D-[redacted] 16
File:
Fort Circle Parks
Also coded:
Anacostia

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment
Park Users and Neighbors
Civil War Defenses of Washington and
Anacostia Park, District of Columbia,
for Park Management Plans

Juárez and Associates, Inc.

D-16
File:
Fort Circle Parks
Also coded:
Anacostia

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment
Park Users and Neighbors
Civil War Defenses of Washington and
Anacostia Park, District of Columbia,
for Park Management Plans

December 30, 1997

Prepared by:
Brett Williams, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
and
Tanya Ramos
Assistant to the Principal Investigator
with
Jacqueline Brown, Ray Chesterfield, Ph.D., Melinda Crowley, Benjamin Daugherty,
Robin Dean, Lisa Kinney, SherriAnn Lawson, Susie McFadden,
Patrick Pierce, Kenneth Pitt, and Terik Washington

Submitted by:
Juárez and Associates, Inc.
1725 K Street, NW Suite 608
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 331-7825 / (202) 331-7830 Fax

Submitted to:
Lawrence F. Van Horn, Ph.D.
Contracting Officer's Technical Representative
Denver Service Center
National Park Service
12795 W. Alameda Parkway
Denver, CO 80225
(303) 969-2255 / (303) 987-6679 Fax

NPS Purchase Order #1443-CX-2000-97-049

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank the park visitors and community members who participated in our study. Although we have promised not to publish their names, we appreciate their time, their concern for the parks, and their sincere and substantive comments.

We also thank all of the National Park Service (NPS) staff who assisted us with this study. The names of the NPS staff members whom we consulted are listed in Appendix F. They provided us with valuable information and guidance at all stages of our research and we sincerely appreciate the time they took to collaborate with us.

We are ethically bound to report these criticisms whether or not justified. We note here, however, the little-known contributions the NPS has made over many years to the District of Columbia beyond providing its citizens with perhaps the most abundant and beautiful parkland of any city in the United States of America. Readers will discover in this report, as we did in our research, that the NPS has brought funding for parks and creative ideas to Washington during some of its hardest times.

We gratefully acknowledge past NPS superintendents and staffers who stepped up for the citizens of Washington. Today, as many city departments have fallen under receivership, and an appointed Financial Control Board has assumed many of the city's governing functions, there is no particularly self-serving reason to solicit the views of the citizens of Washington. Yet the NPS has once again stepped up. We appreciate the opportunity to participate in that process.

We are also grateful to Pennelton Clark, Donald Peterson, and Sylvia Pitt, who volunteered their time as unpaid researchers to help us at three of the most challenging parks. They proved to be sensitive field workers at parks they know well, and they sparked illuminating discussions with visitors there.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ix

I. INTRODUCTION 1
- A. Background for the Study 1
- B. Historical Context for the Parks 2
- C. Overview of the Research 5
- D. Organization of the Report 6

II. METHODOLOGY 7
- A. Scope of Work and Research Questions 7
- B. The Research Approach 8
- C. The Research Team 9
- D. Research Methods 12

III. ANACOSTIA PARK 21
- A. Overview of Methodology for Anacostia Park 27
- B. Anacostia Park 29
- C. Seafarers Boat Club, Inc. 59
- D. River Terrace 63
- E. Kingman Park 68
- F. Kenilworth Park 72
- G. Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens 81

IV. CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON, DC 87
- A. Overview of Methodology for the Civil War Defenses of Washington 92
- B. Fort Foote 93
- C. Fort Greble 98
- D. Battery Carroll 104
- E. Fort Stanton 108
- F. Fort Davis 115
- G. Fort Dupont 119
- H. Fort Chaplin 139
- I. Fort Mahan 144
- J. Fort Bunker Hill 152
- K. Fort Totten 159
- L. Fort Slocum 165
- M. Fort Stevens 169
- N. Fort DeRussey 178
- O. Fort Reno 182
- P. Fort Bayard 196

Q. Battery Kemble 203
R. Fort Marcy 209

V. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS 215
A. Analysis of Findings for Anacostia Park 215
B. Analysis of Findings for the Civil War Defenses of Washington 221

VI. CONCLUSIONS 227
A. Conclusions Regarding the Research and REAP 227
B. Conclusions Regarding the Parks and Planning 228

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS 231
A. Recommendations Regarding the Research 231
B. Recommendations for Planners 234

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY 239

List of Exhibits

Exhibit 1: Map of Anacostia Park and Anacostia River 23
Exhibit 2: Map of Civil War Defenses of Washington 89

List of Tables

Table 1: Produce Grown by Fort Dupont Gardeners 124
Table 2: Produce Grown by Fort Stevens Gardeners 171
Table 3: Produce Grown by Fort Reno Gardeners 185

List of Appendices

APPENDIX A: MAPS OF PARKS AND NEIGHBORHOODS 257
Map 1: District of Columbia Residential Neighborhoods 259
Map 2: Anacostia Park and Anacostia River 260
Map 3: 1865 Beltway of Forts 261
Map 4: Fort Foote 262
Map 5: Fort Greble 263
Map 6: Fort Greble, Battery Carroll, and Fort Stanton 264
Map 7: Forts Stanton, Davis, Dupont, Chaplin, and Mahan 265
Map 8: Forts Bunker Hill, Totten, Slocum, and Stevens 266
Map 9: Forts Slocum, Stevens, DeRussey, and Reno 267
Map 10: Forts Reno and Bayard, Battery Kemble, and Fort Marcy 268

APPENDIX B: ILLUSTRATIVE NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE CLIPPINGS . . . 269

Farrington, Max

1940 Summer Water Program in Washington. *In* District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds, Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue 271

Kennedy, Will P.

1925 Linking of Forts Embodied in Plan: Interparkway Would Connect and Preserve Chain of Historic Civil War Sites. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, December 4. 272

Wheatley, William

1926 Great Northeast Park is Projected: Plan of Area Similar to Rock Creek Now Considered. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, January 31. 273

The Washington Daily News

1937 400 Wild Acres to be Opened this Year in Eastern D.C. Will be 'Picnic Heaven.' Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, March 1. 274

The Washington Post

1967 Area Forts: The Ramparts Once Watched. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 25. 275

Kelly, Tom

No date. Ft. Stanton Lies Mostly in the Mind's Eye. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available. 278

Lewis, Alfred and Harry Gabbett

1958 Juveniles Harass 'Baby' Precinct. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, no date. 279

The Washington Post

1980 Weekends at Fort Dupont. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 21 280

Rosenbaum, Claudia

1992 Garden's a Fortress Against City Clamor. Washington, DC: The Washington Times, June 4. 281

Kirby, Brendan
1996 Fort Reno Conflicts Force Wilson to Scramble. Washington, DC: Northwest Current, November 13. 283

APPENDIX C: ILLUSTRATIVE FLIERS AND BROCHURES FROM NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS 285
"Anacostia River Clean-Up Day" (Flier). 287
"Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program, Inc.: Press Release". 289
"Marshall Heights Community Development Organization" (Appendix IV, GAO/RCED/HEHS-95-69 Comprehensive Approaches to Community Development). 290
"Fort Bunker Hill Park Clean-Up" (Fliers). 294
"Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc." (Brochure). 297

APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIVE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FLIERS, BROCHURES, AND MEMORANDUMS 299
"Protests in Anacostia" (Text from National Park Service Home Page) 301
"Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed'" 302
"Calendar of Events: National Capital Parks- East" 309
"Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens" (Brochure). 313
"Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens and Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule" 315
"Civil War Defenses of Washington Management Plan/Environmental Assessment: A Newsletter from the National Park Service" 316
"Fort Dupont Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule" 321
"Rock Creek Park Gardening Regulations" 322

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM 327

APPENDIX F: MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CONSULTED FOR THIS STUDY 331

APPENDIX G: SUMMARY TABLES OF METHODOLOGY USED TO CONTACT PARK USERS 337

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Park Users and Neighbors Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park, District of Columbia, for Park Management Plans

Introduction

The Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP) of the Civil War Defenses of Washington (also known as the Fort Circle Parks) and Anacostia Park in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area were designed to assist the National Park Service in preparing management plans. The study builds on the National Park Service's commitment to collaborate with communities in the vicinity of its park units, and to use applied ethnographic research to learn of cultural issues and other local concerns. The study had two overarching goals: to identify and document cultural meanings and traditions people attach to the parks, and to solicit concerns and suggestions for change from park neighbors and visitors. Researchers were to report these concerns without acting as their advocates.

Method

The study was carried out from December 1996 to March 1997. The research questions focused on historical and contemporary links between parks and communities, categories of park users and non-users, the resources visitors used, the meanings and values they attached to those resources, their relations with the National Park Service (NPS), and the changes they would like to see. The research questions were answered using Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures, modified to account for the winter research season and for the diversity of parks in size, location, and function.

Major Findings for Anacostia Park

Anacostia Park contains seven different sections, officially designated by the National Park Service as sections A through G. However, most visitors and neighbors do not use those letter designations. They refer to Sections C, D, and E of the park as "Anacostia Park" and to the other sections by other names (such as River Terrace or Kenilworth Park). Understanding how park users identify the parts of the park is essential to clarifying their concerns, which differ for each section.

Anacostia Park receives heavy, year-round use and serves visitors of different class and ethnic backgrounds from around the region. The smaller sections serve mostly neighbors, except for the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, which attract tourists. Use at Kenilworth Park is uneven. This unevenness is primarily seasonal. Kenilworth Park lies empty, for example, throughout the winter. However, the uneven use is more complicated. Park visitors report that on some summer weekends Kenilworth Park is very crowded, while on other summer weekends the picnic area and playing fields lie unused.

Anacostia Park is very important to the "traditional users" who live nearby and come to the park to fish, picnic, gather with families, and find peace. They express a sense of identification and ownership for the park. A number of these users also express concerns about the recent influx of new users from other areas. Many favor better maintenance or light development of park facilities. These traditional users do not communicate as easily with the National Park Service as do the more organized user groups.

Kenilworth Park is a contested space. Some would like to see it developed as a soccer complex, and others would like to see it as a nature preserve.

A number of area residents are concerned about the relationship between Anacostia Park and the Anacostia River. These individuals urge environmentally appropriate actions.

Major Findings for the Civil War Defenses of Washington

Based upon our research, we characterize the parks as falling into four types: multiple use, neighborhood, serendipitous, and orphan parks, as follows. Forts Foote, Dupont, and Reno are "multiple use parks" that offer a variety of activities and attract people of various ethnic groups who live in different parts of the city and region. Forts Greble, Stanton, Chaplin, Bunker Hill, Slocum, Stevens, Bayard, and Battery Kemble Park are "neighborhood parks" used extensively by individuals of all ages living close to them for dog-walking, hiking, sports, and contemplation. Forts Davis, DeRussey, and Marcy are "serendipitous parks" that visitors walk or drive through, happen upon, or visit impulsively. Battery Carroll and Forts Mahan and Totten are "orphan parks" that appear to receive little care or use.

With the exception of Forts Foote, Bunker Hill, and Reno, there is little cross-cultural interaction in the parks that experience regular use. As might be expected, the neighborhood parks are used by the ethnic group that predominates in a particular neighborhood. In the multiple-use parks, certain activities tend to be the domain of particular ethnic groups.

Fort Dupont Park is the site of important African American cultural practices, including community gardening that preserves southern food traditions; family reunions that honor the theme of "coming home"; and musical performances featuring gospel, rhythm and

blues, blues, jazz, and go-go music, a genre indigenous and unique to Washington. Fort Dupont Park also houses the nation's only all-African American ice hockey team.

Many of the parks have a strong cultural relevance for users and play a crucial role in the city's public life. Residents express pride, affection, ownership, and identification regarding particular Civil War Defenses of Washington. However, knowledge of individual parks' historical importance is limited to personal family and community histories. Almost none of those interviewed could describe the historical significance of individual parks or the Civil War Defenses of Washington in general, and in some cases had erroneous perceptions of the history of the parks.

Park users tend to define their concerns in terms of personal interest or uses of the parks. However, there is a general feeling among African American residents that financial resources among different parks are not distributed equitably.

Park visitors and neighbors tend to favor light development of the parks. We detected four themes in their views. Some emphasize the importance of the Civil War Defenses of Washington as green space and urge that they be kept natural. These users prefer unspoiled woodlands that offer habitats to plants and animals, such as Fort Bunker Hill. Others favor facilities for organized sports use. For example, some users would like to see a baseball diamond constructed at Fort Reno. Some would like to see more historical, educational, interpretive programs, such as rangers on site, youth-led tours, or more informative historical signs. Many "traditional users" would appreciate improved facilities for picnicking, playing, fishing, and seeking solitude. As examples, they requested more picnic tables, safer recreational equipment, and improved park maintenance at several of the parks.

Principal Recommendations

Seek a balance between the different directions visitors would like to see the parks take, insofar as possible under the National Park Service's mandate to conserve the national parks.

Value the concerns of "traditional users" who may be less visible in public forums.

Investigate the potential of Kenilworth Park as a soccer complex that would not disrupt its fragile ecology.

Support the programs of the environmental activists regarding the Anacostia River.

Consider more culturally appropriate and varied histories at the Civil War Defenses of Washington.

Enhance the potential of Fort Dupont Park to serve as a site of African American cultural practices.

Consider expanding opportunities for gardening, as this activity carries on cultural traditions and supplements local larders.

Invest financial resources in the "orphan parks," Battery Carroll and Forts Mahan and Totten, so that visitors find them clean, safe, interesting, and welcoming.

Examine the eligibility of the Anacostia Swimming Pool, the site of the Bonus Army's camps, Seafarers Boat Club, the Civilian Conservation Corps projects at Fort Dupont (especially Lanham Estates), and the Fort Stanton neighborhood to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and provide opportunities for the public to learn about the history of these areas through park interpretation.

Clarify the confusion between who administers which facilities in the parks. Consider centralizing all use permits under the NPS.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background for the Study

This ethnographic study is part of an effort by the National Park Service (NPS) to develop long-range management plans for Anacostia Park and the Civil War Defenses of Washington (also known as the Fort Circle Parks). These plans will provide management direction to protect the parks' natural and cultural resources and to provide for visitor enjoyment. Public participation is very important, and this study is part of a larger process of contact that seeks input, feedback, and discussion from and with the public. The study aims at understanding better how neighborhood residents and other groups use and value the parks. The study especially concentrates on those who may be less likely to participate in more established public-involvement activities. One population of park users whose park use and concerns this study does not address is the members of Congress and their staff who use the parks for organized sports activities.

Anacostia Park stretches along the eastern and western banks of the Anacostia River. The park contains six parts: "Anacostia Park" (or Sections C, D, and E in the official National Park Service designations); Seafarers Boat Club; River Terrace; Kingman Park; Kenilworth Park; and the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. The Civil War Defenses of Washington include 17 sites that remain from the 68 forts, 93 unarmed batteries, and 20 miles of rifle trenches surrounding Washington, District of Columbia (DC), at the end of the Civil War (Handly 1996). Some of these fort properties reverted to the original owners, others were developed for new residents, including Freedmen, and one (Fort Lincoln) was transferred to the government of the District of Columbia. Today's Civil War Defenses of Washington under National Park Service management form a ring around the city. Moving counter-clockwise from Southeast to Northwest, these NPS sites are: Fort Foote, Fort Greble, Battery Carroll, Fort Stanton, Fort Davis, Fort Dupont, Fort Chaplin, Fort Mahan, Fort Bunker Hill, Fort Totten, Fort Slocum, Fort Stevens, Fort DeRussey, Fort Reno, Fort Bayard, Battery Kemble, and Fort Marcy.

The study builds on the National Park Service's commitment to applied ethnographic research as a tool for collaborating with park visitors and neighbors, managing parks in a culturally appropriate fashion, and soliciting community views about alternative courses of action. Applied ethnography helps managers to make plans that protect cultural resources while providing all visitors with recreational and educational opportunities. The applied ethnographer aims to discover what people value culturally in their parks as well as the potential that people see for change. The Applied Ethnography Program places an emphasis on the cultural resources that are significant to "traditional users, the groups associated with particular parks [who] typically assign significance to places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples" (National Park Service 1994: 166). In our study, these traditional users were primarily African Americans who have attached cultural meanings to special places in the national parks related to southern foodways, urban expressive traditions, the struggle for civil rights, and the importance of coming home.

The study focused on the residents of the communities where Anacostia Park and the Civil War Defenses of Washington are located. The city's residential patterns have been shaped by historical shifts in race relations, modes of transportation, and the urban infrastructure. These patterns influence our study in that most park neighbors, and thus study participants, were African Americans. While national parks are designed to benefit the citizens of the nation as a whole, the concerns of those who live in close proximity to the parks deserve special attention. "The citizens of that area are certainly as entitled as any other citizen to enjoy the park's benefits," noted Dr. Benita Howell in reporting on her research for the NPS on the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River in Tennessee. Howell points out that the opinions of members of the communities surrounding national parks may warrant extra consideration from planners and administrators as they are "asked to sacrifice land or cultural continuity so that others can enjoy the park" (Howell 1984: 275).

The goals of this study were to discover the experiences and perceptions of park visitors and neighbors, the cultural meanings that traditional users attach to these parks, the users' ability to communicate with NPS staff, and the ways in which they would like to see the parks change or to remain the same. In searching for culturally significant landscapes, sites, and structures, researchers also pursued the goal of identifying places that might be evaluated for eligibility on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register already lists the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, Langston Golf Course (administered by the NPS under a concessions agreement), Battleground Cemetery, and the forts of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. As we document later in the report, initial research suggests that other sites might include: the Anacostia swimming pool, the Anacostia flats, and Seafarers' Boat Club as sites of important human rights activities; Lanham Estates at Fort Dupont Park for its homecoming/family reunion traditions; the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp and projects at Fort Dupont; and the African American neighborhood which took Fort Stanton as its name. We also considered the amphitheater at Fort Bunker Hill as a possible site for the National Register.

B. Historical Context for the Parks

The historical development of the region has shaped the area's national parks. The confluence of the Potomac and Anacostia rivers provided a hospitable site for early human habitation. For thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans, the Nacotchtank Indians hunted, farmed, fished, and conducted trade in this area. Captain John Smith visited the site in 1608 (Smith 1631). These Native American villages did not long survive the arrival of English settlers.

When Washington was selected as the site for the new capital, the economy of the area was still oriented toward the water. Planners thought the city would grow toward the Anacostia River and that the Anacostia area would lie at the city's commercial heart. However, the pollution of the river had already become severe under the regime of large-scale plantation agriculture in the 19th century. As the century progressed, Washington grew away from the water, and the river became severely degraded from military and industrial wastes and urban sewage. The Nacotchtank

village had become a malarial wasteland by the end of the century, later to be reclaimed and restored as Anacostia Park.

At the time of the Civil War, Washington was still a sleepy southern town. To protect the city, the federal government acquired private estates and rapidly cleared woodlands to arm the hilly perimeter with earthen forts, "the watch fires of 100 circling camps" commemorated in Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn of the Republic. The war changed Washington dramatically, as soldiers flocked into town, greatly outnumbering the civilian population. African Americans fleeing slavery came to the city, finding sanctuary near the forts. The Freedmen's villages which they populated offered day labor to the soldiers in the forts and sometimes became early free African American communities.

After the Civil War, the city began a period of rapid development and growth, which continued the move away from the fetid Anacostia River and into the highlands. Modest suburban development took place to the north and the west, following new utility, sewage, and streetcar lines, encompassing Forts Bunker Hill, Totten, Slocum, and Stevens. By the 1930s, automobile transport and the construction of bridges crossing Rock Creek Park had sparked new residential settlements surrounding Forts DeRussey, Reno, Bayard, Marcy, and Battery Kemble. These neighborhoods were farther from the center city than the earlier streetcar suburbs, and their residents were considerably more affluent. Not until the 1950s and 1960s, following large urban renewal projects west of the Anacostia River, was the area east of the river fully urbanized. It grew very quickly then, with an abundance of apartment buildings, public housing developments, and arterial highways, surrounding Battery Carroll, Forts Greble, Stanton, Davis, Dupont, Chaplin, and Mahan and the Kenilworth end of Anacostia Park.

The national parks withstood this development and remained oases of green for several reasons, beginning with the original vision of Pierre L'Enfant in the 1790s for a park-filled city. Then, in 1901, the Senate established the McMillan Commission to develop a coherent design for the Washington region, building on Pierre L'Enfant's founding plan. Parks were central to this commission's vision as well. In 1930, the Capper-Cramton Act provided funds to the District of Columbia to acquire parkland. Finally, despite dizzying changes in agency names, there has been consistent support for preserving Washington's parklands and open spaces, dating back to the founding of the capital city. Yet social and economic disparities within the city and other historical events and forces have affected the character of the individual parks. To help explain park differences, we go into some detail about the relations over time among communities, parks, and the groups who use the parks.

Washington's role as a government town, shifting race relations here, and several key events provided the foundation for today's residential patterns. The national government has always been the city's most important employer. Further, Washington, DC has lacked the industrial base of many North American cities and, therefore, did not experience heavy immigration from Europe during the 19th century. However, service and retail sector employment have been important sources of jobs. African Americans have from the founding of the capital formed a

substantial portion of the city's population, drawn by job opportunities, the growing African American community itself, the city's southern ambiance, and the presence of northern abolitionists in the United States Congress. However, until the 1960s, African Americans encountered a job ceiling here, as they were restricted to employment in domestic service, behind-the-scenes jobs (such as stock clerks) in the retail sector, and positions as custodians and messengers in the national and district governments.

Until 1950, African Americans were, for the most part, residentially confined in a small, densely populated area south of Florida Avenue, Northwest (NW), surrounding the city's government facilities and monumental core. Restrictive covenants, whereby property owners promised not to sell their homes to someone who might change the ethnic character of a neighborhood, were legal in the nation and prevalent in the city. All public facilities, with the exception of the city's streetcars, were racially segregated. In 1949, the United States Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants were illegal. In 1954, the Supreme Court held that school segregation was also unconstitutional. These decisions helped to transform the residential patterns of the city. African Americans began to move north of Florida Avenue into neighborhoods formerly populated by European Americans, near Forts Totten, Slocum, and Stevens. European American residents moved in large numbers to the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. Federal Housing Administration policies helped to keep these new suburbs racially segregated by granting low-interest mortgage loans almost exclusively to European Americans. European American residents remained almost entirely in the neighborhoods lying west of Rock Creek Park, near Forts DeRussey, Reno, Bayard, and Battery Kemble Park, where houses were too expensive for most African Americans. Until the 1970s, when some European American residents returned to several other neighborhoods, the Fort Bunker Hill community was exceptional in its racial integration. European Americans remained there, despite the in-migration of African Americans, because they were tied to the institutions of the Roman Catholic parish.

Washington, DC, east of the Anacostia River bears witness to these same processes, but residential patterns here were shaped as well by the District of Columbia's activist urban renewal project in the 1950s and 1960s. As houses in the formerly all-African American downtown area were condemned and razed, the United States Housing Authority constructed a number of public housing developments east of the river. Many of those who were displaced from their homes were relocated there. These developments hastened the exodus of European Americans from the area as well as the construction of other inexpensive residential properties. The Frederick Douglass Bridge, which carries South Capitol Street across the Anacostia River, stands as a silent emblem of this change. In 1945, the European American Anacostia Citizens Association commemorated the opening of "Victory Bridge," the city's first highway maintenance project after World War II. In 1965, the African American Federation of Civic Associations re-dedicated this bridge with the name of Frederick Douglass, an African American abolitionist and long-time resident of Anacostia. Today, the Civil War Defenses of Washington lying east of the river (Battery Carroll and Forts Greble, Stanton, Davis, Dupont, Chaplin, and Mahan), as well as all of Anacostia Park, lie in predominantly African American neighborhoods. A disproportionate number of the residents in these neighborhoods live in poverty.

In 1997, several park neighborhoods bear witness to the latest wave of immigration to the United States. War and civil strife have dislocated immigrants and refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Some have settled in neighborhoods near Forts Bunker Hill, Totten, and Stevens, further diversifying the park-using communities there. Others are enthusiastic park users at Anacostia Park, including its Kenilworth section, and at Fort Reno, where they contribute to contemporary pressures of parkland. Most of their use reflects the importance of soccer as a national and cultural tradition in their home countries and as a way of building community in a new home. Thus, Washington's national parks have been shaped by and must respond to complex urban, national, and international processes and events.

C. Overview of the Research

This is a study of Washington's national parks in winter. The research took place from late December 1996 through mid-March 1997. During this time researchers employed Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP), modified to adjust to the season and to the diversity of the parks in size, location, and function. Our methods included reviewing historical documents, interviewing knowledgeable NPS staff, and conducting transect walks with community ethnographers (people who lived near the parks, knew them well, and drew on their social networks to locate other consultants). Because we found few visitors in the parks, we searched for signs of past use through imported equipment, litter, garbage, signs, and graffiti. We also organized focus groups in collaboration with local experts. In some cases these groups included formally organized users, who seek use permits for reunions, athletic events, or gardening. In other cases, we relied on the community ethnographers' social networks to recruit park neighbors. We posted fliers in every park asking visitors to call us with their sentiments and concerns. Finally, we attended public meetings of community organizations, where we asked to be part of the agenda to discuss the parks at issue with the people present.

In the report, we faithfully convey the varied views we encountered through these methods. In many cases we quote people directly. Reporting these views does not mean that we endorse them. Nor does it mean that in every case these views stem from accurate knowledge of the processes and institutions that have shaped the parks or the communities in which they are found. In some cases, park visitors expressed concerns about facilities operated by the government of the District of Columbia which border on parkland administered by the NPS. In these cases we have reported their concerns and noted that their confusion about which agency is responsible for the operation of facilities, such as recreation centers, indicates a need for increased coordination between the NPS and the District of Columbia's government. Our emphasis on reporting, or conveying views, is consistent with the NPS' concern for understanding local values. It is also consistent with anthropological ethics and the philosophy that social scientists should not try to "perpetuate their own research goals or the priorities established by funding agencies, but rather to attune their studies to the priorities of communities" (Deloria 1980 as cited in Grobsmith 1991: 95).

D. Organization of the Report

The following Methodology section describes in detail the methodology employed to meet the study's objectives. Immediately after the Methodology, Chapter III presents the findings for Anacostia Park. Chapter IV includes the findings for the individual Civil War Defenses of Washington extending from Fort Foote to Fort Marcy. The Analysis of Findings section, which follows Chapter IV, discusses the overall findings for Anacostia Park and for the Civil War Defenses of Washington. The Conclusions section includes general conclusions regarding the parks as well as those dealing with the research process. We describe challenges posed by using Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures to study parks in the winter and how we modified some of the procedures. Finally, the Recommendations section offers possible future research and alternative courses of action that have emerged as proposals from the communities where we worked.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Scope of Work and Research Questions

The research explored Anacostia Park and the Civil War Defenses of Washington. Our goal was to help the National Park Service (NPS) understand the cultural meanings that people give to the cultural and natural resources it manages. We also hoped to illuminate the concerns that present-day peoples have about their national parks and the ways they believe the parks could better serve their communities. By documenting the cultural traditions and social relations shaping park use, this ethnographic research should help planners make appropriate, effective, collaborative decisions about desired futures for Washington's national parks.

Thus, the study provides an overview of groups using the parks, including recreational and traditional users, as well as those who go there simply to be alone. We also sought out non-users, who live near the parks but for varied reasons do not visit them, to learn how the parks might become of greater interest to them. Because our study took place during the winter, we relied on peoples' memories, perceptions, and suggestions, rather than on direct observations of their behaviors. Our study encompassed parks of varied sizes, in disparate locations, offering diverse activities to similarly diverse visitors. Thus, we tailored our procedures to accommodate the different challenges posed by each park. We provide a list of the research questions for this study, followed by a detailed methodological discussion. We do this so that the reader can evaluate our evidence, in the hope that our work can help model rapid ethnographic research appropriate to different seasons and varied parks.

These were our research questions:

1. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively? When and how do the parks provide people bridges rather than barriers to members of different groups? Do women and men, children and adults, use the parks differently?*

2. *What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where do they use those resources? How do these uses vary during the day, the week, and the cycle of seasons? Are there places where people go once in their lives, every weekend, for an annual event, everyday?*

3. *How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park? How do they name and identify the park, the parts of the park, and the communities that surround the park?*

4. *What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources? Is the park an important backdrop, or does it provide significant resources, for preserving*

cultural traditions and national identities, marking biographical transitions, celebrating family reunions, building new communities, or making the city home?

5. *What is the social cultural context of consumptive uses of park resources such as gardening and fishing?*

6. *What places in the park hold special significance? What aspects of their history do groups relate to park resources?*

7. *What other (historical/natural resource) relevance does the park have to park neighbors and users?*

8. *What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?*

9. *Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?*

10. *What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?*

11. *How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?*

B. The Research Approach

The research was conducted between late-December 1996 and mid-March 1997. Additionally, researchers visited Fort Marcy in May 1997. The study employed Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP). These procedures included consulting with NPS staff, reviewing historical documents, making observations at all 23 park sites, conducting interviews of various types, organizing focus groups, posting fliers to solicit telephone calls from park visitors, and holding comment sessions at public meetings.

Two fundamental principles of REAP are (1) collaborating closely with community members and experts, and (2) valuing local knowledge (National Park Service 1994). We tried to realize these principles in several ways. We consulted closely with NPS staff, who well understand the complexities of the parks they develop, manage, interpret, and maintain. Secondly, our team included as full participants four community ethnographers. They are researchers who have lived in park neighborhoods for many years. While not formally trained in cultural anthropology, they have local expert knowledge, long-term experiences, and social networks which contributed to the research efforts. Finally, we tried to learn about the experiences and perceptions of a broad range of visitors and park neighbors (see also Beebe 1995). Our role has been to collect and convey the experiences and perceptions that people themselves describe.

