BIBLE. Senator Allott.

Senator ALLOTT. Mr. Chairman, I am not a member of this subcommittee, as you know, and I would like to yield to Senator Bellmon, who is a member of the subcommittee.

Senator BIBLE. I think as one of the leading senior members of the full committee you are entitled to sit with the subcommittee.

Senator ALLOTT. I realize that, but I would like to yield to Senator Bellmon first.

Senator BIBLE. Very well. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, I am impressed. You said there were 29,000 visitors this year?

Mr. HARTZOG. 1969.

Senator BELLMON. With the property in the condition it is in, are there any estimates of how many visitors could be expected if the property was restored?

Mr. HARTZOG. Senator, our estimates are that they increase between 1,000 and 1,500 a year over the projected period of 5 years here.

Senator BELLMON. You are saying that would be the projection if the house was restored——

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir.

Senator BELLMON (continuing). Or if it stays in its present condition?

Mr. HARTZOG. No, if it is restored.

Senator BELLMON. You would only expect an increase of 1,000 per year?

Mr. HARTZOG. 1,000 to 1,500. Actually, our projection is from 29,000 to 38,000 in 1974. I suppose that is roughly 2,000 a year.

Senator BELLMON. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you.

Senator Allott?

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I recall very well when we had hearings on this particular bill before and the interest we all had, and I ought to express my own appreciation to Mrs. Elaine Jenkins of Washington, who has kept me informed about this, and expressed her interest in it all along.

I do recall also that we were led to believe at the time we passed this that there would be some donations and contributions, which apparently have not developed.

Mr. HARTZOG. That is correct.

Senator ALLOTT. Not "apparently they have not developed."

Mr. HARTZOG. Have not developed.

Senator ALLOTT. So I think we have to face the situation as it is.

I personally feel that the life of this great American is one that we ought to take cognizance of and, particularly, we ought to try to do this job in a decent way and in a right way, and to that point I want to ask you just a few questions, Mr. Hartzog.

We have already talked about the increase in the appropriations.

Assuming the bill is passed and the home is refurbished or refurbished, do you plan to use it for displaying the personal works of Mr. Douglass?

My question is prompted by the fact that Frederick Douglass is well known for the speeches he gave, for the newspaper he published in Rochester, N.Y., and for other literary accomplishments. I note that one of your pictures here is a picture showing him at work at his desk in the home.

It seems to me that the home would be a perfect place to display these items. Have you given any consideration to this?

Mr. HARTZOG. We have, Senator Allott. We have some 500 artifacts in addition to his library, which is in excess of 1,300 books, plus the personal papers to which you refer, his speeches and his writings, all of which we expect to give restoration and archival treatment, and have in the home.

Senator ALLOTT. So there is no dearth of his works and writings and papers to formulate an interesting and historical portrayal of his activities.

Mr. HARTZOG. None whatsoever, sir. We agree with you that it will indeed be a first-rate memorial when restored.

Senator ALLOTT. Now, with respect to the other angle—you have already discussed the money angle, but I want to make the record clear on this—the park service is in the position to accept gifts of any kind, whether they be of money or whether they be papers or books or things which pertain to his life, and there is no difficulty about your authority for this, is there?

Mr. HARTZOG. None whatsoever, Senator; and, as a matter of fact, this Committee and the Congress even clarified and expanded that authority 2 years ago in establishing the National Park Foundation for this very specific purpose.

Senator ALLOTT. I am informed that there is at least one organization that would like to donate some of his works, and this is the reason that I ask this question, so that we do not leave anything undone in this bill.

Now, my next question deals with how do you plan to use the home, and I am really surprised that you say 29,000 or 19,000 people visited the home this year?

Mr. HARTZOG. 29,000.

Senator ALLOTT. 29,000. I am really astounded that 29,000 people this year visited the home, considering the condition of the home as portrayed by these pictures, and as you have described it.

My personal feeling is that your projections for the future are quite modest if the house is actually refurbished and made into the sort of a place that we have discussed here.

My next question is, How do you plan to use the home? Is it going to have a single usage, such as a museum, or will it have a multiple usage, such as a museum and an educational facility or cultural facility; would you also discuss the amount of usable space which will be available in the home?

Mr. HARTZOG. Thank you very much, Senator Allott.

The completed interpretive prospectus for this property has not been finished. In the meantime, however, we have advanced far enough that it is our judgment that the first floor should be developed for interpretive purposes as Mr. Douglass lived there.

The top floor should be used for the office space and the work of the staff which will be on site in providing personal services.

Our proposal involves the construction of a visitors' center in front of the home, in this location on the property, to receive the bulk of the heavy visitation where there would be parking, and from there on foot traffic through the property to minimize the impact of the visitation on the fabric of the historic house itself.

In this visitors' center we would propose to have a room that is large enough for community use, for school use, and we would expect to carry on a very active and vital environmental education program not only related to the place that Mr. Douglass has in the span of American history but also his great interest in the natural environment of this property, to try to cope with the very pressing question of an urban society, of who am I, and where did I come from, and where am I going—these issues that were so vital in the life of Mr. Douglass.

We do not propose it to be simply a museum with a bunch of rusty nails.

Senator ALLOTT. Now, on the diagram which you have there, will you orient me a little bit? There is a red spot towards the center of the larger tract of land. Is that the house itself?

Mr. HARTZOG. That is the house, yes. This is the caretaker's cottage that is there.

Senator ALLOTT. The white spot?

Mr. HARTZOG. That is the white spot, and we would propose to remove that because it was not a part of the original historic setting of the house. These are outbuildings which were there when Mr. Douglass was there, and we would propose to stabilize their foundations and mark the site.

These are the woods that were there when Mr. Douglass was there. This entire area there, and he was a great naturalist and enthusiast of the natural environment, and we would propose to rehabilitate this wooded setting and put in benches and tables and trails so that it could be used not only by the casual family visitor but also by the school groups.

Here, of course, is where we would build a visitors' center and provide the parking lot, and then we would restore the historic entrance drive which we would confine to use of a foot trail, which would be a gravel road.

Senator ALLOTT. Is that map oriented, is the top side of it north?

Mr. HARTZOG. The top side is north, yes. This is Fort Stanton Park right here.

Senator ALLOTT. What would that be utilized for, that would be on the southeast of the larger tract?

Mr. HARTZOG. Fort Stanton Park, all of these Fort Circle Parks, we are trying to incorporate in a bicycle-hiking trail around the city and to make it part of the environmental education program of the Service.

Senator ALLOTT. In describing the home, we talked of utilizing it as an educational facility; there would not be an opportunity for anyone to live there and go through a residential form of schooling?

Mr. HARTZOG. That is right. We do not think the property lends itself to that. It is not large enough for it, and we think its greatest value is in terms of interpretation and serious research by students who wish to come in there and do their work and then leave at night. We do not think the property lends itself to providing overnight accommodations and taking care of the visitation in the interpretive role it should play.

Senator ALLOTT. But through the combination of this and the visitors' center you would hope to be able to utilize it for educational purposes, and for a complete collection and the possibility of study of the works and thoughts and thinking of Douglass?

Mr. HARTZOG. Absolutely.

Senator ALLOTT. I believe that, Mr. Hartzog, this home gives us the means to create something more than another tourist attraction in the District of Columbia. I think we have the chance to create a real memorial to a great American, a memorial that is functional, educational, and which will be commemorative of the life of this man who did so much during his lifetime for this country.

It seems to me that we can do this—providing we act on this bill favorably, and I certainly hope we shall—within the existing authority of the national park system.

Is there any authority that you can see that you do not now presently have which would limit the development of this concept as you now have it? In other words, do we need to put anything in this

bill which clothes you with an authority which you do not already generally have in your office?

Mr. HARTZOG. Nothing, Senator, that I need in connection with this bill.

I would call your attention to the fact, however, that we have pending before this committee a bill to clarify and redefine some of the general authorities of the National Park Service in connection with this living history interpretative program which we initiated several years ago, but it goes to the essence of facets of the program that are not involved here.

So that, in order to make the living history concept which we embarked on some 4 years ago more functional, we do need some general authority clarification, but we do not need it in connection with this particular site.

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you. I am sure the chairman will give his early attention to that.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BIBLE. The Senator has indicated he will give his early attention to that as soon as it passes the House of Representatives, along with the Sleeping Bear one. We will move along very quickly.

I think you have made a splendid case, and I share the enthusiasm, which is very obvious here, I think, for providing the moneys to refurbish, and rebuild, and make of this home the symbol of freedom it should be. I know that is your dedicated purpose.

How many people do you have overseeing this?

Mr. HARTZOG. We would propose, Mr. Chairman, a supervisory historian, a park guard, caretaker, and a janitor as permanent employees in the first year, so that would be four permanent employees in the first year, building up to 12, at the end of the fifth year, permanent employees.

Senator BIBLE. Twelve, at an annual cost of how much?

Mr. HARTZOG. At the end of the fifth year the personal services for management and protection, \$59,180; plus \$14,820 for the allied cost of supplies, materials, transportation; for a total of \$74,000.

In maintenance and rehabilitation, a personal services cost of \$16,141, plus \$10,759 for the related costs of supplies, equipment, and so forth, for a total for maintenance and rehabilitation of \$26,900 annual costs at the end of the fifth year; overall operating costs, management and maintenance of \$100,900.

Senator BIBLE. How long, assuming funding, will it take you to complete this project to bring it to the status of complete rehabilitation that you testified to, how many years?

Mr. HARTZOG. I am advised 2 years after the availability of construction money for the completion of the restoration.

Senator BIBLE. It would be complete—

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir.

Senator BIBLE (continuing). Two years after funding?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir.

Senator BIBLE. Do you contemplate charging fees?

Mr. HARTZOG. It is contemplated that a fee would be charged to the home but not in connection with the visitors' center, because this has been the general policy with respect to that.

Senator BIBLE. Is that the general policy throughout the Park Service?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes, sir.

Senator BIBLE. A fee of approximately how much?

Mr. HARTZOG. It is a very nominal fee, Mr. Chairman. I think they generally range in the vicinity of 25 to 50 cents. There is a provision for the entrance of children under 12 years for free.

Senator BIBLE. Now, does the Golden Eagle passport entitle you to enter this?

Mr. HARTZOG. The Golden Eagle does entitle you to enter; yes.

Senator BIBLE. I have no further questions. Thank you, Mr. Hartzog.

Our next witness is Senator Hart, of Michigan.

STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP A. HART, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Senator HART. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I arrived late, and my very sensitive and discerning staff member, who is thoroughly familiar with this bill, Muriel Ferris, told me that the chairman had suggested that those in favor of the bill limit their remarks to saying, "We are in favor of it."

Senator BIBLE. I think we will have to make a couple of exceptions for our colleagues in the Congress.

Senator HART. No. I propose to try to set an example, Mr. Chairman, by filing a statement which says at greater length that I, too, am in favor of it.

Senator BIBLE. I know you are. You were the first one to call this to my attention personally, and you have been as emphatic about this, and maybe even more so, than you have Sleeping Bear, so that is strong advocacy for any cause.

I said before you came in, I believe if they pass Sleeping Bear in the House we will sure bring it up over here. But we are waiting for the House.

Senator HART. Miss Ferris informed me of that comment, too.

Senator BIBLE. She is a mighty fine staff worker.

Senator HART. There is one addition I should like to make to the final statement. It is in reaction to the testimony just received from Mr. Hartzog. I hope they review the business of a fee for admission to the home. Twenty-five or 50 cents is manageable for a great many of us, but for the kids who would most benefit from seeing the inside of the Douglass home, 25 or 50 cents is a lot of money.

Senator BIBLE. I understood Mr. Hartzog to say children under 12, or some age group, are entitled to be admitted free everywhere as they are in the park system. Is that what you said, Mr. Hartzog?

Mr. HARTZOG. Yes.

Senator BIBLE. Under what age limit? I think the people would be interested.

Mr. HARTZOG. Twelve.

Senator HART. Let us double it.

Senator BIBLE. You mean under 24?

Senator HART. The teens. We are desperately seeking in this country to reach a group who are over 12 but who are not yet in a position to be affluent even to the extent of 50 cents, and this home speaks eloquently a message that this country needs.

Senator BIBLE. I think we agree on that, and we will ask Mr. Hartzog to review his fee statement, and maybe it can be modified in view of the expressions you made and, I am sure, many people will make along the same lines.

Any questions?

Senator ALLOTT. I have none.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much. Thank you, Senator Hart.

Senator HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for moving so quickly.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you.

(The prepared statement of Senator Hart, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP A. HART, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

It is a pleasure for me to support S. 835 and H.R. 5968, companion bills to amend the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435) for the purpose of authorizing funds for the proper restoration of the Frederick Douglass house in Anacostia. Senators Case, Mondale and Scott have joined me in sponsoring the Senate bill. We commend it to this Committee and urge its early consideration.

Mr. Chairman, one of the greatest figures this nation has ever produced was Frederick Douglass.

Others are able, far better than I, to give an account of the life of Frederick Douglass. New facets of the career of this extraordinary man are constantly coming to my attention. Born a slave early in the 19th century, his life spanned the period in our nation's history when the struggle for freedom reached into the lives of all Americans, even to the point of Civil War.

This was America's greatest abolitionist, "an unflinching, unflagging and uncompromising advocate and defender of the oppressed" in an era when that role demanded courage and persistence of the highest order. Kenneth Rexroth, in a recent essay in "Saturday Review," wrote:

Frederick Douglass was born free. His servile status was a juridical delusion of his owner.

His life, recaptured in his *Autobiography*, a classic in American literature, was a testament to his freedom, to "his total inability to think with servility." Throughout his long and eventful life, at the center of freedom's greatest struggle, Douglass spoke not just of freedom for the slaves, but in hope that American society itself could be free from the evils of slavery and discrimination. His is thus a classic story, not of a Negro who escaped to freedom, but of a human being who always knew he was free and devoted his life to helping all men realize their freedom. In his own time his greatness lay in his active and challenging spirit, and in our time it remains so. One of the most extraordinary accomplishments of this man was his contemporary message—in his own time and in ours.

Frederick Douglass rose to a series of official posts unprecedented for a Black American in his era. He was an advisor to Presidents, United States Marshall of the District of Columbia, Recorder of Deeds in the District, and Minister to Haiti. But these accomplishments were surpassed by his outstanding leadership role for his people—his moral guidance and his vision of a free and united social order. Like Martin Luther King in our time, Frederick Douglass had a dream always before him. "A nation within a nation is an anomaly," he said. "There can be but one nation and we are Americans."

In 1877, Frederick Douglass purchased a home across the Anacostia River, naming it Cedar Hill because of the profusion of trees on the 15-acre grounds. The original owner had stipulated in the deed that it should never be owned by a Negro or an Irishman! Here, in the later years of his life, he lived among his children and grandchildren and worked on his papers and correspondence. "A nature lover, he customarily rose at five in the morning and walked over the grounds. 'How often have I heard him speak,' wrote Grimke, 'as I have sat with him on the front porch of his beautiful home, or under trees on the hillside, with the lovely landscape stretching out on all sides around us, of the pleasure it gave him to commune with nature.'" (*Frederick Douglass*, Benjamin Quarles).

When Frederick Douglass died in 1895, his wife sought to have the home maintained as a memorial. In 1900, she succeeded in having Congress incorporate the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association "To preserve to posterity the memory of the life and character of the late Frederick Douglass"

and to maintain the home. In 1916, the trustees of the Association, under a heavy financial burden, appealed to the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs to help save the home.

However, by 1961, the shortage of funds was such that the two groups decided to donate the home to the Federal Government. In 1962, Congressman Charles Diggs and I sponsored legislation to provide for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital, which was approved as P.L. 87-633 on September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435). In 1964, the property was donated to the Federal Government and the park area thus formally established under terms of the 1962 Act.

Unfortunately, the 1962 Act carried an authorization ceiling of \$25,000 for repairing and refurbishing Cedar Hill so that it could be opened for public use.

Last year, I learned that the restoration had not been proceeding as I had assumed it would. Members of my staff then made a detailed inspection of the property and house with the National Park Service. As a result, on August 20, 1968, the Department of the Interior submitted a letter to the Congress and a draft bill to raise the authorization ceiling.

The increased funds are required because restoration of the house will involve structural reconstruction and refurbishing not envisioned in 1962. A detailed study of the house has uncovered decomposition as a result of termite and water damage, or dry rot in the structural timbers. Furthermore, storms in 1958 and 1962 resulted in roof damage, leading to serious water damage to the house and contents. In its favorable report on the pending bills, the Department of the Interior explains these matters in details and sets forth its revised estimates of the funds which will be required to do the job. A revision of the cost figures increased the total requested by the Department to \$476,000 (which includes the earlier \$25,000 authorization, all of which has been appropriated). This revised estimate requires an amendment, as proposed by the Department.

The House Committee deleted from the sum requested the amount (\$62,800) intended for repair of the furnishings. The Committee report states, "Since these costs are not usually charged against the authorization ceiling, the committee considers it inappropriate to include such costs in this legislation." Thus, the amount in the House bill, which was passed on the consent calendar on October 6, 1969, is \$413,000.

Mr. Chairman, as a result of the deteriorated condition of the house, it has been boarded up for public safety. Thus, in place of a fine monument to a great American we have in Anacostia a symbol of rot and decay. This situation must not be allowed to continue. The Frederick Douglass house deserves our veneration as one of the most significant memorials in our National Capital. For the moment, however, Cedar Hill stands boarded up, a symbol of neglect rather than respect. We must act now so that this empty house can again become a living home, a fitting memorial to this great American.

Mr. Chairman, I commend this project to this Committee as a significant matter and one deserving our full support. This nation honors its greatest men not only in memory, but in historical sites designed to protect buildings and places connected with their lives and works. Our history is replete with great men, but the presentation of this history in books, in academic study and in our living legacy of historic sites has not always been well balanced.

For a time, before he moved to Washington, D.C., Frederick Douglass made his home in Rochester, New York, where he published the first successful Negro newspaper. After he left Rochester, a marble bust of Douglass was set in a place of honor. On that occasion, the Rochester "Democrat and Chronicle" noted:

"Frederick Douglass can hardly be said to have risen to greatness on account of the opportunities which the Republic offers to self-made men, and concerning which we are apt to talk with an abundance of self-gratulation. It sought to fetter his mind equally with his body. For him it builded no schoolhouse and for him it erected no church. So far as he was concerned freedom was a mockery, and law was the instrument of tyranny. In spite of law and gospel, despite of statutes which thrall'd him and opportunities which jeered at him he made himself by trampling on the law and breaking through the thick darkness that encompassed him. There is no sadder commentary upon American slavery than the life of Frederick Douglass. He put it under under his feet and stood erect in the majesty of his intellect. * * *

"Rochester is proud to remember that Frederick Douglass was, for many years, one of her citizens. He who pointed out the house where Douglass lived, hardly exaggerated when he called it the residence of the greatest of

our citizens, for Douglass must rank as among the greatest men, not only of this city, but of the nation as well—great in gifts, greater in utilizing them—great in his inspiration, greater in his efforts for humanity—great in the persuasion of his speech, greater in the purpose that informed it.”

When properly restored, “Cedar Hill” can serve this purpose, as a tangible and living memorial. In providing such historic sites we invite our people to associate with the lives and works of these great men. Frederick Douglass was one of our greatest, and we owe his memory and contribution—and his contemporary spirit of freedom—this due honor.

Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Senator Case of New Jersey. Senator Case.

STATEMENT OF HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Senator CASE. Mr. Chairman and Senators, I appear in support of Senator Hart’s bill. If you will give me the privilege of inserting my statement in the record—

Senator BIBLE. Without objection, that will be done.

Senator CASE (continuing). I should like to do that, if I may, and just say that everything Senator Hart has said and, as the chairman has already indicated his agreement with it, I support.

I think this is a terribly important thing and an instance where at relatively little cost the Congress can make an enormous contribution to moving us toward the point of better relations between the generations, among the generations, and all people in this country, and I very urgently request, I urge upon the committee, favorable consideration of the bill.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Senator Case. I know of your equal enthusiasm for this bill, I am sure, and I assure you, as far as I am concerned, we will move this along rather quickly.

Senator Bellmon?

Senator Allott?

Senator ALLOTT. I have no questions. I have read your statement in full and it is a very fine statement.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Senator.

(The prepared statement of Senator Case, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

I am glad to appear before this Subcommittee to support Senator Hart’s bill (S. 835) authorizing sufficient funds to restore the Washington, D.C. home of Frederick Douglass.

Frederick Douglass rose from slavery to become a fighter for Negro freedom and equality in the last century. He achieved his greatest fame as an orator in the abolitionist movement.

Eloquent, fearless in demeanor, Douglass preached elevation as well as freedom for the Negro. It is a measure of his vision that his words are relevant even today.

