FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOME

CEDAR HILL

May, 1968
Frederick Douglass Home
CEDAR HILL
Historic Grounds Report
Historical Data Section

by
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DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation
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National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand.

--Frederick Douglass
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The Historic Grounds Report on the Frederick Douglass Home, EWCP-H-12, has been written to provide the reasonably detailed historical data needed for the restoration and interpretation of the grounds and outbuildings to reflect Douglass' life and his years spent at Cedar Hill. The National Park Service plans to restore the estate to its appearance in 1895, the year Douglass died. In addition, the National Park Service aims to provide recreational facilities for the visitors to Cedar Hill.

Frederick Douglass, nineteenth-century Negro abolitionist, orator, journalist, author, politician and diplomat, has often been referred to as "Father of the Civil Rights Movement," or "Father of the Protest Movement." Douglass was born a slave in 1817, but escaped to freedom at the age of twenty-one. Shortly thereafter he participated in an abolitionist convention and thus commenced his lifelong dedication to the cause of freedom and equality for all oppressed peoples, in particular the Negro in America. Douglass gained widespread influence both in America and abroad for his work.

Douglass moved to Washington D.C. in 1872 and lived at A Street, N.E. until he bought Cedar Hill in 1879. At sixty-two Douglass was still deeply concerned with local and national problems. He was the
first Negro to be appointed D.C. Marshal and Recorder of Deeds, and he served as the U.S. Minister to Haiti from 1889 to 1891.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of Frederick Douglass, especially during his seventeen years spent at Cedar Hill, I turned to sources which shed light on his private life and personality. Douglass' attachment to his Washington home is apparent in the memories and memorabilia of his living descendants and his contemporaries. Many sources made specific reference to the growlery, a small stone den behind the house where Douglass escaped to meditate, plan, or write. Because of its significance in Douglass' daily life at Cedar Hill, I recommend that special attention be paid to its interpretation, and, if funds permit, to its reconstruction.

The abundant planting of the grounds and the open countryside all around Cedar Hill reflected Douglass' strong love of nature. Although most of the area bordering on the property has since been developed and much of the greenery has faded out, I think it is possible and advisable to emphasize in the restoration and interpretation of the grounds the spiritual and physical reinforcement Douglass received from his natural surroundings.

While a general layout of the estate in 1895 could be defined in this report, it was not possible to give an accurate and complete description of the grounds and outbuildings from the available photographs, maps, letters, and public records of the period. For this reason, it was necessary to rely heavily on an interview with
Mr. Pierre M. Taylor who first knew Cedar Hill as a boy of seven in 1908, a full thirteen years after Douglass' death. Although his memory checked well against established information on the grounds, one must allow for the possibility of human error and for the changes that probably occurred between 1895 and 1908. Furthermore, since he later lived at Cedar Hill with his wife as caretaker, from 1929 to 1939, he probably remembered some things from that decade, over thirty years after the planned date of restoration.

Another problem of research centered around an outbuilding that appears on an 1894 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map but unfortunately is not named. Since no other information was found on this structure, I suggest an archeological search to try to establish whether the building existed, and if so, what it was.

Several interviews with former caretakers and Douglass' descendants have been fruitful for this report. Unfortunately, due to her poor health, I was unable to meet with Mrs. Charles (née McKinlay) Flagg, who moved to Cedar Hill in 1908 to live with her family. She was eager to talk to me, and I am sure would be willing to speak to anyone else about the home, if her health permits. Mrs. Flagg's enthusiastic interest in the future of the Frederick Douglass Home was typical of all the living relatives and associates of Douglass' family who were interviewed for this report. It is their expressed hope that Cedar Hill, once an inspiration to Douglass, might some day soon become a "Mount Vernon" for the Negro race in America.
I am grateful to many people for their active cooperation and interest in this report. Special thanks go to three members of the Douglass family--Mrs. Anna Weaver Teabeau, a great-granddaughter of Douglass; Mrs. Fannie Douglass, widow of Douglass' grandson, Joseph Douglass; and Mr. Joseph H. Douglass--and to Mrs. Gladys Farham, present caretaker at Cedar Hill; Mrs. Spencer, librarian at Howard University; and, to Mr. and Mrs. Pierre M. Taylor, for their kind and generous assistance and contributions to my research. And, finally, my deep appreciation to Historian Charles H. McCormick for suggestions and advice, and to Historian Frank B. Sarles Jr., for his careful editing. Any errors in this report are entirely my own.
CHAPTER I

"FATHER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT"

Childhood in Bondage

Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, better known as Frederick Douglass, was born a slave in February 1817 on the plantation of Colonel Edward Lloyd in Tuckahoe, Talbot County, Maryland. In his early years, Frederick lived with several other young children under the care of his warm-hearted grandmother. At the age of seven he was taken to the home of his master, Captain Aaron Anthony, who managed the twenty or thirty farms and approximately one thousand slaves of Colonel Lloyd.

Douglass knew nothing of his father but suspected that he was a white man; his mother, a Negro slave, he knew from occasional nocturnal visits she made after walking twelve miles from a neighboring farm. Although his association with her was brief, Douglass' memory of his mother was one of joy and pride. As she was able to read and write--the only Negro in Tuckahoe with this skill--her son in later years proudly
attributed his own love of letters" not to my presumed Anglo-Saxon paternity, but to the native genius of my sable, unprotected and uncultivated mother."

One year at Captain Anthony's under the care of Aunt Katy, a Negro slave, proved a trial for young Frederick. "Want of food was my chief trouble during my first summer," he later wrote, and he remembered how often he had eagerly devoured "the crumbs and small bones flung out for the dogs and cats."

Douglass also suffered from inadequate clothing: both summer and winter he went almost naked. Moreover, he witnessed, for the first time, one of many whippings inflicted on his Aunt Esther, a slave, which left him "hushed, stunned and bewildered."

This occurrence, coupled with a new awareness that an aunt and uncle had escaped North and were free, transformed the 8-year-old to a fugitive from slavery in spirit and purpose.

Douglass conceded, however, that "I have nothing cruel or shocking to relate of my own personal experience while I remained on Colonel Lloyd's plantation." One of his light tasks was run-

1. Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York, 1962, reprinted from revised edition of 1892), p.36.
2. Douglass, p.34.
3. Ibid., p.49.
4. Ibid., p.70.
ning errands for the young mistress, Lucretia, who grew fond of Frederick and rewarded him with her special attention. In addition, he was permitted to play with Colonel Lloyd's son, Daniel, at the Great House.

Nevertheless, as he grew older, Douglass became increasingly disenchanted with his circumstances. Thus when, at the age of nine, he was transferred to the home of the Hugh Aulde in Baltimore, he felt no remorse. As anticipated, his lot was easier: he was washed, clothed, and fed, and his responsibilities were merely to look after Tommy, the Auld's son, who was Frederick's age. During the seven years Douglass lived with the Auld family, he discovered an interest in learning:

The frequent hearing of my mistress reading the Bible aloud . . . awakened my curiosity . . . and aroused in me the desire to learn. Up to this time I had known nothing whatever of this wonderful art, and my ignorance and my confidence in my mistress, emboldened me to ask her to teach me to read.

Sophia Auld, a kind and pious woman, readily consented to teach Frederick, but she had hardly begun when Master Hugh found out and forbade her to continue. Douglass heard Auld warn his wife: "If you give a nigger an inch he will take an ell. Learn-

5. Lucretia (Anthony) was married to Captain Thomas Auld, brother to Hugh Auld.

6. Douglass, p.78
ing will spoil the best digger in the world . . . if you teach him how to read, he'll want to know how to write, and this accomplished he'll be running away with himself." Hugh Auld's words made an indelible impression on Douglass' young mind; with the new awareness that "Knowledge unfit a child to be a slave," Frederick persistently sought means to educate himself. By the age of seventeen, he had taught himself to read and write, while the city and its shipyards offered him possible routes to freedom.

But when Captain Anthony, his first master, died, Douglass unexpectedly was transferred back to the farm of Lucretia and Thomas Auld for three years. The new surroundings were both foreign and hostile to Douglass after his seven years in Baltimore. When Auld failed to subdue Douglass to his satisfaction by beating him, he sent him to Edward Covey, "the Negro breaker." Hard field labor and weakly whippings broke Douglass "in body, soul and spirit;" he felt transformed by "the dark night of slavery" from man to brute. But in the midst of one flogging Douglass fought back and overwhelmed Covey. His decision to resist was a critical one in

7. Ibid. p. 79.
8. Ibid. p. 96.
Douglass' life:

I was no longer a servile coward... I had reached the point at which I was not afraid to die. This spirit made me a freeman in fact, though I still remained a slave in form.  