The research was guided by NPS park planners, managers, and staff. These individuals attended one orientation meeting in December 1996 and two project briefings with members of the research team in January 1997. Team members also met with NPS staffers, who were familiar with patterns of park use, to learn about their concerns regarding the parks under their jurisdiction. Such concerns ranged from solving problems of dumping, through wanting to know if visitors recognized indigenous species of wildlife, to hoping to learn how Latin American visitors feel about park facilities. NPS representatives also provided orientations before we visited many of the parks and allowed us to examine use permits for several parks.

C. The Research Team

We use the pronoun "we" purposely in this study because it was genuinely a collaborative effort. Dr. Ray Chesterfield, Officer in Charge, holds a Ph.D. in International Education, an M.A. in Latin American Studies/Anthropology of Education, and a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles. Senior Associate Robin Dean received an M.A. in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) from Georgetown University and a B.A. in French from the University of California, Davis. Dr. Chesterfield and Ms. Dean provided administrative oversight as well as editorial and production assistance for the study. Robin Dean also managed personnel and financial matters and conducted negotiations between Juárez and Associates and the NPS.

Dr. Brett Williams, who holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Illinois and a B.A. in History from Tufts University, headed the research team. She has conducted anthropological research and participated in community programs in Washington for the last twenty years. Dr. Williams participated in all aspects of the research and preparation of this report, in addition to overseeing the research design and data collection. The research team included six research assistants who were formally trained in cultural anthropology and who brought to the study past and current experience in Washington communities. The six assistants were:

Melinda Crowley is a candidate for an M.A. from American University, Department of Anthropology. Ms. Crowley conducted observations and interviews with park users at park sites included in the Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park. Specifically, she contributed data on Fort Stevens, Fort Bunker Hill, Fort Slocum, Fort Totten, and Anacostia Park. She also organized and directed focus groups related to Fort Stevens (including users from Fort Slocum and Fort Totten) and Anacostia Park. In addition, she assisted in editing the chapter of this report related to the Civil War Defenses of Washington.

Benjamin Daugherty holds a B.A. in Economics and Philosophy from Beloit College. Mr. Daugherty conducted observations and contributed data related to most of the Civil War Defenses of Washington and to Anacostia Park. His research concentrated on Fort Marcy, Fort Reno, and Battery Kemble. However, he provided the research team with contacts related to

sports use and environmental issues for additional parks. He also canoed the length of the Anacostia River to make observations and interview people along the shore. Mr. Daugherty contributed to the preparation of the Fort Marcy section of this report.

Lisa Kinney holds an M.A. in Anthropology from American University. Ms. Kinney conducted portions of the literature review related to all of the Civil War Defenses and to Anacostia Park. She also interviewed members of the Anacostia Garden Club and an NPS staff member who provided information about Fort Marcy.

SherriAnn (Sherri) Lawson is a Ph.D. candidate at American University's Department of Anthropology. Ms. Lawson conducted interviews with park users from Fort Dupont, attended meetings of the Far Southwest Civic Association and the Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Rink, and attended the Hands Across the Anacostia Earth Day Clean Up. She also organized and led focus groups related to Anacostia Park, including the groups with sports users and the family reunion focus group.

Patrick Pierce received an M.A. in Anthropology from American University. Mr. Pierce visited and observed park users at Battery Kemble, Forts Bayard, DeRussey, Reno, and Stevens. He also interviewed park visitors at two of these parks and organized and directed a focus group related to the Civil War Defenses from Battery Kemble to Fort DeRussey.

Tanya Ramos holds a B.A. in Anthropology and Spanish/Latin American Studies from American University and an M.A. in TESL and Bilingual Education from Georgetown University. Ms. Ramos visited and conducted interviews with park users and neighbors at Forts Bayard, DeRussey, Marcy, Reno, and Stevens. She organized the focus group related to sports use at Fort Reno and coordinated and led the focus group with community gardeners from that park. She also served as the recorder for a focus group with Fort Stevens gardeners and one related to general users at Anacostia Park. In addition, she conducted telephone interviews with park users from Battery Kemble, Kenilworth Park, and Anacostia Park. Ms. Ramos conducted portions of the literature review related to the Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park. For this report, she assisted in preparing the methodology chapter, the sections related to Fort Reno, Fort Bayard, and Fort Marcy, and the bibliography.

Two of the research assistants, Ben Daugherty and Sherri Lawson, also contributed local knowledge and community connections. Ben Daugherty is a native Washingtonian who lives near Fort Stevens. He attended Wilson Senior High School and Alice Deal Junior High School, which border on Fort Reno Park. He has extensive connections to the local soccer community and has played soccer at Fort Reno and Kenilworth Parks. He is also interested in water-based activities, such as canoeing, and environmental issues surrounding the Anacostia River. Sherri Lawson, who visits Anacostia Park frequently, lives in Southwest Washington, at the foot of South Capitol Street. Additionally, she has worked on several public housing-related research and social service projects in Washington, DC.

Our research relied heavily on the local expert knowledge, long-term experiences, and social networks of four community ethnographers, local researchers who have lived in park neighborhoods for many years. They have visited the parks, as have their friends, relatives, and neighbors, and have observed park uses. While not formally trained in cultural anthropology, the community ethnographers brought to the research deep cultural understandings of traditional park uses. Working in collaboration with other team members, they built on that knowledge to walk through the parks, evoking descriptions of landscapes and activities in warmer seasons. They also helped locate appropriate park visitors and neighbors for focus groups and interviews and suggested culturally appropriate and useful questions to ask. Community ethnographers assisted in leading five focus groups in an atmosphere of conviviality and trust impossible for an outsider to achieve during a short period of time. The community ethnographers also conducted a number of individual interviews. They developed interview guides in collaboration with the principal investigator, drew on their social networks in scheduling interviews, and gathered sensitive and useful information about peoples' park experiences. The four community ethnographers who served on the research team for this study as described below:

Jacqueline Brown is a resident of the Frederick Douglas Dwellings public housing community. She grew up near Fort Slocum and currently lives near Fort Stanton. She visits Anacostia Park often and travels to Kenilworth Park and Fort Dupont for special occasions. She is a young, single mother living with a large extended family. She has often been involved in volunteer programs at the Frederick Douglass Dwellings. She has traveled extensively around the Anacostia area by public transportation. Ms. Brown participated in observations at Forts Davis, Dupont, Greble, Mahan, Stanton, and at Anacostia Park. She also suggested people and organizations for the principal investigator to contact related to these sites and organized a focus group related to Anacostia Park.

Susie McFadden is a returning student who was actively recruited by American University to receive one of the Frederick Douglass scholarships that are reserved for students in the Washington, DC public schools. For the past 10 years, she has lived in a single-family home that she owns, in the neighborhood of Fairlawn, one block away from Anacostia Park. She is married and a mother, with many relatives and in-laws living in neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River. Ms. McFadden is active in the Orr Elementary School Parent Teacher Association. Ms. McFadden contributed data related to Anacostia Park, Fort Stanton, and Fort Dupont. She organized the focus group related to the community gardeners at Fort Dupont, a focus group with general users and neighbors of Anacostia Park, and the focus group on family reunions. She also attended meetings of the Fort Dupont Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC), the Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Rink, the Fort Stanton Civic Association, and the Hands Across the Anacostia Earth Day Clean Up. In addition, she assisted in editing the chapter of this report related to Anacostia Park.

Kenneth Pitt is a free-lance carpenter and Federal Express driver who currently lives near Fort Totten. Growing up in Northeast Washington, DC, Mr. Pitt fished and attended concerts in Anacostia and Fort Dupont Parks. His nephew participated on the Fort Dupont Ice Hockey

Team. His Federal Express route encompasses the neighborhoods lying east of the Anacostia River, where seven of the Civil War Defenses of Washington are located. Mr. Pitt is married and the father of two children. He has many relatives and in-laws who live in Washington, and he is acquainted with many Washington old-timers. Mr. Pitt contributed data related to Battery Carroll and Forts Bunker Hill, Chaplin, Dupont, Foote, Mahan, Slocum, Stevens, and Totten. He participated in observations at all of these sites and organized the focus group related to Fort Totten. He also suggested individuals and organizations for research team members to contact related to these park sites and interviewed park users at Fort Stevens. In addition, Mr. Pitt posted two rounds of fliers soliciting input for park users and neighbors at the Civil War Defenses of Washington park sites included in this study.

Terik Washington is a public housing resident who lives in the Stanton Dwellings, near Fort Stanton. She is a single, teenage mother who has lived in public housing her entire life. While seeking full-time employment, she worked on a video project with Brett Williams that documented some of the perspectives of women who live in public housing. She was recruited after the first project briefing, when NPS personnel expressed concern that we were overlooking mothers' concerns about the parks. Ms. Washington contributed data on Fort Stanton, Fort Chaplin, and Anacostia Park. Her contributions focused on young mothers who use or live near these sites, 20 of whom she interviewed for this study.

The community ethnographers were particularly skilled and sensitive observers, who sometimes helped re-direct biases that other researchers brought to the study. For example, Kenneth Pitt noted early in the research that many people probably come to the parks to find solitude, or to think. In these early stages of the research, we were still seeking more organized users, but he turned out to be correct. In another example, Jacqueline Brown drove with Dr. Williams to one of the Civil War Defenses of Washington that appeared to receive little use. Ms. Brown asserted that, "This is not a park; this is a piece of land." This comment appeared to provide a clue to one way that people who live in densely settled neighborhoods may think about parkland. Toward the end of the research another community ethnographer said to Brett Williams: "You have to understand; you can't do this kind of work sitting in an office. You have to travel all over the city." She thus expressed an appreciation for the importance of field work and for the value of what she knows.

D. Research Methods

This section describes in detail the methods we used to collect data for this study. Where appropriate, we have included illustrative examples of how certain methods yielded data related to the study questions. Appendix G contains a table which summarizes the number of people contacted using the different research methods described below.

1. Discussions with NPS Personnel to Help Focus the Research

We began the study with discussions with NPS staff. A full list of those with whom we spoke appears in Appendix F. NPS staff collaborated with us in a variety of ways. Natural and cultural resource specialists, park managers, and park rangers possess an intricate knowledge of the natural and cultural resources of the park. We took advantage of this knowledge to learn how, when, and why visitors come to the parks, and what some of the visitors' concerns were. These staff members also walked several parks with us, alerted us to issues warranting further exploration, and introduced us to visitors and volunteers. The gardening coordinators at National Capitol Parks-East Park (NACE) Unit and Rock Creek Park (ROCR) helped locate community gardeners and facilitated the organization of the gardening focus groups. Park historians oriented us to the National Capitol Parks-East (NCP-East) library, with its rich trove of maps, plans, photographs, and historical documents. They outlined for us the historical contours that then framed many of the questions we asked. Finally, NPS staff provided consistent correctives to the misperceptions that are inevitable when studying parks during the winter. As one example, Fort Stanton appeared empty throughout our research period. On initial data, we assumed that it received no use. Park staff insisted, repeatedly, that it received heavy use during the year. Thus, through their input, we devised new methods for studying a large, sprawling park in the winter. Final results confirmed that NPS staff were correct in their understanding of Fort Stanton.

2. Literature Review for Historical Context

Reviewing historical documents to outline changing relations among groups, communities, and parks was essential to this research. One cannot adequately comprehend the cultural meanings, social relations, or apparent disparities in the Civil War Defenses of Washington without understanding the historical processes that have shaped the neighborhoods where they lie. Another motivation for historical research stemmed from NPS staff's understanding that many interesting historical settlements and events have taken place at Anacostia Park and the Civil War Defenses of Washington. These included culturally important Native American trading villages, the Freedmen's villages that nurtured early African American communities after the Civil War, and several key human rights struggles. We believe it was important to document these historical events in part because they offer interpretive possibilities. Also, illuminating the historical role of the NPS in the face of changing political and planning priorities for the capital city adds balance to our report. Information about the programs it has provided in the past fill out our understanding of the NPS' relationship to the communities it serves.

To conduct our historical research, we examined other concurrent projects. We reviewed the recently completed *Civil War Defenses of Washington, D.C.: A Cultural Landscape Inventory* (Handly 1996). Historian Ruth Ann Overbeck, author of the forthcoming "10,000 Years of Human Habitation Along the Anacostia," provided key guidance from her continuing research east of the Anacostia River. Our historical research can complement these studies conducted at the same time for the NPS, as well as Dale Floyd's forthcoming history of the Civil War

Defenses of Washington. The historical section may appear uneven in parts. This is because there are many gaps in the historical records of Washington, DC, and because in-depth historical research is not possible in a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment.

We also searched for primary sources, including newspaper articles, internal NPS background studies, maps, and planning documents for each park. In addition to using the resources at the National Capitol Parks-East library, we consulted primary resource materials from the Historical Society of Washington and the Washingtoniana Room of the Martin Luther King Library. We used published historical sources as well. In the ethnohistory narrative for each park, we have synthesized information gleaned from these sources to discuss changing neighborhood demographics, park programs, and visitation patterns. Through this documentary information, we weave recollections from the memories of people we interviewed who spoke about the parks of the past. For example, while participating in the focus group on family reunions, one woman spoke at length about her changing experiences in Anacostia Park.

3. Use Permits

When possible, we gathered information from applications and permits for park use, which are part of the public record. These permits are useful in several ways for studying larger parks. In our study, use permits were helpful for documenting increasing requests from sports users at Anacostia Park, including the Kenilworth section; for locating community gardeners at Fort Dupont, Fort Stevens, and Fort Reno; and for tracing the reunion, or coming home, traditions at Fort Dupont, Kenilworth, and Anacostia Parks. When researchers can examine a year's collection of permits, they obtain an overview of people seeking organized recreational use of the parks. These include soccer, rugby, baseball and football players. Permits also reveal traditional and consumptive uses through the activities of people who organize reunions and people who apply to use garden plots. For example, by examining permits, we learned of the wide variety of people who hold reunions in the parks for their high school classes, their co-workers, their families, their churches, and many other social groups.

In addition to the overview of organized user groups provided by the array of permits, letters of application offer insights into why groups desire to use a particular piece of land. They thus provide important information about which places in the park visitors value; when, why, and with whom they go to the park; and whether they have good or bad experiences.

This method also allows the researcher to identify groups whose requests have been rejected and to see how far in advance an applicant must file to have a realistic chance of obtaining space. The method thus complements oral accounts of pressures on parkland by revealing the demand for space and how well the NPS has been able to accommodate it. This method does not stand alone. We learned in several focus groups that many people use the parks without permits. However, examining the permits offers a baseline for determining which groups are using formal channels of access to the NPS to resolve possible conflicts over space. It also offers clues as to

how well those channels are working, the diversity of groups making application, and the number of applications that are approved.

4. Observations in the Parks

We visited all of the 23 parks for this study, most of them several times. We came to know the smaller parks, such as Fort Bunker Hill, and the more open parks, such as Fort Slocum, very well. The more densely wooded, sprawling, rugged, and vertical parks were difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to explore as freely. These included Battery Carroll and Forts Greble, Davis, and Stanton, which we thus know primarily from walking the perimeter.

Ordinarily, REAP would have included interviews with park visitors and detailed descriptions of how landscapes, structures, and facilities were used. But most of the parks, at this time of the year, were empty regardless of the time we visited them. We therefore improvised in several ways. We searched for signs of use. We examined the sandbox at Fort Bayard and found makeshift toys such as ice cube trays. We also found the remains of fireworks at Fort Bayard on New Year's Day. In several parks, we searched for tagging, which might indicate that clubs, groups, or gangs gathered there. We found many tags in parks, including Fort Totten, Fort Bayard, and Fort Mahan. We looked at litter and through garbage for signs of eating, drinking, reading, sexual activity, drug use, and dumping. This method gives clues about activities that occur in the park.

5. Interviews in and about the Parks

We conducted a total of 10 walking interviews with community ethnographers. These interviews took place at Anacostia Park and Forts Greble, Stanton, Mahan, Bunker Hill, Slocum, Stevens, and Totten. While the parks were nearly empty this winter, we did conduct 74 in-person interviews at the park sites in the course of the research, in addition to the 10 walking interviews with community ethnographers mentioned above. Given the season, however, a bias is likely in the type of user encountered. Rather than tourists, one is more likely to meet stalwart, local users. These include: neighbors, individuals with special attachments to the park, and dog-owners, who are driven outside in all weather. Men can be seen fishing in Anacostia Park every morning, for example. At Bunker Hill, a woman labeled by her neighbors "the spirit of the park" walks its perimeter every day to collect litter and artifacts.

Many of the people we interviewed were dog-walkers. Dog-walkers proved to be very useful consultants, precisely because of their regular, daily use of the parks. Their level of involvement in struggles over parkland seems to vary by park. At Battery Kemble, dog-walkers comprise a vocal and partisan group with specialized concerns. But at Fort Reno, where space is hotly contested by recreational users, dog-walkers appeared to be fairly impartial observers of park use.

To complement our uneven sample of park users, we sought out other people to interview. For example, a graduate student researching the history of Fort Mahan called Brett Williams at the suggestion of historian Frank Faragasso. She suggested that we talk to a man who jogs at Fort Mahan Park everyday and calls himself the park's "only friend." As another example, staff at the Benning Stoddert Recreation Center referred us to a man who has lobbied on behalf of Fort Greble for many years. Cultural Resource Specialist Steven Strach's concerns about gang activities at Fort Totten propelled us to interview a police officer active in community policing in the area surrounding the park. We scheduled walking interviews at several parks -- including Fort Reno, Fort Stanton, and Anacostia Park -- with people who worked in nearby institutions or had other long-term associations with the parks. We also conducted 36 in-person interviews at locations outside of the parks.

When we first visited each park, we recorded the addresses of social agencies, schools, churches, and recreation centers nearby. We either visited those organizations or called staff members to conduct interviews on their understandings of park use. For example, we spoke to the Director of the Police Boys and Girls Club at Fort Chaplin and to a priest at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church near Fort Stanton. Based on leads obtained from these organizations, we contacted a number of additional park users. When a park was not surrounded by community organizations, identification of park visitors and potential park users became problematic.

Others we interviewed included women in public housing, who added the perspective of young mothers to the view of public space. We included this focus on young mothers as park users after receiving guidance from NPS staff members at the second project briefing that we should seek the views of mothers at sites such as Fort Stanton and Anacostia Park to balance those of sports users. We spoke to school officials and concert organizers, who helped us see in a new light the Fort Reno Sports Plan, a recreational usage plan that soccer and baseball organizers proposed to the NPS. We interviewed soccer players and spectators from El Salvador and Trinidad, who offered alternative perspectives to our conception of soccer as purely recreational park use. We spoke to a foot patrol officer, who provided a singular vision of Fort Greble's role in the neighborhood. We also interviewed several community activists with visions for the parks and a number of environmental activists who refocused our attention on the relation of Anacostia Park to the Anacostia River. These interviewees made us aware of positive ideas for change in the parks.

For every park, we base our interview findings on this combination of stopping visitors in the park to conduct brief, informal interviews; telephoning or visiting nearby institutions; and following suggestions and leads that eventually took us to park experts. We considered asking the park experts that we interviewed to draw maps of the park sites in an effort to discern which park features were most significant to them. However, we decided not to employ this method of data collection after we realized that the many of our in-depth, in-person interviews would take place outside of the parks due to the winter season. This method would not have been as valuable once the informants were removed from the context of the park which they intended to map. In addition, several of the community ethnographers commented that asking people to

participate in mapping would make the interviewees uncomfortable and jeopardize rapport-building. Based on these considerations, we decided not to ask informants to engage in mapping activities.

6. Focus Groups

Focus groups are useful for exploratory work and form an important component of REAP. Focus groups are small, bringing together six to 12 participants. Usually these participants come with similar interests or backgrounds. Generally, the participants do not know each other. Focus group interaction centers on a series of topics introduced by a moderator. Participants express their views on each topic and elaborate on or react to the views of others. Thus, the group discussion often provides more stimulation to participants than an individual interview. The moderator tries to keep the discussion on course, while allowing for useful surprises in the topics that participants introduce. The moderator also encourages comments from all participants and tries to restrain the more dominant people in the group.

Agar and MacDonald (1995) note that every focus group has a story behind it: of how participants were selected, and how the discussion developed. Often this story is not told, although it helps readers evaluate evidence. Our story includes several small modifications to focus group procedures. The first is that each group had several people working to conduct it. One person was the official moderator, another handled paperwork, and sometimes a third took notes. We found this useful so that we could keep ourselves focused. One person did the majority of the moderating. This allowed the others to pay attention to such details as silent participants; or missing, but important topics. We also collaborated as a team in brainstorming about questions for the focus groups and trying them out on selected team members in advance. This helped us to predict which topics were fruitful and which might fall flat, and allowed us to discern and root out hide-and-seek questions or questions that were impossible to answer.

We also expanded focus group procedures in several cases by asking community ethnographers to recruit for focus groups and then to lead them. This innovation was strikingly successful, eliciting frank and earnest discussions that might not have been possible otherwise. Holding the focus groups in informal settings which were familiar and convenient for the participants, such as community centers and libraries in their neighborhoods, also made the participants more comfortable and encouraged them to open up and express their opinions.

The focus groups included:

- Community gardeners at Fort Dupont
- Community gardeners at Fort Reno
- Community gardeners at Fort Stevens
- Representatives of sports teams at Fort Reno
- Student-athletes and coaches from Anacostia High School

- Soccer groups (including new immigrants) who use Anacostia Park
- Public housing residents east of the Anacostia River
- Home-owners and educational representatives from east of the Anacostia River
- Residents of the Fort Totten area
- General users at Forts DeRussey/Reno/Bayard and Battery Kemble Park
- Neighbors and visitors at Fort Slocum and Fort Stevens
- People who have held reunions at Fort Dupont, Kenilworth Park, and Anacostia Park

After consultation with NPS staff, we replaced the Upper Northwest area group specified in the scope of work with a family reunion focus group. This change was a result of preliminary field work which revealed that a) more parks, issues, and people were involved east of the Anacostia River and b) family reunions play an important cultural role in this part of the city. We explored the significance of these family reunions as related to a more general theme of homecoming in African American tradition, and what such homecoming means when extended families locate their reunions in the federal parks of Washington.

As might be expected, each of our focus groups had a different character, reflecting the organizational background, the moderator's approach, the topic and the place, and the particular blend of participants. Carefully analyzing the transcripts of the groups helped us see which topics were meaningful and which were not, which opinions group members shared, which ideas surfaced merely to allow a participant to get the floor, and what it meant when someone hesitated to talk. For example, in one interesting case, a participant had remained silent throughout the otherwise raucous general users focus group for Forts DeRussey, Reno, Bayard, and Battery Kemble Park. Other participants articulated a struggle for precious park space. Toward the end of the meeting, we encouraged the silent woman to speak. She came forth with an articulate condemnation of Washington's national parks as "boring" in comparison to the intellectual stimulation she found at other national parks and as offering nothing to a single middle-aged woman. In another example, the cooperative, joking form that discourse took among the Fort Dupont gardeners was key to understanding their camaraderie in the gardens.

7. Telephone Interviews in Response to Fliers

In January and February, we posted fliers in English and Spanish at every Civil War Defense of Washington site except Fort Marcy. The flier listed phone numbers for people to call if they had concerns about the park that they wanted to share. In May, we posted a flier at Fort Marcy. In total, we received 35 telephone calls in response to our fliers, all from people who wanted to be interviewed in English. (These are to be distinguished from the 42 telephone interviews which we initiated). We received telephone calls in response to the fliers posted at the following parks: Anacostia Park, Battery Kemble, Forts Bayard, Bunker Hill, DeRussey, Greble, Marcy, and Stevens.

Clearly this method does not produce a random sample, nor an accurate record of all park use. However, it has much to recommend it. People who do not feel comfortable attending public meetings or approaching the NPS directly may feel comfortable making a telephone call to an outside observer. Several telephone calls fell into this category, including one from a woman who lived near Fort Chaplin. The entire content of her concern was that she was afraid of the park. Telephone calls may encourage people to offer suggestions that they would not make in person. For example, one telephone caller said of Fort Bunker Hill, "I think the Park Service should cut down the trees and get rid of all the bad people." The friendly anonymity of the situation may allow people to expand on their feelings and ideas.

Telephone calls were useful in three ways. The calls were rich in tiny details about park facilities and experiences and very specific in their recommendations: "the slide (at Fort Bayard) gets too hot in the sun," for example. Second, the telephone calls taken as a whole revealed that some parks receive a great deal of attention, even during the winter. The great majority of our telephone calls concerned three parks, Fort Bunker Hill, Battery Kemble, and Fort Bayard. Conceding that we might have placed the fliers less prominently at the other parks, this outpouring of calls indicated to us the presence of active, concerned park neighbors. The lack of calls in response to the fliers placed at most of the parks may indicate the absence of highly involved local groups at these parks, an issue which could be explored in future studies of the parks and the neighborhoods which surround them. Or it could be a symptom of conducting the research in the winter when park visitation is generally down because of cold weather. Finally, taking the telephone calls holistically allowed us to make comparisons between park users and neighbors from different parks.

8. Initiated Telephone Interviews

As mentioned above in our discussion of observations in the parks, when we first visited each park site, we recorded the addresses of social agencies, schools, churches, and recreation centers nearby. After visiting each park, we either called or visited those organizations to conduct interviews with staff members on their understandings of park use. Based on leads obtained from these organizations, we contacted a number of additional park users and neighbors. For example, we called Woodrow Wilson High School to learn about their students' use of Fort Reno and were referred to parents of students who attended the school and coaches from their athletic programs. Others referrals came from park visitors who suggested that we call park users and neighbors they knew. Sometimes these calls led to in-person interviews with staff members or the addition of an individual referred by the neighboring institution to a focus group. However, when individuals contacted by telephone could not spare time to meet with us in person or to participate in a focus group, we interviewed them by telephone. In the course of our research, we initiated telephone interviews with a total of 42 individuals. Again, this method did not produce a random sample of park users and neighbors. However, it allowed us to speak with a number of park users and neighbors who were not active in the parks during the winter season. We would

not have heard their opinions if we had relied solely on contacts made with people encountered at the park sites and those known to the community ethnographers.

9. Public Meetings

Our scope of work called for us to organize public briefings, but we were concerned that we could not organize large meetings within the limited time of the study. We asked the NPS for, and received, permission to attend other peoples' meetings. We used this final strategy to fill in gaps in the study. For example, we did not locate active visitors to Fort Stanton in the winter, so we attended a meeting of the Fort Stanton Civic Association, which was composed of many of the first occupants of the once-wooded area. We also used this procedure to solicit dissenting and varied views. We found that people spoke very frankly in these settings. For example, the Fort Dupont Civic Association did not wholeheartedly support all of the programs offered at Fort Dupont Park. The Wilson High School Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA) has specialized concerns about Fort Reno, which overlap, but differ from, those of the more vocal, organized sports groups. Finally, we used this procedure to assess independent community initiatives. Public meetings allowed us to identify park issues that brought people together and energized them. For example, we attended planning meetings for the "Hands Across the Anacostia"/ "Anacostia: Our River: We Mean To Keep It Clean" Volunteer Clean-Up Day. This project brought together diverse park visitors and activists concerned about the state of the Anacostia River.

The public meetings included:

- Friends of the Fort Dupont Ice Rink
- Fort Dupont Advisory Neighborhood Commission
- Far Southwest Civic Association
- Hands Across the Anacostia Volunteer Clean-Up (two meetings and the volunteer clean-up)
- Fort Stanton Civic Association
- Wilson High School PTSA

III. ANACOSTIA PARK

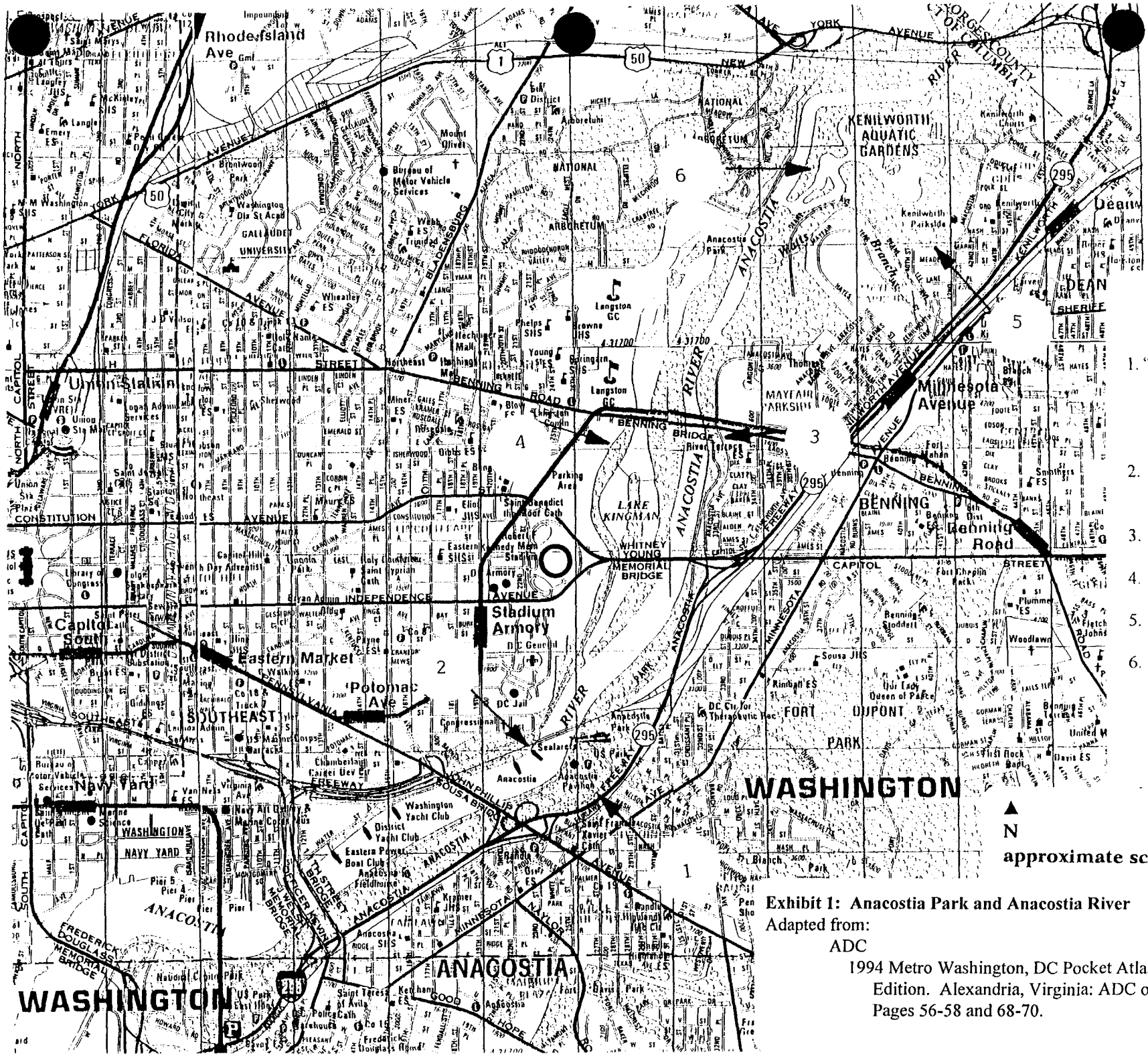


Exhibit 1: Anacostia Park and Anacostia River
Adapted from:
ADC
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 56-58 and 68-70.