In 1865 Douglass declared that “slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot.” It is tragic that more than a century later the battle to enfranchise the Negro is not yet fully won.

In restoring and preserving the Douglass home, we will provide for future generations a tangible reminder of the life of this exceptional man.

Congress began the job of preservation in 1962 with passage of a law placing the Douglass estate, Cedar Hill, in the Anacostia section of Washington, in the park system of our national capital. Based on a surface examination of the home, only \$25,000 was authorized for repair and rehabilitation.

After the Interior Department assumed control of the home in 1964, an intensive study revealed far greater deterioration and damage than originally thought. As a result, the building has been declared unsafe and has been closed to the public.

It is now estimated that it will require in excess of \$400,000 to restore the estate where Douglass lived between 1877 and his death in 1895.

Senator Hart's bill raises the expenditure ceiling to \$450,000. The Administration, which has endorsed the legislation, supports a slightly higher figure. On October 6, 1969, the House passed a bill raising the expenditure ceiling on this project to \$413,000.

In its report on the bill, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs said its figure excluded funds for repairing and storing furnishings and other costs generally attributable to maintenance. From the House language, I take this to mean that such costs will not be neglected but will be paid for from a different account.

Senator Hart has advised me the House figure is acceptable. As a co-sponsor of his bill, together with the Minority Leader and Senator Mondale, I, too, accept the House figure. In the interest of expediting this needed legislation, I urge the Subcommittee to report the House figure of \$413,000.

With the restoration of Cedar Hill, future generations, both black and white, can be reminded of the enduring contribution of one ex-slave to his country. A grateful nation should do no less than complete this work without further delay.

STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to urge favorable action by your Subcommittee on H.R. 5968, the House-passed bill now before you to provide \$413,000 for the repair and restoration of the home of Frederick Douglass, a slave who rose to become one of the most distinguished Negroes of his day. As you know, Mr. Chairman, I am a co-sponsor of S. 835, the Senate bill to accomplish this same goal.

The purpose of these bills is to complete the job which Congress started in 1962 when it established the Frederick Douglass home, called Cedar Hill and located in Anacostia just inside the southeast boundary of Washington, D.C., as a part of the National Capital Park System. It was the intent of Congress that Cedar Hill be restored and developed as an historic home museum. The \$25,000 which was originally authorized for this purpose, however, proved insufficient because of unanticipated hurricane and other damage to Cedar Hill. In 1968, the Department of Interior estimated that full restoration would cost \$450,000, the sum which was initially specified in both the Senate and House bills. I understand, however, that \$37,000 of this total represents expenditures for furnishings and miscellaneous items, which can be handled out of other Park Service funds without detracting from the purpose of this bill. Therefore, I endorse the \$413,000 figure which the House approved in passing H.R. 5968 in the form in which it is now before your Subcommittee.

I support establishment of Cedar Hill as an historical museum so that Americans and visitors from abroad, who come to the Nation's Capital, can see the home of a man hailed as one of the most influential Negroes of his time. The paper he founded, the North Star, has been generally recognized as the most important newspaper demanding emancipation and elevation of the Negro before the Civil War. This great journalist, orator, and anti-slavery leader campaigned for the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln and later served him as an adviser. Douglass also served as Marshal and Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, and in 1888 was appointed Minister to Haiti, a position he held for two years.

Frederick Douglass was never told the date of his birth, but in his adult life, he selected February as his birthday so that it would fall in the same week as that of Abraham Lincoln.

On February 4 of this year, I introduced legislation, S. J. Res. 41, to designate Negro History Week as a National observance. Negro History Week, which has been celebrated locally in some communities since 1926, is observed during the seven-day period containing the birthdays of Lincoln and Douglass.

In further recognition, I am proud today to voice my support for legislation to ensure that Cedar Hill truly takes its place as one of the important historical landmarks of our country.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Hon. Stanley J. Anderson, District of Columbia councilman.

**STATEMENT OF STANLEY J. ANDERSON, COUNCILMAN, DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA CITY COUNCIL**

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, it was with a deep sense of history and a feeling of pride that I come before you today. I was born and raised in Anacostia. The beige and brown house on the hill, commanding a panoramic view of this growing metropolis, has always been a symbol to me of the black man's struggle for freedom and democracy.

Cedar Hill, the last home of Frederick Douglass, has withstood the buffeting of rain and wind which is now reflecting the deterioration of a structure that was erected over 80 years ago.

Frederick Douglass, born a slave in 1817 at Tuckahoe, Md., rose to national and international prominence as an abolitionist, orator, and a fighter for freedom. He was the most prominent American Negro of the 19th century and devoted his life to liberty and justice. He believed that everyone was entitled to liberty—"Man was born with it," he said. And so for half a century, from 1845 to 1895, he made himself a spokesman for the oppressed and downtrodden.

The hearing this morning, gentlemen, is in consideration of restoration money for this historic mansion. The amount as estimated by the National Park Service, is relatively small in relation to the inestimable value of this great fighter for freedom. He has served as a model for young and old alike throughout the world.

The restoration of Cedar Hill will mean that millions of loyal Americans and our friends from abroad will have an opportunity to walk its hallowed halls, to think, to remember and from the experience to gain new hope and encouragement for the difficult tasks of our time.

Frederick Douglass should become a living reality, especially to our young. To place his home in proper and adequate condition is the least we can do.

Gentlemen, I petition your interest and concern, your dedication to the cause of freedom and justice for all people. I wish to go on record as heartily supporting S. 835, the measure proposed by Senator Philip Hart and cosponsored by Senators Clifford Case and Hugh Scott, which will provide \$413,000 for the restoration of the Frederick Douglass home.

Senator BIBLE. That is a very fine statement, Mr. Councilman.

Any questions?

Senator ALLOTT. I have none.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Rev. Samuel Frazier, and Mrs. Elizabeth B. Frazier. We will be very happy to hear from you, Reverend.

**STATEMENT OF REV. SAMUEL FRAZIER, JR., MEMBER, DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION**

Reverend FRAZIER. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, Senator Bible, and members of the subcommittee, I have a written statement here which I am submitting to you. I will not read it because you can read that yourself.

I would like to say a few words just very briefly about the home and what I feel to be the enormous significance of an undertaking such as this home.

One of the stories that I want to tell you about is the story of a young child who lives in our commiuuty. I live in Anacostia also. This young child has been in one of our programs this summer, and I discovered after this incident which I am going to relate to you that she had last fall and winter been in some programs at the Anacostia Smithsonian Museum on Frederick Douglass, and she had learned all about his life and a lot of his ideas, and so forth, at the museum, and this past summer in one of our summer programs she was on a hike, a field trip, going out through the countryside in suburban Washington looking at the things in the area that she had not had an opportunity to see in her own community.

While this group of children were going on the hike through the countryside she was stopped by a local teenager who was white, and the teenager said some rather unkind things to her about her being black and other things.

The staff person who was with the girl was very upset about the whole thing, but the young girl said to our staff person, "That's really all right, don't be alarmed, don't be worried about me." She said, "I have studied about the life of Frederick Douglass and I know that I am black and I am beautiful."

It seems to me that that kind of inspiration which studying and knowing about the life of this man gives to our young people today, that is exactly the kind of thing we need to be working for.

Then one other personal note, as I said before, I live in Anacostia and, believe me, one of our most serious problems in Anacostia is vandalism. You can leave your house overnight and, especially if you are renovating a building or building a building, and the windows get broken out almost immediately, and yet in the 5 years that I have lived in Anacostia, I have gone by the Frederick Douglass home many times, and I have noticed that the vandalism level is extremely low for a building that is not lived in all day and all night.

It seems to me that this, again, is another example of the respect and the place that the Frederick Douglass home has in our people, in our community. It seems to me that the least we can do now is to begin to make this home a more substantial, livable place, a place to stand for and to help teach our young people the ideals of civic responsibility and pride and dignity, and all the other things that we are working for today.

Senator BIBLE. Reverend, that is a very impressive statement and very impressive testimony. I appreciate the fact that you are here this morning.

Thank you.

Any questions?

(No response.)

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much.

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you very much.

(The prepared statement of Reverend Frazier, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND SAMUEL K. FRAZIER, JR., MEMBER, D.C. HUMAN
RELATIONS COMMISSION

One of the primary characteristics of contemporary times is that every moment is filled with a crisis, the agony of making a difficult decision, or the excitement of new developments and discoveries. It is dangerously easy to be seduced into living from headline to headline while ignoring the great mess of small decisions, small crisis, small developments.

The Frederick Douglass Home, Cedar Hill, is a good example. It will not create the headlines of an ABM system or a walk on the Moon, but its renovation and preservation will be a part of the foundations of the future. Its value will not be immediately determined, but only as the personal pride and dignity which the story of Frederick Douglass's life will create in the lives of thousands of black children is manifested in future decades as civic pride and responsibility.

We have our white heroes, and the two (2) astronauts who walked on the moon have been added to the pantheon. Frederick Douglass is a hero too, and we need black heroes. We must not let pass by unsupported the opportunity to help preserve and strengthen this positive black hero figure.

Your support of the renovation and preservation of the Frederick Douglass Home, Cedar Hill, is urgently needed. It is a small step to take now, but it can have enormous consequences for the future.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness will be Rev. James Coates, president of the District of Columbia Board of Education.

Reverend Coates.

STATEMENT OF REV. JAMES E. COATES, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA BOARD OF EDUCATION

Reverend COATES. Good morning, Mr. Bible and members of the committee.

Education is and must be a total experience. It is not an activity relegated to the few hours a student spends in a classroom. The city of Washington abounds in educational opportunities of high quality and great effectiveness. It is here, more than anywhere in this Nation, that history is spread out before us in the form of great monuments and museums, as well as in the heritage passed on to our Government at work today.

We learn from this panorama that rich and poor, young and old, white men of many religions and nationalities have left their mark on American history. It is only on analysis of the names of schools in this city that we discover that black men have also been making significant contributions to this Nation. Pierre L'Enfant is well known, but what of Benjamin Banneker?

We have all heard of Uncle Tom, but who knows of the dedicated lives and significant contributions of Archibald Grimke, Senator Blanche K. Bruce, or Judge Robert Terrell? These and other great black Americans are conspicuous by their absence from history books and marble memorials. With whom should Negro youngsters identify? Where would you have them look for their heritage?

This Congress has before it the opportunity to bring the story of Frederick Douglass to the millions of people who visit this city. To the residents of Anacostia who have watched the steady decay of his majestic home in their community his life is familiar. They have heard of his accomplishments but are puzzled by the evident lack of official regard for him as is evidenced by the ravages of time at Cedar Hill.