His return soon after to the Hugh Aulds in Baltimore made Douglass' last three years in slavery more bearable. Although he no longer received the same consideration as previously from the family, Douglass was granted enough freedom of action to allow him significant contacts for his flight north. In a discussion group of free Negroes he met Anna Murray, his bride-to-be, who helped carry out his escape. In addition, Douglass was permitted to earn a salary caulking in the shipyards, and it was there he met a Negro sailor who let him his travel papers which allowed Douglass to escape to freedom on September 3, 1838.

A Fiery Abolitionist

His formative years in slavery profoundly affected Douglass' career as a free man. Within four months after he and his new bride, Anna Murray, settled in New Bedford, Connecticut, he became a subscriber to the Liberator, edited by the renowned abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. The paper became his meat and his drink,

9. Ibid. p.143

10. Anna Weaver Teabeau considers her grandmother, Anna Murray Douglass, one of the most positive influences in Douglass' life. Mrs. Teabeau, personal interview, Washington, D.C., January 12, 1968, with author.

11. Very simply, the Garrisonian school of abolitionists advocated the sole use of moral suasion to overthrow slavery; poli-
Douglass later explained. In the summer of 1841 Douglass spoke at his first anti-slavery convention where he unwittingly commenced his career as an abolitionist. Soon after, he joined the anti-slavery movement and began a long series of six-month tours throughout the North, preaching Garrisonian ideas and describing his own years in bondage. Douglass' effective use of wit and passion in his recollections and denunciations of slavery brought fame wherever he lectured. In fact, so eloquent was he as an orator that people began to question whether he had ever really been a slave, and some accused him of being an imposter. Douglass hesitated to expose his complete identity as a fugitive lest he be apprehended under the Fugitive Slave Law. But in 1845 he decided to risk his freedom and answer the accusations in his book, The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass. The Narrative spread Douglass' fame throughout the Union, but since it also jeopardized his life and liberty, he decided to seek refuge in England. There he gained widespread recognition and support from his numerous lectures, so much so that a group of Britons raised $710.96 to buy Douglass his freedom.

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tical means were not to be considered. See Benjamin Quarles, Frederick Douglass, (Washington, 1948), p.18.

12. The Narrative, (Boston, 1845), was an immediate best seller: by January, 1848, 11,000 copies had been published in this country, while nine editions had been sold out in England. It was also translated into French and German.
In 1847 he returned and settled with his family in Rochester, New York, where he devoted ever-increasing time and energy to the anti-slavery cause. Within ten years Douglass was a prominent lecturer, the supervisor for the Underground Railroad in Rochester, editor and publisher of his own weekly newspaper, and one of the foremost exponents of "militant abolitionism." Furthermore, he practiced and preached both physical and mental resistance to prejudice. He refused to accept the segregated school system in Rochester and he promulgated his increasing militancy in his weekly paper, The North Star, which he began in 1847 and which lasted sixteen years, a considerable time span for abolitionist journalism. The fiery editorials bitterly criticized Negroes who did not feel race pride and who instead accepted discrimination and a sense of inferiority. Douglass even staged a modern "sit-in" on one lecture tour when he refused to leave a train car reserved for white men; so strong was his grip—on his seat as well as on his convictions—that when the conductors bodily removed him from the train they had to take the seat with him.

In the 1850's Douglass' growing urgency was reflected in his shift from the Garrisonian school to the politically-active Liberty Party, and in his friendship with the militant abolitionist, John Brown. When political channels did not fulfill his expectations, Douglass adopted the concept that the best hope for the Abolitionist movement was civil war.
By the time the Civil War did erupt in 1861 Douglass' lectures and *The North Star* had earned him considerable influence in the Union which he used to exert pressure on President Lincoln to free the slaves. Douglass' inspiring call, "Men of Color, To Arms," in 1863 launched his successful efforts to organize the first colored troops in the Union—the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Regiments—and to recruit Negro soldiers throughout the rest of the war. In addition, Douglass joined with others to insist that Negroes receive equal benefits with white soldiers and that they be eligible for commissions.

**Post Civil War: Success and Prominence in the Nation's Capital**

The Civil War not only saw the fruition of Douglass' agitation for the emancipation of the slave, but it also immensely enhanced his prestige. His success, however, did not alter his intentions and aspirations to be "an unflinching, unflagging and uncompromising advocate and defender of the oppressed."

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13. Philip Foner, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1964), p. 335; quoted from Douglass' address made on his 71st birthday. Douglass did not restrict his struggle to Negro civil rights; rather, he had wide interests in reform and he always advocated justice and equal rights for all men regardless of race, creed or color. He supported movements to abolish capital punishment, flogging in the Navy, and serfdom in Russia, while he supported the Chartist Movement in England. In addition, his interest expanded to the Peace and Temperance movements. But closest to his heart after Negro Rights was the Women's Rights movement in which he participated to the day he died. See Dr. Alain Locke, foreword of *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1941), xviii.
The post-Civil War years were both rewarding and frustrating for Douglass. When his Rochester home burned down in 1872, Douglass moved his family to Washington where he was able to afford a comfortable house on A Street, N.W. His greatest reward for his financial acuity, however, was Cedar Hill, a 9 1/4-acre estate in Anacostia which he purchased for $6,700 in 1877, and where he spent his last seventeen years of life.

Douglass' active support of the Republican Party following the war earned him a series of prominent political positions that helped to make him a more influential figure in the Nation's Capitol. 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 concentrated his post-Civil War influence on improving the conditions of the freedmen. Without land, citizenship, the vote, or civil rights, the majority of Negroes were still oppressed in their surroundings. In 1865 Douglass declared that "slavery is

14. Some critics claimed Douglass betrayed his people when he assumed his prestigious positions. After he accepted the office of U.S. Marshal in 1867, critics charged "The fat office gagged him." Foner, p.323. And in 1880, a letter to the Advocate declared that he and others to whom the community had once looked for leadership "have shown conclusively how little they care whether other colored men sink, as long as they swim." Constance M. Green, The Secret City, (Princeton, 1967), p.139.
not abolished until the black man has the ballot." Though he lectured across the North and West and wrote prolifically to warn, instruct, and inspire the public on this issue, his efforts were not rewarded until March 1870, when the Fifteenth Amendment was declared ratified by the Congress.

But conditions worsened in the South; the Negroes were increasingly confronted with mob law, murder and lynchings. Douglass feared that "unfriendly legislation" in the South could make liberty for the freedmen "a delusion, a mockery and a snare." To fight this possibility, Douglass tried to promote protective legislation and to apply the safeguards of the Constitution. He was disappointed, however, by the 1883 Supreme Court decision declaring the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional, and after he had visited the South in 1888 he earnestly addressed the nation: "I here and now denounce his [the Negro's] so-called emancipation as a stupendous fraud—a fraud upon him, a fraud upon the world." For the most part, Douglass maintained hope for a future racial harmony in America. It was his sincere contention that race pride and race

15. Foner, p. 238.
17. Ibid., p. 331. Address by Douglass on the twenty-sixth anniversary of emancipation in the District of Columbia.
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solidarity were fallacies and that "a nation within a nation is an anomaly. There can be but one nation... and we are Americans."

However, Douglass' views on integration were radical in a time of increasing racial tensions. Thus when he married Helen Pitts, a white woman, in 1884, a storm broke around them. White and black alike condemned the marriage and Douglass defended his action not without some bitterness and disappointment in the reaction from both races.

However, many people never faltered in their love and respect for Douglass and many found their way to Cedar Hill to visit the aging patriarch in his last years. In 1894, The Freeman, an Indianapolis Negro newspaper, proclaimed Douglass "The World's Most Noted Living Man; an Uncrowned King," and "The One Great Negro." Shortly before Douglass died of a stroke on February 20, 1895, a Howard University student visited him and asked how he should make his way in an age of prejudice. Douglass' answer suggests why he is often referred to today as "The Father of the Civil Rights Movements," for he told the young man, "Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!"