III. ANACOSTIA PARK

Anacostia Park stretches for five miles along the Anacostia River, from Howard Road, Southeast (SE), to the District of Columbia line in Northeast Washington and encompasses both the western and eastern banks of the river. Part I treats Anacostia Park in the six different segments commonly recognized by Washington, DC park users: 1) a portion of the park commonly referred to as "Anacostia Park," which represents Sections C, D, and E of the official NPS divisions of Anacostia Park; 2) Seafarers Boat Club located in Section F of Anacostia Park; 3) Kingman Park in Section F of Anacostia Park; 4) River Terrace, also in Section F of Anacostia Park; 5) Kenilworth Park; and 6) the Aquatic Gardens, both in Section G of Anacostia Park. The text which follows describes the features of each section of Anacostia Park.

Section C of Anacostia Park is the southern end of the park, north of the Frederick Douglass Bridge and south of the 11th Street Bridge, where the National Park Service (NPS) headquarters, United States (U.S.) Park Police heliport, and some playing fields are located. Section D of Anacostia Park begins northeast of the 11th Street Bridge and continues to the Sousa Bridge at Pennsylvania Avenue. This section includes a group of covered picnic areas, a comfort station, a District of Columbia (DC) Recreation Center, baseball and soccer fields, tennis courts, and a swimming pool. It is also referred to as "Fairlawn." Section E of Anacostia Park is also called the "Twining Division." It stretches from the Sousa Bridge to the Conrail Trestle. Section E of Anacostia Park contains the Anacostia Park Pavilion, which people commonly call the "skating rink," a covered, outdoor roller skating pavilion. This section also has a children's playground, restrooms, the Urban Treehouse, which is a deck shaped like a map of the United States, and the Aquatic Education Center. Section F of Anacostia Park includes the banks on both sides of the Anacostia River, extending northward from the Conrail Trestle toward the Benning Road Bridge. This section includes River Terrace, which has basketball and baseball facilities and an open-air kiosk. Kingman Park is located across the Anacostia River from River Terrace. Section G of Anacostia Park is located north of the Benning Road Bridge to the boundary line of the District of Columbia (DC) and Maryland. Section G of Anacostia Park contains Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens.

Preceded by an overview of Anacostia Park, this chapter contains information gathered from park users and is divided into seven sections, one for each park area. We also include some of the experiences and perspectives of those whose orientation is the whole Anacostia River, and thus most of the park. The experiences and perceptions of today's visitors to Anacostia Park reflect the city's historic turn away from the water as a commercial lifeline and the emergence of the river as a polluted barrier between the eastern and western sides of the city. For each park segment, we present the location of the specific part of the park, the methodology used to gather data on that segment, information regarding historical links between the park and its surrounding community, a description of

park users and park uses, and a discussion of users' concerns. The study's research questions are further addressed in an Analysis of Findings section at the end for each park section. The information reported here regarding park use stems from our observations in the parks and comments made by those interviewed for this study. The comments of park visitors reflect their perceptions, beliefs, and personal experiences of the parks. We have tried to communicate them accurately, regardless of whether we share them. The specific methodologies used to gather information across all of the park segments are described in the following section, A. Overview of Methodology for Anacostia Park.

A. Overview of Methodology for Anacostia Park

This report emphasizes the experiences and perspectives of those whose views are often not readily available to the NPS, such as those of public housing residents. We began our research by meeting with NPS staff to learn their perspectives on Anacostia Park. We also made direct observations of use during visits to the different park sections. We conducted individual interviews, organized five focus groups, and attended community meetings and a volunteer event, Hands across the Anacostia Earth Day Clean-Up. Both community meetings we attended were planning meetings for Hands across the Anacostia Earth Day Clean-Up. Members of the research team also conducted participant observation and volunteered for this Earth Day event. A member of our research team also took a canoe trip along the Anacostia River, past River Terrace and around Kingman Island, stopping to interview people along the shore of the river. We also attended a community outreach program at the Aquatic Gardens, examined permits for sports use and group picnics, and gathered historical materials that offered evidence of links between Anacostia Park and nearby neighborhoods.

Among the focus groups we held related to Anacostia Park, four focus groups were composed of residents living near the parks and the fifth was with local high school students. One focus group brought together African Americans, mostly home-owners, who live near the park and use it for picnics and recreation. Several people in this group have recently stopped visiting Anacostia Park, and we include their views to help explore shifts in park use. The second focus group included public housing residents, ranging from teenagers to senior citizens, all African Americans. We held our third focus group with athletes and athletic staff at nearby Anacostia Senior High School. All of the participants were African American; most were teenagers. The fourth focus group brought together people who organize family reunions in the park. Most were middle-aged or elderly, and all were African American. The final focus group included representatives of organized soccer teams who played in the park. All were European American, with the exception of one Latin American.

At Anacostia Park, we conducted in-person interviews with a total of 28 individuals at the park and with 17 additional individuals outside of the park sites. The individuals we interviewed included community ethnographers; residents and community leaders who live in the neighborhoods surrounding the park; visitors contacted while making park observations; members of Seafarers Boat Club; participants in boating and environmental activism along the far Anacostia River; and young mothers who are residents of public housing. We also conducted telephone interviews with park users and neighbors. Among those interviewed by telephone were visitors of special interest to the NPS, such as new immigrant soccer players from El Salvador and Trinidad and members of the boating community.

Appendix G provides a total of data sources for all sections of Anacostia Park combined. Interview and focus group participants convened to discuss one park frequently made comments on other parks. For example, several people commenting on Fort Reno also provided their views on Kenilworth Park. All interviews and focus groups have only been counted once, under the methodology on the park section for which they were most relevant. In cases where an interview or focus group covered several parks, we will refer to it under all of the appropriate parks' methodology sections but will only count it once in the methodology tables.

B. Anacostia Park - Sections C, D, and E of Anacostia Park

1. Location

This portion of the park, which most users call "Anacostia Park," extends from National Capital Parks-East (NCP-East) Headquarters at Howard Road and the Frederick Douglass Bridge, past Good Hope Road and the Sousa Bridge to the Conrail Trestle. It includes NPS park headquarters, a United States Park Police heliport, soccer and baseball fields, basketball and tennis courts, the District of Columbia (DC) Department of Recreation offices and swimming pool, a children's playground, the Urban Treehouse, which is a deck shaped like a map of the United States, the Aquatic Education Center, an outdoor roller skating rink, and picnic tables. Anacostia Avenue borders the length of this part of the park, separating the river from the recreational facilities. A seawall shores up the riverbank, and visitors can walk and fish along the shore (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

For 10,000 years people have lived along the shores of the Anacostia River. The river has profoundly affected the fortunes of its human neighbors. When Captain John Smith reached the mouth of the Anacostia River on June 16, 1608, he was impressed by the mild climate, lush forests, abundant wildlife, and crystal-clear river filled with fish. Smith wrote of meeting Indians in canoes laden with the flesh of deer and bear, and of other indigenous wildlife, such as abundant buffalo and turkeys (Smith 1631). This Native American group, whose American Indian name is most commonly spelled Nacotchtank, lived in dispersed settlements all along the eastern bank of the Anacostia River, where they hunted, fished, and practiced subsistence agriculture. Varied accounts place their population at approximately 300 people. They lived in clusters of dwellings composed of domed-roof houses made of bent poles covered with branches and skins, adjacent to large agricultural fields.

There is evidence that this was an active trading center, the most important in the Tidewater region. The Nacotchtank controlled a great deal of the riverine beaver trade, and other groups, such as the Iroquois, came from as far away as what is now upstate New York to trade with them. In the journals of Henry Fleet, a fur trader who arrived in the area in 1620, he encouraged other colonists to come to the area to exploit the wealth of sturgeon and beaver. In 1622, Fleet, allied with a rival Native American group, attacked, plundered, and burned the town, killing 18 warriors. Sixteen years after European contact, the Nacotchtank had disappeared, succumbing to warfare and disease, or taking flight. In the late 19th century, amateur surface collectors gathered thousands of artifacts and donated many of them to the Smithsonian Institution (Works Progress Administration 1942; Humphrey 1976; Hutchinson 1977; MacCord 1957; National Park Service 1981).

In 1759, George Washington described the Anacostia River as still "well-stocked with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring with shad, herring, bass, carp, sturgeon, etc., in great abundance" (Hutchinson 1977: 15). Early English colonists developed an economy based on large-scale tobacco plantations, using the labor of slaves and German tenant farmers or sharecroppers. They relied on the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers as commercial lifelines for trade with Europe. The waterways made large-scale agriculture profitable for some time. There were many wharves along the Anacostia River during the 18th century, and large vessels could travel inland as far as today's Bladensberg, Maryland, at the Kenilworth end of Anacostia Park. Tobacco cultivation exhausted the soil quickly, sometimes in two plantings. Silt washed into the river, and, as the century progressed, it became too shallow for commerce. In the latter half of the 18th century many of the tobacco planters turned to more restorative crops such as wheat, rye, and maize, which they farmed on a smaller scale. As the large estates broke up, slaves were able to work in the city. Many purchased their freedom by hiring themselves out as day laborers or crossing the river to downtown marketplaces, where they sold garden produce, crabs and oysters, or handmade crafts (Hutchinson 1976). By 1830, one-half of the African Americans in Washington were free.

In 1790, when Congress selected Washington to be the site of the new capital city, the Anacostia area was home to an unusual mix of Anglo-American plantation owners and large numbers of slaves, as well as former slaves who had purchased their freedom. Congress placed the new capital between Maryland and Virginia, the two states with the heaviest concentrations of African Americans, both enslaved and free. The city, and the Anacostia area, would experience slavery-related tensions for the next 100 years.

When the capital was established in 1802, political leaders and planners expected that it would grow to the east. Instead, the city moved westward, so the swampy Anacostia region remained wild, with only the small crossroads community of Good Hope at the intersection of Good Hope and Naylor Road and a few families located on the highlands. The swampy reaches of the river were divided into channels that ran between bush-covered islets and vast expanses of wild rice. These became breeding places for the malarial mosquito and discouraged home-building. Eventually the river became a physical barrier, allowing the area to the east to develop more slowly and independently from other parts of the city.

In 1848, Congress made appropriations for bridges to span the Anacostia River, to replace those burned by the British in 1814. These bridges, prominent in segmenting parkland and orienting visitors today, also played important roles in the growth of distinct communities east of the Anacostia. In 1854, the Union Land Association purchased a 100-acre farm and divided it into a grid with 700 lots. The developers hoped that "Uniontown" would grow into a working-class suburb housing employees of the Washington Navy Yard just across the river. They advertised the development as "the most beautiful and healthy neighborhood around Washington," with easy access to employment and downtown

(Hutchinson 1977: 51). The deeds to property imposed restrictive racial covenants holding that no property could be "sold, rented, leased, or in any way conveyed or transferred to any Negro, or mulatto, or anyone of African descent" (Hutchinson 1977: 53). There were also to be no pigs and no soap-boiling allowed in Uniontown. Developers hoped that these restrictive covenants would appeal to the European American employees of the Navy Yard, an area upon which African American residential settlements were encroaching. Racial tensions had already erupted there during the "Snow riots" of 1835, when Navy Yard employees joined others in attacking a mixed-race restaurateur, Beverly Snow. Developers also hoped that these blue-collar employees would be lured by the leisure-time activities on the Anacostia River, still conducive to swimming, boating, and fishing. But ship-building at the Navy Yard was curtailed by the silting up of the Anacostia River, and many shipbuilders lost their jobs. Uniontown, at the foot of the Navy Yard Bridge (today's 11th Street Bridge), grew slowly as an entirely European American working class community. In 1886, it was renamed "Anacostia," because of the confusion sparked by the many new settlements taking the name of "Uniontown" after the Civil War.

In 1862, when slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, slaves from other areas poured into the city, seeking sanctuary at the Civil War forts. Many came to the Anacostia area, where they joined other newly freed, or long-free, African Americans with roots and some land there. After the Civil War, General O. O. Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau sought to respond to the critical housing needs of African Americans. He had a difficult time locating land in the city, but finally discovered available farmland east of "Asylum Road" (today's Martin Luther King Avenue) and southwest of the Howard Road end of today's Anacostia Park. This farmland, called "Barry's Farm," was purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1867 and divided into plots. The Bureau hired freedmen at $1.25 a day to cut down trees and lay out roads. A person could purchase a one-acre lot and enough lumber to build a house for between $125 to $300. To save this money, settlers worked at day jobs in the city and labored at Barry's Farm by lantern or candlelight at night.

In contrast to Uniontown, Barry's Farm thrived. By 1870, 350 families lived there. They had purchased a lot at the top of the hill where they built a community center that functioned as a school, a meeting center, and a church. Members of the community worked as farm hands, gardeners, blacksmiths, cooks, carpenters, construction workers, laundresses, seamstresses, and domestic servants. They sold flowers, fruits, and vegetables at the market across the river. Some worked at the Navy Yard or at the Government Hospital for the Insane (today's St. Elizabeth's Hospital). Because the Anacostia River was still abundant with fish, men sold fish from the backs of their wagons. By the 1880s, people in the community also worked as teachers, midwives, dressmakers, grocers, sign painters, carriage makers, harness makers, and wheelwrights. They shed the name of the plantation owner whose land the Bureau had purchased and received the new name of "Hillsdale" in 1874. Today, the public housing community of Barry Farms sits on this site. In our research we did not locate any descendants of the original Barry's Farm settlers.

The Anacostia and Potomac Street Railroad Company began operations in 1876 with two one-horse cars from the Navy Yard across the bridge to Uniontown. By this time, property was so inexpensive in Uniontown that the town began to grow. The introduction of overhead electric wires to the streetcars in 1898 spurred development even more. In 1882, the Anacostia Citizens Association was formed to lobby for such public services as street paving and the installation of water and sewer lines. The group would later take credit for the development of Anacostia Park as well (The Washington Post 1940a). Under the 100 years of appointed three-man Commissioner rule in the District of Columbia, local citizens' associations for European Americans and civic associations for African Americans were the principal means for residents to voice their concerns. Transportation, sewage and water mains, as well as electric lines, stopped at the border of Hillsdale. As late as the 1920s, primitive living conditions remained at this site. Families heated water for bathing in large tin tubs set out in the sun. Open sewers and outdoor privies abounded. During this period, the Barry Farms-Hillsdale Civic Association was organized to lobby on behalf of African American Anacostians.

Meanwhile the Anacostia River grew more polluted, as managing the wastes dumped there appeared beyond the capabilities of the District commissioners. In 1875, the commissioners appropriated funds to clean up the poisonous marshes, but three years later still complained about a "vast undulation of rank vegetation" cumulating where sewers dumped the effluvia into the river (Gillette 1995: 73).

Although the health hazards posed by the river deterred development, the rebuilding of the Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge heralded an era of booming land sales in the eastern city, beginning with the purchase and subdivision of Danforth's Farm in 1890. When the Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge opened in 1890, John Phillip Sousa directed the Marine Band in a celebratory concert of marches, and politicians made speeches on the bridge. In addition, "on the Anacostia River below, members of the Eastern Branch Watermen, the Columbia Athletic Club, and the Potomac Athletic Club were engaged in a skiff race" (Hutchinson 1977: 105).

In 1891, the journal "Roadside Sketches" captures the character of the area vividly. It described the way that bridges connected emerging neighborhoods with distinctive characteristics to the city west of the river.

> The attractive hills that lie between the Anacostia river and the Bowon road (sic) and between the towns of Anacostia and Benning will be the scene of this week's tramp. Taking Pennsylvania avenue (sic) east, proceed to the new bridge that spans the Anacostia at Twining City... Immediately in front, on the other side of the stream, is the young and promising village of Twining, the elevated rolling country beyond making a pretty background to the picture. Looking toward the right the mouth of the Anacostia, the Potomac, the town of Anacostia, and the navy yard are visible.

> The new settlement, which extends south to the Anacostia road and west to the old Naylor road, is called Twining City. The plot of the town provides for two public reservations. One of these is called Ellicott Circle, and is located at the south end of the bridge; the other, L'Enfant Square, at the juncture of Pennsylvania and Minnesota Avenues.
>
> The old Anacostia road, over which you have traveled to this point, has a good surface. It runs parallel with the Anacostia river and along the northern base of Bone's ridge. It is hilly, at places attaining a high altitude, affording attractive landscape views. The southern portion of Washington is visible for its entire length. Nature in her primitiveness exists in many spots, and a grand variety of plant life adorns its midst. There are plenty of trees and a rich bird melody is apt to charm the ear (The Historical Society of Washington, DC 1891).

The writer was describing the area of Anacostia just southwest of Anacostia Park. In the 1920s, this part of the area would grow as Twining City, which along with another new development, Randle Highlands, contributed to the doubling of the population east of the river to 14,000 people.

The year 1901 marked a critical turning point in the city's history, as Senator James McMillan successfully pushed for passage of a bill establishing the McMillan Commission, which would develop the nation's first comprehensive urban plan. The commission consisted of four planning experts: Daniel Burnham and Charles McKim, architects; Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., a landscape architect renowned for designing Central Park in New York; and the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who is famous for his Shaw Memorial Sculpture in Boston Commons, which celebrates the Massachusetts 54th Regiment of Colored Troops of the Civil War. The sculpture was recently rededicated on its one hundredth birthday. Although the commission had no funds, it proposed a plan that revitalized Pierre L'Enfant's vision of a park-filled city, nestled within a coherent regional network of parks and parkways. The commission placed most of its attention on developing a distinctive identity for Washington's monumental core, to the exclusion of most of the residential city. But it did recommend that the much-neglected eastern section of the city deserved development as a balance to the formally designed western section. Historians credit Olmsted with influencing the commission to move beyond ceremonial spaces in thinking about Washington's parks. "In Olmsted's view, parks were more than places for promenading and repose. They were an integral part of a humanized city, tied to the planning process, and therefore necessarily part of a functional program to acquire land" (Gutheim 1976: 36).

Any plan for the city required that the deterioration of the Anacostia River could no longer be ignored. At this point in time, it was hardly a river any more, but rather a sprawl of wide flats from its mouth where it meets the Potomac River to north of the District line just

past today's Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. Centuries of deforestation and farmland erosion had bred mud-bound flats covered by a dense growth of grasses, vast expanses of wild rice, and bush-covered little islands. The mud was so soft that men sank down a foot or two because of their weight when trying to survey it. Sewage and other wastes had accumulated in the river from eight sewer outfalls, beginning with the Great Boundary Sewer in the north and ending with the James Creek Sewer where the Potomac met the Anacostia. As the tide fell, especially after a heavy rain, the waste remained lodged in the aquatic grasses, where it fermented in the summer and autumn heat. The prevalence of malaria at the Washington Navy Yard, the District of Columbia Jail (on the Anacostia River's west bank), and The Government Hospital for the Insane was widely blamed on these conditions. Citizens' groups lobbied to reclaim the river, in part to provide better access to the Navy Yard and thus increase facilities for commerce and navigation, but also to correct the intolerable unsanitary conditions. This was the situation that compelled the McMillan Commission to urge that the river be reclaimed (National Park Service 1981).

The Army Corps of Engineers conducted extensive hydraulic dredging and filling operations from 1912 to 1925, transforming the meandering streams into one wide channel, reclaiming the marshes, and building two lakes mid-river. They dug a trench along the shore for the material they dredged up, filled it with stone, and constructed a seawall to hold the dredged material inside. By 1914, the Corps questioned the appropriateness of commerce and navigation along the Anacostia River and argued that it should be reclaimed as a public park instead. In 1919, the reclaimed lands were named "Anacostia Park." As sections of land were reclaimed, they were transferred to the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks for final landscaping. In 1923, the Anacostia Citizens Association broke ground for Anacostia Park. The National Capital Park and Planning Commission gave the lands to the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks to manage in 1925.

The NPS acquired the park as part of the Capper-Cramton Act of 1930. This act provided for "the acquisition, establishment, and development of the George Washington Memorial Parkway,... and for the acquisition of lands in the District of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Virginia requisite to the comprehensive park, parkway, and playground system of the National Capital" by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. These acquisitions were to include "the extension of the Anacostia Park system up the valley of the Anacostia River." The act appropriated $16,000,000 to acquire parklands in the District of Columbia "as are necessary and desirable for the suitable development of the National Capital Parks, parkway, and playground system." The District had to make yearly repayments on June 30th of each year until the full amount was reimbursed without interest (National Park Service 1981: 147).

During the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the New Deal's job program for young men, built Anacostia Avenue, which paralleled the river through the park. In 1933, the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks was absorbed into the Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations of the Department of the Interior. The name of this

office was shortened to the "National Park Service" in 1934. By 1937, Anacostia Park had golf links, baseball and football fields, tennis courts, croquet and quoits grounds, and a field house. In 1940, the Assistant Director of Recreation for The Community Center and Playgrounds Department praised Anacostia Park as ideal "for the successful conduct of kite contests, marble tournaments, Community Christmas Tree celebrations, and Fourth of July activities...In the shade and quiet of the beautiful trees the smaller children enjoy story-telling, simple dramatics, painting, handcrafts, and less active ring games...Nature study" (English 1940: 11).

The park has several times been a site of protest and social change. In the summer of 1932, at the beginning of the Great Depression, a "Bonus Army" of 60,000 unemployed World War I Veterans from various parts of the country came to Washington to petition Congress for increased borrowing privileges on their bonus certificates. One of their camps was on the Anacostia flats (see "Protests in Anacostia" in Appendix D). After the Senate rejected the Patman Bonus Bill, President Herbert Hoover ordered General Douglas MacArthur to remove the unarmed veterans. They were quickly routed, their huts and tents burned, and "scattered upon their homeward paths" (Works Progress Administration 1942: 47-48).

Long-time residents of Washington recall the days when the pool and the park were segregated. One man talks of crossing the river along the Sousa Bridge when the neighborhood was still mostly European American, running along the catwalks so that the European American youth did not throw rocks at him and his friends. The pool allowed the African American youths in one day a week, but they could not use the locker room; so recreation officials hosed them down outside, and they hung their clothes on a small tree. The boys would flip a coin to see who had to watch the clothes. According to this individual, European American boys beat up the boy watching the clothes and threw their clothes into the river. From that point on, African American youths quit coming to the pool and swam in the river instead. Another man remembers building a kayak from directions in Popular Science in 1942. He launched the kayak in front of the "WHITES ONLY" pool because he had been forbidden to rent a boat at the paddle boat concession. Later in this report, we discuss Seafarers Boat Club in this same context of integrating segregated facilities.

In June of 1949, 50 African American youth tried repeatedly to swim at the Anacostia Swimming Pool, which lay south of Uniontown/Anacostia, and which, like all facilities in the city, was segregated. When the youth tried to enter, European American swimmers "evicted" them by splashing and booing. On June 30th, the Interior Department closed Anacostia Pool "until further notice," and it remained closed throughout the summer (Faragasso 1997; Gilbert 1993: 16).

Long-time residents have many pleasant memories of Anacostia Park during these years as well. Many recollections center on the cleaner, more usable condition of the river, where one person remembers water-skiing. Another man remembers snagging catfish from the

Benning Road Bridge, selling them to European American residents crossing the bridge, and using the proceeds to cut school and go to the movies. Several others remember hunting ducks and fishing in the Anacostia River in the 1930s and 1940s, and many recall eating the fish.

The growth of the federal government in the 1930s and 1940s and urban renewal in the neighborhoods of Foggy Bottom and Old Southwest profoundly reshaped the demographics of the neighborhoods surrounding the park. Eventually these changes shaped the park itself (Hutchinson 1997; Landis 1948). Before World War II, African Americans in Washington were confined in a small area of central Washington, DC. As the African American population grew after the Civil War, many moved into crowded alley dwellings (Gillette 1997; Borchert 1982). These segregated conditions changed with the fall of restrictive covenants in 1949, but re-segregated conditions emerged east of the Anacostia River. The integration of the city's public schools in 1954, along with increased access to the suburbs, contributed to the changing demographics in the Anacostia area. The population shifted from a European American majority of 82% to an African American majority of 66 percent. Half of these new African American residents were under 20, and they needed day care, schools, recreation, and social services.

The federal government built most of the city's new public housing east of the river, and many people displaced by urban renewal projects relocated there. Several historians agree that this development occurred too quickly and without sufficient planning and that too many people were squeezed into too small a space. Between 1950 and 1967, the neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River experienced a population growth of nearly 50%, while the city as a whole grew by only six percent. When the Suitland Parkway was built in the 1940s, residents were displaced, and the Barry Farms-Hillsdale community became physically divided. Private homes were condemned, razed, and replaced by a disproportionate number of public housing developments with inadequate municipal services and community resources (National Park Service 1981). The scale of the new developments overshadowed the more human scale of Barry Farms and the single-family houses that had lined the Suitland Parkway (Gutheim 1977; Hutchinson 1977; Von Eckardt 1988). One woman we interviewed recalled that "they took our house to build the freeway."

Some of the people who participated in our study remember these years. As families moved across the river into Anacostia, their uses of the park changed. For some it became a rest stop, as they crossed the Anacostia Bridge to return uptown and visit relatives. One woman recalled returning to see her grandmother and how much fun she had skating, bicycling, or walking back across the bridge and looking at the river through the cracks. Several people recalled sleeping in the park during the 1960s when it got too hot at home. One woman described the park as a "natural cooling ground." Because families did not have air conditioning, they took their blankets down to Anacostia Park (which they called

Fairlawn then), often under the willow trees. "Everyone was trying to get a breeze off the river," she recalled.

Some families have held reunions in Anacostia Park for many years. One woman recalled crossing the wooden bridge carting food in wooden buckets and tin tubs. She described stopping at the wharf in Southwest to get a chicken and digging a hole in the ground at Anacostia Park to fill with bricks for roasting hot dogs and hamburgers, as there were no grills then. Peoples' memories from the 1960s often focus on recreational equipment they brought or created themselves. Anacostia Park was valued "for the sake of space," as a place where "children could run and play." "There was not as much there as now; we took our own -- volleyballs and baseball bats -- it was nice, really, really nice." Participants in our family reunion focus group recalled the participatory nature of these events, including sack races, spoon races, tug-of-war, and children's dramatic productions. One woman described creating "our own little carnival, with races, games, prizes, toys, pool, checkers, chess, whist, pinochle, little races..."

Others remember the 1960s in Anacostia Park as a time of cruising, of driving all the way up and down to the 11th Street Bridge, where everyone came to show off their cars. One woman mentioned that these 1960s cruisers hold informal reunions in the park today. However, a study commissioned by the NPS in 1973 cited vehicular access, a lack of mass transportation, and traffic circulation and congestion in the park, as major concerns (National Park Service 1981).

The area, and the park, were also reshaped by the construction of highways to serve commuters from the emerging Maryland suburbs. The L'Enfant plan for a rhythmic gridiron pattern of streets, whose monotony would be broken by grand radial thoroughfares and tree- and water-filled plazas redolent of southern Europe, was not implemented east of the Anacostia River. The Anacostia Freeway (Interstate-295) cuts off the community from the river, and the Suitland Parkway walls it in to the south. The construction of Interstate-295 in particular sliced through parkland and created barriers to park access. Pennsylvania Avenue, South Capitol Street, East Capitol Street, and Benning Road also interrupt parkland, and their bridges make entering and exiting the park hazardous and difficult (National Park Service 1981). One woman described the park this way in a focus group conducted in an earlier study: "The community is so separate from the park. It's just lopped off, by the bridge, the highway, the heliport."

As a Bicentennial project in the 1970s, the NPS sponsored park development projects that built on twin aspects of Anacostia Park: its role as a site of light recreation for neighboring users and the significant landmarks provided by the bridges. The NPS commissioned 400 "street interviews,"which informed them that residents desired park nodes, or clusters of open kiosks that provide shade for benches, barbecues, sitting areas, family picnic and game centers, oases of shade, and "restful recreation." A huge, roofed rink was built to provide activities such as concerts and dances in addition to roller skating. Residents then

were firm about wanting "more shade along the treeless riverfront, and a safe, vandal proof neighborhood park for themselves rather than some spectacular attraction that would bring a lot of strangers into the area" (Von Eckardt 1974: B1). The most recent renovations have been the Aquatic Education Center and the Urban Treehouse, which opened in 1996 (see Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed' and Calendar of Events: National Capital Parks- East in Appendix D).