The restoration of this home is tangible proof to people who badly need it that it is worth the struggle to learn and to serve. Having one

of the highest school dropout rates in the city, the Anacostia area could profit greatly from the message of this man who endured pain and persecution in order to learn.

I would like to interpolate at this point I was a student at Howard University. In attending a class conducted by the late great black sociologist, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, I was told that in the black community it would be wise for the parent to fabricate a heritage if it were lacking so as to inspire the youth to greatness.

It seems to me that with respect to Cedar Hill there is no need in the Anacostia community to fabricate a symbol of inspiration to the teeming juvenile population in the area, but here is a real legacy we can contribute to that community and to our cities.

Moreover, we have heard testimony about the potential use of Cedar Hill in educational programs. I serve as chairman of the Anacostia school community project, and I would like to make the committee aware that in redesigning a curriculum in the area, we have emphasized cultural relevance with respect to the Afro-American heritage, and do intend rather intensively and extensively within the schools included in that project as well as the other schools across the city, to utilize the Cedar Hill as the foci in this regard.

When we surveyed the topography of the area, moving from the Flats along the Anacostia River, with the sprawling complex holding the Anacostia installation or looking across the river to the former naval weapons plant symbolizing the carnage of war, we looked up at slopes and we see on the overlooking slopes the sprawling carnage of war, we look up at slopes and we see on the overlooking slopes the sprawling complex known as St. Elizabeths Hospital symbolizing rejection, there are no impressive geographical or physical features in the community which would inspire as a center for community improvement.

It would seem to me that if we could restore Cedar Hill in contrast to what we see on the flats along the Anacostia River, the symbols of war, or in contrast to what we see on its most impressive slope, St. Elizabeths Hospital, if we could restore Cedar Hill with all that it means in terms of the contributions of this great man, we would serve in that community and in the city and in this Nation, for that matter, a purpose which is not presently being served.

In conclusion, therefore, I would want to comment on the fees. We variously estimate the population of the area as being 180,000, and I live in the area—

Senator ALLOTT. You mean the Anacostia area?

Reverend COATES. I do. More than 50 percent of that population is juvenile in the sense of being less than 18 years of age.

It would seem to me that whereas there may be some from other areas of the city for whom a fee would not be a burdensome imposition, that such a fee instead would militate against the intended use by the schools in the area, and the incidental kind of involvement with Cedar Hill to which the Rev. Mr. Frazier testified earlier.

So I would strongly urge that this committee discuss with the National Park Service the elimination of any such fees incidental to the use of that facility.

The Government must take this opportunity to make this witness to the ideals they hold dear. All children everywhere will be inspired

by Frederick Douglass' courage, brilliance and unshakeable faith in his own destiny, but nowhere is this message more vital than here in Anacostia.

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you, Reverend Coates, very much. I am going to indulge myself for a moment here, if I may. You mentioned several prominent Americans, and this brought to mind, very forcefully, that there were many great Negroes during this period.

One of them was in Colorado, a man by the name of Barney Ford. His name is unnoted in history except in the history of Colorado, but he was an unusual man. He made and lost two fortunes in the mines of Colorado, discovered two great mines, and subsequently lost them, but still was a very successful businessman.

He once went to Mr. Evans, the president of the First National Bank, and asked him for \$1,000 loan to build a building, and Mr. Evans said he would not give him a loan, but he would loan him \$10,000, and he loaned him \$10,000.

He built the building, established a business in it, and repaid it all in less than 6 months. But this is not his great achievement. His greatest achievement was that he was responsible for the fact that when Colorado adopted its constitution in 1876 that there were no restrictions on the electorate in their right to vote, and he was responsible, I would say, almost solely for that part of our constitution as well as the fact that Colorado in 1895 adopted a nondiscrimination statute which, in many respects, has been a landmark further than our Federal Government went until the 1950's.

I just wanted to add this because I have been a great admirer of this man. I never knew him, of course, but there are a lot of people whose names are not known in history, such as the gentlemen you mentioned here, but who have contributed just as greatly in their own areas, in their own spheres, such as Barney Ford did, and such as Frederick Douglass did on a national scale.

You made a very fine statement and we appreciate it very much.

Reverend COATES. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mrs. Mary Gregory, president of the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association.

STATEMENT OF MARY GREGORY, PRESIDENT, FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Mrs. GREGORY. Good morning, Mr. Chairman.

It is a real pleasure for me to come before you in support of S. 835 and H.R. 5968, providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the park system in the National Capital and to amend the act of September 5, 1962—76 Stat. 435—for the purpose of authorizing funds for the proper restoration of the Frederick Douglass house, Cedar Hill, Anacostia, District of Columbia.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we want you to know that Helen Pitts Douglass realized the greatness of her husband, Frederick Douglass, and after his death she spared no effort in preserving his home intact as a memorial to him. To this end, she organized the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association chartered by Congress in June 1900—Public Law 178.

For 62 years the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association worked diligently to carry out the wishes of Helen Pitts Douglass as set forth in Public Law 178. Continued preservation of Cedar Hill was assured by an act of Congress which was signed by President John F. Kennedy on September 5, 1962; and at that time the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior under Public Law 87-633, introduced by Senator Philip Hart and Representative Charles Diggs, the National Park Service was entrusted with the care of the estate, the house and its valuable contents.

We were assured that in this way the efforts begun by Helen Pitts Douglass and continued by the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association for 62 years would be carried on, and the example and contributions of the great Frederick Douglass would be preserved unimpaired for the benefit and inspiration of future generations of Americans.

The Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association, the donor, joins other witnesses here today in expressing our deep gratitude to the House of Representatives for its favorable and prompt action on the legislation H.R. 5968 which passed the House of Representatives on October 6, 1969.

Mr. Chairman, as we come before you today in support of S. 835 and H.R. 5968, we urgently request that your committee will give its approval to the legislation providing funds required to restore Frederick Douglass House making it one of the most significant memorials in our National Capital and the first of its kind to honor an illustrious black American.

Thank you very much.

Senator BIBLE. That is a very fine statement, Mrs. Gregory and I appreciate having it.

Senator BELLMON. Mrs. Gregory, I would like to ask one question. According to the testimony we had earlier there was one point at one time to raise money from private sources to help in the restoration of this home. Has the association had any part in that fund-raising effort?

Mrs. GREGORY. I am very pleased to report to you, to the committee today, that in the original charter, as I have indicated in my statement to you, 15 acres constituted the Cedar Hill Estate. During the years of great struggle when the Frederick Douglass trustees and many of its associates found themselves faced with developing ways to finance the maintenance of the home, in 1955 or thereabouts they entered into an agreement with a corporation, and this agreement said to them that, hopefully, they would receive a sizeable sum of money from apartments built by the Glen Gardens Corp.

They entered into it in good faith, and it appeared to the trustees at that moment this would be a very fruitful way of raising funds. As a result of that they did set aside 6 acres of very valuable land, part of that great estate, for the purpose of construction of apartments and, hopefully, as I have indicated to you, revenue would flow back to the association in order that we could continue the maintenance of the grounds.

Apparently, this did not occur, and it obvious did not occur, in the manner in which the Memorial Association felt it would have.

So we followed, the trustees followed up with litigation, went into court about this, and attempted to find out just what had happened.

Some of the records were not turned over to the present—to the trustees who are currently active. However, we give full support to the Interior Department and to all concerned in attempting to bring back into the original agreement the 6 acres because we know this was the intent and the wish of Helen Pitts Douglass that the entire estate would remain intact and only to be used for the purpose of the perpetuation of the home.

So we are deeply concerned and offer our full support in an effort to donate the 6 acres of land to the Government, the total estate of Frederick Douglass.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much.

Any further questions?

(No response.)

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Mrs. Gregory.

Our next witness will be Mrs. Llewelyn Thompson.

STATEMENT OF MRS. LLEWELYN THOMPSON

Mrs. THOMPSON. Good morning.

My statement which you have will explain my particular interest in the Frederick Douglass House. I must confess I am ashamed to say that I had not heard of Frederick Douglass until about last March, and I would like to say that I hope that the committee will pass the bill and that the house will be restored because I am convinced that it will not only be a beautiful and marvelous museum and a sense of pride to us, but I think it will make its own terrific contribution to the American people.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much, Mrs. Thompson. You come to us as a distinguished wife of a very, very distinguished ambassador, and at least I have long admired your great husband and the great work he did in the ambassadorial service. We are delighted to have your added endorsement to the bill this morning.

Mrs. THOMPSON. Thank you.

Senator ALLOTT. I want to add my thanks, too, particularly because her husband was born and raised about 35 miles from a city which I call home, Lamar, and he was born in Los Animas, and I have known him, I think, for about 40 years, now. That is quite a long time, and I have the greatest of admiration for him. We are very happy to have you here.

Mrs. THOMPSON. Thank you.

When you consider our background and how much of our life has been spent behind the curtain and on the fringes of it, it is a great privilege to be here.

Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Very happy to have you, Mrs. Thompson.

(The prepared statement of Mrs. Thompson, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. LLEWELYN THOMPSON

I must first confess I had never heard of Frederick Douglass until this last March. My husband retired from the Foreign Service early this year and we, the family, could at long last settle down for good in our country. You may recall that my

husband's service abroad was mainly either behind the iron curtain or in the "Fringes" of it and where involvement in any local community projects for diplomatic wives was impossible. Therefore, from a certain point of view, it was from pure selfishness and desire to rediscover and learn that I became involved with the Frederick Douglass House in Anacostia.

My first visit to the Frederick Douglass House at Cedar Hill was a revelation to me. Not only was the sight beautiful and spacious and overlooking all of Washington but here was also historical ground and evidence of a great American. Who could not be haunted by the wonder of why something more had not been done to make this house one of the great museums of our country? Aren't we all concerned with teaching pride of heritage to our young people? Isn't this one of the important topics of today?

Congress has expressed interest in the Frederick Douglass house from time to time. In 1900 when the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association was chartered by Congress and again in 1962 when an act of Congress entrusted the care of the house and its contents to the Park Service of the Interior Department, the government has manifested a real and tangible commitment. However that expressed interest will literally crumble away unless something is done to preserve the house very soon.

In six years time the United States will be celebrating its two hundredth anniversary and it would be a deplorable shame if Cedar Hill were allowed to remain in the half-remembered and half-forgotten condition it is in now. I am convinced that the Frederick Douglass House properly restored and maintained would not only be a beautiful historical center and source of pride to us all but I am also convinced it will make its own special contribution to the people of the United States.