18. Green, p. 124.

19. Freeman, August 24, 1894, p. 5.; and November 17, 1894, p.1
CHAPTER II

THE MAN AND HIS HOME

On September 1, 1877, Frederick Douglass paid $6,700 to Freedmen's Saving Company for Cedar Hill, a 9 1/4-acre estate in Anacostia which had originally belonged to John W. Van Hook, a Washington real estate broker. After Douglass settled in Washington he had the opportunity, for the first time since he began his lengthy lecture tours for the Abolitionist movement, to enjoy his family and home at his leisure. The improvements and changes made on the grounds of Cedar Hill between 1879 and 1895 tell much about the daily habits and personality of Douglass in his later life.

Financial Security

Besides honor and power, Douglass had also accumulated a substantial fortune by the time of his death in 1895, which was evident from the changes in Cedar Hill and the inventory drawn up by his wife and his oldest son, Lewis. Although he could not compete

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1. The testimony of Charles F. Aked, however, is reassuring: "Riches, honor and power failed to spoil him; big and brave and tender-hearted, later life was as beautiful in its modesty and quiet strength, as those early years of storm and stress and passion were splendid with battle and victory." Aked, Christian World (London), February 28, 1895, In Memoriam, p. 312.
with the vast wealth of such contemporaries as Vanderbilt, Rockefeller and Gould, "by Negro standards he was a wealthy man. During the last fifteen years of his life, his total resources probably amounted to $100,000." The will Douglass drew up in 1886 showed assets of $85,000 other than Cedar Hill. To an extent, this accumulation resulted from a careful budgeting—he kept scrupulous accounts—and besides being a successful lecturer, he was also known to be a good trader in city property in Washington, and "turned a good many pennies by fortunate investments."

"Geth," a celebrated reporter for the Cincinnati Enquirer, visited Cedar Hill in 1886 and his impressions reflect the relative wealth of Douglass' estate:

Before you is a moderate-sized mansion on an elevation, surrounded by full-grown trees, cedars and firs and forest trees. This gives delightful shade and protection from the winds. The house is about fifty to seventy feet above the road, and high flights of steps lead up to it. A carriage drive goes around on the left and ascends the hill, and is trailed around the house after the fashion of the more elaborate residences of white men. In the rear of the house is a good large stable, and the outbuildings show at-

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2. Quarles, p. 339

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

tation to comfort and even luxury. I might suppose that this property, as it stands in no particularly stylish portion of Washington City, was worth $12,000 to $15,000.

The carriage house and outbuildings described by Cath were probably built by Douglass, because a survey of Washington, D.C. in 1877 shows only a rectangular brick building on the property. By 1892, the outbuildings numbered seven. Besides investing money in construction, Douglass also purchased 5.23 acres more land from Ella R. Talburtt one year after he bought Cedar Hill proper. Such extensive building and expanding during his residence reflects Douglass' prosperity as well as his growing attachment to Cedar Hill. During his last years Douglass spent more and more time at home, yet remained ever aware and involved in the controversial problems of his day.

A Romantic Love of Nature

Douglass' wealth enabled him to indulge his love of nature at Cedar Hill, which offered the luxury of a magnificent view of

6. "Cath", Cincinnati Enquirer, April 26, 1886, p. 1. The sub-headings to this article included "Not a Mere House, but a Respectable Mansion" and "Approached by Picturesquely Winding Drives."


8. Map of Washington, D.C., No. 3149, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1894, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The survey was made in 1892 and the map will herein be cited with that year.
Washington and an estate flooded with nature's riches. In Booker T. Washington's biography on Douglass, it was noted that "the broad grounds, shaded with trees, the well-cultivated garden, all told of his love of nature." The reminiscences of the Reverend Francis J. Grimké, stemming from a long personal friendship with Douglass, described "how he loved all nature, the flowers, and the grass, and the trees, and the birds, and the drifting clouds, and the blue sky, and the stars. He had the poet's love of nature."

Grimké's wife, Charlotte F. Grimké, also wrote a tribute to Douglass which leaves an impression of what inspired his sensitivity to nature:

> When I visited his home after he was gone . . . and gazed upon the beautiful view without, in which he took so much pleasure; the fine old trees, which he loved like friends, the river, and the hills, and the city, all bathed in a flood of golden sunlight...an overwhelming sense of loss took possession of me.

In nature Douglass found spiritual and physical fulfillment. Catherine Impay described an afternoon stroll with Frederick Douglass on his estate in September 1892: "...we wandered down by a fresh path through the woods, resting awhile on a fallen tree. 'Let us

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11. Ibid., p. 221.
be silent awhile and listen to nature,' he said." However, on

the veranda, "where hammocks and rockers and garden seats tempt[ed] one to rest," or under the trees on the hillside, with the magnificient landscape stretching out on all sides, was where Douglass more often rested, and where he told Francis Grimké "of the pleasure which it gave him, the satisfaction--how it rested him to com-
mune with nature."

While Cedar Hill provided for Douglass a relief and escape from everyday pressures through a return to nature, it also kept him in good health, for he took advantage of the spacious grounds to take walks, play croquet--a favorite game at which he was very skillful--and romp with his numerous grandchildren. One granddaughter, Frederica Douglass Sprague Perry, wrote of her grandfather that he "admired healthy, robust children, full of life, and it was part of his program with us to engineer muscle producing games."


15. Frederica Douglass Sprague Perry, "Recollections of her Grandfather," Box 1, Frederick Douglass Manuscripts, Howard University Library, Washington, D.C. Douglass' health benefited not only from exercise and fresh air, but also from never chewing, smoking, drinking whisky, or taking snuff. Letter to A. Calstrom from Douglass, February, 1886, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.
Thus, Douglass kept in excellent condition throughout his eighty-seven years. At thirty-seven he was described as "nearly six feet tall and well proportioned." In 1892 he had a "splendid physique, tall and powerfully built"; and, in 1895, his was a "tall and manly form of singular grace and vitality; the erect carriage that had something majestic about it." And, even on the day he died of a heart attack, February 20, 1895, Mrs. Douglass said that her husband had apparently been in the best of health and had shown unusual vigor for a man of his years.

The Patriarch and Host

On account of his magnanimity and perseverance in the struggle for civil rights, Douglass became patriarch not only to his own large family but also to a large percentage of his fellow Negroes, many of whom came to Cedar Hill seeking advice and aid. Douglass'...


20. Quarles' biography of Douglass describes him as the chief spokesman of the Negro people until his death. Quarles, p. viii. An 1880 biographical sketch described him: "full of honors and years he stands confessedly as the first man of his race in North America." George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880, 438. And in 1895, "He was to the Afro-American what Washington and Lincoln were to the Anglo-American." Anonymous, In Memoriam, p. 339.
excellent health as well as the spaciousness of Cedar Hill allowed
him to be a generous host to the many relatives, friends and admir-
ers who flocked to see him all year around. On one Sunday after-
noon in 1892, Catherine Impey counted forty-five visitors, "all
colored." Douglass' children knew they needed no invitation and
that they could stay as long as they chose, and often they, as well
as friends, remained at Cedar Hill for several weeks.

Such a constant stream of guests should have exhausted Douglass
but, on the contrary, he seemed to thrive when surrounded by those
who loved and respected him. Mrs. Fannie Douglass, wife of Douglass'
favorite grandson, Joseph, remembers her husband's enthusiastic
stories of the family picnics each Fourth of July at Cedar Hill,
where the view of the annual fireworks across the Anacostia must
have been spectacular. And another grandson, Haley Douglass, used
to tell Mrs. Parham (present caretaker at the home), how he, as a
boy, had often stopped by his grandfather's to gather nuts from the
many chestnut, black walnut and hickory trees, and roast the nuts

21. Impey, p. 16.


23. Mrs. Douglass, personal interview, Washington, D.C.,
January 30, 1968, with author.
over a fire. And distinguished visitors, as well as numerous
Howard University students, were treated to Sunday tea, a game of
croquet, or to one of Douglass' frequent violin performances.

In addition, a perpetual influx of unfamiliar admirers gave
Douglass the opportunity to show off his gardens, in which he took
great pride. Josephine Turpin Washington, a long-time favorite and
admirer of Douglass, wrote about her early memories of Douglass
when she had worshipped him at a distance and had written an arti-
cle on him:

Douglass was more pleased with what I had said of him than
most sketches of the kind. Naturally, I was gratified; how
much more proud and pleased I was when, attending a meet-
ing of the Monday Night Literary Club at his home. I was
singled out by the distinguished host and taken to look at
his strawberry bed and his flowers. 25

Likewise, Douglass escorted Miss Impey to the gardens, as she re-
corded in her diary:

There is a glen or valley on each side of the house,
down the sides of which slope the vegetable gardens,
where later on Frederick Douglass took me to see the

24. Mrs. Gladys Parham, personal interview, Anacostia, Wash-
ington, D.C., December, 18, 1967, with author. Mrs. Parham has
lived at the Frederick Douglass Home since 1949. Haley Douglass,
until his death some seven years ago, visited Cedar Hill often and
reminisced with Mrs. Parham.