Intended as a sister park to Rock Creek Park, Anacostia Park has evolved very differently. Many people we interviewed linked its present condition to a more pervasive neglect by government and the financial institutions of neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River. Similarly, many residents now link changes in the park, such as shifts in use and plans for development, to gentrification and redevelopment in the surrounding neighborhoods. Washington, DC's parks are also responsive to international events. Recent immigration, especially that resulting from war and civil strife in Central America, has affected Anacostia Park by intensifying pressures on space from new residents who often use soccer to build community and reaffirm national traditions in a new place. In a study of soccer players in Washington, DC, one man from El Salvador described soccer in this way:

> There is no 'space' left for the community to always be together. For me, I can't live without the sport and the music. Women are involved in these events. In terms of soccer, women come and cheer. Everybody participates. Women bring food... This is very important for the American community... Soccer is growing here. Latin Americans are becoming more interested in the game. It is developing in a way that it helps children with problems. It brings energy, and it is a sport that is not as violent or dangerous as the American football. Still, we are able to vent during the game. You can play soccer for many years (Ferguson 1996).

As Anacostia Park experiences these varied changes, some long-term users welcome them, while others are concerned that they will be displaced. Overbeck (10,000 Years of Human Habitation along the Anacostia, forthcoming) is preparing a full historical report on Anacostia Park.

3. Park Users

Organized user groups include the following sports participants:

- Navy Physical Training
- Anacostia Senior High School sports teams
- Gonzaga High School soccer teams
- Liga de Futból de Guatemala
- Liga de Veteranos
- Soccer players from the Caribbean

- The Ladies League
- Washington Female Rugby Club
- Co-ed softball team "The Hoosiers"
- Jabbo Kenser Football League
- Washington Area Frisbee Club
- Congressional softball teams
- GSA softball team

Other users include the rowing and boating community, environmental activists focused on reclaiming the Anacostia River, and people who organize family, community, and class reunions or church picnics in the park. (These include such events as the Greater Washington Urban League's "Jump with the Blues" health fair). Schools, day care centers, and the Boy Scouts use the park for educational and recreational purposes, including environmental and wildlife appreciation projects. Neighborhood children and youth use the playground, swimming pool, basketball and tennis courts and the skating rink. Ana Gold's Children's Theater holds a Summer Theater Festival at the Urban Treehouse. Experienced anglers teach children to fish in fishing workshops held at the Aquatic Education Center in the park. The Anacostia Garden Club is planning a memorial park for the wetlands that have developed between the Metro parking garage and the river. The garden will include indigenous plants, floral and tree gardens, paths, and benches.

The park also provides an important resource for dog-walkers, bicyclists, joggers, people using exercise equipment, and people fishing. People associate the park with special events and big celebrations: Unifest; the Fourth of July; the Juneteenth Festival, which is held each June to celebrate African Americans' freedom from slavery; major tennis tournaments; family reunions; and birthday parties. Picnickers constitute a user group, and users name many different ways of eating in the park, during different situations or for different reasons. They sometimes connect those ways of eating to goals of expanding domestic and social space, when, as examples, one is arguing with a family member, entertaining relatives from out of town, seeking a special treat, or escaping the heat. Users' descriptions of ways of eating in Anacostia Park include: bringing home-cooked food, bringing dinner, bringing a fast-food or brown bag lunch, meeting for lunch, eating in the car, or stopping at the wharf for crabs and shrimp.

Young people also come to Anacostia Park to meet someone of the opposite sex or to be with a boyfriend or girlfriend. Others come to gather with friends of the same sex. Listening to music and playing cards are valued park activities, as is watching: boats, planes, trains, cars, the water, the ducks, the sunset, the stars, the lights on the water, and other people. Driving is an important park activity, both for those who drive into the park and cruise there, and for commuters and local residents who use it for a short cut, especially when Pennsylvania Avenue is backed-up (see also Gaines-Carter 1991).

4. Park Uses

We focus in the first part of this analysis on local residents who primarily use Anacostia Park for its playground, to picnic, or to seek solitude. We turn next to the experiences, perceptions, and concerns of those who hold family reunions there. Then, we examine the concerns of some of the athletes who use the park. Finally, we address issues articulated by the boating and environmental users, who will redirect our attention to the park as a whole and to its complex relationship with the river.

When people speak of Anacostia Park, or say, "I'll meet you at Anacostia," they refer to the stretch of parkland between the 11th Street Bridge and the Conrail Trestle. We have not heard them use the official section names such as Fairlawn or Twining, (except to discuss the park in the past) or even Northfield, the Annex, or the Pavilion. They speak more in terms of being near the Sousa Bridge, by the pool, in "skating rink park," or at "the federal end." "From Anacostia Pool on down is DC," commented one visitor.

a. Local Families who Use Anacostia Park for Picnics and Recreation

People who visit the park evoke complex daily rhythms that they associate with different parts of the park. A few examples include: "At the crack of dawn I go to get a table;" "Early in the morning you see all the people out with their dogs;" "People meet for lunch by the bypass;" "Parents bring small children at 1:00;" "Kids gather for recreation or near the pool after school;" "This is where you sit in your car for the sunset."

Users also connect different kinds of visitors to different parts of the park: people fishing up at the northern end; local people seeking solitude by the Urban Treehouse; small children at the playground and the skating rink; picnickers and "families playing football" south of the Sousa Bridge; teenagers in cars or groups, as well as Latin Americans playing soccer by the pool; and "people from Virginia" on the softball fields. Many visitors have chosen a favorite time to come. Some say that early in the morning is the best time, before the sun comes up; others come early in the afternoon to walk or in the evening to watch the lights. The park is an important part of many residents' daily routines.

We learned again and again from local residents of the complexity and preciousness of Anacostia Park. "This is a MAIN park," one resident explained. In part this reflects the dearth of recreational places or movie theaters in the neighborhoods near the park, where some people said they feel like "prisoners inside our own homes." These residents noted that "there's no place for children to play," and "you can't let your kids run in the streets; in the parks you can let them run. We need our parks." Anacostia Park offers residents the only playground in a wide area: "This is the only playground between here and Fort Dupont where you can take children to." People bring their children to the park "to calm their nerves," and "when they're cranky." One woman likes to take her new baby there "to give it a good sight on life."

Anacostia Park is also valued as communal public space: "Most people like Anacostia a lot because they feel more at home. If they take it away, we'll have nowhere to go, nowhere to gather." But it is equally as important as private space for those seeking solitude, reflected in these comments: "Some days it's so peaceful you wouldn't give it for anything." "When I get mad, when I need a place to think, this is where I go." "I go there to think about my problems. Sometimes I cry." One woman commented of a man she saw at lunchtime, illuminating her perceptions of park use: "He's thinking with his lunch; sitting, eating." Another woman has sought solace there since learning she has AIDS, because she feels that everyone is afraid of her and that she's all alone. Many commented that they appreciate the beauty of the park and find the water relaxing, especially in the area of the Sousa Bridge, with the new landscaping. People love to watch the lights reflecting off the bridge onto the water: One man joked, "I'd like to have a postcard of that!" Another woman commented that her sister "should have had her wedding there, looking right across the Anacostia River." Several visitors commented that they like the park exactly as it is, beautiful, clean, and unchanged.

Neighbors vary in their feelings about the park today. Some no longer go there. One woman who used to go there frequently said, "I never go there anymore. I used to come out here for dinner, for lunch. I would prepare my dinner and bring it out here. Lots of adults that's happened to." Some go to the parks but feel less at home than they used to, that "whites enjoy the park more than we do; we don't feel safe there but they do." One man argued that the ways African Americans use the park are undervalued: "When whites use the park they use the park for different reasons than we do. When I'm there people of color sit, listen to music, laugh, talk, picnic, enjoy the park in that manner. Our white counterparts use the park for baseball, soccer... We enjoy the other sports also, but after a stressful day on the job I'm not gonna kick no ball around."

Residents, however, do not speak in a single voice. Their reflections reveal differences rooted in age, housing arrangements, financial comfort, and gender. Some residents are firm about no longer visiting the park because of the visitors from outside the neighborhood and the congestion: "It's been taken away. It's an insult. I had this park to myself in the late 1980s, early 1990s." But some still come: "Anacostia is my backyard," commented another nearby neighbor, who like other home-owners in the area does not have a large yard. Other local residents, especially those who do not drive, seem to enjoy the crowds and the excitement, entering into the quest for park space with gusto: "In the summertime, you'd be amazed at how crowded it is. You have to get there at the crack of dawn getting tables. You have to come early, at the crack of dawn, quarter to seven, to get a table. We always come early and pull some tables together. There is NO parking space. One or two people save the table and sit until the rest of the people start to show. Bring your blanket. Bring your own table and chairs...you see blankets all the way to the road, people all the way to the road on their blankets." Our interviews with residents of public housing, in any event, convinced us of how important Anacostia Park is to them, as a safe place to be outside, to gather, or to be alone.

Some older residents no longer feel comfortable in the park, finding it "hectic during the day" and "too rowdy in the evening," in part because there are so many teenagers, especially teenagers in cars, whom they believe to be from Maryland and Virginia. "I used to go to play tennis, but I don't feel as secure as I did years ago," said one resident. However, youth feel that the park should welcome them since they have nowhere else to go: "The more you take away from teenagers the more rowdy you're gonna make 'em." These differences also surfaced, intersecting differences in income, in debates about whether or not the park should house a family-oriented, possibly seafood, restaurant, as suggested by a local home-owner. Younger residents of public housing argued vehemently against such a restaurant, stating that they would not be allowed to go there anyway and that a fast-food restaurant like McDonald's would be more likely to offer teenagers jobs.

Some users indicated that men may feel more comfortable in the park, especially going there alone, than women. Sometimes women like to go together: "I go there with the girls; sometimes we bring the kids, sometimes we don't."

Like other national parks in the city, Anacostia Park faces the dilemma of being both a national and a neighborhood park and serving both insiders and outsiders. Many residents expressed resentment about the transformation of the park in recent years, its discovery by connected and powerful people, its intensive use by people from far away, the tendency of commuters to use it for short cuts. They felt that they have to travel to Capitol Hill for activities like youth soccer because they cannot find such resources on this side of the river, yet other people come to their park to play soccer, walk dogs, and swim. One woman talked of a native Anacostian who has to work in a recreation center in Virginia rather than where he lives because the city government has closed down the recreation centers in Anacostia. Some people appreciated the variety provided by the new immigrant soccer players and enjoy watching the diversity of park users. One long-time resident offered a view more complex than a simple discussion of insiders versus outsiders, commenting that people in Maryland may have previously lived in DC, "they can be your relatives," and like to come home to Anacostia Park. Another man asked, "Why do Virginia people have to come up to Anacostia Park to play soccer? That's the only question." Again, one is struck by the varied perspectives offered by residents who live near the park.

b. People who Organize Reunions

Several families have held reunions in Anacostia Park for many years. Sometimes, in alternate years, these families hold their reunions in North or South Carolina, states where they have older roots. They informed us that they generally reserve the picnic spaces behind the skating rink. Another resident always requests this space for her class reunion, terming Anacostia Park "the nicest park in the city," and praising its amenities: the scenery, the bicycle trails, the tennis courts. Families also hold informal reunions or events. For example, one family gathers at Anacostia Park every Mother's Day, when the

men cook, and also every Father's Day, when the women do. Another focus group participant described holding her mother's 75th birthday party in this area of the park.

These users have seen Anacostia Park change over the years, but most believe it has retained an essentially casual character. It provides space to organize participatory events and the freedom for large families to enjoy varied kinds of recreation suitable to different ages. They deeply appreciate being able to use the park without paying fees and to avoid the expense and restrictiveness of a hotel or a ballroom. They describe organizing races, tournaments, carnivals, and children's plays as well as allowing children to use such facilities as the swimming pool and the basketball courts. They enjoy the time to eat, reminisce, and fill in their family trees.

These users attach important cultural value to Anacostia Park. It symbolizes home for many. As one woman expressed this connection for her family: "Our roots are from South Carolina. But we migrated to DC. DC is home. We have the reunion one year here, and the next year in South Carolina. The older people are there, but the younger people are here." Another woman stated, "We're third generation Washingtonians. There's nowhere else to have it [the reunion]." A third woman discussed the appropriateness of the park for a reunion: "I grew up attached to the park. It's summertime, so it feels right to be in Anacostia Park. It brings back all that atmosphere of when you were growing up. Also people are going by, driving through, they pass news of the reunion by word of mouth. They call your brother, call your nephew, and more people come." All stressed the importance of reunions to African Americans, in "defining who we are," "not losing sight of who you really are," and giving children the opportunity "to reflect on who they want to emulate."

c. Soccer Players and League Organizers

This user category includes mostly new users, although some have been playing in Anacostia Park for as long as nine years. The pressure for soccer field space in the park reflects a significant increase in soccer playing throughout the city, accompanying heavy immigration from Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1980s and the growing popularity of youth soccer. Construction of downtown memorials commemorating Korean War veterans and President Roosevelt have also increased pressures on space.

Our focus group included representatives of the following soccer leagues:

Liga de Futból de Guatemala: This league, founded in 1980, plays Sundays from 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM from March through June. They rest for the month of July so that the field doesn't get too worn out. Then, they play from the end of August until November. Members of the league volunteer to cut the grass and paint the goals, and the league also provided seeds, dirt, and compost to re-sod the Good Hope Road field.

Trinidadian adult players: Soccer players who have come to the United States from Trinidad also use Anacostia Park. These soccer players mainly use Meridian Hill Park, but some find the atmosphere there "unsavory." They would prefer to use Anacostia Park, but have had difficulty finding space there. They find this regrettable, because lately they have had success putting together "mixed pick-up teams," composed of African, Latin American, and Trinidadian players, who "had a good run." However, they have trouble using the fields for pick-up games, because they tend to be reserved by other people in advance. A group leader also noted that his "pan band" had what they thought was a running invitation to play music at the park, but that after the first summer they were not invited back.

The Ladies League: This league draws a variety of women 18 years and older. Some are experienced, and others are just learning to play soccer. They play purely recreational soccer in Anacostia Park on Saturday mornings from mid-March through June. There are eight teams, with 17 to 18 players on a team. About a third of the players live in the Anacostia area, and almost all live in Washington. Their focus group representative described them as "DC-oriented." About five to six players on each of the eight teams travel to Anacostia Park by Metro. They then walk to the back gate at Anacostia Park and have found this to be a pleasant experience. "We've never had a single problem. People in the community are really friendly and nice," stated one league member.

Soccer on the Hill: This league is an organized youth soccer league serving mostly urban youth. The organization includes boys and girls, but of this group only about 250 boys play at Anacostia and Kenilworth Parks.

In addition to hearing from representatives from this focus group, representatives from two other soccer leagues called us. One caller was a representative from the Liga Latinoamericano de Veteranos de Washington, also known in the press as the Liga de Veteranos and the "Anacostia League." This league, which includes 300 soccer players from Central and South America, has been using Anacostia Park for eight years. On Saturdays, from March through November, they use fields #4 and #5 near the Good Hope Road entrance. Their games are attended by Latin American families, some of whom reportedly bring picnics and radios. Their representative reported that some families enjoy walking along the river bank with their children. According to him, "Our community loves soccer."

The other person who called us represented the Washington International Soccer League. This league consists of 50 teams, which include 500 international players who live in Washington, DC, and 500 additional players who live outside of the District of Columbia. In 1996, the league requested a permit to use an open space at Anacostia Park for four games on Saturdays and offered to supply their own temporary goals. Their request was denied. According to this caller, the park's superintendent informed him that soccer could only be played on the fields which had already been reserved by other groups and that no

additional space for playing soccer would be made available. Currently this league plays near the Reflecting Pool on the Mall, but is still interested in playing at Anacostia Park.

d. Athletes and Coaching Staff at Anacostia Senior High School

Anacostia Senior High School has used Anacostia Park as an extension of its playing and practice fields for the last twenty years. The high school's football team frequently practices at Anacostia Park, although they play their games on a field at their school. Athletes, coaches, and spectators cross the pedestrian walkway at the Sousa Bridge to reach their practice sessions and games. Anacostia High has been successful in football during recent years, reaching the last six men's football championships of the District of Columbia Interscholastic Athletic Association (DCIAA). The student athletes from Anacostia High School value the sports they play and practice at Anacostia Park for a variety of reasons. Sports keep them "busy and out of trouble." They believe they have learned "discipline," "focus," "dedication," "determination," "respect," "maturity," "responsibility," "commitment," "how to be a leader and a team player," "how to keep a positive attitude and a hopeful sense of the future," and "how to share glory and misery" through sports.

e. Users Oriented Towards the Water: Boaters, Environmental Activists, and People who Fish

People fishing, most often men, compose a visible and important user category at Anacostia Park. NCP-East has access to independent information concerning these users (see Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch 1991 through 1996), and therefore our team did not interview any people fishing. We discuss more fully in the next section the experiences and perceptions of boaters and environmentalists, who overlap significantly at Anacostia Park.

Another organized group interested in environmental issues at Anacostia Park is the Anacostia Garden Club. They are planning a Frederick Douglass Memorial Garden featuring indigenous plants, floral and tree gardens, benches, and paths.

5. Attitudes and Concerns

This section includes representative concerns that people expressed about Anacostia Park. In many cases, we quote them directly to make clear that these are their views and judgements, not ours. We address five categories of users: a) local families who use the park for picnics and recreation; b) people who organize reunions; c) soccer players and league organizers; d) athletes and coaching staff at Anacostia Senior High School; and e) users oriented toward the water, such as boaters, environmental activists, and people who fish.

a. Concerns Expressed by Local Families who use Anacostia Park for Picnics and Recreation

Local families who use Anacostia Park expressed concerns regarding facilities, equipment, and upkeep; congestion; children's safety; general security; development; and communication with the NPS. These concerns are listed in detail below.

1. Concerns regarding facilities and upkeep

• Many complained of the pollution of the river: "The water's dirty, real, real dirty; you just don't want to go down there; Sometimes there's a smell all over Southeast, like dead bodies or something;" "I don't even think they clean that water; it smells like Blue Plains [sewage treatment plant]."

• Another frequent complaint concerns a lack of trash cans, or that "they're always filled and overflowing, trash and beer bottles thrown around everywhere, especially on Mondays and after heavy rain." Those who find the park dirty believe that the garbage attracts too many rats, mice, and seagulls.

• Many commented that "not enough money is put into the park." These users connected insufficient funds to such facilities as the worn-down exercise and playground equipment, a lack of tables, and broken water fountains.

• Some find that the hours are too limited, especially for renting skates or using the pool. Several miss the adult swimming time, which was canceled.

• Many complain that the bathrooms are locked, that you have to bring your own tissue, that "the restroom stays so filthy," or "they need to remodel the bathroom."

• Several people commented that the park might provide better access; For disabled visitors or for people from the neighborhood in the form of pedestrian overpasses, for example.

2. Concerns regarding congestion

• Many feel squeezed out: "Two years ago it was a beautiful park, but it got discovered."

• The park is so crowded that you have to "come at the crack of dawn" to get a space.

• Congestion worsens during the summer, especially from car traffic, according to these users: "All the parking spaces are filled. People park on the road; people

park up on the sidewalk," said one user. Another noted that "it's heavily traveled, and people go too fast." "When I come to the park in evening times sometimes, it takes me 30 minutes to get through; people are standing in the middle of the street, conversating and you can't get through the park," stated another woman.

- Some people find that the one-way traffic regulations and the need to "dip in and out cuts out" those who live nearby and need to drive in and out.

3. Concerns regarding safety for children

- Many women mentioned that they would like a railing/guard rail by the water: "You turn your back in any second, and one of the kids could be in the water."

- One woman mentioned security at the swimming pool: "I live right down the street; I should be able to send my children there to the pool, say, 'I'll meet you there,' without worrying about what will happen to them in the locker room."

- Several mentioned that they would like to see more soft-surface climbing equipment for children. They stated that such equipment would be safer.

- One woman suggested, "Maintain the toys so the children don't hurt themselves."

4. Concerns regarding general security

- Several visitors mentioned that they would like more police presence and visibility: "In the winter the police only come at lunchtime to protect the joggers, to make sure everything goes smoothly."

- One man suggested that the NPS "add emergency call boxes."

5. Concerns about development

- Many people whom we interviewed like Anacostia Park "just the way it is, beautiful and unchanged, one of the few spots that's unchanged."

- One person suggested adding "Christmas lights for the beautiful Sousa Bridge."

- Many mentioned planting more trees and providing more shaded areas. "There's not enough shade," "Too much sun," "African Americans don't want that much sun;" "Maybe the Park Service could provide canopies for rent."

- Several young mothers mentioned that the park needs a sidewalk for pushing strollers and walking.

• "Keep development simple" was a direct statement as well as a consistent theme, reflected in other phrases such as "light development." Ideas these users offered included adding paddle boats or canoes, a pier, or a Spirit of Washington pick up point. Suggestions also included less water-oriented activities, such as adding a seafood restaurant, a petting farm, or a train ride. One woman mentioned hotels and shops to make Anacostia Park more a place to take visiting relatives, "like the south, romantic and family-oriented, like Southwest but not so developed."

• Others disagreed, with such questions and comments as, "Who would come here to stay in a hotel?" "Where are the people supposed to go?" "Everything has left DC as it is. It will be like New York; all buildings and concrete;" "We wouldn't be able to go to a nice seafood restaurant anyway;" "It would just get robbed;" "A fast-food restaurant would be much more likely to hire kids;" and "We don't need restaurants, we need a place for kids."

• These users suggested varied recreational programs, including: more community sport teams and tournaments for youths; canoeing and swimming activities; basketball and soccer camps; and sack races and family-oriented games. They also stressed educational programs, including more interpretive facilities; way sides; park tours for all ages promoting Anacostia's history; and school tours and programs on "all the different things Anacostia represents." Some indicated that they would enjoy musical programs including gospel and jazz, and many requested summer jobs for youth in the park, such as providing skating or swimming lessons.

6. Concerns regarding communication with the NPS

• Many noted that they would like better communication with the NPS and suggested that rangers be more visible or that activities be posted.

b. Concerns Expressed by People who Organize Reunions

The following concerns and attitudes were expressed by individuals organizing reunions.

• Many want to see more tables, telephones, water fountains, and pavilions of varied sizes.

• They would also appreciate more trash cans and more regular garbage collections. Several suggested that people holding reunions bring their own trash bags and carry their own trash out of the park.

• Several mentioned the need for more trees and shade. One person suggested adding an air-conditioned facility to provide a respite for older relatives or family members with allergies and asthma.

• Some find the one-way traffic rules problematic, because they "have to go all the way around the park to re-enter." They cited as an example the problem that arises if children want to go swimming. "The picnic area is so far away that you have to drive the children to the pool and then exit the park and go all around it again to enter."

• Some find it hard to obtain permits, even for neighborhood organizations. In February, one community leader stated, "Anacostia Park is booked for the summer already. People reserve the whole park."

• One suggestion offered was for the NPS to provide interpretive/historical brochures along with the permits. Users commenting on this were generally enthusiastic about the prospect of more historical information being provided in different venues.

• Users also expressed concern that they might lose Anacostia Park. One woman stated, "It's being developed for white folks. Will it still be there for our families?"

c. Concerns Expressed by Soccer Players and League Organizers

The concerns and expectations expressed by soccer players and league organizers centered around 1) access, 2) maintenance, 3) facilities, 4) sharing space, and 5) trust and communication.

1. Concerns regarding access

• One user stated that: "Getting fields is a long and painful process."

• Representatives describe filling out multiple applications just to be sure of getting one or two fields. In 1997, they noted that they had to resubmit applications and as of late February had not had a response regarding the permits they had requested.

• Several also mentioned difficulties in figuring out which organization provides permits for which fields. For example, DC Adult Sports issues permits for Anacostia Park, and the NPS permits Kenilworth Park. They also felt confused about who is responsible for making decisions. For example, "DC Adult Sports issues permits, but then says: 'Your field's been pulled. Good luck.' Who has control? Who should I call?"

• Some believe that changes in access appear arbitrary and are not explained.

2. Concerns regarding maintenance

• Soccer representatives spoke at length about the height of the grass, which they claim is cut only every three to four weeks. This was noted as especially problematic for children. One man stated that "the grass can be to their knees." Another man mentioned that adult soccer players sometimes twist their ankles from playing in the tall grass. These representatives also believe that the NPS cuts the grass when it's too wet, leaving tracks on the fields and creating big ruts.

• Most cited problems they experienced with the U.S. Park Police when they tried to bring lawn mowers and cut the grass themselves. They agreed that the NPS "should maintain it or let us do it."

• A minority believe that they are allowed to help with maintenance: cutting grass, erecting goal posts, providing seed and compost.

• Soccer representatives believe that the first time the Good Hope Road field was pulled for re-sodding, the NPS did not allow it enough time to re-sod. The NPS had to close it again for a longer period, nine months rather than three.

3. Concerns regarding facilities

• These users stated that they would like to see more restrooms and portable facilities. The representative from the Liga de Veteranos mentioned specifically that his league rents portable toilets for use at the park, which he believes other people use. He suggested that all leagues who are granted the use of fields at Anacostia Park be required to rent and maintain their own portable toilets.

• The fields are too large for children. One man suggested turning a 120' field into two smaller ones. He also suggested that sideways-use would allow multi-use fields.

• Some like the new one-way traffic pattern, but those with children find it problematic, "because you have to go in a big circle, especially after the cruising starts around 11:00."

• One representative suggested that the NPS add water fountains near the soccer fields.

4. Concerns regarding sharing space

• Most of the soccer team representatives believe that the rugby players are not attentive to field conditions, play roughly, play in the rain, and destroy the fields.

• The soccer representatives believe that softball players are favored, especially by DC Adult Sports. "DC Adult Sports are more into softball leagues. The soccer players are DC residents using a DC field. The softball players are not. A DC system should work for DC."

5. Concerns regarding trust and communication

• One representative noted of NPS staff: "They may be fair, but they don't share information." All the representatives indicated that they would appreciate more open information about who the other permit holders are. They would also like a warning and an explanation when their fields get pulled. They asked for clear and consistent rules regarding the height of the grass, playing in the rain, and playing in standing water. They suggested clarifying the reasons for these rules; for example, the area is ecologically fragile.

• Some suggested an Inclement Weather Hotline.

• Several people worried about powerful people exercising undue influence in the permit process. One man noted, "This leads to wild speculation. How many bottles of whiskey do we have to pay the Park Service to get a field?"

• Another representative believes that the NPS has been slow to follow other government agencies who now treat citizens "more like customers. They hold us at arms length, like they've got the goodies and we have to beg. Everything is hidden. Even the military is more open than the Park Service."

• One man noted a forthcoming flurry of Freedom of Information Act activity related to the park permits.

• Another person believed that he might be punished by losing his permit for a field for criticizing the NPS.

• One representative stated that he had a good relationship with the NPS and that NCP-East officials had helped his league resolve their conflicts with the DC Department of Recreation. He said of the Superintendent, "He's a good man. He always helps us." Several praised the Assistant Superintendent as accessible and cooperative. One man called him "my good buddy."

d. Concerns Expressed by Athletes and Coaching Staff at Anacostia Senior High School

The concerns expressed by the high school athletes focused on 1) facilities, 2) access, 3) pollution, and 4) equality and development, as indicated below.

1. Concerns regarding facilities

• The football players described their current practice football field in Anacostia Park as an unlevelled, hole-filled plot of land with grass ranging from ankle-high to shin-high. Several players noted sprained ankles as a result of field conditions. One commented, "It was nothing for a player to be running and trip in a hidden hole; many of them twisted their ankles."

• Baseball players also expressed dissatisfaction with the baseball field at the park. They said that the grass had overtaken the field to the point that the baseball gets lost in the growth. Also, players said that the field is never dredged so that water builds up at second base and home plate, where it sours and leaves the field smelling horrible.

• One player stated that the infield ground had become so hard that "it was like playing on cement."

• A story at Anacostia High School (AHS) holds that eight years ago a coach and the school gardener decided to mow the grass because the field had become unusable. When they began, however, the U.S. Park Police arrived to inform them that "they were on Department of the Interior ground and lawn mowers were forbidden." The grass was not cut, and the game was canceled.

• The baseball players also noted that the field has a "beat up" backstop. This backstop and a home team players' bench comprise the only two structures for playing baseball at Anacostia Park.

• The baseball players would like to see more facilities, such as a dugout or fence to protect players from foul balls, a bench for visiting players to sit on, and bleachers or seats where fans could sit.

• Athletes noted the disrepair of the basketball courts, stating that the courts near the recreation center are always broken and full of glass, therefore, unusable; and those by the skating rink are uneven and often covered with small rocks and gravel.

• Several noted that there were only two restroom facilities at the park and that the aroma kept them from entering. Other suggestions were to install a fountain near

the football and baseball fields and a telephone for emergencies -- especially to get help for players injured from the conditions of the field. The only water fountain is at the other end of the park by the skating rink, and the only telephone is in the recreation center.

• These students found it unfortunate that the playground equipment is so near the restroom facilities, both because of this aroma and because it takes days for the ground to dry after it rains. Like other users, they noted the lack of tables and benches.

• Athletes also noted that the pedestrian walkway has been taken over by brush and trees and has a piece of hanging barbed wire, which may be dangerous.

2. Concerns regarding access

• One player claimed that AHS had been "ruffed off" (involuntarily removed from) their long-held field by Gonzaga High School (a primarily European American Catholic school). He, along with staff members at Anacostia High School, believe that a few years ago Vice President Dan Quayle, whose son attended Gonzaga, "pulled some strings" to award Gonzaga a permit to practice on the football field.

3. Concerns regarding pollution

• Other student-athletes spoke of canoeing and crewing on the Anacostia River, of bringing up trash from the water, and of how polluted the water is. They believe that no one can eat the fish in the river any more and that it is rare to see boats there. They contrasted this situation to the stories they had heard from area adults about their fishing and boating experiences.

4. Concerns about equality and development

• An overriding theme in the focus group was that of injustice in the attention given to Anacostia Park as compared to other national parks in the city. Illustrative comments include:

"Other than a black and white excuse, why is the Anacostia River so dirty and the Potomac River so clean?"

"Why is Anacostia Park so dirty compared to Rock Creek Park?"