We have another witness, Mrs. Sibyl E. Moses, legislative representative, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.

All right, Mrs. Moses. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF MRS. SIBYL E. MOSES, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

Mrs. MOSES. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee, it is certainly a privilege and a great opportunity to have this chance to say a word for a man who was truly a great American. He was not merely a Negro, he was a great American, and he has demonstrated to all of us that the American tradition really is, that in a democratic form of Government we do not have the opportunity of beginning at the bottom but looking toward the heights.

Mr. Frederick Douglass was born a slave. He was able somehow to get away from Virginia and across the Mason and Dixon line. It is said that he learned to write by writing in the sands, playing with the little white children around and about.

He went out then until finally he got to Rochester, N.Y., where he established the first newspaper that any Negro ever had edited in this United States of America.

To me it is a miracle as to where he secured or attained enough education to be able to really write anything like a thesis, much less to edit a newspaper, but that still proves the fact that if a person has the ability, the determination and the talent, the will to overcome difficulties that it is possible to learn and to do something that is constructive.

Along with his other talents, he had the ability to speak. He was, perhaps, the greatest orator that our race ever produced.

Going to England, it is said that someone threatened him because he was a Negro to throw him overboard, throw him off the boat clean

into the ocean, but some man of the white race spoke up and was able to save him.

He went on to England, and in London the people were so delighted with him and his ability to express himself and to give a message that they gave him money, quite a great deal of money.

Returning to the United States of America he bought and paid for his freedom. I would like to ask you distinguished gentlemen what could be more praiseworthy than a man who was a slave, than to come to the point where, though he was a slave and had been both, that he bought his freedom back and paid for it.

Mr. Douglass evidently had great industry, he certainly had determination, and to me I cannot yet in any way comprehend and understand how he was able to get sufficient education to accomplish what he did.

His personality and intelligence showed up to such an extent that he became a friend to Presidents of these United States, and which is proof that we do need as Negroes, gentlemen, encouragement at this time, with so much that is happening out on the streets and everywhere, with all of this integration, segregation, objecting to this and to that and to the other, and Mr. Douglass was a man who went through the system of the Government.

I mean, he did not raise Cain and do all these kinds of things. He respected the Government and decided that he was due to have a part in it.

Senator BIBLE. He certainly did, Mrs. Moses, and I am convinced that we are correct in paying him tribute the way we do. I think I can assure you that we are going to pass this bill and do it very quickly, so I am very happy to have your added endorsement of it.

Mrs. MOSES. He was an ambassador. His ability showed up so much until he actually was able to attain certain positions in this Government that some Negroes—and I am a Negro, too, and very proud to be one from the State of Alabama, and one Congressman made a little light of me because I was willing to admit it. I said it is a great privilege to have seen the light of day, and the sky is beautiful, and so are her mountains, many of her people are wonderful people, but if——

Senator BIBLE. You are for this bill, you are wholeheartedly for this bill?

Mrs. MOSES. Wholeheartedly for this bill and for the complete clarification of everything that is concerned with his estate, and we certainly appreciate the passage by the House, and we are living and praying that inasmuch as Mr. Douglass has done this much that you will not let us down.

Senator BIBLE. We do not intend to.

Mrs. MOSES. But you will vote and use your influence with the other Senators to vote it out to the floor.

Senator BIBLE. We are sure going to work for you, so we are for it.

Mrs. MOSES. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Mrs. Moses.

(The statements of Sibyl E. Moses and Myrtle Ollison follow:)

STATEMENT OF SIBYL E. MOSES, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Interior and Insular Committee of the United States Senate, my name is Sibyl E. Moses, Legislative Representative for the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.

It is indeed a great privilege to speak to you today in regard to the Restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home, "Cedar Hill," in Anacostia, a suburb of the city of Washington.

Frederick Douglass became a great American, born in slavery. He was imbued with the desire for freedom, education and the hope to be able to help his fellow-man. With courageous effort and industry he was able to ascend the heights.

It is said he learned to unite playing in the sand with children of the other racial group during slavery. He crossed the Mason and Dixon line landing eventually in Rochester, New York, where he published the first newspaper edited by a Negro in the United States, "The North Star". It is beyond my conception, gentlemen, to understand how he acquired sufficient education for such an undertaking.

He developed ability as a speaker and was acclaimed one of the great orators of his day. Mr. Douglass made a voyage to England. The English people were so delighted with his message that he was given large sums of money. Returning to America he bought and paid for his freedom. Gentlemen, I am sure you know this was most exemplary and praiseworthy deed.

Overcoming difficulties and handicaps Mr. Douglass became an outstanding citizen and leader attracting attention of the masses and the classes. Operating through the system of government he became a friend of Presidents of these United States.

President Grant appointed him Commissioner to Santo Domingo in 1871 to make a survey and recommendations. Other appointments included Marshall of the District of Columbia 1877-1881 and Recorder of Deeds 1881-1886. Mr. Douglass was president of Freedman Bank and Savings Company in 1874.

Mr. Douglas was a Christian. He became a member of the Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1518 "M" Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. from which Church his funeral was held February 25, 1895. The front page of the Star carried an account of his death. He donated a brass candelabra to the Church. There is also a name plate on one of the pews in the 16th Street side of the Church.

Gentlemen, it is impossible to detail the many important events of Mr. Douglass' life; however, I do feel that Mr. Douglass' life represents proof of the American tradition that a citizen of the United States may rise from depths to heights.

Of the many monuments and shrines in our National Capital there is not one dedicated by the Federal Government to the achievements of an outstanding American Negro. What have we, therefore, to point our young people to in the ghettos, the schools and colleges?

Millions of Negroes and other concerned Americans in this country would be inspired and encouraged by the passage of S-835 introduced by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, Senator Philip Hart.

Gentlemen, I am indeed grateful for the privilege of bringing this bill to your attention as passed by the House of Representatives. Mrs. Myrtle Ollison, president and members of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. along with other dedicated Americans urge its adoption.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mrs. Myrtle Ollison, president, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.

Mrs. Ollison is not here to testify, but her statement will appear in the hearing record at this point.

STATEMENT OF MYRTLE OLLISON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

To the Chairman and members of the Senate Sub-Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., donated the Douglass Home, one of the most priceless possessions of the Negro race, to the Federal Government for the purpose of making it a national shrine in honor of the great abolitionist, Frederick Douglass.

We urge your immediate and favorable consideration of the Bill of Appropriation now before you to make this historic site available to the general public and particularly the youth of America who need to be inspired by his life and work.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Dr. Charles Wesley, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Dr. Wesley.

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES WESLEY, ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY

Dr. WESLEY. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I represent the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History which was established here in Washington in 1915, and its "Journal of Negro History" came out in 1916, and is now available in some 50-odd volumes.

In 1926 we started Negro history week, which has also been an annual celebration throughout the Nation in both white and black institutions of learning, and is increasing in celebration with the passing of the years.

We selected two persons whose birthdays would represent the period during which we would celebrate Negro history week. One was Lincoln's Birthday, Abraham Lincoln, on February 12. The other was Frederick Douglass' birthday, February 14.

These two persons, white man and black man, like Americans themselves, each distinguished in his own way, are the two people whom we still honor and revere and talk about during Negro history week. We would like to keep that image alive.

I brought along a book of Frederick Douglass which some of you, perhaps, have not seen. It was copyrighted in 1881, happens to be in our library, published in 1884. The book says this on its title page:

Life and times of Frederick Douglass written by himself; his early life as a slave, his escape from bondage, and his complete history to the present time, including his connection with the antislavery movement; his labors in Great Britain as well as in his own country; his experience in the conduct of an influential newspaper; his connection with the underground railroad; his relations with John Brown in the Harper's Ferry raid; his recruiting of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiments; his interviews with Presidents Lincoln and Johnson; his appointment by General Grant to accompany the Santo Domingo Commission; also to a seat in the Council of the District of Columbia; his appointment as U.S. Marshal by President R. B. Hayes; also his appointment to be Recorder of Deeds in Washington by President J. A. Garfield, with many other interesting and important events in his most eventful life, with an introduction by Mr. George L. Ruffin.

This is a book 617 pages long with a number of illustrations, and it is one of the testimonies which we value in our own library at the association.

Secondly, we have published a life of Frederick Douglass during the days of Carter G. Woodson, who was our founder. This life of Douglass was prepared and written by Benjamin Quarles, a professor of history at Morgan State College in Maryland where Frederick Douglass was born.

These two evidences are followed by a third one. We had a man who was on our staff to go to Frederick Douglass' home and to make a a calendar of the Frederick Douglass papers there. This represents the handwritten papers, the manuscript papers, the published papers of various sorts which Douglass had which are in calendar form.

Upon this background, sir, of our own abiding interest and also in our cooperation with the National Association of Colored Women,

and this historical association, the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association which, at one time, was a creature of the national association but become incorporated and is on its own, on the basis of our connections with that and on the basis of the facts so that we happen to be doing a history of the National Association of Colored Women for publication, on all these bases we come to you to affirm our interest and our belief and our cooperation with you in the endeavor which you are making to give Frederick Douglass a place in the Nation.

A black man needs to have a place in this Nation of black and white people alongside of white men who have been distinguished and who have had memorial places made for them largely through Congress, and we give our approval to it.

Senator BIBLE. Thank, you, Dr. Wesley, for a very, very impressive statement. I hope that the opportunity comes to me to read this book to which you have alluded at some early date.

Dr. WESLEY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator ALLOTT. What is the title of that book, Dr. Wesley?

Dr. WESLEY. "Life and Times of Frederick Douglass."

Senator ALLOTT. That is alluded to in the report, original report, we had on the bill in 1962. I just wanted to identify it.

Dr. WESLEY. I did not think that you had seen it.

Here, also, is a picture of the home, and a picture likewise of his library as it was kept. I have had the opportunity of visiting that, as others have had in this audience. We have gone to the Douglass home for some celebrations. There was scarcely a convention or group that came to Washington that did not put the Douglass home as a spot where they would like to go, and I think if you handle this in the correct way in which you are going to do it that this home will again come in as a spot of the visitation and honor and commemoration.

Senator BIBLE. That is certainly our hope, and I do not see any reason why it cannot be accomplished. Thank you.

Dr. WESLEY. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mr. Jesse Hamilton, Frederick Douglass United Community Center.

I would remind the remaining witnesses to try to shorten up their statements. We have only 30 minutes left.