25. Washington, "A Gifted Woman's Tribute to Mr. Douglass,
the Man and Friend," New York Age, March 14, 1895, Newspaper
clipping, Box 3, Folio 17, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.
sweet potato plants growing like cucumber vines in a tangle over the ground, among an orchard of young pear trees, etc. 26 Douglass also planted an orchard behind the house with peach, apple, pear, persimmon and cherry trees which he likely admired and displayed as he did the gardens on either side of the hill.

A Time and Place for Solitude

Although Douglass was a devoted father and host at Cedar Hill, he always made certain that he had the time and place to be alone in order to think and work in peace. His granddaughter, Frederica Perry, remembered that "he had two distinct periods that were daily observed by him--his working time and his play time--and he was visibly annoyed over any infringement upon either."

There can be no question that Douglass spent a good deal of time at his desk, judging from the voluminous correspondence, speeches, and articles he wrote while living at Cedar Hill. But where he did the bulk of his work remains a speculative issue, for Douglass kept two desks for writing, one in the library of the main house and

26. Impey, p. 15.

27. Receipts verify only one purchase of peach trees in 1893. Box 41, Building, Repair, Accounts, etc, 1876-1894, Frederick Douglass Papers, MCR. Mr. Pierre Taylor, who moved to Cedar Hill in 1906, testified to the other varieties of trees.

28. Perry, "Recollections," Box 1, Frederick Douglass Mss, Howard University Library, Washington, D.C.
one in a small, one-room structure, the "growlery," which stood about 150 feet behind the house. Historian Quarles wrote that "the pattern of his days at Cedar Hill varied little. After breakfast and walking, he went to his library where he spent some five hours daily." And Miss Impey described the growlery: "He showed me his little den, too, a small brick room out in the hot sunshine, where he sometimes hides to be quiet and write."

The growlery obviously was a special and very private place for Douglass. Mrs. Pierre Taylor, who lived as caretaker at Cedar Hill from 1919 to about 1936, recalls a story told to her by one of Douglass' old friends that whenever any lady wished to see inside the growlery, Douglass insisted on receiving a kiss from her first as a humorous token-payment for an intrusion on his private domain.

The interior of the growlery certainly seems to have been conducive to work and meditation. According to an article in the Washington Evening Star, "the furniture of this peculiar little house is a large fire place, in which two oak trees are generally smok- ing, and a desk literally filled with books and papers." Ap-

30. Impey, p. 15.
32. Washington Evening Star, (1895), Newclip 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, MCR.
parently the only other furniture besides the desk was a leather couch where Douglass could lie down to ponder or rest.

The simple and basic design for the interior of the growlery, as well as its exterior, suggests that Douglass sought to work in as natural a setting as possible—a reminder that he found a renewal of energy and strength in Nature. The floor was probably of dirt, and the structure itself must have blended right into the scenery, as it was covered with vines and surrounded by fragrant bushes.

Whether in the growlery or on a solitary walk before breakfast, Douglass cherished his quiet moments alone, and this trait deepens the portrait of a man who had a unique combination of ambition, sensitivity, vitality, wit, and compassion in his private and public life.

33. From interview with the Taylors and Mrs Parham.

34. Ibid.

35. Impey, p. 15.
CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CEDAR HILL IN 1895

Although the names of the streets which border the Frederick Douglass Home have changed since Douglass' lifetime from Jefferson and Pierce to W and 14th Streets, S.E., the boundaries of the estate have remained, for the most part, the same. When Douglass died in 1895, he left approximately fourteen acres of land with gardens, orchards, and outbuildings to his wife. Today, however, the National Park Service owns only 8.07 acres of the original property (apartment buildings stand on the remaining six acres) and there are few reminders of the luxuries which Douglass' estate once afforded him.

Moreover, there is scant written material to offer exact information on the physical layout of Cedar Hill as it was the year Douglass died. Several contemporary photographs and maps, however, help considerably in locating and identifying trees, buildings, and lawn furniture, as well as in tracing the driveway to the house. Also, a taped interview with Mr. Pierre McKinlay Taylor, who moved

1. The Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Society leased to the Glenarden housing development six acres on the southwest end of the original 9 1/4 acres to build the apartments which stand there today.
to Cedar Hill at the age of seven to live with the McKinlay family (trustees of the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association), proves helpful. Although Mr. Taylor's first memories of the house only date back to 1908, thirteen years after Douglass died and five years after his wife died, they contribute to the specific information gathered for this report, especially concerning trees and outbuildings, which likely did not change much in the interim.

Perhaps the most obvious and verifiable characteristics of Douglass' estate, as its name suggests, were the cedar trees and the hill on which the house stood. "The house [which faced north towards Jefferson Street] ... perhaps fifty to seventy feet above the road," Cuth reported in 1886, and "surrounded by full grown trees, cedars and fir and forest trees." A reporter for the Washington Evening Star likewise recorded that "the house is situated upon a hill about fifty feet above the street level," and surrounded by "massive cedar trees." Early photographs confirm that at least a dozen cedars stood around the house. Although the cedars were the most frequently mentioned trees, some reports specified that oak, chestnut, and hickory trees also dotted the hillside.


3. Star, (? , 1895), Box 3, Folio 17, Frederick Douglass Papers MCR.

And for those seeking to reach "F. Douglass' beautifully-situated home on its wooded knoll," there were two stairways and a carriage drive.

Stairways, Walkways and Driveways

Although two early photographs supply substantial information on the side steps, the front steps remain a subject of speculation as the documentation is skimpy and no known family photographs of the front approach have been preserved. A commemorative article on Douglass in the Washington Times on the day after his death furnishes one point of reference for examining the front steps in 1895: "The hill is one of the highest points in Anacostia, and the house is reached by the street by terraces and stone steps." Miss Impay was somewhat more specific: "You approach the house when walking by two steep flights of steps, with a light handrail under the shade of tall tulip trees." The climb up this steep front stairway the day he died, Mrs. Douglass explained, seemed to have exhausted her husband, and may even have triggered his fatal heart attack. And no wonder, as there were probably three landings and

over 100 steps to climb to reach the house. Moreover, the 1922 proposal made by the National Association of Colored Women, [later expanded to National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.], to make light changes in the contours of the terraces to allow "new steps of easier ascent" is a reminder of the physical strain involved in climbing the stairway.

Although the *Washington Times* described the front steps as stone, there is a possibility they were of brick and cement. In August 1886 Douglass received a bill for $83.00 from James Anderson "for mason work to furnishing brick cement sand and building steps and paving to repairing paving [at] dwelling...known as Van Hook Place." In 1894 Douglass again paid Anderson for "brick work on the steps of premises on Jefferson St., Anacostia." There is no specification, however, in the 1886 bill whether one or both flights

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9. *Washington Tribune*, September 8, 1945, [7]. Clip file on Frederick Douglass Home, D.C. Public Library, agreed there were three flights, not two, as Miss Impsy described. It is likely that when the driveway was completed across the front lawn in 1894—two years after Miss Impsy's visit—the break in the steps naturally formed the third flight of steps which remains today.


11. *Box 41, Building, Repairs, etc., 1879-1895, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR*.

12. Ibid.
of steps received the paving. If both flights were paved then the early photograph which shows the side stairway as white could suggest that the steps were cement-covered brick. Then again, Mr. Taylor’s recollection that the front steps were of brick alone, combined with the omission of paving for the second hill, offers the possibility that the front steps were not paved over. As the side stairway not only led to the carriage turn-around but also to the garden and well in the valley below, it was probably more functional than the front stairway. Thus, Douglass may have paved the side steps with cement to keep them well-groomed under heavy usage, while he left the front steps more elegant and decorative in brick.

Moreover, the tall tulip trees Miss Impey described certainly would have contributed to the elegance of the front approach. However the tulip trees are also problematic, as no other known reference was made to them and Mr. Taylor is convinced that no trees stood near the front steps. Miss Impey may have been describing the side steps instead of the front, but the trees bordering the side steps in the photographs, do not appear to be tulip trees.