"Is the Park Service planning to clean the park up for the community, or are they going to make it for white people?"

e. Concerns Expressed by Users Oriented Towards the Water: Boaters and Environmental Activists

This user group was concerned with the whole park and its relationship to the river. Several of these users recommended that this section of Anacostia Park be preserved in a natural state and kept accessible to nearby residents, yet become more oriented toward the water.

- One man, a water activist, commented in an illustrative quote: "The Park Service for years was totally insulated from the needs of the community, ever since they got burned when they built that -----skating rink. They need a boathouse there. A skating rink can go anywhere."

- Another environmental activist argued that the current recreational facilities are adequate. He believes that adding more will only increase traffic, runoff, and problems with the river. He noted that the park is marshland and believes that the marsh with its indigenous flora will always try to re-establish itself. He does not find it cost-effective to battle marshland.

- Another water activist noted the importance of Anacostia Park as an urban park, as "their escape," which he believes is "needed more than ever, because there are so many people with no recreational opportunities." Yet another man urged us to realize that the Anacostia is "the only inner-city river in the United States....It's the only thing that gives the community an escape from the hustle and bustle."

- Several indicated that the Aquatic Education Center represents a good start in using Anacostia Park to promote awareness of environmental issues in general and the Anacostia River in particular.

- These users were unanimous in arguing that resources be devoted to cleaning up the Anacostia River.

- One woman representing the Anacostia Garden Club expressed concern that the NPS does not seek community input about their needs and aspirations for Anacostia Park. She stated that the community fears that "outside" users of the park will dictate the direction the park will take. She stated that the community does not want the park "transforming to all ball diamonds." As an example, she commented that the DC recreation center does not address the needs of the community. She feels that the center was under-used in the past because community interests were not considered when planning the center's programs and that the center does not address neighborhood youths' interests, such as water sports.

6. Analysis of Findings

a. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?*

At Anacostia Park established users include: local families who picnic at the park; parents who bring children to use the playground and skating rink; teenagers who gather; people who come to walk, sit, jog, or bicycle; student-athletes who play and practice; people who fish; others who use the water; and people who organize reunions. Relatively newer users (over the last ten years) include soccer players and more environmental activists. The newest users include some who have recently discovered Anacostia Park: more soccer players, additional water activists, and softball players representing mostly government leagues. Most of the more established users are African American; the newer users come from a mix of races and ethnicities. The organized softball teams are predominantly European American, and the soccer players on organized teams are Latino American or new immigrants from the Caribbean.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

These users tend to use different parts of the park, but their accumulated use is crowding the park and straining its resources. Many people use Anacostia Park year-round; organized sports users intensify use from mid-spring through mid-summer. The skating rink is used in the winter, while the picnic tables are used during the spring and summer months. Anacostia Park is an everyday park for many users who go there to expand domestic and social space; a weekend park, especially for the young; and a special park, for those who hold reunions there.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

Users identify themselves with Anacostia Park and the park with the community in many different ways. Local people often express a connection to the park and a belief that the park is a neighborhood resource. Organized sports users appear to see the park in purely recreational terms, and one stated that it seems disconnected from the local community. Another sports user, representing new immigrants, stated that "all of the community" comes to the games and that "our community loves soccer." One of the Trinidadian soccer players has worked to bring a "pan band" to Anacostia Park to accompany the soccer games. Those who organize reunions stress the connection between Anacostia Park and the memories they hold of childhood. Boaters and water activists stress the relationship of the park to the Anacostia River.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Anacostia Park is seen by many users as a center of community life, a backdrop for growing up, a place for families and neighbors to gather, a centerpiece of community reaffirmed through reunions. For other users, it functions as recreational green space. The soccer games among the Latin American leagues, for example, draw members of the Latin American community together, as friends and families of the players gather and socialize while watching their teams play. For environmentalists, it represents a crucial connection to the river. Playing sports such as soccer and softball is a community social event for these users.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

The NPS changed the scope of work of this study to exclude fishing as a separate topic, as fishing is covered in the aforementioned recreational fishing survey begun in 1991 (Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch 1991 through 1996). In terms of the socio-cultural context of fishing in Anacostia Park, the recollections of those people interviewed -- recollections going back to the 1930s and 1940s of fishing in the park and preparing and eating the fish -- indicate its importance of park fishing in the memories of long-time residents.

In addition, the Anacostia Garden Club plans a Frederick Douglass Memorial Garden featuring indigenous plants, floral and tree gardens, benches, and paths. At this time, however, there are no plans for consumptive uses of those plants.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

People who have grown up in the area relate several aspects of their histories to park resources. Several relate memories of segregation to the swimming pool, the waterfront, or the bridges. Several recalled that when the river was more usable, they fished, swam, water skied, and went boating there. Some users remember cruising there as teenagers or stopping there to rest after they had moved east of the river but continued to travel back to stay in touch with relatives on the other side. Others have memories of special events and reunions in the park.

g. What other relevance does Anacostia Park have to park neighbors and users?

Neighbors and users vary greatly in what they know of the natural resources and historical significance of Anacostia Park. The environmental activists know both the natural resources and the environmental problems facing the river and the park extremely well. School users sometimes conduct science and environmental projects there. Kramer Middle School has an ongoing environmental studies program focused on the park. Another

public school student has won science fair awards with her projects there. Other visitors, however, appear vague about the wildlife they see in the park and the purpose and programs of the existing facilities at the Urban Treehouse and the Aquatic Education Center.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

All groups (except the organized sports groups) emphasized that park managers and planners should understand the special importance of Anacostia Park to residents of the eastern part of Washington. It is precious as recreational and play space, as a place to gather, and as a place to be alone.

Several groups also believe that there is an inequality in the provision of national park facilities. We heard many comments like "It's so ugly on this side," or "They're always taking away things; they take away the parks, take away the recreation centers..." Some residents of the Anacostia area believe that they have few park options to themselves, because they indicated that they feel trapped, betrayed by the invasion of their park by outsiders, and "DC" seems far away.

In addition, residents' fears about future redevelopment focus in part on the park. These fears are rooted partly in the cycles of planning, development, and down-sizing the area has experienced; in the recent closing of the nearby recreation centers; and in signs of gentrification surrounding Metro, especially along Good Hope Road.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

Some local residents have stopped using Anacostia Park because of the congestion. Others believe that it is not very accessible to people who live nearby because of a lack of pedestrian facilities or the one-way traffic pattern. Others, including picnickers and high school athletes, believe that it is being taken away by outsiders. Several people mentioned that the park is not accessible to disabled people. One stated specifically that there is no place to push a wheelchair. Light development, such as walkways for strollers and wheelchairs, as well as additional restroom facilities, would make these local residents feel more welcome.

j. What would groups like to see happen at Anacostia Park that currently does not happen?

People vary a great deal in their expectations for Anacostia Park. Many are against further development of new facilities at the park, but all want better maintenance of the existing

facilities. Some park neighbors wish that the park could compensate for the dearth of facilities east of the river and contribute in an even more positive and complex way to building community. For example, one woman stated: "If the park was more involved with the youths and the community, lots of things wouldn't happen. Children have energy to channel in a positive way. Outside of the community parks have activities and crime is very low, but our park is lacking." These park neighbors offered many specific suggestions for new facilities, ranging from more water-oriented resources through improved ball fields to more picnic tables and restrooms. Some users wanted to see the park remain very natural; others recommended the enhancement of organized recreational facilities or the expansion of family picnic areas. People from all user groups suggested the addition of more historical, natural resource, and educational programs in the park.

C. Seafarers Boat Club, Inc.

1. Location

Seafarers Boat Club is located at the end of M Street, Southeast (SE), on the western bank of the Anacostia River. While it is not bordered by a named neighborhood, nearby landmarks include Barney Circle, the Sousa Bridge, Congressional Cemetery, District of Columbia (DC) General Hospital, and the DC Jail (see also Loeb 1996, Sklansky 1988). The closest two Metro stations are Potomac Avenue and Stadium Armory. The nearest neighborhoods with commonly known names on the same side of the river as Seafarers Boat Club are Capitol Hill, Lincoln Park, and Old Southwest. Nearby residents are predominantly African American (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

Seafarers members take pride in having established the first African American Yacht Club on the East Coast. They did so in 1942 because other marina facilities were segregated. "We weren't even allowed to walk on the grass at the Anacostia Marina," one man recalled. Although then-Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes refused the early applicants land, members recalled that New Deal Youth Administrator/civil rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune intervened with her friend Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt personally saw that the club was given land at the end of the strip of marinas.

3. Park Users

Today the club is integrated, including approximately 50 members of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most members are African American professionals. While this section of the report focuses on Seafarers Boat Club, we include other issues of concern to the boating community.

4. Park Uses

Seafarers members take pride in the traditions that surround their boating activities, such as the naming of a commodore. Many members have held special events, such as meetings, receptions, and birthday parties at the club. For example, one of the commodores was married there. Increasingly, the club reaches out to the community, welcoming youth for boating activities, opening its facilities for picnics, and cooperating with other groups in taking youth down the river on canoe and kayak trips and in organizing a campaign to clean up the Anacostia River. This campaign is termed "Hands Across the Anacostia" by

the Anacostia Watershed Society and "Anacostia: Our River; We Mean To Keep It Clean" by Seafarers members (see Anacostia River Clean-Up Day flier in Appendix C). The campaign relies on volunteer labor, which includes inmates from Lorton Penitentiary and students from area schools and universities. It brings together representatives of the NPS, the Council of Governments, the Department of Corrections, the Department of Public Works, the Department of Environmental Resources, the Department of Human Services, the Mayor's Youth Leadership Initiative, Montgomery and Prince George's County governing bodies, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA), the Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO), Washington Gas, and community organizations, such as Greenpeace, "Ready, Willing, and Able," and "Fletcher's Navy." Working from two sites (Kenilworth Park and Anacostia Park), volunteers are ferried to spots up and down the river to clean up trash, which is loaded onto two barges and taken to a landfill. The program concludes with a barbecue and a public ceremony.

Along with other boaters, Seafarers members express an intense environmental awareness and activism. One man noted of his efforts to introduce youth to the problems and promise of the river: "I just decided this is what I'm going to do to help democracy in America."

5. Attitudes and Concerns

Overwhelmingly, concerns focused on the pollution of the Anacostia River. Illustrative quotes include:

- "The problem with the river is it's dirty, it needs to be cleaned up... It's mostly polluted from the sewers. People throw stuff like grass and leaves and paper cups in the sewers and when there's a hard rain they overflow and come out near the railroad bridge and the Benning Road power plant and then stop at the dock and the boats because there's a lot to stop the sewage there."

- "The river needs dredging in a lot of places where silt builds up around the boats."

- Seafarers members believe they have good communication with the NPS, from whom they rent the land for the marina. They feel that the NPS supports their efforts to clean up the river. However, one man noted that they "feel like third-class citizens" and that they would like to see better maintenance. For example, he noted, "they cut the grass when they get around to it." However, he believes that NPS officials are "concerned and try to work with us. They are very cooperative, it's not their fault at all. I am grateful for people who want to help us to their capacity, although their capacity is very limited."

- Some members of the boating community would like to see a "more boater-friendly, more user-friendly attitude from the Park Service."

6. Analysis of Findings

a. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?*

The users are the 50 members of the Seafarers Boat Club who boat on the Anacostia River. The club is currently ethnically diverse. Our interviews with club members and boaters reveal that they seem to share their resources effectively with the community. The club has opened its facilities for picnics, organized a campaign to clean up the Anacostia River, and encouraged youth involvement in boating activities through organized canoe and kayak trips.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

The primary resource used by Seafarers Boat Club is the Anacostia River. They boat frequently in the spring and summer and gather at the club house to work on their equipment, hold meetings, and sponsor celebrations throughout the year.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

The Seafarers Boat Club members we spoke with demonstrated their pride in the history and traditions of the club and its connection to the park. Their relationship with the park is primarily with the marina and the Anacostia River. The community activities and environmental campaigns organized by the club members reveal their deep commitment to keeping the river clean for the city's residents to enjoy. Many believe that the Anacostia River is a valuable and important resource to the city that should be preserved.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

This is an established group with roots going back to 1942, when the club was established as the first African American Yacht Club on the East Coast. They feel deeply connected to the Anacostia River and to the city of Washington, DC.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

Seafarers members sometimes fish in the Anacostia River. They generally cook and share their fish at the club house.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

As noted earlier, the Anacostia River holds primary significance for this group. Beyond recreation, they engage in environmental activities to help preserve this resource.

g. What other relevance does Anacostia Park have to park neighbors and users?

No other relevance was identified among these users other than that discussed in items a through f above.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

Our interviews with Seafarers Boat Club members revealed their desire to convey to NPS personnel their pride in the club's history and their concern for the Anacostia River. A past commodore said of Eleanor Roosevelt, "her name is etched in my soul and mind." They conveyed that in addition to participating in recreational and social activities, they were undertaking efforts to help alleviate the pollution of the river. They wanted the NPS to know that they feel, that as a whole, the NPS supports them in these efforts.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

We were unable to identify groups who felt they had limited access to the Seafarers Club. A past commodore states that the club "has every known nationality in it and we all get along."

j. What would groups like to see happen at this part of the park that currently does not happen?

The primary concern expressed by these users was the pollution of the Anacostia River. They wanted to see it cleaned up, particularly the pollution caused by sewers. Others wanted the dredging done where silt builds up around the boats. They also expressed an interest in better maintenance, such as grass-cutting.

D. River Terrace

1. Location

The River Terrace section of Anacostia Park borders the eastern bank of the Anacostia River between East Capitol Street and Benning Road. It is located in a neighborhood of the same name where the residents are predominantly African American. It is a secluded park, with only three ways in and out: Anacostia Avenue, 34th Street, and 36th Streets, Northeast (NE). A utility road connects River Terrace to the Conrail Trestle, but it is used mostly by hikers and the U.S. Park Police (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

Many of the ethno-historical accounts of the area that residents related to us focus on environmental issues, especially those surrounding Kingman Island. Residents told stories of the deterioration of the island, its subsequent emergence as a beautiful and wild place, and cycles of plans to develop it. Illustrative quotations include:

> They [NPS] didn't have the personnel to develop it, so it became lush and green and a nice place and a leaf composting dump, for the city, for PEPCO, and for munitions. It had a checkered past as an orphanage piece of land. It was a nice park, but it went downhill, and the Park Service gave up. It had no friends.

The neighborhood of River Terrace was originally developed as an all European American community. Until the construction of the Whitney Young Bridge, apartment buildings, like those that still stand on the opposite river bank, were built up to the Anacostia River. These buildings were demolished in preparation for the construction of the bridge.

The River Terrace section of Anacostia Park was built as a Bicentennial construction project. Twenty years ago developers talked of enhancing the pure-water Kingman Lake with an island park, to include restaurants, beer gardens, refreshment stands, dance pavilions, bandstands, theaters, art galleries, craft and hobby shops, games and rides, and boating and fishing. Another plan proposed to develop the island more simply with a Nature Center. In July of 1996, Kingman Island was transferred to the District of Columbia for the development of a family-oriented amusement park.

3. Park Users

Park users include local residents, school children participating in recreational and educational programs, and softball players. Local users are presumed to be African

American because the residents of the adjacent neighborhoods are generally known to be predominantly African American. The softball players include members of different ethnic backgrounds, but are predominantly European American.

4. Park Uses

River Terrace has long been a neighborhood park, heavily used by the residents of the River Terrace neighborhood for dog-walking, jogging, hiking, pick-up sports, courting, fishing, and seeking tranquility. One visitor told us: "I come here for my solitude." Local schools use River Terrace for recreational and educational purposes. People also come from outside the neighborhood to play basketball. It has seen a dramatic shift in use during the last several years and is now heavily used in spring and summer by softball teams organized by members of Congress, governmental agencies, and the National Education Association.

River Terrace has a mobilized, activist neighborhood association concerned about the proposed development of the Children's Island theme park. The River Terrace Civic Association hosts River Terrace Day there as well. Recently, under its new President, the River Terrace Civic Association also voted to oppose the development of Children's Island, the proposed name for a theme park on Kingman Island.

5. Attitudes and Concerns

The River Terrace park users' concerns centered on environmental issues and facilities. These concerns are detailed below:

a. Concerns Expressed Regarding Environmental Issues

- One resident whom we interviewed has long championed environmental issues in the area. Since 1940, he has worked against the pollution from the 75-acre Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO) plant. He recalls that in 1988 PEPCO had a plan to build two oil-fired turbine generators to increase electrical output. These generators would have released excess nitrogen oxide and sulphur dioxide, combining with the hydrocarbons already coming from the cars on Interstate-295 (I-295) and Benning Road. This toxic combination, according to this activist, would further destroy the ozone layer, pollute River Terrace, and cause cancer and respiratory problems (see Armstrong 1991). Since 1980, he has opposed the construction of the Barney Circle Freeway, because he believes that it will divert traffic toward River Terrace. He states that this area already has the most pollution of any area in Washington because of the emissions from PEPCO and the

incinerator as well as "the 100,000 cars a day on [I-] 295. The bridge at Barney Circle would draw even more cars because it would be the easiest route."

• This resident has also requested a hearing on the incinerator behind PEPCO, which is emitting lead. He would like to see dredging done in the Anacostia River south of Benning Road to complete the work done to the north of the river.

• He is also opposed to Children's Island, the proposed name for the theme park on Kingman Island, which "would bring more cars and air pollution. That habitat now is one of the most beautiful spots in DC, all up and down that land."

• Another environmentalist stated: "They gave up on Children's Island and gave it back to the District. It was unfortunate because the boating/environmental community wanted to see the park remain contiguous. We also want to see the Anacostia [River] revitalized, and this was a major blow."

• A boater noted, "The entire Anacostia River south of the New York Avenue Bridge to the railroad bridge should be an urban wilderness. No development within 200 meters. Let it evolve naturally. See what it returns itself to."

b. Concerns regarding facilities

• One resident believes that "They could put out more; there's only that one little stand [kiosk], they need more basketball and tennis courts, and it could be better lit because it gets lots of use at night. Lots of people come from outside for basketball, tennis, softball. I have no problem with that because it's a national park. Trucks pull up with kids from other parts of the city, they play and go back home."

• Another resident suggested other changes: "There could be other changes, they could make the waterfront more beautiful, build up the banks, add stone walls. Right now you could walk right on down into the water. Maybe they could add a railing like down at Hains Point." He agrees that River Terrace needs lighting: "It gets pretty dark, and you very seldom see the Park Police."

6. Analysis of Findings

a. Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?

Established users at River Terrace include residents of the neighborhood who use the park to walk their dogs, hike, play pick-up sports, court, fish, and seek tranquility. Local schools use this segment of the park for recreational and educational purposes. Newer

users are softball teams, representing mostly government leagues, which have played in the park for the last several years, as well as others who come from other neighborhoods to play softball and basketball. Most of the more established users are African American; the newer users come from a mix of races and ethnicities, predominantly European American and Latin American. Currently resources appear to be shared effectively. Residents expressed concerns about the cars and pollution that the development of Children's Island could bring to this part of the park.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

Many neighborhood residents, such as those who go to the park to seek "tranquility," use this part of Anacostia Park year-round. The softball teams use the park from spring through summer. Local schools hold recreational and educational events in the park during the school year.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

The River Terrace visitors we spoke with expressed a connection with the park as a neighborhood resource for a wide variety of uses. Boaters and environmental activists stressed the relationship of the park to the Anacostia River. One reference made to the park's place in the city related to the pollution of the park caused by the PEPCO plant.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

As with Anacostia Park, River Terrace is seen by the park users/neighbors and environmental activists we interviewed as a center of community life, a backdrop for growing up, a place for families and neighbors to gather, and a centerpiece of community reaffirmed through special events. Because it is small and secluded on the river bank, it serves neighborhood residents as a large front lawn with a beautiful view. The park's name describes its role well. Several residents hold life-long memories of and express deep affection for the Anacostia River.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

People frequently fish from the river's edge at River Terrace.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

The park users and neighbors interviewed expressed their appreciation of the beauty of the park's natural resources and their fears of seeing this beauty deteriorate through pollution

or development. These areas include Kingman Island, the Anacostia River, and areas of the park near the PEPCO plant.

g. What other relevance does River Terrace have to park neighbors and users?

Other areas of relevance were not reported by informants or observed by the researchers.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

Users conveyed to us their appreciation of the park for both its aesthetic and recreational value.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

The only comments relating to limited access to this part of the park were a desire expressed for additional lighting and the comment that U.S. Park Police are seldom seen there.

j. What would groups like to see happen at this part of the park that currently does not happen?

Park users and neighbors expressed concern for areas that are at risk of pollution such as Kingman Island, the area near the PEPCO plant, and the Anacostia River. To enhance its aesthetic and recreational value, some users felt that NPS staff should improve the facilities for basketball and tennis, as well as make changes to beautify the waterfront, such as building up the banks with stone walls or adding a railing.

E. Kingman Park

1. Location

The Kingman Park section of Anacostia Park is located on the western bank of the Anacostia River, just north of Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) Stadium between Benning Road and D Streets, Southeast (SE). Oklahoma Avenue stretches along the northern border of the park. Kingman Park is surrounded by a residential community with a mix of houses and apartment buildings. It is located in the neighborhood of Kingman Park, south of Langston Golf Course, which was the first African American golf course, founded in 1939, and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Barnes 1996). Kingman Park is located across the Anacostia River from River Terrace. The majority of the residents in these neighborhoods are African American (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

The Kingman Park community leader whom we interviewed emphasized long-time struggles between neighborhood residents and developers. These conflicts have included neighborhood opposition to the construction of RFK Stadium; Barney Circle freeway, planned to divert traffic from Constitution Avenue behind district of Columbia (DC) General Hospital onto Interstate-395 (I-395); and the development of a theme park on Kingman Island. Neighbors were also involved in exposing the toxic waste issue at the Navy Yard. The resident we spoke with mentioned inequities in the clean-up of Polychlorinated Biphenyls (PCB's) at the Navy Yard, citing a more vigorous response to a similar situation in an upper Northwest Washington neighborhood where residents are predominantly affluent European Americans. During our site visit to Kingman Park, we observed that most of the houses across the street from the park displayed signs on their front lawns reading "No Theme Park on Kingman Island!" In July of 1996, Kingman Island was transferred to the District of Columbia for the development of a family-oriented amusement park.

Blow Elementary school, which is located at 725 19th Street, Northeast (NE), in the neighborhood of Kingman Park and which opened in 1969, is currently operating at two-thirds capacity and is slated to be closed, suggesting a decline in the population of school-age children.

3. Park Users

Park users consist primarily of people walking and small children playing. The people walking include strollers and dog-walkers. Based on our research, we have found that, at this park site, dog-walkers essentially fall into the same category as strollers who are not accompanied by dogs.

4. Park Uses

People appear to use Kingman Park on a daily basis as a neighborhood park.

5. Attitudes and Concerns

Comments about Kingman Park centered on the development of Kingman Island and the Barney Circle Freeway.

- The resident we interviewed focused on the development of Kingman Island as a theme park. He expressed distrust for the "Island Corporation," stating that this group claims an historical connection with former developers which is not accurate. He is concerned that the corporation will lease the island for 30 years for an extremely low amount. He hopes that the environmental impact study and the need for Presidential consent will determine that a theme park is not suitable "for neighborhood integrity." He argues that Kingman Island should be more like Theodore Roosevelt Island, with hiker-biker trails, floating docks, or a nature center. He deeply appreciates the migratory birds and the recent return of many species of fish to the Anacostia River. He believes that theme park development will destroy the river, Kingman Island, and Kingman Park and send a "message to kids that the river is not important; carnivals are." "It is self-defeating for the government to tear up parkland," he stated.

- The community leader we interviewed urged researchers to speak directly to representatives from the Island Development Corporation (IDC) to confirm his claims and fear of development. He stated that IDC plans to charge an $11.50 admission fee per person and to stay open 365 days a year. He added that the IDC predicts that the park will draw 6,000 visitors a day, coming in 2,500 cars, which would total three million visitors a year. He questioned whether or not the "1,500 jobs" the corporation promises will be good jobs or minimum-wage jobs. He worries that locating the parking lot for "the carnival" in Kingman Park will "wreak havoc with trash, crowds, and break-ins" and that the disruption will "wreck the real estate market, making it more difficult to keep a stable community."

- Concerns about Barney Circle emerged with both informants. One man argued that the proposed freeway would "totally trash Anacostia Park." Another stated that the federal highway funds involved should be used instead for urban avenues that double as commuter routes, including Kenilworth and New York Avenues.

6. Analysis of Findings

a. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?*

The park users we observed in Kingman Park were dog-walkers. Environmental groups, residents, and a community leader also shared information on how they believe potential development threatens to damage the park.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

Only dog-walkers appear to use the park daily.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

Those interviewed value this part of the park as enhancing the neighborhood as well as the city. Their primary concern is that the development of Kingman Island and the construction of the Barney Circle freeway threaten to damage the park's natural resources.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Boaters often stop to explore Kingman Island. Otherwise, nearby residents of the Kingman Park neighborhood use this section of Anacostia park for walking. It appears to function as an extension of their homes and yards and to attract very few outsiders. Kingman Park residents value what they perceive as a quiet, stable African American community that has worked hard to preserve the natural and social environment surrounding this section of Anacostia Park located in their neighborhood.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

No consumptive uses were reported or observed in this park.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

Kingman Island holds special significance to members of the community surrounding the park and to environmental activists. Speaking in opposition to its potential development as a theme park, one person felt that the island should be developed more like Theodore Roosevelt Island, with Hiker-Biker trails, floating docks, and a nature center. He demonstrated a deep appreciation for the natural wildlife there -- migratory birds, as well as several species of fish in the river.

g. What other relevance does Kingman Park have to park neighbors and users?

Kingman Park is important to residents in expanding domestic space and allowing them to access the Anacostia River.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

The resident and the community leader we interviewed felt it important to convey to us that they highly value this section of the park, particularly Kingman Island, and strongly oppose its development into a theme park.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

We do not know of any groups or individuals who feel they have limited access to Kingman Park. However, the two persons we interviewed felt that their enjoyment of the park would be definitely limited by the development of Kingman Island.

j. What would groups like to see happen at this part of the park that currently does not happen?

The people we interviewed want to stop the plans to develop Kingman Island and Barney Circle. They would like to see more financial resources and attention devoted to cleaning up the PCB's at the Navy Yard.

F. Kenilworth Park

1. Location

Kenilworth Park is located on the eastern bank of the Anacostia River. It lies west of Anacostia Avenue and stretches from Nannie Helen Burroughs Drive, Northeast (NE), to Kenilworth Avenue in the Mayfair Parkside neighborhood. It is surrounded by a residential community with a mix of houses; public housing, including the Eastland Gardens, Mayfair Mansions, and Paradise Manor; and apartment buildings. The District of Columbia's Kenilworth-Parkside Recreation Center is located at Kenilworth Park. Nearby institutions include the PEPCO power plant, Solid Waste Reduction Center #1, the Minnesota Avenue and Deanwood Metro stations, and the National Arboretum, located on the west bank of the Anacostia River. The residents of this neighborhood are primarily African American. Several fast-food restaurants lie along Nannie Burroughs Drive, as well as other businesses. A Metro subway station is located within walking distance of the park (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

Kenilworth has been documented as an important site of the Nacotchtank Indians. In 1957, MacCord excavated a one-acre site along the Anacostia River and found numerous artifacts, suggesting that Native Americans had lived intermittently at Kenilworth for at least the last 3,000 years (MacCord 1957). Collectors doing surface archaeology found some artifacts during the late 19th century and placed them in the United States National Museum (now the Smithsonian Institution).

Kenilworth Park lies in the northeastern corner of the District of Columbia at the lower end of the Anacostia River. During the 18th and 19th centuries, this part of the river was a tidewater area one-half to three-quarters of a mile wide. Small islands dotted the river, and river and tidal waters flowed through them, feeding many bogs and swamps. Marsh grasses and wild rice grew among the bogs, and river birch, black willow, and elm grew in the flood plain.

By the 20th century, the ecology of the area was very different. Kenilworth Marsh, west of the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, was heavily polluted, although it was one of the last remaining wetlands along the Anacostia River. The winding watercourse had been converted into a single channel lined by sea walls. Upstream quarrying for sand and gravel, along with suburban development to the north in Maryland, had turned the river a muddy-brown. The District of Columbia (DC) leased the land from the NPS to operate an open-burning trash disposal site at Kenilworth from 1942 to 1968. The dumping and

burning of trash at that site polluted the river and the air. Trash from the dump had spilled over into the river and joined sewer discharge to contaminate it.

Great population growth in the neighborhoods bordering the park took place in the 1960s. Much of this growth occurred in public and private apartment buildings. By the early 1970s, most real estate activity had halted. The dump at Kenilworth was widely considered a nuisance and an eyesore, and in 1968 a child suffered fatal burns there. In 1968, the NPS contracted with the District of Columbia to convert the open-burning dump into a demonstration sanitary land fill project. In 1972, the landfill was covered and stabilized with topsoil and plants. But by 1973, Keyes, Lethbridge, and Condon reported that problems from the landfill remained in the form of unstable soil conditions, seeping polluted groundwater, and methane gas emissions (National Park Service 1981).

In the 1970s, allotment gardens provided community gardeners with small, individual plots. The community gardeners were unaware of the soil conditions described above at the time. One of the gardeners, who is also a noted historian of the area, remembers the community gardens this way:

> About 1971 or '2, garden plots were marked off on top of the landfill and were offered to local community groups. I obtained mine from those allotted to members of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society (CHRS), a not-for-profit community group whose attention focuses primarily on land use and architectural issues.... Plots were fairly sizable. We gardeners used them for a variety of produce and flowers. Vegetables that I remember growing were tomatoes, eggplants, okra, both zucchini and crookneck squash, and several types of mild and hot peppers. I also grew flowers for cutting, as my rowhouse doesn't have much planting space. A lot of informal camaraderie occurred during the gardening season between those of us from Capitol Hill and other neighborhoods. At least while at the gardens, whose crop was growing better or best mattered more than economics or race to the highly diverse group of gardeners.
>
> We entered the park through the formal entrance at the west end of Nannie Helen Boroughs Avenue (I think the street still had its older name then), but seldom saw any NPS personnel. When we didn't receive sufficient rain, water for the gardens was provided by "water buffalos" -- mobile water tanks -- whose color and markings I remember as indicating that the U.S. Army may have had some connection with them, either then or in a prior use.
>
> CHRS' gardeners were pleased enough with the results of that first summer to return the next year. By mid-summer, however, many of us had given up. Some of us stuck it out until the end of the growing season. From about the Fourth of July on, young boys from the environs of Mayfair Mansions destroyed many of the crops. They may have been seeking food, which we would have been glad to share.