I do not like to impose upon you, but we are going to have to make it short if we want to report it out. I think we can make our statements increasingly short.

STATEMENT OF JESSE H. HAMILTON, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER, INC.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the Frederick Douglass United Community Center on the restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home, Senate bill 835.

In the interests of time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit a statement for the record to be printed in the record.

My only thought in coming here today is to read a portion of my statement of what I think is very important.

Frederick Douglass was a man of great courage and competence—two qualities we particularly value. His words to the oppressed people in the 1800's brings hope and inspiration today. He was a man whose rise from slavery to international acclaim was highlighted by the honors bestowed upon him by Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Garfield and Harrison. We urge you gentlemen to add your name to this list by approving this measure now before you and by actively supporting its passage on the floor of the Senate.

Those of us who are working in the cities to help the poor and those who have lost hope, see the need for pride and confidence as vital. Tangible assistance is necessary, but so is the belief in oneself; such a belief is essential to the development of good employees, property owners and productive citizens.

The restoration of this house will be a symbol to people everywhere that this Government does care about its black citizens and will be a living monument of hope to all Americans, and to the world, demonstrating that we are, in the words of our President, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, let us move forward together.

I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to appear before you. I will leave some copies for the record.

Senator BIBLE. We will be very happy to have your statement incorporated in full into the record. Thank you very much, Mr. Hamilton.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Hamilton, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF JESSE H. HAMILTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Frederick Douglass House is located high on a hill in Anacostia with a commanding view of the city of Washington. The grounds are nicely trimmed, but the house is slowly collapsing into the ground. Organizations and private citizens have endeavored since the death of Frederick Douglass in 1895 to save this historic reminder of a great man who was with us. These people were not rich and had no access to riches and they were not able to keep ahead of the ravages of time and weather. It was their intention to save this house for all Americans and so they turned the property over to the Park Service so that it might be restored as a national shrine. This is an interesting and revolutionary idea because there are no shrines in Anacostia and there are no major monuments of any Black Americans in Washington, a city which abounds in monuments.

It is almost as though we have tried to obliterate a part of our heritage by honoring leaders so selectively. But the social dynamics of the times will no longer permit this oversight. It is necessary for our citizens to be aware of their total history and for Black people to identify with their outstanding ancestors who have made significant contributions to the American way of life.

Frederick Douglass was a man of great courage and competence—two qualities we particularly value. His words to the oppressed people in the 1800's brings hope and inspiration today. He was a man whose rise from slavery to international acclaim was highlighted by the honors bestowed upon him by Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Garfield and Harrison. We urge you gentlemen to add your name to this list by approving this measure now before you and by actively supporting its passage on the floor of the Senate.

Those of us who are working in the cities to help the poor and those who have lost hope, see the need for pride and confidence as vital. Tangible assistance is necessary, but so is the belief in oneself; such a belief is essential to the development of good employees, property owners and productive citizens.

The Restoration of this House will be a symbol to people everywhere that this government does care about its Black citizens and will be a living monument of hope to all Americans, and to the world, demonstrating that we are, in the words of our President, moving forward together.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mrs. Janis Knorr, Friends of Frederick Douglass Committee.

Mrs. KNORR. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Yes, indeed. We would be pleased to hear you. You may be seated.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JANIS KNORR, FRIENDS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS COMMITTEE

Mrs. KNORR. Mr. Chairman, mine is a very short statement.

Senator BIBLE. You may certainly read it in full. It is only one page.

Mrs. KNORR. I am Janis Knorr, 5061 Sherrier Place NW., Washington, D.C. I represent the Friends of Frederick Douglass Committee. The Friends of Frederick Douglass Committee, formed in March 1969 is composed of a wide cross section of people from the Washington metropolitan area.

Its membership comes from the suburbs, as well as the inner city, and includes old people, young people, black and white, conservative and militant. Our common purpose is to support those who are working for the restoration of Cedar Hill, Frederick Douglass' home in Anacostia, District of Columbia. We are united by the spirit of the man who, after winning his own freedom, continued to fight for the civil rights of all Americans, both black and white.

Those of us who have come recently by the knowledge that Cedar Hill is in a state of decomposition are doubly shocked; shocked that a memorial to a great American, placed under the care of the American Government, should have been allowed to deteriorate so shamefully; and shocked that so little publicity has been given to the continued protests and pleading of the black people whose concern it has been to see Cedar Hill restored.

It is not for the dead that we build monuments, but for the inspiration of the living. Today more than ever, we need to remember those Americans who embody the ideals of democracy, those whose desire it was to unite rather than divide the country, those who personify all the things for which America can still be proud. Such a man was Frederick Douglass. Cedar Hill could be a worthy memorial to such a man.

We add our voice to the others who ask that you pass bill S. 835 and companion bills, to authorize appropriations for the restoration of Cedar Hill.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much, Mrs. Knorr. I certainly appreciate that endorsement.

Our next witness is Mr. William Ellis.

Mr. Ellis.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM L. ELLIS, THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Chairman, I am William Ellis, representing the Columbia Historical Society of the District.

In the interests of saving time, I am not going to read our one-page statement which I have left for the record, but I will briefly make for

you three points which, I think, I can do in the 2 minutes figured out that you seem to have allowed.

First, the interest in Mr. Douglass is not new, it is not something merely recent.

Senator BIBLE. Won't you be seated.

Mr. ELLIS. In our 75 years we have published about 45 volumes like this on local history, and there are really quite a number through the industries showing over the years quite a number of references both to Cedar Hill and to the great record of Mr. Douglass. I mention one in 1920 that refers to Mr. Douglass as the preeminent of his race.

My second point is that there is a point of interest in that building even prior to the ownership by Mr. Douglass. The previous owner was an eminent local businessman, Mr. John Van Hook, and the committee might like to know that he was greatly commended by President Lincoln and by General Grant for his help during the war in the carrying of messages between here and Philadelphia at a time when it was not possible to get through Baltimore because of the troubles going on in that area at the time.

My third point is that Cedar Hill is or ought to be the showplace of Anacostia. And then, Anacostia has a basis or a claim for being the earliest, the oldest, suburb of Washington. There is a viewpoint. Because it will be found on the first map of Capt. John Smith in the year 1612; Anacostia was then mentioned on the map. It is the oldest community, I think, in this area.

Cedar Hill ought to be a show place. Our historical society strongly favors this bill.

Thank you for this opportunity.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Mr. Ellis. I appreciate this additional information given us.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Ellis, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM L. ELLIS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT THE REQUEST OF ITS PRESIDENT, DR. HOMER T. ROSENBERGER

The Columbia Historical Society welcomes this opportunity to endorse legislation which would enable a D.C. landmark of significant national interest to be refurbished and re-opened to the public.

Long before Frederick Douglass became a resident of the District of Columbia he had achieved prominence both at home and abroad, in spite of his color. The story of his courage in overcoming this handicap, of becoming an adviser to President Lincoln and subsequently serving the District and his country in public office is a matter of record. As the District of Columbia's historical society, we gladly support attempts to memorialize this unique leader of the nineteenth century.

Our interest in Frederick Douglass and in his beloved residence at Cedar Hill is nothing new. During the seventy-five years since our incorporation we have published 45 volumes of our "Records." References to Frederick Douglass and to Cedar Hill frequently appear in the indexes to many of these volumes. The one published in 1920 includes a brief history of Anacostia which not only tells about the purchase of Cedar Hill by Frederick Douglass but also indicates that its previous owner, John VanHook, was commended by President Lincoln and General Grant for having carried important dispatches between Philadelphia and Washington. Such additional bits of information about occupants of the edifice materially increase its historical significance.

It is fortunate that legislation was passed in 1962 which placed the Frederick Douglass home in the custody of the National Capital park system. It is most unfortunate, however, that the authorized appropriation proved to be woefully inadequate for carrying out the intent of that legislation. We therefore urge favorable consideration of S. 835 in order that Cedar Hill may become the landmark

it deserves to be—as a fitting memorial to an outstanding leader of his day and as a constant reminder to the public that nationally significant achievements have been realized by some people in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mr. Franklin Carter of Richmond, Va.

Mr. Carter.

STATEMENT OF FRANKLIN CARTER, RICHMOND, VA.

Mr. CARTER. Senator Allott and Senator Bible, I am not going to make any statement other than to say that everybody has said everything I was going to say, and I do not want to say anything that is going to cause you to change your mind. [Laughter.]

Senator BIBLE. Good.

Mr. CARTER. I only wanted to make this one point, that in my work as a teacher in a black school in Richmond I was appalled to find practically no child knew who Frederick Douglass was, and I think this is a sufficient commentary on the brainwashing that the Negro people, and I might say my own race, have undergone over a period of well over 100 years.

I think it is time we turned around and taught American history in this way

Thank you very much.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, sir.

(Subsequent to the hearing the following letter was received from Mr. Carter:)

RICHMOND, VA., October 17, 1969

The Hon. ALAN BIBLE,
Chairman, Park and Recreation Subcommittee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BIBLE: Permit me to express my admiration for the courtesy and efficiency with which you conducted the committee hearing this morning on the proposed bill for restoration and maintenance of the former home of Frederick Douglass in Anacostia. It was heartwarming to know that so many splendid people were concerned about reviving the memory of one of the most remarkable individuals whose career I have ever studied.

Realizing how redundant much of the material would be, I decided early in the proceedings that I should be serving no useful purpose by giving an oral presentation of my views. After the close of the meeting, however, I gave the typewritten draft to the young lady who serves on the committee staff.

The only phase of Douglass' career that was not touched upon in any of the oral statements was his many-sidedness as a champion of basic human rights. For example, he was one of the first American males publicly to champion woman suffrage. He denounced the brutal discipline in our navy and merchant marine, and was instrumental in getting rid of flogging. He worked with Dorothea Dix on behalf of the mentally ill and the inmates of prisons and jails. He supported homesteads for settlers on the public domain, and the right of industrial workers to form unions and engage in collective bargaining and peaceful picketing. He braved the ire of bigotted residents of the District of Columbia by denouncing "Jim Crow" ordinances and practices. From the above evidence it is clear that Douglass was not a "one-issue" man.

With gratitude for your conscientious efforts on behalf of this legislation and with warm personal regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

FRANKLIN I. CARTER.

Our next witness is Mrs. Howard Jenkins, commission of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

Mrs. Jenkins.

Senator ALLOTT. Mr. Chairman, I might say this is the lady to whom I alluded earlier who has been so very good at keeping me informed, in raising some questions, particularly about the possibilities of developing the educational aspects in connection with the Frederick Douglass Home.