13. It is my guess that tulip trees did shade the front steps and that they also probably died out somehow—as have so many other trees on the property—before Mr. Taylor ever arrived at Cedar Hill.
With the assumption that Miss Impey was describing the front steps, her account, combined with the photographs of the east side of the house, suggest that the front and side steps were similar in their basic features: simple wooden handrails, landings between flights, and walkways to and around the house. An 1895 issue of the Washington Evening Star states that "a concrete walk runs from the top of each stairway to the house." The walk on the east side shows up in the photograph as white, like the stairway, which suggests that the reporter's account is valid. But if the sidewalks were concrete in 1895, they had not always been, for in 1881 Douglass paid William Fletcher $130.00 to asphalt the sidewalk around "the dwelling in Uniontown." In addition, Mr. Taylor felt certain that the front walkway, like the front stairway, was of brick; if it was, then 1000 paving bricks purchased by Douglass from Richard Rothwell in 1886 may have been ordered (in this case) to pave the front walkway.

Mr. Taylor also recalled another brick walkway leading from the back door of the main house through the grape arbor and back lawn to the growlery. Mrs. Fannie Douglass likewise remembered

14. Washington Evening Star, (? , 1895), Newsclip, Box 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.

15. Building Repairs, etc, 1879-1895, Box 41, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.

16. Ibid.
such a walkway but she thought it had run from Douglass' library on the east side of the house to the growlery. It seems logical that Douglass would have built such a walkway to avoid the wet ground in bad weather when he wished to escape to the peace and quiet of his den. But since there is no documentary or photographic evidence of this walkway, it is possible that archeological investigation might verify or disprove these accounts.

The route of the carriage driveway—which Douglass changed twice during his residence—was well documented in contemporary letters, maps, and photographs. Douglass in 1894 wrote an angry letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia complaining that the repairs to Jefferson Street since 1889, causing the grade of the road to be cut down nearly twenty feet, had damaged his property and destroyed the "well made gravelled road entering his premises from the frontage on Jefferson St." This drive began on the east side of the front and gradually ascended along the same side of the hill to the top—about sixty yards behind the house—where it made a right-angle bend just beyond the growlery, and curved around to run along the west side of the hilltop, nearly to the front of the house, where it formed a circle, supposedly a-

17. Douglass to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, July 21, 1894. Box 25, Folio 91, Part V, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR. See Appendix for full text.
round a red oak tree. A post-and-rail fence rimmed the outer edge of the driveway ascending the hill, interrupted midway at the carriage turn-around, and again, across from the growlery.

After the level of Jefferson Street was so drastically altered, Douglass felt compelled "to construct a circuitous road at considerable expense to a back street." This drive Miss Impy referred to in 1892: "the drive has been cut in a spiral fashion around the knoll." Mrs. Douglass in her will also mentioned a "circular roadway south of the present brick carriage house and stable." The 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey also traces the route of this winding drive from the southwest corner of Douglass’ property to the top of the hill, where it met the main drive in front of the carriage house and stable.

But when this back drive "proved to be wholly unsuited to the purpose, and was necessarily abandoned," Douglass, in 1894, "at the expense of five hundred dollars, constructed another road on his

18. Interview with Mr. Taylor, January 3, 1968.

19. Photographs only expose a stretch of fence running parallel to the house and back yard; it is not certain the fence continued to either end of the driveway.

20. Ibid.

property on the line of Jefferson St. up to the front of his house."

This last driveway traced a path similar to the one appearing on the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey and Hopkins Real Estate Maps, except that it ran from the corner of Pierce and Jefferson Streets (now 14th and W) across the front, and around to the original roadway which led up the hill to the rear of the house. But no survey maps note these post-1892 changes in the driveway until 1903 in the Baist Real Estate Map, which explains why the 1892 survey maps, usually considered historically accurate for 1895, are not valid in this case.

Mr. Taylor also recalled a roadway connecting Douglass' estate with the Pitts' home just east of Cedar Hill. This road was lined with cedars and came in at the growlery from "over the hill," Mr. Taylor explained. Apparently, during his first years at the Douglass home (i.e., after 1908), the cedars died out and the drive

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23. Douglass to Commissioners, July 1894.
26. The Master Plan of the Frederick Douglass Home has approved the 1892 drive as the historic version and plans "to obliterate the non-historic part" parallel to Jefferson Street (W St.), which existed in 1895.
27. Helen Pitts lived with her uncle, E.F.P. Pitts, as Douglass' neighbor before she became his wife in 1884.
disappeared among new-grown trees. However, only a break in the driveway's fence across from the grove in an undated contemporary photograph lends support to Mr. Taylor's recollection. Even though both Cath and Miss Impsey commented on meeting Helen Pitts Douglass' relatives at Cedar Hill, suggesting that they were frequent visitors and that a direct roadway between the Douglass and Pitts estates would have been a logical convenience, it is improbable since Helen's uncle, as well as her father, disapproved of her marriage and refused ever to visit Cedar Hill. It is thus unlikely that the uncle would have consented to a connecting driveway between his home and Douglass'.

The Outbuildings

When Douglass purchased Cedar Hill in 1877 there were no outbuildings. By 1892 seven additional structures were marked on a contemporary survey map, all of which stood on the original 9 1/4 acres. Of these seven structures, only a few surface remains of


31. The other 5.23 acres to the south bought by Douglass in 1879 were probably pasture land, as they showed no structures.
three still stand on the property. Some documentation and photographs from the 1890's and 1930's give information on the carriage house and stables, the barn, the growlery, and a small building, presumably the privy. But concerning the function and general description of the three remaining buildings there is no available evidence other than the recollection of Mr. Taylor.

The Carriage House and Stable

The most prominent outbuilding was a large, two-story brick carriage house and stable. While only casual reference was made to this structure by Douglass' contemporaries, two early photographs as well as a few from the 1930's give specific details on the exterior, while Mr. Taylor's memory serves as the only source of information for the interior.

Douglass probably built the carriage house and stable in 1881 when he purchased "13,333 Hard Brick" from Martin and Bro. The building stood southwest of the house, just on the edge of the hill. The large doorway of the carriage house faced east and was entered by one branch of the driveway, while the other branch curved back north to form a circle on the west side of the house.

32. Building Repairs, etc., Accounts 1876-1895, Box 41, Frederick Douglass Papers. 13,333 bricks at 2 1/4" x 4" x 8" will build 952 square feet of 8" thick wall with an assumed height of 10 feet, a building approximately 12' x 40' or 15' x 32'. Brown Morton, Historic Architect, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, NPS.
A wooden partition divided the interior into a carriage house and stables. The front two thirds had space enough for three carriages, and the back and was built up on the hillside and held five stalls, three for horses, two for cows. The carriage section had a brick floor and a window on each side facing north and south. Above the front doorway and under the gabled roof was a good-sized square opening to the loft where hay was stored for the cattle. A ladder which ran up the wall inside the carriage house also opened into the loft; the coachman probably climbed it often to fetch the harnesses hanging in the loft.

An inside door gave passage from the carriage house to the stable and two doors on the north and south sides of the stables permitted the animals to enter and leave. Four slits in the west end of the building over the five stalls undoubtedly helped to ventilate and give light to the stables. Douglass obviously took great pride in and care of his horses, for the Washington Evening Star made a point to mention his "well-kept stables in the rear," and

33. The inventory made of Douglass' possessions after his death listed 1 family carriage, one phaeton buggy, and 2 wagons. Obviously they all could not fit into the carriage house and some were probably kept in the barn.

34. Douglass in 1892 had a "black negro driver" named "York." Impey, p.16. It is not certain the harnesses were hung in the loft in Douglass' day, as they were when Mr. Taylor was at Cedar Hill, but it does seem to be a logical place for them.
that his "horses are exceptionally fine and are kept in the 35
best manner."

The Corn Crib

Only Mr. Taylor's account specifies that the small structure
appearing on the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey map just south of
the carriage house was a corn crib. His recollection that the
corn crib was 12' x 12' with wooden slats to allow air to penetrate
and circulate and with a slat door which faced the driveway seems
logical and specific. The corn Douglass stored probably was the
"Indian corn" which Miss Impey mentioned grew at the bottom of the 36
hill, close to Pierce Street.