> They didn't talk to us, but just ran out of the garden, with or without whatever they'd taken, whenever any of the gardeners showed up. They certainly didn't know how to take what was ripe or how to pick anything so that what remained on the plants continued to grow. I have no idea how long the gardens remained viable after that second summer, but I do remember that much of the time I spent there was both enjoyable and worthwhile (Overbeck 1997).

An NPS study in the 1970s reported of the Kenilworth area: "Its development has been the result of alternating crises and neglect, resulting in an uncoordinated patchwork of residential areas, often with poor access, few commercial opportunities, and all with the tensions and problems that plague communities in the lower economic levels of American cities today" (National Park Service 1981: 147).

In the 1970s, Kenilworth experienced variable use. It lay almost empty during the winter months but hosted several hundred groups a day during summer weekends. This use was primarily local, and included picnickers, joggers, bicyclists, people fishing, baseball, soccer, lacrosse, and rugby players. Rugby players used the park heavily on weekends, and national and international rugby tournaments were held there. Access, except by foot, was difficult. One NPS study called Kenilworth "almost an island, accessible on one side. Parts of it are heavily used, most of it is minimally used, and many areas are among the least visited in the city" (National Park Service 1981: 147).

For the Bicentennial in 1976, the NPS added landscaping to the old landfill entrance, sports fields, tennis and basketball courts, and picnic shelters. Also in 1976, the District of Columbia Department of Recreation opened a recreation center in the Kenilworth Park. In part in response to the quickly changing neighborhoods surrounding it, and partly in anticipation of the Bicentennial, the NPS commissioned a number of studies and plans of Anacostia and Kenilworth Park between 1967 and 1981.

In the 1980s, the NPS, in cooperation with the Applied Physics Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University, pioneered a project whereby methane gas emitting from the landfill was harnessed to heat the greenhouses of the Aquatic Gardens.

In 1996, the NPS brought scientists and researchers for a 24-hour "BioBlitz" to document plant and animal species. They found hundreds of species, ranging from white-tailed deer to iron-oxidizing bacteria (see Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed' in Appendix D).

No individuals contacted for this study made reference to the turn-of-the-twentieth-century community of Kenilworth.

3. Park Users

Users of Kenilworth Park include the following sports groups:

- Korean Soccer Association
- Liga Deportiva Centroamericana
- Washington Rugby Football Club
- Soccer on the Hill
- Stoddert Soccer League
- Washington Poltroons Rugby Football Club
- Baseball players

In addition, the park is frequented by Frisbee players, joggers and hikers, bird-watchers and nature walkers, and concert-goers ("Oldies but Goodies"). Several organized celebrations take place at the park, including Malcolm X Day, Stone Soul Picnic, and DC Seniors Picnic. Other reported or observed users are a volunteer family with eight children whose mother uses the scientific resources of the park as part of their home schooling, picnickers, participants in family and class reunions, the Boy Scouts, people visiting the DC Kenilworth-Parkside recreation center, and swimmers. A homeless man, known by neighborhood kids as the "bicycle man," lives in a home made of corrugated metal and plywood in a clearing in the woods, not far from the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. He has lived in the park for at least 16 years and makes his living repairing bicycles.

4. Park Uses

Kenilworth Park experiences varied, changing uses. Naturalists, especially bird watchers, visit the park year-round. People report that at times it is very crowded, and when it is full people are turned away at the gate by NPS staff. This appears to be true particularly on weekends in late summer and during concerts. Many times it appears to be empty, including some Saturdays during the summer, according to focus group participants. Kenilworth Park sometimes hosts overflow crowds from other parts of Anacostia Park, but appears to function mostly for special, organized events, which may be one reason for the fluctuating intensity of use.

Several different kinds of groups hold reunions at Kenilworth Park, and their representatives described the events at focus groups. These include the Boy Scouts, families, churches, and social clubs. One of these clubs carries the names of three communities from southern Virginia: County Line, Elkhorn, and Meadesville. Many African American residents of those communities have relocated to Washington, DC, and they come together during the third week of July. They bring potato salad and barbecue a whole hog, fry fish, and grill hot dogs and hamburgers to serve 600 to 700 people. Other users reported noticing their event, which is marked by crepe party streamers and tents.

One group has come to Kenilworth for the last few years since the NPS withdrew permission to hold the reunion at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. They hold their reunion near the power plant, where they create their own shade through canopies and tents. This group's focus group representative stated that he appreciates the area as one of only two places in the city where one can fly kites. He also appreciates the space available at Kenilworth Park, for it is hard to find any other places with room for 300 to 800 people. This group enjoys bicycle-riding, playing horseshoes, and fishing.

5. Attitudes and Concerns

People who hold reunions, soccer game organizers, and environmentalists, expressed the following concerns about Kenilworth Park:

a. Concerns Expressed by People Who Organize Reunions

- Some expressed confusion about the process involved in reserving sites. They feel unclear about whom to call and when.

- Getting a permit can be especially difficult for people with large groups. There are many questions asked, especially if you have 400 to 500 people. Sometimes one can talk directly to the National Capital Parks-East (NCP-East) Superintendent, which speeds up the process, according to focus group participants.

- It is also more difficult to control the crowd in the Kenilworth-Parkside area, and therefore, outsiders sometimes partake of the foods prepared for participants in the reunion.

- Several organizers stated that the area at Kenilworth is not clean.

b. Concerns Expressed by People who Organize Soccer Games

- These users agree that Kenilworth offers "the best nature in DC," as one man described it. They value the vast open space, beautiful wildflowers, the absence of "structures to get in the way," and "a wonderful feeling of freedom," especially at Field #4.

- Often the playing fields appear to be empty. One man describes going there on a Saturday afternoon to find nine empty soccer fields and one man hitting golf balls. He reported that his group was located on the last and worst fields in the park and that they had to drive by better, empty fields to get there.

- Users also describe finding debris on the fields, including bricks and dead rats.

• Many of these users feel that Kenilworth Park is wasted, that it is "a stepchild," "a dump." They believe that Kenilworth Park has been discovered now that new memorials in the city's monumental core have reduced playing space. Kenilworth Park is now a central focus, "prime territory" sought by sports organizers. They argued that the area should be developed as prime soccer space, as part of a solution to a larger problem, not treated simply as an isolated parcel of land. One man noted that Kenilworth could be "a cash cow." He feels that tournaments could generate $4 million a year, through user fees and spin-off business for hotels, restaurants, and shops. He cites the examples of Virginia Beach, Richmond, and St. Louis. He also notes the popularity of youth soccer and the lengths to which soccer parents go to ensure their children access and success.

• Several of these users expressed the concern that NPS staff do not adequately understand urban parks. He believes that developing Kenilworth Park as a soccer complex would draw visitors and boost Washington, DC's economy, which relies heavily on tourism and service sector employment. One man expressed the hope that the NPS would consult with local experts on urban planning.

• All expressed the desire for better communication with the NPS, on issues ranging from who the other users are through an explanation for why development would not be a good idea. If the area is too fragile to be developed, these users would like to be informed of that. They would like more open communication and possibly meetings in the winter and spring.

• These users would also like to see the NPS show stronger leadership and more sustained coordination with city officials in providing recreation to citizens and in mediating disagreements, regarding issues such as neighbors' concerns about traffic and noise. They would also like to see the NPS deal directly with people who cause problems, citing as an example those who leave trash in the area. They suggest that those people be forced to pay to haul the trash away.

c. Concerns Expressed by Environmentalists

• These users cite the need to balance recreational uses against the importance of Kenilworth Park as a wildlife refuge. According to the NPS Natural Resource Specialist, the area holds much interesting and rare wildlife, including the marble salamander, red spider newts, spotted salamanders, yellow warblers, and northern shovelers, and neo-tropical migrating birds, such as bald eagles, peregrine falcons, and Canada geese.

• One person asked that Kenilworth Park be preserved for hiking: "Leave it natural," he suggested. This user also proposed restoring indigenous plants, such as

brown rice: "The area used to have brown rice; we should introduce it again for a natural filtration system."

• One community activist believes that these uses are compatible with recreation. He favors development of soccer fields on the grounds that "Soccer is good for minority youth and adults. We live in a city and a region with many immigrants who are familiar with and appreciate soccer."

6. Analysis of Findings

a. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?*

Kenilworth Park hosts a wide variety of users. They include members of several soccer leagues, baseball and rugby players, frisbee players, joggers, hikers, bird-watchers, participants in special celebrations and family reunions, Boy Scouts, picnickers, visitors to the recreation center, and swimmers. Study participants provided different accounts of how resources are shared. Some report that it is very crowded and that people are turned away at the gate when the park is full. On the other hand, soccer organizers noted that the park seems to be empty on Saturdays, even during the summer. The discrepancies in these accounts probably reflects fluctuating, uneven use and the fact that Kenilworth Park is a popular site for special, large events.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

Nature lovers come to the park year-round. The community holds special events during the warmer months. Among the large events held is a large picnic in July involving 600 to 700 people. Sports teams and other users such as bicyclists and frisbee players use the park primarily from spring to fall.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

Most of the people who participated in this study expressed an appreciation for the park's natural setting, its spaciousness, and the wildlife that it supports. Some people argue that Kenilworth Park should remain natural and undeveloped.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

This park appears to hold social and cultural importance as a place to reaffirm a sense of community through special events, such as family reunions, large picnics, and special days

(i.e., Malcolm X Day). Sports organizers see the park as representing wasted potential for building youth soccer and drawing visitors to the Washington, DC.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

Some park users reported that people fish at the park during reunions held there. The NPS Natural Resource Specialist certifies that eight to 10 species of fish live in Kenilworth Marsh, including carp, catfish, and seasonal herring.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

The environmentalists we spoke with stressed the importance of the park as wildlife refuge. They indicated their appreciation for the park's rare wildlife, as well as a desire to restore some of its indigenous plants, such as brown rice. One soccer player noted that Kenilworth Park is known among athletes for its problematic "goose shit."

g. What other relevance does Kenilworth Park have to park neighbors and users?

Kenilworth Park is most relevant as a place for special events, a wildlife sanctuary, and a potential soccer complex.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

Users conveyed their enjoyment of this park, which hosts a wide variety of uses. Despite comments about the crowding, some users expressed an appreciation for its size, which allows for large group events.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

While those holding group events liked the fact that Kenilworth Park can accommodate large groups, they also noted that permits are sometimes difficult to acquire for groups of 400 people or more.

j. What would groups like to see happen at this part of the park that currently does not happen?

Groups vary a great deal in their expectations for Kenilworth Park. Some would like the park to be cleaner. One individual said there were bricks and rats on the playing fields, and others referred to the park as a dump. Yet others expressed a desire for improved

communication with NPS personnel. For example, some wanted clarification on the process for reserving sites for large events, others hoped that the NPS could mediate neighbors' concerns about traffic and noise. Soccer organizers felt that a soccer complex should be built at this park.

G. Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens

1. Location

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens lie at the northern end of Kenilworth Park on the eastern side of the Anacostia River. The closest neighborhoods to the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens are Eastland Gardens and Deanwood. The public housing communities of Kenilworth Courts and Parkside lie next to the Aquatic Gardens. The residents in these neighboring communities are predominantly African American (see Map 2 in Appendix A).

2. Ethnohistory

The gardens occupy 14 acres of marshland on the eastern shore of the Anacostia River and the northern end of Anacostia Park, where the District of Columbia borders Prince George's County Maryland. This area was cultivated as farmland until 1895, when a real estate developer purchased 240 acres of farmland to lay out the subdivision of Kenilworth (taken from Sir Walter Scott's novel of that name).

The gardens began in 1882 when Civil War veteran W.B. Shaw, who worked as a clerk in the Treasury Department, began growing water lilies, importing exotic varieties and creating new hybrids. The venture was scientifically important in developing new varieties of lilies and was a commercial success as well. Shaw sold 63 varieties of lilies and shipped thousands of aquatic plants around the world. When Shaw died in 1921, his daughter Mrs. L. Helen Fowler continued his project until 1938. She allowed visitors to view the lilies on Sunday mornings, and during these years visitors numbered 5,000 to 6,000 per day.

When the Army Corps of Engineers was dredging the Anacostia River in the 1920s, a court order was invoked to restrain them from destroying the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. The government argued that it owned the land by virtue of the original royal grant from Lord Baltimore, even though the Shaw-Fowler family had paid property taxes on it for 50 years. In 1924, the Kenilworth Citizens Association persuaded Mrs. Fowler to permit them to have the gardens brought under public ownership. In 1937, the Kenilworth Citizens Association asked to be heard before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on the issue of purchasing the gardens. In 1938, the federal government bought the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens for $15,000. That year the gardens ceased operating commercially and became a part of Anacostia Park.

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens were placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978. They have long welcomed international visitors, including many dignitaries such

as Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Woodrow Wilson (see Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens brochure in Appendix D).

A picnic area with 32 tables was located within the historic area until the 1990s. Local residents used this area heavily, along with a recreation area in the northeastern corner containing a ball field and playground. Participants in our family reunion focus group remembered this area with affection as a preferred place to hold reunions because of its beauty and privacy. Today the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens house about 75 varieties of lilies and 40 other species of pond and marginal plants, as well as swamp-marsh plants such as wild rice, cattail, loosestrife, and cardinal flower (National Park Service 1981).

3. Park Users

Users are tourists, including many international visitors, and people from all over the region for whom the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens is a special park. The park also offers educational programs used by city schools and social service agencies, such as Friendship House (see Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens and Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule, Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed,' and Calendar of Events: National Capital Parks- East in Appendix D).

4. Park Uses

In contrast to many other sections of Anacostia Park, the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens draws people from many different places, primarily to sightsee. In addition, they may participate in educational programs involving fishing, wildlife appreciation, or adopting a homeless butterfly or aquatic plant.

Comments regarding the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens emerged in many of our research situations where it was not meant to be the primary focus. For example, one woman who lives in another part of the city exclaimed that "It's absolutely perfect just the way it is." She travels there several times a year.

At the same time, African American residents who live nearby do not visit the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens; indeed some do not know where the park is. Our researchers attended one community outreach program on January 26th ("Superbowl Sunday"). The parking lot was filled with cars for people attending local churches, but the activity center was closed. The researchers were the only people at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens.

5. Attitudes and Concerns

The following concerns were expressed by users of the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens:

- Several people described the Aquatic Gardens as "perfect," "a jewel," and "the best-kept secret in Washington." However, some note that it is "well-maintained but under-subscribed."

- Some local people, even community leaders, expressed the wish that the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens staff would do more to share extra plants with people in the community.

- Some resent being displaced from using the Aquatic Gardens for picnics and family reunions and object to being relocated near the PEPCO Plant.

- One environmental activist, noting the lack of docking facilities along the Anacostia River, linked this inability to dock for a five-mile stretch to a disincentive to visit Aquatic Gardens: "They're always complaining about low visitation rates, but people are paranoid about the run-down neighborhood. River access would draw visitors."

6. Analysis of Findings

a. *Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively?*

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens draw tourists, including international visitors, and people from all over the region. People also come to participate in the educational program, which involves wildlife appreciation. Users appear to share resources effectively; however, some who had picnicked here several years ago regret that they are no longer allowed to do so.

b. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where?

Interview data indicate that the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens are the resources used by tourists and visitors in this section of Anacostia Park. Our researchers were unable to determine the frequency of use through observational data. During the winter, when research was conducted, no visitors were present.

c. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park?

Visitors and tourists perceive this part of Anacostia Park as a resource for local people as well as for people from all over the world. However, some people who live nearby report that they do not visit the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, and some do not know where the Aquatic Gardens are.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Visitors to the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens enjoy observing the changing seasons and the natural beauty of the gardens. In addition to appreciating natural resources, they also participate in educational programs there.

e. What is the social/cultural context of the consumption of park resources?

No consumptive uses were reported or observed for this part of the park.

f. What places in the park hold special significance beyond recreation?

Those who used to picnic here recalled a time when the park was used to bring friends and community together. For example, one person remembered a period when his group picnicked from 7:00 AM to closing, when "we fried fish and chicken all day." Some emphasized the beauty of the gardens and felt that it was "under-subscribed."

g. What other relevance do the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens have to park neighbors and users?

No other relevance was reported or observed for the Aquatic Gardens other than their natural beauty and the educational opportunities they provide.

h. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

Those who used to picnic at the park wanted to convey that this was an important social activity for them, and wished that the NPS would allow them to continue picnicking there.

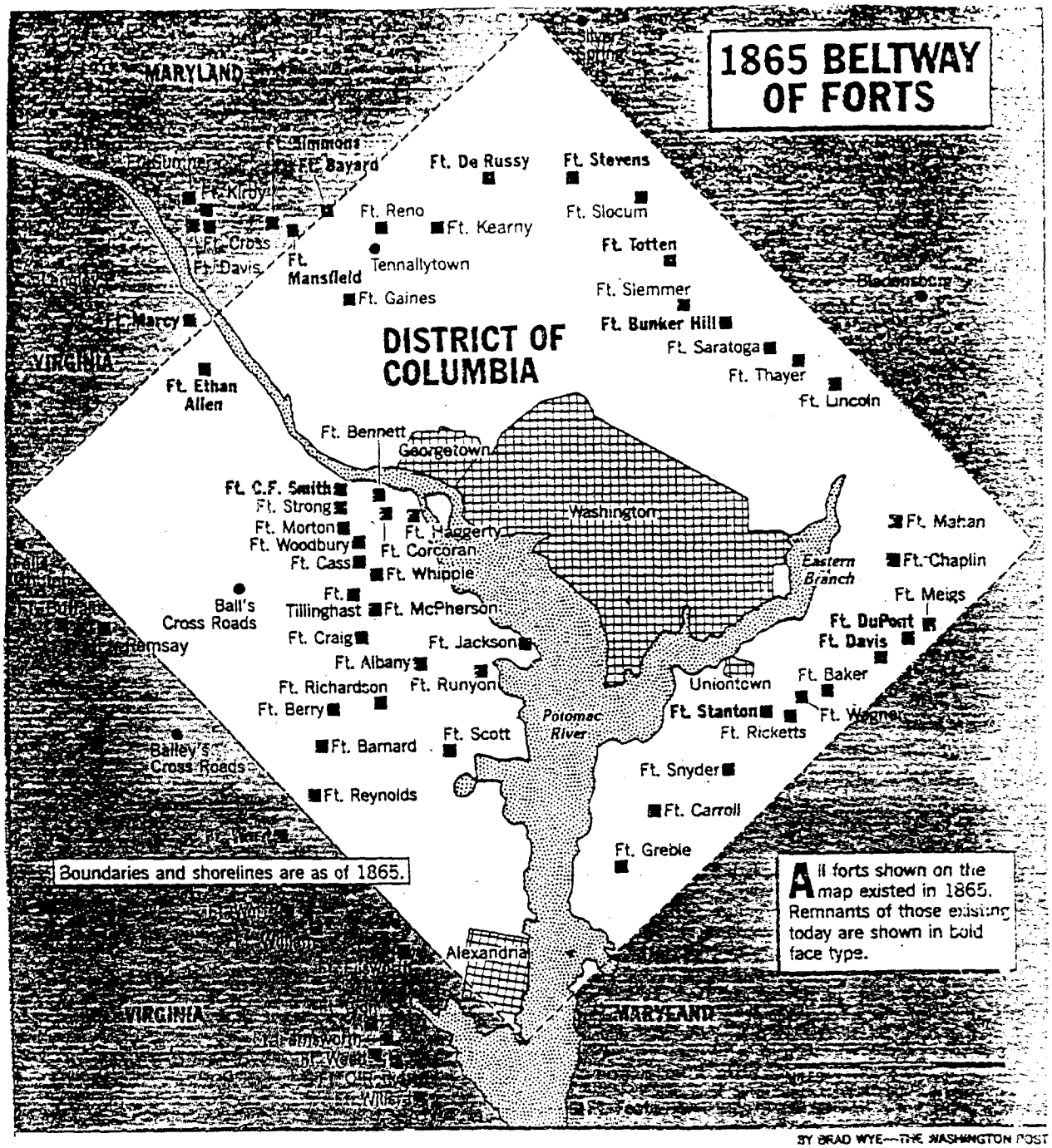
i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

Some people who lived near the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens said that they did not visit the gardens. Several said that the Aquatic Gardens staff should do more community outreach. One environmental activist felt that more people would visit the gardens if there were more docking facilities along the Anacostia River.

j. What would groups like to see happen at this part of the park that currently does not happen?

As noted in i above, one environmentalist wanted more docking facilities along the Anacostia River to attract more visitors. Others wanted picnicking to be allowed again at the gardens. Still others expressed interest in having the NPS staff share extra plants with people in the community and offer more educational programs.

IV. CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON, DC



▲
N
approximate scale unknown

Exhibit 2: 1865 Beltway of Forts
Source: Furman, Lloyd
1987 1865 Beltway of Forts. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 6, 1987.

IV. CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON, DC

This section presents our findings for The Civil War Defenses of Washington (also known as the Fort Circle Parks). It includes 17 sites where the federal government built forts to protect the city from Confederate forces during the Civil War. Beginning at the most southeastern point and moving counterclockwise to the northwest, these sites are: Fort Foote, Fort Greble, Battery Carroll, Fort Stanton, Fort Davis, Fort Dupont, Fort Chaplin, Fort Mahan, Fort Bunker Hill, Fort Totten, Fort Slocum, Fort Stevens, Fort DeRussey, Fort Reno, Fort Bayard, Battery Kemble, and Fort Marcy. All of these parks are located in Washington, District of Columbia (DC), with the exceptions of Fort Foote, which is located in Maryland; and Fort Marcy, which is in northern Virginia.

We begin this section with an overview of the methodology used to gather data at all of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. For each park we present a brief summary of the methodology researchers used at that site because differences in the parks required varied methods. We also briefly identify and describe the neighborhoods where the parks are located and provide a historical sketch that focuses on connections between the parks and the communities where they are located. We then identify park users, describe how they use the park, and report on the attitudes and concerns which park users and neighbors expressed. Finally, we provide an analysis of findings organized according to the study questions which are outlined in the Methodology chapter. The analysis of findings for all 17 of the Civil War Defenses of Washington combined is presented in the Analysis of Findings for the Civil War Defenses of Washington section in Chapter V.

We base our findings in this part of the report on our observations at park sites and on information reported by park users and non-users. These data reflect the experiences and perceptions people expressed to us concerning the Civil War Defenses of Washington and the National Park Service (NPS). Throughout this chapter, we have included quotes from park users and neighbors to illustrate peoples' views in their own words.

A. Overview of Methodology for the Civil War Defenses of Washington

In order to respond to the study questions for this ethnographic assessment of the Civil War Defenses of Washington, the research team used a multi-method strategy, which included consulting with NPS staff members to guide our research, interviewing park users and neighbors, attending public meetings, conducting focus groups, and making direct observations of the park sites. During our visits to the park sites, researchers observed and talked to users (if any were present) and looked for signs of use. We conducted 56 in-person interviews at the Civil War Defenses of Washington park sites and an additional 19 in-person interviews with park users and neighbors outside of the park sites. Those we interviewed in person included community ethnographers; park visitors; park neighbors who do not use the parks included in this study; young mothers who reside in public housing; and coaches whose teams use park facilities. We also conducted telephone interviews with park users and neighbors. Our telephone interviews included park users and neighbors who called in response to our fliers; community activists; and organizers from athletic groups. The focus groups we organized to gather data on the Civil War Defenses of Washington included community gardeners from Forts Dupont, Stevens, and Reno; organized sports users from Fort Reno; and general park users and neighbors from the areas surrounding Forts DeRussey to Battery Kemble, Fort Totten, and Forts Bunker Hill to Stevens.

Appendix G provides a total of data sources for all of the Civil War Defenses of Washington park sites combined. We held a total of seven focus groups regarding the Civil War Defenses of Washington. These groups were convened to discuss Fort Dupont, Fort Totten, Fort Stevens, and Fort Reno (plus Forts DeRussey and Bayard and Battery Kemble Park, in one group). Interview and focus group participants convened to discuss one park frequently made comments on other parks. For example, several people commenting on family reunions at Anacostia Park also provided their views on Fort Dupont Park. All interviews have only been counted once, under the methodology on the park section for which they were most relevant. In cases where an interview or focus group covered several parks, we will refer to it under all of the appropriate parks' methodology sections but will only count it once in the methodology tables provided in Appendix G.

B. Fort Foote

1. Methodology

We visited Fort Foote once and informally interviewed six visitors at the park.

2. Location of the Park

Of the earthen forts ringing the city, Fort Foote -- a rural wooded park with river frontage along the Potomac -- is the southernmost of the Civil War Defenses of Washington now under National Park Service management. Fort Washington is the actual southernmost fort geographically but is not a NPS unit. Fort Foote lies in the 8800 block of Fort Foote Road in Fort Washington, Maryland, past the intersection of Fort Foote Road and Jessica Drive. The closest neighborhoods are North Fort Foote Village, Treasure Cove, and River Bend Estates. These neighborhoods are integrated, with both African American and European American residents (see Map 4 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

After Fort Foote was disbanded as a military outpost in 1878, the site was maintained by an "old sergeant," who was succeeded by a soldier's widow as the caretaker of the fort (Washingtoniana Room 1922b). In 1924, Senator Fernald of Maine introduced plans to transfer responsibility for the fort site from the Quartermaster General of the War Department to the Office of Public Buildings and Parks. The plans proposed that the fort site serve as a park, administered by the National Capital Park System, on the proposed river drive between Anacostia and Fort Washington (The Washington Star April 29, 1924; Washingtoniana Room 1922b). A newspaper article from 1931 reports that by that year the site had fallen into disrepair, describing it as follows: "The quartermaster's headquarters look like a sheep barn. The old Civil War barracks buildings are roofless, floorless and completely grown up with weeds. The old dock is rotting down into the Potomac River seaweed" (Strayer 1931).

Girl Scouts reportedly used a screened building at the site for camp-outs in the 1930s, and surveyors also used the site for lodging while studying property allocated for the George Washington Parkway (Strayer 1931). In 1934, the Council of Social Agencies planned to run Fort Foote as a camp site for economically-disadvantaged teenagers and those whose parents could not afford camp fees (The Washington Times 1934). We could not confirm that this camp actually opened.

4. Park Users

Many people drive to Fort Foote to walk their dogs, walk in the woods or along the beach, fish, enjoy the view of the river, picnic, or eat lunch in their cars. Teenagers gather there to "party." Some people use the park as a dump.

5. Park Uses

The six visitors we interviewed come to Fort Foote daily or at least several times a week. Of these six visitors four were African American, and two were European American. There were five men and one woman. Two of the men were fishing; one of the men was walking his dog; the three other people were walking. Three were young adults, and three were retired men. All use the park frequently; one man goes there with his dog every day. Some come from nearby, but people come to fish from all around the region. On the day of our visit, two men had come to Fort Foote from Laurel, Maryland.

Trash we observed included milk, soda, and beer bottles, cans, broken glass, fast-food wrappers, paper, and other everyday litter that reflects use. There is also evidence of more purposeful dumping, in the form of appliances, such as a washing machine and a toilet. One visitor described a man, presumably in the process of remodeling, who dumped pipes and bathroom fixtures, including a sink and a toilet, at Fort Foote.

A clean and well-defined trail draws visitors to the beach, where, again, there is a great deal of trash. People stand on the beach to fish for white and yellow perch, catfish, rockfish, and croakers or to net the herring that run in the spring. They also report that mussels and clams are coming back to the Potomac River and that one can find small conch shells along the beach. Fishing is often a convivial, all-day affair that occurs year-round. Peak times are weekends in the spring and summer. The fishermen reported that the beach gets full, but not too crowded.

Visitors enjoy the wildlife and believe that several habitats are coming back due to the clean up of the Potomac River. They noted particularly that raccoons, deer, beavers, opossums, squirrels, egrets, geese, cranes, ducks, and gulls live in the park. Migratory birds stop there; sometimes 50 to 75 will spend the night. Birds also nest there, which visitors enjoy. Visitors have appreciated the dam-building activities of the beaver, but one man reported that a beaver tried to snatch his fish from his fishing line.

One long-time daily visitor was quite knowledgeable about the historical significance of the park, the fortifications and the role of Fort Foote in defending the Potomac River, and the presumed threats to Fort Foote during World Wars I and II. However, he believes that most people do not visit the earthworks, notice the sign, or learn about the history of the park.

Visitors report that teenagers come to Fort Foote to "party hearty," sometimes skipping classes and sometimes drinking beer. The emblem 536 is sprayed on a guard rail. Nobody expressed the view that the teenagers were particularly troublesome.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

In general, users shared concerns about trash, dumping, and the lack of restroom facilities. The fishermen also noted specific concerns that relate to their consumptive use of park resources. The following describes in greater detail the attitudes and concerns which park users expressed.

- All the visitors are concerned about the trash. Several have confronted dumpers and noted their tag numbers.

- Several visitors noted the absence of restrooms and suggested that the lack of facilities encourages an unhealthy use of the woods and the river.

- Because of the nearby construction, access is more limited than in the past. People have to hike using a longer route, which is difficult when they are carrying fishing equipment in and out. Several visitors also expressed regret that trees adjacent to the park were cleared to make room for housing, and one man expressed surprise, for he had believed that the land being developed was parkland.

- Park users stated that the park and the beach are rarely crowded, and visitors like it that way: "the less people the better."