Senator BIBLE. We will be happy to hear you. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF MRS. HOWARD JENKINS, JR., NATIONAL COCHAIRMAN, SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY

Mrs. JENKINS. I am not going to read all of the statement, and certainly I am not going to take the place of a person who is a member of my sorority who is, perhaps, going to speak later.

I would like for the record to indicate I wear two hats. I am also here as a consultant to Mrs. Ellie Pearson, who is the assistant chairman of the National Republican Committee, and I consult the Advisory Council on Black Involvement, which has put as one of its first considerations the concern that this building be restored.

I would like to say we are pleased to tell you that it is heartening to those of us who still believe that the problems of our country can yet find solutions within the framework of our Constitution and laws as you enact them, gentlemen, and particularly when the Congress so poignantly demonstrated that they see the relevancy of restoration and conservation of the home of a slave born in 1817 to the keeping of hope alive in all citizens.

You have here the details and specifics of this home. We would like to suggest, incidentally and parenthetically, that we sincerely hope that the Interior Department of this administration will invite youth who are history majors to join in the planning so that this generation may have an active and significant part in the restoration.

If the Interior Department can restore the Ford Theatre to the original atmosphere of Abraham Lincoln's day and can change thickets to paths of beautification we have every confidence that the Department will find exciting the assignment of breathing life into those historic sites in what is one of the most typically involved areas of our inner cities.

We invite you gentlemen of the committee and members of the Senate and of the House to consider the need of promptness in your deliberation if the Frederick Douglass home is to be well-established and a part of our American history as a part of the 1976 centennial. What greater message for democracy for all the world to see than to have treks to this appropriate spot in Anacostia, saying that in America we truly believe in and that we honor, revere, all men who persevere and overcome through courageous living.

For if there is any one thing Frederick Douglass stood for it was leadership. The kind of leadership that is more than a mere podium; the kind of leadership that emerges on the national scene because of excellence. Certainly, the shackles of problems in our society which all youth of today seeks to shed could not compare to the realism of slavery and the tortuous escape from that reality which Frederick Douglass epitomized.

How inspiring it will be for pilgrimages of youth, Mexican, Chinese, Indian, Puerto Rican, blacks and whites to enter a home where there had once been the severest of poverty and see not the luxuries of modern-day living but the luxuries of books, a violin, documents of research and medals of honor in a restored atmosphere of elegance in simplicity.

How significant that these young people will come not only from Anacostia and the District of Columbia and perhaps the Northeast but that concerned youth from as far away as my birthplace, Butte, Mont., and my husband and my children's, Denver, Colo. For certainly, we are seeing in recent days that youth everywhere seek involvement in American historic change.

Finally, with your combined efforts and the cooperation of this administration there can be in this home a flexibility in the restoration to provide more than a mere tourist showplace. If candlemaking and blacksmithing can in fact return to Williamsburg, perhaps the making of statesmen and leaders can return to Anacostia within the walls of the home of the Frederick Douglass.

If millions of dollars can be spent year after year in keeping alive the life of a slave at Mount Vernon, then perhaps with your wisdom and foresight the other side of the coin can be shown—the contribution of a slave as a symbol and reality that America is truly the home of the free.

Senator BIBLE. A very fine statement, and I appreciate it very much.

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you very much.

(The prepared statement of Mrs. Jenkins, abover referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. HOWARD JENKINS, JR., NATIONAL COCHAIRMAN, SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY

We of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority commend you as legislators for the introduction of this Bill and for the speedy manner in which you are proceeding to affect its enactment.

Our Sorority was founded fifty years ago by a group of women led by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, who also was a student at Oberlin College where Frederick Douglass attended. We have grown to a combined chapter roster of over 50,000 women from colleges in all but three states of the United States. As a National Officer responsible for Social Action, I am pleased to tell you that it is heartening to those of us who still believe that the problems of our country can yet find solutions within the framework of our Constitution and laws as you enact them. Particularly, when the Congress so poignantly demonstrated that they see the relevancy of restoration and conservation of the home of a slave born in 1817 to the keeping of hope alive in all citizens.

Honored Gentlemen, Anacostia, the area in which the Frederick Douglass home is located is estimated as close to 200,000 people with 90% of the residents being black. It is a small building and it will take a lot of careful planning and much refined imagination to make an alive memorial.

Incidentally and parenthetically we sincerely hope that the Interior Department of this Administration will invite youth who are History majors to join in the planning so that this generation may have an active and significant part in the restoration.

If the Interior Department can restore the Ford Theatre to the original atmosphere of Abraham Lincoln's day and can change thickets to paths of beautification we have every confidence that the Department will find exciting the assignment of breathing life into those historic sites in what is one of the most typically involved areas of our inner cities.

We invite you to consider the need of promptness in your deliberation if the Frederick Douglass home is to be well established and a part of our American history as a part of the 1976 Centennial. What greater message for Democracy for all the world to see than to have treks to this appropriate spot in Anacostia, saying that in America we truly believe *in* and that we honor, revere all men who persevere and overcome through courageous living. For if there is any one thing Frederick Douglass stood for it was leadership. The kind of leadership that is more than a mere podium; the kind of leadership that emerges on the National scene because of excellence. Certainly the shackles of problems in our society which all youth of today seeks to shed could not compare to the realism of slavery and the tortuous escape from that reality which Frederick Douglass epitomized.

How inspiring it will be for pilgrimages of youth, Mexican, Chinese, Indian, Puerto Rican, blacks and whites to enter a home where there had once been the severest of poverty and see not the luxuries of modern day living but the luxuries of books, a violin, documents of research and medals of honor in a restored atmosphere of elegance in simplicity. How significant that these young people will come not only from Anacostia and the District of Columbia and perhaps the Northeast but that concerned youth from as far away as my birthplace, Butte, Montana and my children's, Denver, Colorado. For certainly, we are seeing in recent days that youth everywhere seek involvement in American historic change.

Perhaps through your combined effort and the cooperation of this Administration there can be in this home a flexibility in the restoration to provide more than a mere tourist showplace. If candlemaking and blacksmithing can in fact return to Williamsburg, perhaps the making of statesmen and leaders can return to Anacostia within the walls of the home of the Frederick Douglass. If millions of dollars can be spent year after year in keeping alive the life of a slave at Mt. Vernon, then perhaps with your wisdom and foresight the other side of the coin can be shown—the contribution of a slave as a symbol and reality that America is truly the home of the free.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mrs. Lillian G. Smallwood, Capital Headstart.

STATEMENT OF MRS. LILLIAN G. SMALLWOOD, CAPITAL HEADSTART TEACHER, ANACOSTIA

Mrs. SMALLWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I live in Anacostia. For the past 3 years I have been a Headstart teacher in Anacostia.

Others here have given testimony to the greatness of Frederick Douglass. I wish to say that the need to honor this outstanding American is long overdue. In addition, we in our community, Anacostia, like his memory honored here.

Maybe you have heard some of the things that are said about Anacostia, such as "dumping ground" for public housing; is that in Washington? Anacostia is one of the most congested areas of black, low-income residents in this city. Anacostia is located in our Nation's Capital which prides itself in exhibiting monuments that represent this country's history.

Please give us something tangible like the Frederick Douglass House, which should be of national interest, so that our very existence is known. Schoolchildren can begin to say, "Sure I live in Anacostia. You know, where the Frederick Douglass House is."

We are proud of our Anacostia Neighborhood Museum which was a big step toward developing community pride; but the Frederick Douglass House has been there for such a long time and it should be our most outstanding attraction to the city of Washington and to the Nation.

More and more, we read about the many Negroes who have made outstanding and lasting contributions to our country. Maybe some day shrines and monuments will be erected to honor some of them.

But, gentlemen, the Frederick Douglass House is already standing. What is needed is the necessary funds to restore and maintain it as a national shrine to a great American.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you very much, Mrs. Smallwood.

Mrs. SMALLWOOD. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Out next witness is Mr. Aaron Perry, Jr., of the Black Drama, Inc.

Mr. Perry.

STATEMENT OF AARON PERRY, JR., BLACK DRAMA, INC.

Mr. PERRY. Good morning, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I would like to say we, the youth of Washington, D.C., and of the Nation, have no real symbols of black historians and their contribution to the building of America and the role they have played and helped in making this a great country as it is today.

We feel as Americans we also should be part of her history and not be treated as a separate society.

One of the main reasons for having two societies in America today is because the true history of its people and progress have not been taught in our educational institutions and implemented by our democracy. Government.

Today is a new day for our Government and our fellow countrymen, to respect men in their contributions as equal members of our society.

We support the restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home, and we also feel that the Government should support this and other historic events like this.

We also feel that the history of the black man in America should be a part of the American way of life and not a separate part of this society, known as a democratic society, where we live as people and not as a race or as a group separated from the American way of life.

I ask this question of you: What must one do the share the dream of the American way of life?

Senator BIBLE. I very much appreciate your viewpoint, Mr. Perry. I hope we can move this bill forward without delay.

Thank you.

Mr. PERRY. Thank you.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Mr. Claude Moten of the Douglass Junior High School.

Mr. Moten.

STATEMENT OF CLAUDE MOTEN, DOUGLASS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Mr. MOTEN. Mr. Chairman, because of the lateness of the hour I will not take the time to read a long academic statement.

I would just like to say how the young people who are seated here today became involved in the restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home.

One day, while taking a walking trip through Anacostia with my history classes, we came to the Frederick Douglass Home, and I took them on the grounds, and one of the students said, "Mr. Moten, we can't see anything, it is all boarded up."

I said, "Well, the home is in such condition that you can't go in for fear of personal injury."

So when we got back to school we said we needed to do something about that. If that had been a home of a white man it wouldn't look like that, so we said, what can we do. They circulated a petition in the community. We got over 1,500 signatures of people who said that if necessary they would give contributions if these young people came back.

We presented out petition to Senator Hart, who was encouraged to realize that there are young people who are interested in the restoration of this great man's home.

I heard the year 1962 mentioned. Seven years later we are still trying to get something done about this home. But in this particular time there is a great awareness among black people of great racial pride, and I think this home indeed would be a fitting monument to the students of the District of Columbia and those in the country who would, perhaps, come here on their senior trip to see this home.

So on behalf of them and of the young people who are seated here, I sincerely hope that this bill is passed and that they have an opportunity to see governmental process in action.

Frederick Douglass was a self-made man, but he had to have help from some of his white friends as well as his black friends. So we are asking this great, august body to pass this bill and to leave it as a fitting monument to a great American.