The Barn

The Coast and Geodetic Survey map of 1892 indicates that a
frame structure standing on the edge of the hill formed an ell with
the north side of the carriage house. This building, judging from
its size and location, must have been the barn. Miss Impey's diary
gives the only other contemporary information on the general vic-
inity of the barn: "Near it [the cornfield] are carriage house, sta-
bles, and a small barn." A 1930's photograph taken from the bot-

35. Washington Evening Star, (†, 1895), Newsclip, Box 2, F 110
18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.

36. Impey, p.15.

37. Impey, p.15.
tom of the hill shows the shell of a small brick building with two windows and a door which stood against the hill next to the carriage house; Mr. Taylor claims he saw this structure complete when he lived at Cedar Hill. His testimony logically explains why the brick shell stood where a frame structure had been indicated in 1892: apparently, the small framework barn rested on a brick base which served as a chicken house. While the chicken house faced west, the frame barn stood level with the hilltop and faced east across the back yard. In front of the chicken house was a wired-in chicken yard enclosing about one-half an acre. In front of the barn, across from the driveway, was the lawn where Douglass often played croquet.

While no known reference, other than Mr. Taylor's, has been made to the brick chicken house on the lower level, Miss Impey managed to recreate a scene within the barn: "We rested in this barn -- he in an old chair and I on a truss of hay--and we talked while a pleasant negro [sic] workman passed about doing some repairs." The workman may have been mending the wagons or farm tools kept in the barn, if what Mr. Taylor remembered applies also to Douglass’ day. And since the drive stood just outside the barn door there was easy access to the fields or stores roundabout.

38. Ibid.
The Privy

The outline of a small structure standing on the edge of the hill just to the rear of the house can be detected in two early photographs and is also marked on the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey map. Mr. Taylor identified this building as the privy. The privy stood on a line with the other outbuildings and rested, like the barn, on a brick foundation built against the hill. Mr. Taylor remembered the privy as an impressive looking small frame building painted grey—the same color as the house—with a shingled roof. Inside, a long board extended across the room with three holes, one smaller one for the children. Mr. Taylor claims that this privy then stood opposite to a large ash tree on the back lawn; today the parlor of the caretaker's cottage stands where the ash tree was.

An Unidentified Structure

Only one small building, which according to the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey map stood on a line with and between the barn and the privy, remains totally unidentified, even by Mr. Taylor. Perhaps archaeological investigation could ascertain whether the survey map added one too many structures to the line of buildings along the hill.

39. Today the house is painted white.
The Growlery

Much has already been said in Chapter II about the growlery, Douglass' private den. Since the growlery, like the carriage-house and stable, did not collapse until Hurricane Hazel in 1956, there is more specific information on its location and description.

The date of its construction, however, is unknown. It was built by 1887, though, for in September of that year Douglass commented in a letter to Mr. and Mrs. Francis J. Grimké that "I am in the growlery writing to you." The growlery, as shown by contemporary maps and photographs, stood about sixty yards to the rear of the house on the east side of the hilltop, just inside of the right-hand bend in the driveway. Photographs from Douglass' day on up to 1950 reveal the growlery to have been a small, one-room structure of rough stone masonry with a crude wooden door facing the back yard behind the house. There were no windows except a skylight in the shingled roof above the doorway. The furnishings were simple—a desk, a couch, and a large fireplace. Today only the fireplace stands to commemorate this structure, which had such great significance in Douglass' private life at Cedar Hill.

The Servants Quarters

Only one of the outbuildings was not constructed on the top of the hill. The 1892 maps indicate that a frame structure stood at the foot of the hill, almost directly south of the house. This building has no documentation other than Mr. Taylor's recollection that it was a four-room cottage which Douglass originally built for his frequent family house guests, and which later came to be the servants' quarters, probably after Douglass added a wing onto the main house. However, the land on which this cottage once stood is part of the six acres of Cedar Hill leased to the Glen Gardens apartment development.

The Water Supply

The Cistern

The spot where Mr. Taylor claimed a cistern stood on the south side of the carriage house and stable, near to the corn crib, does not appear on the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey map. The only evidence of the cistern other than Mr. Taylor's memory is a recording of cleaning the cistern in the 1908 minutes of the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association; moreover, it seems logical that a cistern would have supplied water for Douglass' animals in the same fashion as it did when Mr. Taylor lived at Cedar Hill. According to Mr. Taylor, rain water traveled down from the gabled roof of the carriage house, through a pipe to the container below. A charcoal
filter in the cistern purified the water for the cattle. The cistern was of brick covered by cement and was round with a square top. A pump served to draw the water to the trough—approximately 1' x 4' x 5' in size—from which the animals drank. The pump was mentioned in an 1895 edition of the Washington Evening Star: "A pump in the rear of the stable supplies the stock."

The Well

A 125-foot deep well supplied "very fine water" for the residents of Cedar Hill, Mr. Taylor recalled. This well still exists, although covered over, at the bottom of the hill southeast of the house. To reach the well from the house one had to follow the side steps down to the valley below the driveway. Mr. Taylor was certain that there was no means to force the water up to the house; a person had to pump the water from the well and hand-carry it all the way up the hill.

The Washington Evening Star commented on possibly another source of water: "A large spring at the foot of the hill in the rear of the house, yields a plentiful supply of pure water." Mr. Taylor remembered the stream but there is no other known written evidence.

41. Washington Evening Star, (? , 1895), Newsclip, Box 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.

42. Ibid.
of it. The stream probably flowed across the land sold by the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs to private interests who built the apartment buildings now standing south of Cedar Hill.

The Natural Surroundings

Cedar Hill in 1895 was striking in its natural surroundings: both the beautifully planted grounds and the panorama from the front terrace were memorable sights. Gath in 1896 described his impression of the spectacular scenery stretching north from Cedar Hill:

It [Cedar Hill] commands a beautiful view of the city of Washington, and of the broad rivers which form the boundaries of Washington, and meet at the Arsenal Point. Under his eye lies the whole city, the monument, the dome of the capitol, the Navy Yard, near and far buildings, and the rolling heights of Maryland and Virginia. 43

Unfortunately, contemporary documentation on the grounds of Cedar Hill does not provide such specific detail as Gath's account on the view, but combined with some excellent early photographs, a few of Douglass' hills, and Mr. Taylor's memory, the scene can be reasonably recreated.

The Front

The front stretch of land running from Jefferson Street up the hill to the house was "nicely terraced" in Douglass' day. These


44. Washington Evening Star, (7, 1895), Box 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCAH.
terraces Mr. Taylor vividly and nostalgically recalled were once beautifully shaped--steeper and more sharply defined than they are today--and were planted with a variety of shrubbery. Mr. Taylor added that on the top terrace two large Norwegian spruce stood on either side of the walkway which led from the edge of the hill to the front porch. Mr. Taylor's memory is proven correct by two nineteenth century photographs which show these four trees, and by a bill paid to John Saul in April 1861 for six Norwegian spruce at $50.00 each. However, the border of peony bushes along the walk from the steps to the porch which Mr. Taylor described do not appear in either photograph. This discrepancy might be due to the years the pictures were taken; one is dated 1887 and the other is undated, which allows the possibility that both pictures were taken before Douglass had the peony bushes and lilies planted. In addition, neither photograph was taken in the spring, which would explain the absence of lilies. There is no question, however, that Douglass set out rockers, garden seats, and hammocks on the front porch and lawn in the summer for his family and guests.

The West Side

Catherine Impey's diary of 1892 provides the best contemporary description of the two sides of the house, especially the west side

45. Box 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NACR.
to which Douglass specifically escorted Miss Impey:

There is a glen or valley on each side of the house, down the sides of which slope the vegetable gardens, where later on F. Douglass took me to see the sweet potato plants, growing like cucumber vines in a tangle over the ground, among an orchard of young pear trees, &c. Rising behind the garden to the west is a cornfield -- "Indian Corn" as we call it in England--where the huge sheaves stand 8 feet high baking in the sun. 46

Mr. Taylor's recollection of the west side was similar to Miss Impey's: he referred to vegetable gardens, four large pear trees and the Indian corn grown for the cattle, which extended from the pear trees to Fourteenth Street, the western boundary of the property. Instead of sweet potato plants "in a tangle over the ground," however, Mr. Taylor recalled that honeysuckle grew all over the hillside down to the pear trees to hold the banks together. It is likely that the sweet potato plants and the strawberry bed (which Miss Turpin Washington remembered from her visit), served the same purpose as the honeysuckle did--to prevent erosion of the banks. The west hillside needed this planting the most, as it was the steepest.