- The fishermen noted that they would appreciate lighting on the beach. They also would like to see a pier there, for when high tide comes they are forced back to the hill. The fishermen cited Marshall Hall in Virginia, Piscateway Park in Maryland, and Morehead City in North Carolina as possible models for beach improvements.

- The fishermen would prefer being able to come in the evening, and they recall times of cooking and camping out on the beach in the past, before the park closed at dark. They believe that some people come into the park after dark anyway.

- The fishermen believe that some of the fishing regulations are too strict. They cite an example of a man fined $500 per fish when he was caught fishing for rockfish off season. This man, according to the story, had caught ten fish. According to the fishermen, the U.S. Park Policeman carried the fish home with him.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Foote

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

Dog-walkers, hikers, people picnicking, and anglers appear to share Fort Foote comfortably. Many of the users appear to be long-term users who come to Fort Foote frequently. Although adults report that teenagers sometimes skip classes to visit the park during the day, most of their use occurs at night and is not seen as problematic.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Dog-walkers gather in the area near the parking lot; hikers walk down to the beach and through the woods along the trails; and fishermen congregate at the beach. Some visitors come to Fort Foote everyday to hike or walk their dogs. Others come several times a week, to fish or to hold special events with friends and family. Visitors come from near the park to walk and picnic, and from farther away to fish. Those with whom we spoke were long-time users.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

One daily user we interviewed appears to be highly aware of Fort Foote's role in history, and he connected that role to its strategic place on the Potomac River. The other visitors seem to value Fort Foote most as a beautiful river site with a scenic view of Virginia and the District of Columbia and as a pleasant beach front.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Fort Foote provides friends and family with a place to gather. One visitor reported that families occasionally hold birthday parties there. However, there are very few picnicking facilities or grills. People bring their own equipment.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

People come with relatives and friends to fish and share the fish with family and neighbors. The fishermen enjoy sharing stories about their fishing adventures, and they report many feasts -- often after grilling fish -- with each other and their families. They also give away fish, which attests to the fact that fishing at Fort Foote reinforces family and community networks. None reported any commercial goals; rather they fish mostly for home consumption.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Some visitors like to gather in the parking lot overlooking the beach and talk while they let their dogs run. Others enjoy the beach. We were unable to learn whether or not groups relate certain aspects of their history to particular parts of the park.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Foote important?

The historic sign is placed above where many visitors seem to gather. We only spoke with one visitor who was interested in the history of the park, but he was extremely enthusiastic and knowledgeable about the role of Fort Foote in defending Washington from a river attack.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The fishermen would like to convey the importance of fishing, their appreciation of the cleaner Potomac River, and their desire for more amenities on the beach as well as more liberal fishing regulations.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

None of those we interviewed indicated that access at Fort Foote was an issue.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

All visitors would like to see the park cleaner and dumping more tightly regulated. Most of those we talked with indicated that they regret seeing construction so close to parkland. People fishing would like to see lighting on the beach, restroom facilities, and a pier so that they could continue to fish at high tide when the fishing is best. They would also like to be able to cook their fish over campfires on the beach in the evening.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

The visitors we spoke with enjoy talking to park rangers. They would like to see a greater presence of rangers to provide information and of U.S. Park Police to control the dumping, which many feel is quite troubling. The fishermen, however, do not feel that their relations with the U.S. Park Police are especially cordial due to the fact that the police ticket those who fish off season. Law enforcement is perceived as an unfriendly gesture.

C. Fort Greble

1. Methodology

Researchers visited Fort Greble, telephoned community activists, and made contacts at the school and church offices next to the park. We conducted a walking interview with a community ethnographer at the park site and interviewed the police officer who covers a two-block foot patrol on Atlantic Avenue, Southeast (SE) outside of the park. Because we never saw anyone using the park, we also posted a flier asking visitors to call us, which resulted in telephone interviews. We also attended a community meeting, where we were given time to present our findings and elicit feedback.

2. Location

Fort Greble borders and overhangs Interstate-295 (I-295) on its southern side. The main portion of the park lies at the intersection of Second and Chesapeake Streets, Southwest (SW). The surrounding neighborhoods are Congress Heights and Far Southwest, and the majority of the residents in these neighborhoods are African American. A District of Columbia (DC) recreation center is located at Fort Greble, bordering the NPS site. This recreation center was closed, but re-opened for the summer of 1997 (see Maps 5 and 6 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

This park lies on the old Giesborough site, a tract granted to an early large land-holder in the Anacostia area. Fort Greble attracted run-away slaves during the Civil War. Some worked as day laborers and servants to the officers. Local African Americans also visited the camps at Fort Greble during the Civil War. They sold foods and baked goods to the soldiers or washed their laundry. We do not know of any links between today's communities and slaves who sought sanctuary at the camps or free African Americans who visited them.

The community of Congress Heights grew up as an east-of-the-river subdivision at the end of Nichols Avenue (today's Martin Luther King Avenue) (Hutchinson 1977). In 1898, the Anacostia and Potomac River Street Railroad Company installed tracks that were powered with electric trolley lines across the Navy Yard Bridge. This innovation transformed the southern tip of Anacostia by attracting people who now found it possible in the suburbs and work in the city as a result of the trolley lines. The Congress Heights Citizens Association was active in the 1930s and 1940s in a struggle to keep public housing out of the area (Barnes 1980).

In the 1940s, the construction of Interstate-295 separated Fort Greble and the community of Far Southwest from the Anacostia River. Residents of this community expressed a sense of social

and physical separation from the rest of the city. Other residents of Southwest live north of the freeway and west of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Many of the residents of Washington Highlands and Shipley Terrace in Far Southeast live in large public housing developments, while Far Southwest is composed of many single-family, owner-occupied houses. It is separated from the southeastern part of the city by major roads (South Capitol Street and Atlantic Avenue) and business districts. Many of the residents travel to Maryland for recreation and to shop.

In 1966, the DC Department of Recreation, the National Capital Housing Authority, and the Police Department hosted a Labor Day gathering for 6,500 youths from public housing communities at Fort Greble to repair hostility between African American residents of the city and the police (Lewis 1966). Just three weeks after youth stoned the local stationhouse, the Community Relations Unit of the police department collaborated with the DC Department of Recreation, the National Capital Housing Authority, and the DC Public Schools to host an event emblematic of 1960s and 1970s NPS outreach to the growing communities around the Civil War Defenses of Washington east of the Anacostia River. The purpose of the gathering was to repair hostility between African American residents of the city and the police. The gathering featured dancing; a performance by drill teams; basketball and softball; horseshoes; sack racing; sliding down the park's hills on sheets of cardboard; food and drink (Lewis 1966).

4. Park Users

Park users at Fort Greble include dog-walkers; hikers; people walking for exercise; area youth playing softball, basketball, football, and soccer; young people gathering; and people using the park as a short-cut. Some people also dump large items there. Neighbors hold picnics and cook-outs there, attended by adults, and the Far Southwest Civic Association sponsors an annual community clean-up and picnic in the park. One man noted that otherwise users are "25 on down."

5. Park Uses

Fort Greble is used most heavily by young people, who frequent the park year round. These are mostly youth who live in the neighborhood, but in the summer, at least in the past, teams have come from outside the area to play sports. Others who go there every day include the dog-walkers. There are many large items on the slope down toward Interstate-295, which seem to indicate purposeful dumping. The trails are overgrown and not well-defined.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Users' concerns and suggestions about Fort Greble focused on maintenance and the availability of facilities, confusion about which agency administers which parts of the park, and safety and crime at the park. The following text elaborates on the users' concerns and attitudes towards the park.

- Several users regret that the District of Columbia government closed the recreation center mentioned above due to budget constraints. Participants at the community meeting indicated that they would like clarity on which governmental agency is responsible for the various aspects of the park: Federal or District. Exemplifying this confusion were several questions participants raised. One person asked why the lights have been left on in the recreation center area if the building itself is closed. Another participant asked that either the NPS or the DC government clean the graffiti from the recreation center. This concern was echoed by a caller who mentioned graffiti in the park as a problem. Another person noted that the restrooms (presumably in the recreation center) were open only during organized sporting events, but not for everyday use. Several persons noted the disrepair of the recreational facilities, and that they are understaffed.

- Neighbors are very concerned about illegal dumping. One woman mentioned that she recently saw someone with big bags walking through the park.

- Neighbors believe that the park is maintained fairly well, with the exception of the area along Second Street, SW, which one person described as "in dire need of maintenance." Another person noted that the area near the recreation center was often dirty, "especially after people from out-of-town come to use the facility."

- One Far Southwest resident who uses the park frequently in the summer feels that the park is wonderful and benefits the neighborhood.

- Some users would like to see the NPS cut the trees, as they believe that the trees are good hiding places for criminals. One neighbor believes that people climb the trees to break into houses near the park.

- A caller suggested that the NPS add lighting to the park and leave the lights on late "because a lot of bad stuff happens there." This man also mentioned seeing drug selling activities taking place at the park and stopped using the park because he feels that it's too dangerous. Another caller recalled that a girl had been molested in the woods there several years ago, but did not know of any recent problems.

- One visitor mentioned the need for a measured walking path.

- One man noted that "the major problem is it is too small; it's the one park everybody uses." He said, "There's clearly a need; there are so many different organizations looking for space."

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Greble

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

Dog-walkers and people playing organized and pick-up sports appear to share Fort Greble comfortably. Many appear to be long-term users who come to Fort Greble daily or weekly. Almost all live nearby, except for athletes who have come there through the DC Department of Recreation programs in the summer. According to neighbors, the most problematic users are those who dump large appliances and other quantities of trash in the park. Some neighbors also worry about other illegal activities which take place in the park.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Dog-walkers and people playing sports use the perimeter of the park on the 2nd Street side. They are there mostly during the daytime hours. People who dump trash and reportedly engage in other unsavory activities use the wooded hill, where the trails are not well-defined, mostly at night.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

The residents of Far Southwest with whom we spoke are clear and forceful in claiming a connection to and responsibility for Fort Greble. One person stated, "The park is OURS. WE must take action if we want to keep the park." Another perception expressed by residents is that "the park is for our children."

A community ethnographer, who lives in a public housing community in Far Southeast, offered a different perspective. "This is not a park," she argued. "Where's the playground? Where are the picnic tables? Where are people supposed to sit and eat? You bring people up here, they'll say, 'Is this a park?' Why are people calling this a park? Like Anacostia, that's a park; you can go and sit and think. This is a piece of land."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Fort Greble provides neighbors with a place to gather. Visitors mentioned the opportunities Fort Greble provides them to build community and public life there. One visitor reported that families occasionally hold birthday parties there. However, there are very few picnicking facilities or grills. People reported bringing their own cooking equipment, tables, and chairs.

After a community clean-up campaign last year, the Far Southwest Civic Association held a picnic there.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

We did not note any consumptive uses.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

We know of no places that hold special significance, except for the football field which neighbors mentioned as having been important in the past.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Greble important?

The historical significance of the park does not appear to be important to contemporary users. One caller said that she would "love to know more about it" when asked if she was aware of the history of the park site.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

"If the park is better maintained and staffed, problems such as hiding criminals would decrease," stated one resident. Residents worry about people coming from the outside: "Over the summer, two teams from another area came to use the park. Should this pattern persist, what happens to the area children who will be pushed out of the park?" Neighbors take responsibility for helping to preserve the neighborhood quality of the park. Several expressed a concern that they might lose the park to developers who they believe will build on parkland at Fort Greble.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

Some people feel frightened of the wooded, hilly part of the park and stated that they would not go there, especially, at night.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

Neighbors would like to see more vigilance at Fort Greble to prevent dumping. A majority of the park users and neighbors we contacted recommend that the park be better lit and more carefully maintained. Some wanted to see the DC recreation center reopen, and more facilities for sports and picnics in the park. Many feel that the park is too overgrown and would prefer a more open vista for security reasons and for the view of the Anacostia River that a cleared park would provide. They would also appreciate clearer information concerning which agency manages different facilities.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Park neighbors stress that they feel a shared responsibility to the park and would like to help maintain it. Some fear losing it to developers or outside users. NPS personnel can communicate with park users and neighbors effectively through community organizations such as the Far Southwest Civic Association.

D. Battery Carroll

1. Methodology

We visited Battery Carroll and consulted a park ranger. In addition, we conducted a telephone interview with a community activist.

2. Location

This park is located in the Congress Heights neighborhood and is bordered on the south by South Capitol Street, First Avenue, Southeast (SE), and Martin Luther King Avenue and on the north by Portland Street, SE. The park's neighbors are African American (see Map 6 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Battery Carroll lies on the former Giesborough estate, formerly owned by a wealthy speculator in land and tobacco. Like Fort Greble, Battery Carroll attracted run-away slaves who worked as servants to the officers or were sent across the Anacostia River downtown as contraband. Former slaves helped to build and expand the fortifications. Women washed clothes and cooked for the soldiers. Handly (1996: 29) cites Cooling and Owen (1988: 206): "As one of the soldiers related, 'It was always a welcome sight for the men to see freed slaves coming down the winding country lanes in the morning with melons, peaches, and other fruits." We know of no links between the run-away slaves and Freedmen at Battery Carroll and present-day communities.

Congress Heights experienced conflicts in the 1940s as the District of Columbia (DC) Housing Authority sought to locate new public housing developments in the neighborhood. The Congress Heights Citizens Association mobilized opposition to public housing in Far Southeast (Barnes 1980).

Access to Battery Carroll is difficult, as it overhangs Interstate-295 (I-295) and lies on a heavily traveled street where it is difficult to stop. There are also no parking spaces at the park. According to one NPS staffer we interviewed, it "used to have a reputation as a hobo jungle." We have not discovered any additional information about this past use.

4. Park Users

On our three visits to Battery Carroll, we did not observe any park users. There are no facilities nor trails at this site, only woods. As noted above, the park is bordered by busy streets, and there

is no place to stop when driving. A community ethnographer who visited the park noted that there were many houses nearby and that "those children would like somewhere to play."

5. Park Uses

There is little evidence of use at Battery Carroll, except that someone has built a small wooden shelter on parkland near Interstate-295. We did not observe anyone at the house on our visits. We are unaware of any other uses of the park. Drivers along the roads bordering the park are likely to appreciate its aesthetic role among the Civil War Defenses of Washington in adding to the corridor of green they form across the eastern portion of the city. One person stated that the mayor had blocked off access to Battery Carroll for security reasons and used it for his own purposes, but we have not confirmed that this is true.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Only one community activist expressed concern about Battery Carroll. Her comments are described below.

- She expressed regret that "there is nothing there." This person believes that, if the NPS cut down some of the trees, Battery Carroll would provide a beautiful overlook, across the highway and into the Anacostia River. She stated, "People could stop there and see Washington, DC. [Interstate-] 295 is a traveling spot. It's a gorgeous view at night. It would be like the hill at St. Elizabeth's [Hospital]. It could be a rest area for people who travel 295 or the Beltway, to come and sit at that park. It would bring money to DC."

7. Analysis of Findings for Battery Carroll

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

The only park user(s) that we are aware of is (are) the person(s) who appears to have built a small wooden hut which we observed at the park.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

We were unable to determine the answer to this question as we could not observe nor contact any park users.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

The community activist we interviewed was well aware of the name of the park. She identified it primarily for the view it offers of the river and the city. However, no one in any of the focus groups could identify or locate Battery Carroll.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

We were unable to determine the answer to this question as we could not observe nor contact any park users.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

We could not confirm that any consumptive uses occur.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

We were unable to determine the answer to this question as we could not observe nor contact any park users.

g. When is the historical significance of Battery Carroll important?

As far as we know, the historical significance of Battery Carroll is not highly evident, however, we only interviewed one person. Others in the area do not recognize the name of the park.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

People in the surrounding community have expressed a general desire for more places for children to play and neighbors to gather. However, none specifically mentioned Battery Carroll. Our impression is that neighbors do not perceive this as a usable space.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

We suspect there may be local residents who feel they have limited access to Battery Carroll because of the lack of other natural and recreational spaces nearby, but we have no hard evidence to support that impression.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

One community leader has made it her goal to work on developing Battery Carroll as an overlook or rest area for people traveling through the area.

k. How can the NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Through discreet personal contact, park rangers might communicate with the person who built a make-shift shelter in the park. Neighbors could be contacted through community organizations. No one lives directly adjacent to the park, so there are no obvious neighbors to contact.

E. Fort Stanton

1. Methodology

We researched Fort Stanton through visits; telephone interviews with neighbors and activists; five in-person interviews conducted outside of the park with young mothers who reside in public housing; direct questions about the park in one focus group; conversations with NPS officials; and two in-person interviews at the park site with an Our Lady of Perpetual Help church staff member and a long-time park neighbor. We also attended a community meeting held by the original settlers and home-owners of the area.

2. Location

Fort Stanton is a large, dispersed park where national parkland, District of Columbia (DC) property, and private church property meet. It is bordered and accessed by Bruce Place, Good Hope Road, Erie Street, 16th Street, and W Street, Southeast (SE). The park is bordered by the communities of Fort Stanton, Buena Vista, and Garfield Heights. Our Lady of Perpetual Help Catholic Church, which was established 175 years ago, the Anacostia Museum, and the DC Department of Recreation have facilities there. These facilities include a school, a parking lot, a recreation center, basketball courts, and a swimming pool (see Maps 6 and 7 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Older area residents described some of their memories of Fort Stanton Park. Several reported their belief that Native American villages formerly existed at the site. One man in particular roamed the fort area as a child in the 1930s, collecting "literally hundreds" of "knives and arrowheads in cigar boxes." He continued to explore the fort area with his children and grandchildren "until my grandson got taller than I am."

Although several large slave-holders lived in Anacostia, many Freedmen preferred to stay there after the Civil War because of the growing African American community. A number of former slaves bought small plots of land on Good Hope Hill near Fort Stanton. We do not know of any documented connections between this early free community and current Fort Stanton residents.

Fort Stanton was a wooded area until the 1940s when settlers, mostly from west of the Anacostia River, and many just out of the army moved into the area. In 1948, these settlers organized the Fort Stanton Civic Association. Some of them still live there. Several told us that they moved there because of the restrictive covenants that would not allow them to live elsewhere in the District of Columbia. They formed a strong community which has produced a number of African American professionals and "the first black motorcycle police officer in DC." Many

have fond memories of growing up at Fort Stanton. One man remembers shooting rabbits and squirrels for his family to eat and of seeing many other animals such as deer and beaver that lived in the woods. Residents recall underground bunkers and caves near the church, which they say were closed because school children used to "cut school and hide in them."

In 1953, residents along Erie Street took the name of Fort Stanton for their neighborhood. Residents also worked hard to find recreational activities for their children. One woman started a recreation center in her basement, and people recall building a field house in 1949. One woman stated, "We made the park. We asked for a place for our children to play." They remember other activities in the 1950s and the opening of city recreational facilities later on, probably in the 1970s. They especially enjoyed the sleep-over camp that was held in the park every summer and hope to see the same kinds of facilities that they enjoyed for their grandchildren today. Many no longer walk in the woods, although all have lifetime memories of enjoying the fireworks.

The construction of the Suitland Parkway in the 1940s divided the Barry Farms-Hillsdale community, and many single-family homes were torn down. In the 1940s and 1950s large public housing developments, particularly the Frederick Douglass Dwellings, were constructed near Fort Stanton, dwarfing the more modest scale of the earlier Barry Farms. Washington's Far Southeast 70 report is critical of what it calls the rapid and uncontrolled growth of the area; too many poorly designed developments; and inadequate zoning. Fort Stanton may reflect some of this rapid growth, as it appears closed in by large developments and by a number of roads that abruptly dead-end at the park (Hutchinson 1977).

In 1966, the Washington Post reported that neighborhood youth led Recreation Commissioner Joseph Cole to several sites in the "jungle-like woods in Southeast Washington," in search of large playing fields for baseball and football games (Winterble 1966). The discussion of their itinerary (down Douglass Road near the Suitland Parkway, to the intersection of Sheridan and Pomeroy Streets, Jasper and Bruce, and Stanton Terrace and Alabama) makes it clear that they were journeying in the vicinity of Fort Stanton. The youths stated that they wanted to play somewhere where the U.S. Park Police would not bother them and that the new fields (at Anacostia Park) were too far away from the Garfield-Stanton area for youth. This incident again demonstrates the NPS' efforts to reach out to the growing African American community, as well as some of the demands for recreational facilities that followed rapid development.

Many residents have lived in the Fort Stanton community since the 1930s and feel attached to it as their home. In 1985, the Fort Stanton Civic Association established and dedicated a DC Fort Stanton Senior Citizens' Park on Frankford Street. This DC park has a small garden, picnic tables, and outdoor grills (Mansfield 1985). In 1995, the Apartment and Building Association began spending $28,000 on repairs to the park. That year the group funded renovations to open the Fort Stanton Park swimming pool, a project called "Fill the Pool." In 1997, renovations continue at the park as "Fill the Park." Outsiders, even those from nearby neighborhoods, often report feeling uncomfortable, afraid, or lost there.

4. Park Users

Park users include families, school groups, day care centers, and after-school programs using the children's playground, swimming pool, and the DC recreation center; school groups who go to the park at lunchtime; youth who gather to play basketball, football, and soccer after school; school and church staff, clergy, and parishioners of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church; Anacostia Museum staff who conduct weekly tours; and people from around the region who gather to watch the fireworks on the Fourth of July. Youth gather at the basketball courts in the afternoon and evening. Park users are predominantly African American. NPS rangers report that at times homeless people have lived in the park. People have played tennis there as well, according to park users and neighbors.

5. Park Uses

Fort Stanton appears to be used most heavily during the warmer months, although the DC recreational facilities are used year-round. Our impression is that the city-run recreational areas are used more heavily than federal parkland at this time. Another impression based on our field work is that most users come from the immediate neighborhood. One woman who lives across the street stated, "For 40-some years the park served us well. When our children were small, we thoroughly enjoyed it." Another person who works at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church believes strongly that Fort Stanton is a well-loved and well-used park that offers a "safe playground. There are no problems there."

Uses appear to be heavy and strain the resources of the park. One NPS official reports that the fort is "falling down" and that "the Hiker-Biker trail is wiped out." Another person we interviewed believes that the remains are in desperate need of a fence for protection so that "people don't walk back there and destroy the fort."

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Park users and neighbors expressed two areas of concern at Fort Stanton: 1) trash and dumping and 2) use of the basketball court at night. These concerns are described in greater detail below.

- A major concern expressed by several users is the trash, including everyday litter as well as a large amount of dirt dumped there during Metro construction, which changed the hydrology of the area. Church staff frequently clean the properties, including federal and city land; one person stated that if they did not do it, it wouldn't get done. This is especially a problem after the Fourth of July. Church officials said that they open the hill as a service to the community, but then church staff members are burdened with excessive clean-up responsibilities.

- One neighbor reported that many years ago she tried to get the basketball court moved to the back of the park, away from Erie Street. She reported that youth "come any time day or night, all hours, 2,3,4 AM. Children enjoy it, but they could use it a little better." Another neighbor also complained of the noise from the basketball court.

- Others expressed concern that the playground is "right on the street, and that it is dangerous for small children who go back and forth across the street or fly out into the street" while playing.

- Longtime residents expressed concern about the disrepair of the DC recreational facilities, and they wanted to see them repaired and restored.

- Park neighbors and users would also like to feel more secure in the park. They stated that the woods had not been cleared or cleaned in ten years and that rangers ride through only every six months or so. One woman joked, "They're afraid they'll find a body and have to write a report."

- People frequently spoke of Fort Stanton's beautiful view across the Anacostia River and into the city.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Stanton

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Fort Stanton receives frequent use from local residents who are predominantly African American. These users appear to share the park effectively, although one daily visitor reports that when the area gets crowded, the older youths insist that the younger children move out of their way. Fort Stanton appears to be used most heavily by youth. Although senior citizens established their own park nearby, those with whom we talked feel afraid of the parkland and state that they would never go in there and that drug addicts have taken it over.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Most users appear to use the District of Columbia recreational resources of the park: the basketball courts, swimming pool, children's playground, and recreation center. Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church reportedly owns the land at the top of the hill where the historic sign is located. People gather on the hill to watch the fireworks on the Fourth of July.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Users perceive and identify Fort Stanton in complex ways, which reflect in part the physical complexity of the site. It is a big, sprawling place. Many roads dead end there. Several institutions sit on the site, and public housing developments border the park on several sides. Many users find it difficult to distinguish federal land, private property, and city land and facilities from each other. A majority of the park users we contacted identified Fort Stanton chiefly with the recreational area and the church land next to the sign, as the site where they go to watch the fireworks. However, long-term residents express deep affection for the beautiful wooded area, and they took its name for their neighborhood.

Many residents of the Anacostia area who do not live right next to Fort Stanton express different perceptions of the park. They often do not recognize the name or know where it is and have responded to our questions with remarks such as: "You mean the park up on the hill?" Many imagine it as a very scary place. Representative comments include: "There's nothing up there but hoodlums;" "Nobody goes up to Fort Stanton, nothing but hoods and that little playground;" "Bad things go on in that park," and "Nobody goes up there since the shootings." Others hold that: "The only thing at Fort Stanton is a swimming pool."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Fort Stanton appears to be very important as a community gathering spot and a place for children to play. There are few playgrounds in the area. Older residents have watched their children grow up using the woodland. These residents identify the park strongly with their history as a self-reliant African American community, which fought for a decent community life and good recreational and natural resources during a period when they were not allowed to live in most areas west of the Anacostia River. They also believe that the area has become more dangerous and neglected during the last twenty years.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We do not know of any consumptive uses today, although in the past people hunted animals in the park.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

The hill at Fort Stanton is a well-loved and much-talked about place. People shared their memories of gathering to watch the sunset or Fourth of July fireworks on the hill. Several people enjoyed discussing the wildlife, including "the possums and 'coons." One man expressed great affection for Fort Stanton and has fond memories of walking in the woods.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Stanton important?

While its history as part of an early African American community might be important, we have not heard anyone discuss the historical significance of Fort Stanton. The early home-owners we interviewed told us that "no one has ever expressed an interest before." These home-owners feel strongly, however, that they have a community history that should be told. While the people with whom we talked were interested in the fort's role in protecting the river, a minority thought it was used "during the Revolutionary War when DC was threatened by British troops." One person stated that "a contingent of American troops was put up there to strengthen, or save, or guard the city." One visitor suggested that the remains of the fort be protected by a fence.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

Members of the community suggested that more research be conducted on the historical aspects of the park and its relation to the neighborhood. They strongly indicated their interest in providing input to the NPS plans for the park. Many stated that they want to see Fort Stanton Park remain exactly the way it is. They are firmly against any development plans for the park, although they would like to see it offer the same kinds of opportunities for exploring nature that their children were able to take advantage of in the past.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

Several people reported that Fort Stanton Park serves youth only. They recommended the provision of more programs welcoming older people, particularly senior citizens. In addition, people from other parts of the area feel unwelcome and ill at ease at the park. Older people stated that they would never enter the woods today because of a problem with drug dealers.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

One daily user suggested that the community center or additional portable buildings provide tutorial services, educational facilities, and counseling for neighborhood youth. Another user suggested that Fort Stanton provide more activities like the concerts at Fort Dupont. Some visitors feel that the DC recreation center is not well utilized and that it needs more funding. Another person noted that because there are so few swimming pools east of the Anacostia River, "it would be wonderful if the pool stayed open more hours and seven days a week." Neighbors would like to see "more programs, serving more people, not just youth." One person suggested adding swymnastics for senior citizens. (Some of these suggestions involve city facilities, but they reflect in part the confusion people feel about which are federal and which are city resources in the park). Older people requested interpretive facilities, more security, and that the woods be cleaned up. One person suggested that the NPS hire college students to act as guides as they did

in the past. Based on the concerns and attitudes expressed by park users and neighbors, more coordination is needed between the NPS and the DC government at Fort Stanton.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Some of the use is organized use, and NPS officials can communicate through the school and these organizational groups. NPS rangers could communicate by talking directly with youth who use the facilities daily.

F. Fort Davis

1. Methodology

We visited Fort Davis and discussed the park with one NPS official. We conducted one in-person interview at the park with a park neighbor and another in-person interview outside of the park with an activist at the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization (MHCDO). One Anacostia Park focus group participant uses Fort Davis frequently and communicated his experiences and perceptions about Fort Davis at that focus group.

2. Location

Fort Davis is bordered by Naylor Road, Texas Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, and Alabama Avenue, Southeast (SE). The neighborhoods which border the park are Marbury Plaza, Randle Highlands, Fairfax Village, and Hillcrest. The park is bordered by single-family homes as well as several large apartment buildings. The residents in this area are African American. Many people drive through the park along Fort Davis Drive (see Map 7 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Fort Davis Drive represents a fragment of the Fort Circle Drive proposed in the original McMillan plan which was never accepted. In 1962, the NPS decided that a highway encircling the city was unjustifiable, given changing economic and social conditions. In 1968, the NPS proposed instead a Hiker-Biker trail connecting the parks. Fort Davis was one of four Civil War Defenses of Washington to have been the subject of archaeological excavation. The others are Forts Dupont, Mahan, and Reno (Handly 1996). According to the NPS Natural Resource Specialist, Fort Davis provides a rich natural habitat for indigenous plants and animals in the Washington area.

The large apartment buildings that border the park reflect the postwar development of the 1940s and 1950s when many African Americans were displaced from areas west of the Anacostia River. This part of the city was developed with apartment buildings and public housing complexes that housed the relocated population and with arterial highways to the adjacent Maryland suburbs.

4. Park Users

Park users include hikers and walkers, school and day care center groups who come to Fort Davis for nature walks, people who drive through the park, and people who dump items there.

5. Park Uses

Fort Davis appears to be used and appreciated as a beautiful natural park. It is also used frequently as a dump, according to one park neighbor and an NPS official. Dumpers include people who drive there as well as those evicted from the nearby apartment buildings. On one of our visits, we noticed that what appeared to be the entire contents of a household had been left there.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Park users and neighbors expressed two areas of concern related to Fort Davis: 1) that it is an important natural habitat and 2) that people dump possessions in the park. These comments are outlined below.