Senator BIBLE. Thank you, Mr. Moten, for a very fine statement.

The next witness is Mrs. Alice Davis of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

Mrs. Davis.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ALICE DAVIS, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, INC.

Mrs. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, I am Alice Davis, a native from Washington, D.C., a member of both national groups and local groups that sponsor enrichment and vocational opportunities especially in the form of tours for teenager youth and for young adults.

I am representing Delta Sigma Theta, originally a sorority for Negro college women, but now a national public service organization of women, committed to program activities to secure a better life for all Americans.

Our total membership of 50,000, representing 348 communities in 40 States, including Alaska and in Haiti and Liberia, is unanimously in support of S. 835, and we urge your support of this bill.

In the interest of time, I merely wish to file out statement in support of this bill, but I would like to emphasize that we recommend not only the restoration of the Frederick Douglass home as a national historic shrine but that it be opened as a research center on Frederick Douglass and his time.

We urge that all national efforts be made to recover and return to his home manuscripts, documents, pictures, letters, books and artifacts so that students and the history scholars might use these materials to further their knowledge of this period in our history.

I am not only a native of Washington but am a I third-generation Washingtonian. Both of my parents and I had the opportunity to visit the Douglass home when we were schoolchildren, and it certainly served as an inspiration to us. I hope it will not be long before my

children and their generation and future generations will have the opportunity to go into the heritage to add to the cohesiveness of our Nation.

I thank you.

Senator BIBLE. That is a very fine statement. I can assure you we will move rather quickly. After all, we only received this bill 10 days ago, and we are having a hearing on it, and we can report it out today and then report it out by the full committee next week. A very fine statement.

(The prepared statement of Mrs. Davis, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. ALICE DAVIS, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, INC.

I am Alice Davis, a native of Washington, D.C., a member of both national groups and local groups that sponsor enrichment and vocational opportunities for teenage youths and for young adults in our community. I am representing Delta Sigma Theta, Inc., a national public service organization of women committed to program activities to secure a better life for all Americans. Delta Sigma Theta, Inc., was organized in 1913 at Howard University by 22 college women. Created originally as a sorority for Negro College women, the 50,000 member organization is now both interracial and international. It works through undergraduate and alumnae chapters in 348 communities in 40 states including Alaska, and in Haiti and Liberia.

My testimony is in support of S. 835 for which we are grateful to the Honorable Philip Hart, Senator from Michigan, who initiated the first Senatorial effort to restore the Frederick Douglass home. The National Convention of our organization, which was held in Baltimore, Maryland, August 10-15, records the unanimous decision of the body to support the preservation of the Frederick Douglass home as an historic site and landmark.

This position is in keeping with our interest in public welfare on a Five-Point Service Program. Membership training, resources, and womanpower are used to conduct projects in the areas of Educational Development, Economic Development, Community and International Involvement, Housing and Urban Development, and Mental Health. Social Action and Scholarship are two other important aspects of Delta Program. Many pilot projects in the areas of guidance, counseling, mental health, and education have been and are conducted by the National body. Grants have been received from private and federal agencies.

Approximately 70% of the members of the organization are teachers, 20% are social workers and the remaining 10%, are in other professional fields; medicine, law, private businesses, etc. Our public service involvement dates back to our beginning when two months after our incorporation in March 1913, a group of Howard University students under the banner of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in support of woman suffrage. Fifty-six years have passed, each year earmarked with our contributions which have primarily been in the areas of education and guidance.

Under the leadership of our National President, Frankie Muse Freeman, of St. Louis, Missouri, our programs include tutoring; state conferences for counselors job information banks, the first Bookmobile in the state of Georgia for which we received the American Library Association's American Library Letter Award in 1954; the Delta Teen-Lift which since 1963 has brought economically deprived teenagers to the nations capitol annually from southern and northern communities to visit educational and cultural institutions; and Negro Heritage Seminars held in more than 20 states since 1965. These seminars have been broadly based in terms of community participation.

Why our interest in the preservation of "Cedar Hill," the Frederick Douglass Home, an acknowledged landmark in the District of Columbia?

A People's cultural heritage is, without a doubt, its strongest cohesion. Monuments are visible reminders of significant events in our history and as such are invaluable to our heritage. Frederick Douglass who lived 1818-1895, was one of the great Americans. Slave, journalist, ambassador, orator, and fighter for freedom, he represents man's thirst for liberty and justice. I need not outline his contribution to this country of which you gentlemen are very aware. We look to the past to preserve the future. It is the future which concerns us.

We must preserve for the next generations, white and blacks, parts of our heritage which relate directly to the accomplishments of the black man. In the District

of Columbia we have not one landmark designating the contribution of the black man to this country. Each year millions of Americans and foreigners visit the capitol of the nation to be reminded of our past. Does not this past in reality include the contributions of many nationalities and races? Should this therefore not be reflected?

Landmarks of Negro history are well known to a very few. Visible evidences of our history kindle intellectual curiosity and stimulate studies and research and thus broaden our historical knowledge and deepen our appreciation of the building of American ideals. The Frederick Douglass home is a landmark which must be preserved for the inspiration of future generations of a race that is taking increasing pride in its history.

We thus recommend not only the restoration of the Frederick Douglass home as a National shrine but that it be open as a research center of Frederick Douglass and his time. Manuscripts, documents, pictures, letters, books, and artifacts should be recovered and returned to this home so that students and history scholars might use this material to further their knowledge of this period in our history.

In conclusion, we firmly believe that the preservation of the Frederick Douglass Home is a timely indication of the recognition of the history, accomplishments and contributions of black Americans. We believe that your concern will exhibit for all Americans another evidence of the credibility of the ideals, principles and practices which are unique to our democracy. We believe that this support is in the best interest of our great country. Our total membership in 348 communities across this nation supports my testimony and urges your support of Senate Bill S835.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

Senator BIBLE. The next witness is Mrs. Mary E. Pope.
Mrs. Pope.

STATEMENT OF MRS. MARY E. POPE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. POPE. I am Mary E. Pope, a native Washingtonian, and a member of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Our aim was to restore the home of Frederick Douglass.

I am so happy that it is so near to completion. I also have a keen interest in Douglass because my father's father was a personal friend, and many of the trips that Douglass made his friend went with him, and my father would tell me as a child about Douglass and about the different achievements that the Negroes made, and he would say that Frederick Douglass always predicted that.

Senator BIBLE. Well, that is very fine. It is an additional personal touch of endorsement. I appreciate that very much.

Our next witness is Rev. Channing Phillips.

STATEMENT OF REV. CHANNING E. PHILLIPS, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Reverend PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the Chair that the arguments in support of this bill are both legion and patent, and I shall follow the practice of the prior witnesses and be brief, and simply let my brevity underscore the tremendous enthusiasm of the District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee in support of this bill.

Thank you very much.

Senator BIBLE. I very much appreciate it. It is good to see you. The last time I saw you was in Chicago.

Reverend PHILLIPS. I recall it.

Senator BIBLE. Correct?

Reverend PHILLIPS. Correct, sir.

(The prepared statement of Reverend Phillips, above referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF REVEREND CHANNING E. PHILLIPS, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee strongly supports S. 835 which would authorize \$450,000.00 for the restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home.

It is a sad fact that this country has paid little attention to the great contribution of black people to our history from the earliest colonial days to the present. Frederick Douglass should have an honored place in our history. Born a slave and reared in poverty, he became a leader of the fight against slavery and, after the Civil War, the fight for full equality. His life symbolizes the struggle of black people for dignity and justice in this country.

The restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home is of major importance. It will constitute recognition by this Nation of what black people have contributed. It will provide a place where people can come to learn about this great man and about the contribution of black people more broadly.

The Frederick Douglass Home will not be a museum just for black people. Our black citizens will of course have a justified sense of pride in it. But the benefits to whites will be just as great. I hope that this home will become a part of regular tourist tours so that white citizens across the country can learn about what black people have accomplished.

Senator BIBLE. Our next witness is Rev. Jesse Anderson.

Reverend Anderson.

His statement will be incorporated in full in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Reverend Anderson, above-referred to, follows:)

STATEMENT OF REV. JESSE ANDERSON

THE RESTORATION OF THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME

My purpose in speaking with you today is not to read a long statement, instead I feel it is important for me to be frank and honest about the issue which is the Restoration of The Frederick Douglass Home.

To the Senator or Congressman who has never been in the Anacostia community our request for funds to restore the Douglass Home might seem silly and useless. But I ask you to try and imagine a young black child who is taken on a sightseeing tour of the various monuments that are dedicated to the great men of this country. How do think this child feels when he must return to his ghetto home and face the reality that there is no monument dedicated to the great Black men of this country. The child can not help but feel that the achievements of the Blackman are inferior to those of other Americans. I hope that you can now see how important the restoration of the Frederick Douglass Home is to the psychological morale of the Anacostia Community.

If you are still not convinced of the significance this appropriation will have on the community, together we shall evaluate the ideals and philosophies of the man Frederick Douglass.

Frederick Douglass was a self-educated man who believed in the four freedoms on which this country is based. Mr. Douglass was strongly opposed to anyone who felt that he could deny a person be he white or black the rights which he was entitled. He was not the type of man to sit and watch these injustices continue without voicing his opinion. On many occasions Douglass addressed pro-slavery groups and changed the minds of two out of fifth. The point in not the number of minds changed but the courage this man possessed in a time where he could have been lynched for looking the wrong direction. I am positive there is no one in this room who is so sure of his convictions to risk his life once, but Frederick Douglass risked his life everytime he spoke. Douglass was not afraid of public opinion. When Douglass announced the name of the lady he had chosen for his second wife, this choice brought a strong criticism from both Blacks and whites. In response to this was "My interest in any man is objectively in his manhood and subjectively in my own manhood."

I now feel that there should not be any doubt in the minds of anyone sitting in this room of the greatness of Frederick Douglass and how important the restoration of this house is to the members of the community. I hope that the people who will appropriate these funds, will keep this thought in their minds, you are not only appropriating money, but giving the Blacks in this city a sense of pride within in their communities.

Senator BIBLE. This has been an unusually impressive hearing. It is, of course, marked by its unanimity, but even stronger than that it is marked by about as great an enthusiasm on a cause and the desire to preserve and perpetuate a symbol, a symbol of freedom, and you can rest assured that this bill will be moving along very quickly.

In fact, it is reported right now to the full committee, and we hope the full committee will act on it next week. If that is not fast action, I do not know what it is.

Without objection, we stand in adjournment.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., the committee adjourned.)



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