Besides the vegetable and fruit plants, Douglass also cultivated flowers in the gardens on the hillsides. In addition,

46. Impey, p.15.

47. Washington, New York Age, March 14, 1895, Box 2, Folio 18, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.
Mr. Taylor recalled many lilac and strawberry bushes which, when in bloom, must have been colorful and fragrant attractions on the hillside.

However, the oak, chestnut, and cedar trees which covered the western hillside are the only vegetation mentioned by Mr. Taylor which are discernible in the photographs taken during Douglass' lifetime. The cedar trees were tall and prominent, especially when the other trees held no leaves. A row of cedars followed the line of the hill from in front of the house to a short distance behind it, and they dotted the hillside below. These lofty cedars added an air of majestic splendor to the estate; unfortunately, only a very few remain today to remind the spectator of the grounds as they were in Douglass' day.

Mr. Taylor, who, along with his wife, has an interest in plant life, identified by memory three varieties of oak tree on the west hill: red, white and pin. As was mentioned earlier, he recalled that the driveway made a circle around a large red oak on the west side of the hilltop. Photographs of the day do not give a clear idea of how many chestnut or oak there were but it is evident that they were scattered over the hillside.

48. A strawberry bush does not produce fruit; it has red flowers which probably give the bush its name. The lilac bush usually has a lavender or purple flower. Both bushes bloom in the spring, and are noted for their fragrances.
The East Side

Two early photographs taken from a hill that probably marked the border of the property give a fairly good idea of the appearance of the east side of Cedar Hill. The driveway formed a terrace midway down the hill and thus split the hillside into two separate sections. Several large trees flourished on the section above the driveway while on the hillside below, which dropped to the glen or valley described by Miss Impey, only a few smaller trees grew. The valley, Mr. Taylor recalled was a rich area for vegetation.

Although it is not discernible through the other trees in the early photographs, a magnolia tree stood, (and still stands) between the side walkway and the house, and was noted by Miss Impey: "I was . . . showed . . . into the reception-room on the left of the entrance . . . with two deep bay windows to the south, shaded by great magnolia and other trees." The towering cedar tree which shows up just left of the magnolia tree in the 1890 photographs was probably one of the "other trees" Miss Impey mentioned. Also on the hilltop off the front of the house was a large oak tree.

The hillside above the driveway from the side steps to the front of the house was garnished with at least ten trees, three of

which were cedar. Mr. Taylor recalled that another magnolia
grew close to the steps not far from the driveway, but the photo-
graphs do not appear to support this recollection.

From the carriage turn-around a short, steep flight of wood-
en steps led down to the valley. The photographs do not focus
clearly enough or include sufficient area to be very specific as to
the variety of plants in the glen. Mr. Taylor, however, vividly
recalled that cherry, black walnut, and apple trees grew there, as
well as a persimmon tree which Lydia Shackleton referred to in a
letter to Douglass in 1889. One large cherry tree, Mr. Taylor
specifically noted, stood to the left of the well. The vegetable
garden probably grew string beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and the stan-
dard area crops, as the soil was very fertile.

Mr. Taylor described the boundary between Cedar Hill and the
Pitt's estate to the east as a line of tall cedars, very close to-
gether. Although this is picturesque and a possibility, consider-
ing all the other cedars on the property, there is no existing evi-
dence to prove Mr. Taylor's recollection.

The Back

Early photographs recreate most of the area from the rear of
the house to the southern border of the original 9 1/4 acres, while
the 1892 Coast and Geodetic Survey map gives the general layout of

50. Box 22, Letters, 1889, Part V, Portfolio V, Frederick
Douglass Papers, National Capital Region.
the remaining area of Douglass' property. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor's combined interest in horticulture sharpened their recollections of the extensive plant life that once grew to the rear of the house.

A long flat lawn stretched out behind the house, bounded by the arch of the driveway. Across the driveway to the south was an orchard, and to the west, near to the barn, tall trees grew. In the spring and summer the back area must have been spectacular as bushes, vines and trees bloomed with a wide variety of color and fragrance.

The curvilinear lawn behind the house hosted a grape arbor, a croquet game, the gowleri, and numerous shrubs and trees. The grape arbor—an arched, latticework bower—extended about fifty feet south from the east side of the house. If Mr. Taylor's recollections are correct, a brick walkway passed through the arbor, making the grapes—which he testified were "very fine,"—accessible and inviting. On a latticework fence and on bushes near the west side of the house, roses grew. Six or seven lofty trees sprinkled across the lawn provided a shaded area for hammocks and garden seats. Mr. Taylor specifically recalled that a large ash and several black walnut trees stood on the lawn; the others were probably oak and chestnuts.

The southern end of the lawn provided an open space for the croquet game which Douglass enjoyed so. The gowleri, which stood apart on the southeast corner of the lawn, Mr. Taylor described as surrounded by and immersed in exotic vegetation. Wisteria vines
crawled up and onto the roof; strawberry, orange blossom, and lilac bushes covered the area close by. In the spring their flowers richly clothed the growlery in purple, pink, white, red, and orange and scented it with their delicate fragrances. Two small trees which look in photographs like fruit trees, grew behind the growlery, only a few feet from the driveway.

The east side of the lawn slumped down to meet the driveway as it ascended. Three giant oak punctuated this hillside between the side steps and the growlery, as did regelia and forsythia bushes. Lilies of the valley bloomed in the spring on the top edge of the hill. On the west edge of the hilltop, across the driveway from the lawn, a sprinkling of oak, chestnut, and locust trees stood near the barn.

Across the driveway to the south, an orchard wound down and around the hill to the valley east of the house. Blurred photographs make it difficult to identify the trees but Mr. Taylor recalled that many peach, pear, apple, and cherry trees grew in the orchard. In 1893 Douglass purchased a dozen peach trees which were undoubtedly planted there. Stretching out beyond the orchard was rolling

51. Photographs show the wisteria and fruit trees, but are not clear enough to show the bushes Mr. Taylor described near the growlery.

52. Again photographs only expose the trees clearly; the smaller details described are from Mr. Taylor's memory.

53. Box 41, Building, Repairs, Accounts, etc., 1876-1894. Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.
countryside with meadows and woods as far as the eye could see. Such untamed Nature was a constant delight for Frederick Douglass, a man whose spirit was never molded by nor chained to the conventional standards of his day.

From Douglass to the Present

The grounds of the Frederick Douglass Home no longer reflect the splendor of Cedar Hill in 1895. None of the seven outbuildings remain; the majestic cedars have vanished; the original chestnuts perished in a blight during the 1930's; only one hickory pear tree suggests the once flourishing orchard; and crab grass covers the garden areas. The old dirt driveway still begins at 14th and W Streets and winds up east of the hill to the rear of the house. But the elegant circle and the long, shaded lawn have been replaced by a caretaker's cottage and a bleak gravel parking area. Both the driveway and stairways are in sad disrepair as is the spacious house itself. The terraces have lost their distinction, and the trees surrounding the house no longer suggest the splendor of their predecessors.

This stark comparison to the graceful abundance once maintained at Cedar Hill underlines the financial demands that have been made on each successive administrator of the estate. When Douglass died intestate, because he failed to have three witnesses sign the will he made out in 1886 leaving all of Cedar Hill to his wife, the estate was divided among his heirs. Mrs. Douglass' interest in preserving the home as a memorial to her husband was not shared by Douglass' relatives; consequently, she agreed to buy their part of
the estate for $12,000. In order to pay this sum and maintain the
home she was obliged to mortgage the property, take in boarders,
and write commercially. Before she died she succeeded in incor-
porating in Congress the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical
Association (FDMHA), and in her will she left the care of Cedar Hill
to the appointed trustees of the Association.

The trustees also found the expenses of maintaining Cedar Hill
to be heavy. The FDMHA managed to pay $1500 of the mortgage, and in
1908-09 paid for the cleaning and repairs of the cistern and pump,
laying a boardwalk, and replacing the "old water closet"—pres-
sumably the privy mentioned in this report—with a sanitary closet
attatched to the house. However, in 1916 the trustees found it
necessary to appeal to the National Association of Colored Women's
Clubs (NACWC) to help save the Douglass Home and properly celebrate
the coming 100th Anniversary of Frederick Douglass' birthday.

The NACWC not only agreed to join forces on the administrative
responsibilities of Cedar Hill but it also was able to burn the

54. James Hinda, Historic Structures Report, Part II, Historical
Data Section, January 11, 1968, Division of History, CAHP, p.21.

55. Souvenir Program, p.11.

56. Minutes of the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical
10 and 15. Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.

57. Souvenir Program, p.10,
mortgage within the year. Moreover, the Association set a goal to raise $15,000 for the saving and restoration of the home and grounds. In 1921-22 they hired Robert Brown of Anacostia to make slight changes on the contours of the terraces and to plant trees and shrubs. In addition, Morris L. Walls built cement walks and steps on the property. In 1928 the NACWC arranged to grade and fill in the driveway with cinders and they contracted to pay $10,000 to erect the 5-room brick addition behind the house for the caretaker.

The 1930's marked the first efforts of the Negro public schools of Washington to pay tribute to Frederick Douglass. In May 1932 the sixth grade of the Burville School of the District of Columbia planted the first new cedar tree on the ground, and in 1933 a committee of D.C. teachers held a ceremony with the Negro school children to plant more cedars. In 1939 the Frederick Douglass Memorial Fountain, which still stands near the west front of the house, was dedicated on the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the free public schools for the colored children in the District of Columbia.

58. These changes made on the grounds of Cedar Hill in 1921-22 are noted in the Historic Structures Report, Part I, 1965, NCR. The source of this information, however, is not noted in the report and cannot be traced to the Frederick Douglass Papers.

59. Box 41, Bill, Receipts, post-1895, Frederick Douglass Papers, NCR.
The two cedars which today stand near this fountain were among those planted in 1939. Finally, a memorial arch of brick was built to the south of the house beyond the driveway sometime within the same decade, presumably again by the Negro public school faculty and pupils.

Also in 1939 the Federal government took an interest in preserving and restoring Cedar Hill. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired some fifty of its National Youth Administration (NYA) trainees from the Phelps Vocational School to beautify the grounds. According to the Washington Tribune on March 18, 1939, the young men cleared the grounds, graded and terraced a part of the area, prepared soil, planted flowers, seeded and sodded the lawn and terraces, moved shrubbery, regraveled the driveway and did concrete work where it was needed. Mr. Taylor, however, claims that after he moved out of the caretaker's cottage, this planting and shrubbery was deliberately burned.

After 1939 no major changes were made to the house or grounds and gradual deterioration from inadequate maintenance set in.

60. 1864-1939, Dedication of the Frederick Douglass Memorial Fountain in Connection with the 75th Anniversary of the Establishment of Free Public Schools for the Colored Children of the District of Columbia. Dedication Program owned by Mrs. Gladys Parham, Cedar Hill.


Mrs. Gladys Parham, who moved to Cedar Hill in 1940 and remains as caretaker today, has contributed a good deal of her own time and money to the upkeep of the estate. By February 1961 the shortage of funds for the preservation and restoration of Cedar Hill was so critical that the FUMHA and NACWC launched a Frederick Douglass Memorial Restoration Program to encourage greater national interest in, and financial support of, the Douglass home. When their efforts failed to raise adequate money, the Associations donated Cedar Hill to the Department of the Interior. On September 5, 1962, Congress passed a bill, S. 399, designating the Frederick Douglass Home as part of the park system in the National Capital.

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APPENDIX

To The Honorable Commissioners Of The District Of Columbia:

Gentlemen:

The undersigned petitioner would respectfully represent that he is a citizen of the United States; that he is a property holder and a resident on Jefferson St., Anacostia, D.C.; that he has there resided and paid taxes during the last seventeen years; that the frontage of his property extends on Jefferson St. from Pierce St. to Adams St.; the same constituting a square; that when he purchased this property, and twelve years thereafter, he had easy access to it and exit from it by a well made gravelled road entering his premises from the frontage on Jefferson St.; that five years ago, or thereabout, while the undersigned was in Haiti as minister resident, the Honorable Commissioners of the District of Columbia caused the grade of Jefferson St. to be changed and the earth in front of his premises to be cut down to a depth of nearly twenty feet below the original grade and thereby destroyed his front entrance entirely and otherwise damaged his property; that, in order to obtain entrance and exit to and from his house, the undersigned was compelled to quit his Jefferson St. front and to construct a circuitous road at considerable expense to a back St., which road proved to be wholly unsuit-ed to the purpose, and was necessarily abandoned; that he has since, at the expense of five hundred dollars, constructed another road on his own property on the line of Jefferson St. up to the front of his house, there being no entrance from the St. directly to his house;
that, owing to the depth of the grade already referred to, the front-
age of his property has remained in a wretched condition until now;
that he has repeatedly called the attention of the Commissioners of
the District of Columbia to the damage thus inflicted upon him by
the change of grade on Jefferson St. and that they have several times
promised to give the subject their consideration, but that, thus far,
nothing has been done to remedy the evil complained of. On the con-
trary, even the sidewalk, for which he was taxed, instead of being
protected, has been torn up and the bricks used elsewhere in front
of other property not belonging to the undersigned.

Now, therefore, the undersigned respectfully petitions the pre-
sent Commissioners of the District of Columbia to examine the said
premises and to consider the expediency of constructing a sustain-
ing wall of about fifty feet in length on Jefferson St. and protect
the sidewalk and make it possible for the undersigned to have a front
entrance from the said St. to his residence.

And so your petitioner will continue to pray.

(sgd) Frederick Douglass

Cedar Hill, Anacostia, D.C.

July 21, 1894
PLATE 1.

Winter scene, front of house, 1867 showing a young spruce tree near walkway. Man unidentified but probably a member of the family. Photo by Charles F. Douglass. NCR. Collection.
PLATE 2.

Front of house showing porch furniture and two full-grown spruce trees. Date unknown except prior to 1895. Faint outline of a man with a white beard and bowler hat on the porch may be Frederick Douglass. Photo in pamphlet owned by Mrs. Fannie Douglass, Washington, D.C.
PLATE 3.

View looking Northeast from porch roof. Date unknown but probably prior to 1895. NCR Collection.
PLATE 4.

View looking northwest from porch roof. Date unknown but probably before 1895. NCR. Collection.
East side of the house showing the stairs leading down to the driveway and carriage turn-around. The grape arbor trellis extends south behind the house and just left of the trellis is a small structure presumed to be the privy. Note the lofty cedar trees surrounding the house. Date unknown except prior to 1895. NCR. Collection.
PLATE 6.

View of the back of the house from the orchard. Across the driveway to the left is the growlery. Douglass' private den. Date unknown except prior to 1895. NCR Collection.
PLATE 7.

A granddaughter of Douglass', Hattie Sprague, playing croquet, Douglass' favorite sport. Outline on left probably the privy. Date unknown but probably prior to 1895. Howard University Collection.
PLATE 8.

Frederick Douglass (?) in front of carriage house and stable. On right, faint horizontal line probably marks the roof of the barn. Date unknown but probably prior to 1895. NCR. Collection.
PLATE 9.

Front and east side of the house. Prior to 1922, Douglass probably exercised on the rings hanging from the front porch. To the left of the house part of the grape arbor trellis and magnolia tree show up, and to the rear, outlines of the carriage house and stable are evident. *Souvenir Program*, 1922. Division of History Files.
PLATE 10.

View of the house from W Street, c. 1930's. The terracing of the front hill is more gradual than in Douglass' day. Many of the original cedars no longer stand. The young cedars planted on the hilltop are probably those donated by the Negro public school in the 1930's. The driveway entrance and front stairway seem not to have changed positions. Division of History Files.
PLATE II.

View of Cedar Hill from northeast corner, c. 1930's. Just behind the house is the caretaker's cottage added in 1928. Division of History Files.
PLATE 12.

Driveway leading up to back of house, c. 1930's. Paint outline of growlery and top of carriage house and stable are visible. Division of History Files.
PLATE 13.

Growlery and carriage house and stables, c. 1930's. The back lawn and orchard area show little resemblance to the scene of 1895. Division of History Files.
PLATE 14.

Full view of carriage house and stables, c. 1930's.
The barn no longer stands along side this structure.
Division of History Files.
PLATE 15.

View of house and caretaker's cottage from southwest corner of property c. 1930's. A shell of what may have been a brick chicken house beneath a frame barn stands to the left of the carriage house and stable. Division of History Files.