- Several people made comments about the beauty of Fort Davis and about its importance as a habitat.

- The nearby resident we interviewed is extremely concerned about the problem of trash. He thinks it is very bad and attributed it to "when people get set out of apartments down there; their possessions go all up and down the block."

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Davis

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

We have identified three categories of park users: those who appreciate the natural resources of the park, those who dump trash at the park, and those who drive through the park daily. Two categories of users we have identified appear to use park resources at cross-purposes: those who appreciate the unique natural resources of Fort Davis and those who dump trash there.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

People drive through the park at all times of day, throughout the week, and year-round. Walkers use the park early in the day; dumpers at night.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Our research indicates that many people do not clearly perceive Fort Davis as a separate park. Only one man named it. One woman stated, "I don't know when Fort Davis ends and Fort Dupont begins." For those who drive through or by the park, Fort Davis appears to be just one

segment of a visually pleasing corridor of green. A community ethnographer expressed her perception of the park this way: "It's not a park. It's the dump."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Large-scale dumping occurs in the park, from sources unknown, perhaps from areas outside the surrounding neighborhoods. Nevertheless, because of his positive perception of park neighbors, one man says he feels very safe and comfortable taking the children from his day care center on frequent walks through the park.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We have not observed consumptive uses.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Fort Davis is important as one of the last urban sanctuaries for indigenous species in our area. An NPS official noted that while the birds can fly away, the reptiles and amphibians really need the park. This NPS official also reported that red and gray fox, white-tailed deer, and beaver have all been spotted on Fort Davis Drive. Significant forests have grown back in the park, after being cut down to construct the Civil War defenses over 100 years ago. The "corridor of green" breaks up the concrete and glass of this densely populated neighborhood.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Davis important?

Nobody expressed an understanding of, or interest in, the historical significance of Fort Davis.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

Our research has not determined the particular aspects of culture/history related to Fort Davis which groups wish to convey to the park's managers.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

We do not know of any users who feel that they have limited access to the park.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

Park neighbors would like to see the dumping stop.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Signs identifying the park might be placed along the roadside to communicate with the people who drive through the park.

G. Fort Dupont

1. Methodology

We visited and drove through Fort Dupont, consulted a park ranger, and conducted in-person interviews with four people there, including community ethnographers and park visitors. We conducted one in-person interview with a park user outside of the park site. We held focus groups where park users and neighbors brought up issues concerning Fort Dupont. One brought together gardeners from Fort Dupont. A second, which is described in Part One of this report, gathered people who organize family reunions at Fort Dupont, Kenilworth Park, and Anacostia Park. Two other focus groups of general park users in the Anacostia area featured issues of concern at Fort Dupont. We also attended the following community meetings: a meeting of the Friends of the Fort Dupont Ice Arena and a meeting of the Fort Dupont Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC).

2. Location

Fort Dupont is bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, Minnesota Avenue, Alabama Avenue, Ridge Road, and Ely Place, Southeast (SE). Neighborhoods around the park are African American, consisting of a range of dwelling types, from large single-family homes through public housing developments. The neighborhoods which border the park are Greenway, Benning Terrace, Dupont Park, Randle Highlands, Hillcrest Heights, Penn Branch, Bradbury Heights, and Benning Heights (see Map 7 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

The area around Fort Dupont was countryside in the late 19th century with large parcels of land held by a few land-owners. Woodlawn Cemetery, created in the countryside because most of the cemeteries in Washington, District of Columbia (DC), refused African American burials, was developed in 1895. The cemetery stood alongside the remains of Fort Dupont, isolated in woodlands and fields until the 1920s. Benning Heights and Randle Highlands grew up as subdivisions in the 1920s. The new affordability of automobiles made this area more accessible to middle-class Americans. Benning Heights was the first major settlement in Far Southeast. In the 1950s, the Randle Highlands Citizens Association was active in seeking appropriations for a new Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge. The isolation of the area was revealed by the curving roads. L'Enfant's grid was not required east of the Anacostia River (Smith 1995).

In 1936, the NPS envisioned a major parkway, stretching from Alabama Avenue to the Anacostia River, incorporating 300 or 400 acres of virgin land, mostly covered at the time with heavy timber. The Parks Commissioner noted that the terrain was hilly, unlike that of Rock Creek

Park. At that time, the land lay under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia, which used it as a nursery to grow the seedling trees transplanted to the roadsides.

The park area at Fort Dupont opened to the public in 1938, when the Washington Daily News described it as "a pint-sized version of Rock Creek Park" and predicted that it would become a "picnic heaven, a spot appealing more to the hiker and the old-fashioned picnicker who likes a little inconvenience and hard work with his outings." Fort Dupont comprised 400 acres of woods surrounding the fort site, which had been left mostly wild. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) spent three years cleaning up the woods and building sixty picnic tables, hewn from logs, in groups of two to five. Each cluster had a fireplace and a water fountain. The CCC workers also built a playground for children near the remains of the fort (The Washington Daily News 1937: 14).

The Civilian Conservation Corps also constructed a nine-hole golf course in 1938, which was expanded to 18 holes in 1957. One of the two mounted policemen serving at Rock Creek Park was transferred to Fort Dupont in 1946, as horseback riding grew in popularity at the park (The Washington Star 1946).

By 1938, Fort Dupont formed part of a grand plan for a continuous 1,200 acre park linked to Anacostia Park and serving the whole eastern portion of the city. NPS officials imagined "virtually boundless areas for recreation -- golf, tennis, field games, swimming, riding, boating, picnicking, and outdoor acting, with a wide variety of scenery." Park officials hoped that an attractive park area "would hasten the lapsed development of the whole of East Washington." They expected land values to improve and new residents drawn to the attractive environment overlooking the Anacostia River, much as they had seen in Northwest Washington by the development of Rock Creek Park. "The scenery and topography of the section of the District are distinctly beautiful but the heretofore ugly approaches to the area have discouraged its private development as a residential area," park officials claimed. They also predicted that the forthcoming George Washington Memorial Parkway, Fort Circle Drive, Anacostia Highway, and a new superhighway to Baltimore would link the park systems and revitalize the area, "now undeveloped fields and heavily wooded hills and valleys with only major roads and streets being partially completed. The remaining quarter is largely given over to residences of a more or less low-income type." Fort Dupont Park was thus part of a larger strategy to revitalize the area east of the Anacostia River, develop it for residential and commercial use, and connect it to other parts of Washington and Baltimore through automobile transport (The Washington Star 1938a). In 1942, the Antiaircraft Artillery Common Military District for Washington took over Fort Dupont for the duration of World War II (Faragasso 1996).

At the same time, other forces were at work west of the Anacostia River that would transform the character of the Fort Dupont community and pose new challenges to the park. The New Deal and World War II brought tremendous growth in population and new buildings to the monumental core of the city. Government grew and then faced the need to house soldiers on the mall. Many African American migrants came to the city from the South seeking the new

employment that abounded. New Dealers, and especially Eleanor Roosevelt, pressed for the demolition of Washington's notorious alley dwellings and for public housing for low-income families. The Alley Dwelling Authority, the first public housing authority in the country, and later the National Capital Housing Authority, instituted large-scale urban renewal and the construction of public housing developments which were segregated in deference to real estate interests, restrictive covenants, and European American citizens' sentiments. Public housing developments were originally planned for the central city. However, most were built east of the Anacostia River, which led to a dramatic, massive relocation of low-income African American citizens to this area, despite the opposition of the Bradbury Heights Citizens Association and other European American home-owners' groups (Barnes 1980).

The Fort Dupont community felt these changes swiftly. In 1940, 326 families moved into the Alley Dwelling Authority's new public housing complex on Ridge Road, designed for Washingtonians of at least two years' residency who wanted to move from substandard quarters. Rents ranged from $11 to $33 a month (The Washington Post 1940b). In the 1950s, the population of the Fort Dupont area (as defined by the boundaries of the Anacostia marshes, the District of Columbia line, and Pennsylvania Avenue) changed dramatically. In the eight years between 1950 and 1958, the population grew from 66,169 to 90,000. In 1950, African Americans had outnumbered European Americans in the area by fewer than 8,000 people. In 1958, the African American population had grown to three times that of whites. In addition, the federal government had built seven public housing communities housing 14,000 residents, and planned to construct 474 more units for 3,000 more people. At this time, there were many shopping centers, as well as light industry, along the rail lines bordering Minnesota Avenue, but today many of those employment opportunities have vanished. The Fort Dupont area today houses people of varied incomes, including middle-class and affluent home-owners on the northern and eastern sides. Yet, in the 1950s, the community felt the strain of this rapid change. In 1958, there was a near-riot at Fort Dupont on Easter Monday. Some 2,500 youth acted up, wounding a park policeman and showered dozens of patrolmen with a barrage of Easter eggs, stones, and additional objects that became missiles (Lewis and Gabbett 1958).

Fort Dupont Park changed in several ways to serve its changing citizenry. The 18-hole golf course lasted until 1971, but it was never very popular because of its rugged terrain. The president of the company that operated the golf course opined that "You had to be a mountain goat to climb it. The fifth tee is the highest point in Washington." The golf course was closed due to under-use, several instances of violence and petty theft, and pressure from the community to incorporate the land used for the course into the rest of the park (Combes 1971). As part of the plans for the Bicentennial, citizens' groups proposed a 5,000-seat amphitheater, a skating rink, fishing lakes, a mini-train, a small zoo with cows, sheep and other animals, and a day care center (Washington Daily News 1972). Most of these more ambitious plans were not implemented. The land from the golf course was converted into an amphitheater, community garden plots, and the Hiker-Biker trail. The old fairways also support an unusual transitional habitat in the larger context of the mowed grass and wooded areas of other parts of the park. According to the NPS Natural Resource Specialist, they provide the shrubs and berries that offer

food and winter cover for birds, butterflies, and other insects, and thus contribute to a more diverse natural habitat in the park.

Fort Dupont Park began to host free weekend concerts in 1974 as part of the Fort Dupont Summer Theater Program's efforts to provide entertainment for low-income families from the surrounding community. In 1980, the Washington Post reported that "Every Saturday and Sunday at 8:30 p.m., an average crowd of 20,000 to 25,000 people walk, roller skate, drive, bike, piggyback or run to a hole in the woods in Southeast for a couple of hours of fun...a whole family can picnic in the park, without paying for baby sitters or gas, stretch out and take in Washington's laid-back summer scene" (The Washington Post 1980).

During the 1970s the productions held in this "environmentally pleasing wooded setting" were best known for jazz and blues, but also included rhythm and blues, gospel and go-go music, children's theater and modern dance (Hanna 1985). Most of these are predominantly African American musical traditions. Go-go music is indigenous and unique to Washington, DC. It emphasizes making music out of poverty, featuring garbage can lids, buckets, home-made drums, and cowbells along with more familiar instruments such as bass guitar and saxophone. It is heavily percussive, but also relies on a call-and-response style emblematic of other African American musical traditions such as spirituals and jazz. In the go-go version of call-and-response, musicians ask members of the audience to identify where they live through symbols, hand gestures, and neighborhood names. Go-go appears to be an important way that urban youth identify their connections to each other and to communities throughout the city. Fort Dupont has nurtured this tradition since its inception with the Junkyard Band in the 1970s.

During the early 1980's the *Washington Afro-American* named Fort Dupont (and Carter Barron) as "the most happening places for weekend entertainment" and claimed that the two NPS-sponsored programs "have marked D.C. as an entertainment capital" (Hanna 1985). Our research confirms this acclaim. Many people interviewed have beloved memories of the concerts at Fort Dupont, of hearing wonderful music and of an extraordinary feeling of community. One woman spoke of picnicking, burning candles and incense, and feeling peaceful and content. Since their inception, the concerts at Fort Dupont have been enthusiastically announced and covered by Washington media, heavily attended by music lovers, and an important part of the city's summer scene.

During the early 1980s, *The Washington Post* published an article noting that the summer concerts were a source of conflict with some residents in the neighborhood surrounding the park, who complained about the traffic and trash resulting from the crowds attending the concerts and also about concert-goers blocking their driveways when parking (Sargent 1981). The Summer Theater Program continues to operate at Fort Dupont for eight weekends during the summer, drawing approximately 10,000 visitors per night, some from as far away as North Carolina and New Jersey.

The community garden program has been operating at Fort Dupont since 1974, when it was founded by a volunteer. In 1992, the community garden consisted of 218 plots which were shared by 243 gardeners. Today there are over 300 garden plots in three different areas of the park (Rosenbaum 1992). The extraordinary success of the garden program depends on the efforts of dedicated volunteers.

In 1977, the ice rink opened for family and youth skating, and, in 1978, 14-year professional hockey player Neal Henderson introduced ice hockey to Fort Dupont area youth. In 1979, the Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Program was incorporated as a non-profit, all-volunteer effort offering professional hockey training for at-risk youth (see Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program, Inc.: Press Release in Appendix C). By 1994, it offered training to 40 to 50 youth between the ages of seven and 15 every week from October to March (Wright 1990; Payton 1994).

Finally, Fort Dupont has been a popular site for family reunions for many years, particularly on the Lanham Estates side, off Alabama Avenue. We discuss the family reunions in the park in more detail in the following section, which explores park uses.

During the 1980s, many of the theaters and other recreational facilities in the neighborhood closed, including most recently the DC's recreation centers. Fort Dupont has become one of the only recreational sites in the area at the same time that the NPS has faced increasing budgetary constraints. Park managers have responded through an increasing reliance on volunteers, albeit some of long-standing, and collaboration with other community and non-profit groups, including Ford's Theater and Murch Elementary School (see Calendar of Events (December 1996): National Capital Parks- East and Fort Dupont Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule in Appendix D).

4. Park Users

Park users include the community gardeners, families, senior citizens, and youth who use the ice skating rink, as well as the youth who participate in the ice hockey training program and the Friends of the Fort Dupont Ice Arena. Many people come to Fort Dupont for special events, which include the summer concerts and theater productions, the City-Wide Cross-Country Race, the Boy Scout Jamboree, and the Soap Box Derby. Family reunions, church picnics, organizational events and celebrations (including those of the Greater Southeast Community Seniors and Macedonia Baptist Church), and marches and rallies such as Christian Day are other events which take place in the park. Local families come to Fort Dupont to picnic and use the children's playground, and school and day care center groups visit the activity center and participate in interpretive and educational programs, including the Junior Rangers and various Earth Day projects. MOR enthusiasts, an off-road motorcycling group, and other cyclists enjoy the Hiker-Biker Trail. The Adventist Church Pathfinders group sponsors nature walks and other interpretive activities in the park. Visitors also come to tour the remains of the fort. On occasion, radio stations broadcast programming from the Randle Circle entrance. In May 1997,

300 community members held a candle-light vigil there in memory of a slain neighborhood youth (Mooar 1997).

5. Park Uses

Below we describe in detail the users at Fort Dupont. The following text discusses the community gardeners; the ice hockey program participants, organizers, and supporters; people who organize reunions at the park; and other user groups.

a. The Community Gardeners

In the first part of this section of the Fort Dupont report, we focus on the community gardeners, whose experiences and perceptions highlight the cultural significance of Fort Dupont and its importance to people in the community.

All of the gardeners who participated in our focus group were African American; many were retired. Many of the gardeners identified themselves according to the years they have spent gardening at Fort Dupont. Those we interviewed range in time there from two to 17 years. The following table lists the fruits and vegetables that the gardeners mentioned growing.

Table 1: Produce Grown by Fort Dupont Gardeners

collard greens	squash	tomatoes
salad greens: turnip greens, mustard greens	lettuce	Swiss chard
cabbage	beans: string beans, lima beans, butter beans	turnips
cantaloupes	carrots	kale
spring onions	early peas	okra
cucumbers	zucchini	corn
peppers	onions	watermelon
celery		

Their gardening experiences clearly express folk traditions, rooted in what they learned growing up in Virginia or the Carolinas. We reproduce their responses here in some detail, for we believe that they are of great historical and ethnographic value in expressing the role of the gardens in preserving cultural traditions, fostering creativity and innovation, and building community. For

example, when our moderator asked, "How did you learn to garden?" these were some of the responses:

- "I was raised on a farm and got a look at gardening through my childhood."

- "I started when I was small, I had no choice, my job was to take care of the garden. I'd clean out the chicken house and spread it across the field..."

- "Along the same theme, I started as a kid myself. I lived on a farm 'til I was nine years old. My father took great pride in gardening... It was not just a thing of planting vegetables, he wanted to be the best he could be. He used the manure from the barnyard to enhance his gardening and his pride. Because I took an interest, he gave me a garden. He said, `This is your little spot right here -- grow whatever you want in this. I grew radishes, and I thought they looked pretty. But I ate some of them, and they almost had to catch me because those things were hot as I don't know what. But that was it, I started as a kid, with my father and my family. My father won the PTA prize as the best gardener in our community. For many years I said I would strive to always have one of the best gardens."

- "I didn't grow up gardening, but I was always picked to clean out my mama's flowerbed. Every time I'd go in there to get the weeds out, the flowers began to grow. She told me I must have a green thumb...I'm still learning, everyday I go over there I try to learn something...you have to study the soil and garden just like anything else; it's not just throwing seeds and scratching around with a hoe. If you want a crop you have to work at it.

- "I started mine at an early age. In rural North Carolina it was survival. There were very few things we had to buy."

- One woman started gardening with her sister after they lost their father. She believes that gardening helped them heal psychologically from that loss and that the wealth of the garden almost represented to them life coming from death: "It was really interesting; I didn't think they would grow overboard, I thought `Oh my God this is too much stuff!'"

Gardeners place great emphasis on the creativity and re-creativity that are at the heart of folk traditions, as they learn from and study their gardens, exchange insights and resources with other gardeners, and share their harvest with their neighbors:

- "Never did any 'til I started up on F Street. As a kid my father did all the gardening, and I carried the water when he planted sweet potatoes. My first crop did pretty good; My second one didn't do too good because I didn't know anything. H---- helped me along with what I did and I'm pretty proud of it."

- "After I retired, I came here and got a garden; thinking about what I did 50 to 60 years ago, things don't run like that now. But people here gave me pretty good hints."

- "We've had several people come through the park. This is an out of the way region, people just happen through that way, or sometimes someone may bring them through for the first time, and they stop their cars, and they'll say `Oh my goodness, they have a farm in the city, will you sell me some vegetables?' We'll say, `No ma'am but we will give you some vegetables.' And they can't believe that."

- "Senior citizens, you know we share the food. I have two ladies, 6000 Sargent Road. They're already asking me when I'm gonna bring them some greens. I say. `Mrs. H we haven't got out of Christmas yet! I just came from shopping myself.' But no, I give away a lot of stuff. I'm a retired insurance man and I know a lot of people, it's like religion, I tell it everywhere I go, I'm a gardener. The mistake is that as soon as you say 'I'm a gardener,' they want you to bring 'em some squash, bring 'em some tomatoes, and I enjoy that. But I can stuff, I can tomatoes, that's the only thing I know how to do. I leave them all over town, with little labels that say from the kitchen of --------, and I like that."

One sees quickly that gardening is also a storied experience. Exaggeration, good humor, friendly competition, and cooperative discourse fill these stories. When the gardeners told stories, they frequently joined in to help each other to a punch line, to fill out information, or to embellish the tale. They also laughed heartily at each other's stories. A few examples of gardening tales follow:

- "The land was rich; we'd go to the barnyard and spread stuff out there and the vegetables would grow overnight. They'd be three inches today, and tomorrow five-inches tall."

- "I had a little old spot, about half an acre and grew more tobacco in half an acre than my father did in five; I was very, very successful, and people were always trying to figure out what had happened, because I had leaves like this [arms akimbo]."

The gardeners state powerfully the importance of the Fort Dupont Garden for their mental and spiritual health (Rosenbaum 1992):

- "Anytime I get disgusted, bored, I go out and dig in the ground. I get a lot of relaxation, and I enjoy it, and I appreciate the Park Service for making a garden available to us."

- "...[It's] everybody learning from each other and basically having a good time doing it."

- "I love Fort Dupont. I spend a lot of time walking all over the garden looking at every plot in everyone's garden, always eager to learn. From one plot to the next the soil is different. You got to study, watch your plants just like you watch a baby, they will change on you overnight. It's a lot of fun because I may think that I'm doing what is right for my plot, and I look over there at Mr. H----, and he thinks he's doing what's right for his. His looks good, mine doesn't look so good. I'll go over and confer and find out what's going on, and, in the end, we have a successful project going every summer. The comradeship and the learning process."

- "We get there most of us at least three times a week. We that are retired get over there every day...three times a day!"

- "I enjoy the greenery, being in the park, being in the dirt and up under the shade trees and the grass and stuff. It's better than going to a doctor. You cannot get more relaxation than you get going to that garden. I enjoy the garden, the people. C---- here is a philosopher, we talk and we lie....[laughter]... The guys be lying about what they used to do.... We have an absolute good time, and there's not any one thing in this community that has contributed more to the comradeship of people...before you know it you're running into people in the street and talking and laughing. It brings people together. This garden is more than planting some vegetables and getting them growing and harvesting. It's a social circle, and we enjoy it. I hope there's gardens here until I'm 117."

But gardeners are also firm about the fact that gardening is not just relaxing. They cherish the hard work, the challenge, the opportunity to learn, overcoming the obstacles:

- "I found out the best way to do is make sure your soil is tilt real good because with nice soft soil your vegetables will grow better, and then you gotta do something about them weeds because those weeds is coming. But I had to beg to differ with him...ain't a whole lot of relaxin' out there to me. This is called work."

- "But in view of that...all of that takes into consideration the challenge. If you can get out there and overcome all those things -- cool weather in the spring, extreme wet weather this past summer, extreme hot weather we had year before last... If you can get out there and work and concentrate and have a nice garden, that's what it's all about. It's the challenge and what you produce and what you see from your produce that's your reward."

Part of the knowledge and skill that flourishes in the community gardens includes the sensitivity to the rhythms of the year:

- "In springtime, I think most people agree that we go out and we plant what's called "salad greens" in the early spring. Turnip greens, mustard greens, things like that grow in a cooler climate before it gets too hot, if indeed like J--- said it's not real wet or anything.

We used to plant what's called early peas, but for the last two years it's been so wet and so we haven't had a chance to plant the early peas."

- "You can't get over there in the spring. We have a limited season from May 1 to November 11. If it's a wet spring, or a cool spring, you get a late start. Now right now everybody's excited about seed catalogs and hoping for an early spring to get started earlier; not too much you can do this time of year except hope and look to the future."

- "... and also your onions, those were the beginnings of the garden; lettuce; these were cool crops."

- "Later on, 'round in May, we plant our warm weather crops...tomatoes, beans, string beans, cucumbers, squash, okra, corn, carrots, celery, watermelon, cantaloupes [all joining in, laughing]."

- "And after that we have a fall crop. Now you can plant turnip greens again, for the fall, and also your collards continue from the summer, collards and Swiss chard, they can hold over during the summer and into the fall."

- "During August, you can set the cabbage out again. If a person is careful you can have a very good growth of string beans in the fall. They have a finer taste, they almost even taste sweet almost, they're so good. Your turnip greens and turnips."

- "It depends upon the crop and the weather. A crop that takes no more than eight weeks to mature you can plant like a second crop."

- "String beans, greens, squash.... You can plant your greens first, then when your greens go, put your other string beans in, your lima beans, 'cause it takes butter beans, lima beans longer than a string bean. Plus as soon as the cool weather hits, if you got some butter beans that are just beginning to fill, you're out of luck; gonna stop them right in their tracks. Make sure they're planted at a time to come out at a max, August or September."

- "Takes at least three months for lima beans. When would you plant them?"

- "About the time you take your greens out....your turnip greens, your kale, your mustard greens, once you take them up put your lima beans right in there, your butter beans or your other string beans."

- "You can plant string beans just about any time, as long as you have eight weeks of warm weather. That's including once the nights become cool that's when things stop growing. You have to make sure you time it so it will end September, October, sometime like that."

Skills and knowledge also involve coping with pests:

- "Have you ever seen anything ate tomato plants? We had somebody at Fort Dupont that ate tomato plants!"

- "Put a little dust around the plant, all around the base of the plant."

- "I would put a ring right around there, take my hoe, work it up, believe me that works."

- "You need a different poison for different bugs. Some poisons will take care of this bug, but this bug might enjoy it."

- "Japanese Beetle: They work in pairs. Usually if you find one there's another one somewhere, anytime you see one eating, and you don't see another one, but you can find it in the dirt somewhere."

- "Pests are just like humans, they become immune to certain things. That's why one year you may have some mild infestation and the next year a drastic infestation. They just move from one place to another, think we've already devastated this place we'll go someplace else this year."

- "Last year lots of rain, what was the result? We got different bugs we didn't know about. As long as it's raining you can't get in the garden, but the bugs are there, having a good time."

Gardeners also share many special recipes:

- "You can slice your green tomatoes and put them in the freezer on single sheets of paper, and they taste the same as when they come out of the garden."

- "Putting up tomatoes in a jar is about the simplest thing you can do. The main thing is having good clean jars. You don't need a pressure cooker, just use a pot big enough to set four jars in. You have to know what you're doing, don't set a cool jar in hot water. Temper your water by pouring hot water on the jars, fill the jars with hot tomatoes, set 'em in, cook for 45 minutes...Put 'em in scalding water, as many as you can, pack 'em in the jar. Put a teaspoon of salt in the top and boil for about an hour. I mean boil, don't play around with it. Then you turn it upside down; if it bubbles, something's wrong. Put the jars back in the case, and put 'em away for that snowy day."

The gardeners express deep appreciation that they are able to garden at Fort Dupont and agreed that they could live with the current situation. However, they do express some wishes and concerns, which we describe in detail in the section titled "Attitudes and Concerns." The gardeners' overall sentiments are probably best expressed in these two comments: "This is not a

complaint or a criticism, just a suggestion. We can and we will live with the situation as it is;" and "Get it ready and turn us loose on it. We'll do the rest."

b. Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Program Participants and Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Arena

One of the community ethnographers grew up watching his nephew play on the ice hockey team and speaks of it with pride as the "only all-black ice hockey team in the country." Participants at three focus groups also spoke without prompting, and with pride, about this team. One woman referred to it as "the best-kept secret in Washington." In addition, members of our research team visited the ice rink and observed several teams practicing there, including an all-girls team. The researchers also interviewed team officers and staff members.

The coach has been teaching youth how to skate for 19 years. He believes strongly that his team has a special connection to the ice rink. Using the name "Fort Dupont" is one way of assuring this, and he is also an active member in the Friends of Fort Dupont group. An all-volunteer-effort, members of the team pay only what they can afford and participate in fund-raising activities, such as bake sales and raffles. The program's goal is "to provide exposure to a recreational activity that will bring about the understanding of the ice hockey sport, its origin, the development of skills, grace, balance, and reflex action..." (White 1986: 49). There is also a focus on self-assurance, good sportsmanship, and especially discipline (Payton 1994; Wright 1990).

The team buys time on the ice and shares practice time at the ice rink with schools such as Gonzaga, St. Albans, and Georgetown University, as well as the "Little Caps." Recently, they have been able to practice twice a week. The Fort Dupont ice hockey team has won the Gonzaga championship one out of the three years it has taken place. Team members have gone on to play college hockey in such places as Massachusetts, Minnesota, and overseas.

When the NPS announced plans to close the arena at the end of the 1995 to 1996 season, community volunteers formed the Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Arena, Inc. These volunteers believed that the facility had been neglected for a long time. Their mission is "to bring to the young people of Washington, DC, particularly those from the neighborhoods nearby the Fort Dupont Ice Arena, increased opportunity, education, and inspiration, through ice skating and related activities" (Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Arena 1996: 1). They hope to supplement the funds they earn through the sale of ice time to traditional user groups with money from other sponsors for improving the building and providing new equipment. They have gathered a great deal of support. In the fall of 1996 the Friends initiated a Kids On Ice program, involving approximately 100 pre-school and school-age children from nearby neighborhoods. The Friends also hosted a Community Holiday on Ice the weekend before Christmas. Next year the group hopes to expand the program to serve 1,000 children and to add a tutoring component. Their goals for the future include operating a premier, year-round facility that would serve 2,500 youth

with tutoring, mentoring, and counseling. They will also encourage family involvement in skating programs (Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Arena 1996).

c. People who Organize Reunions

We held one focus group with people who organize family, class, organizational, and community reunions in Fort Dupont, Anacostia Park, and Kenilworth Park. Some have been holding reunions at Fort Dupont for as long as 25 years. Some families gather every year; some every few years; some alternate between reunions in Washington and reunions in other locations where relatives have settled, such as Baltimore, New York, Detroit, or southern towns. These users are grateful for the opportunity to reserve park space for reunions. However, they noted that to reserve a space for a summer weekend, one needs to do so on the first day of January or there will be no space left. Some people just go to the park early on the day of the event to save a space. Some go as early as 4:00 or 5:00 in the morning. One woman urged us, "Don't let reservations indicate the amount of usage. Plenty of people don't go through the Park Service." One woman stated that her family has been gathering in Fort Dupont for ten years without a permit.

Users value the shade, the ample picnic facilities, the cleanliness of the park, and the play area for children. They describe ordering catered meals as well as bringing and preparing their own foods. Some grill hot dogs, hamburgers, chicken, and ribs in the park. One father and son team prepares the following foods: ham, turkey, roast, crabs, chicken, fish, home-baked breads, macaroni and cheese, string beans, greens, hot dogs, hamburgers, sheet cakes, pies, cupcakes, and cookies.

Participants particularly value the meaning of the reunion. In the text that follows, we provide a small sample of statements about the importance of reunions. Family reunions offer dispersed extended families "the opportunity to gather, not just for a funeral, a time of sadness, but to come together when it's a good time. To remember, to share from long ago, talk about who did what when, how they responded and acted." One elderly woman remarked that, for example, "I used to be the talk of the town, the life of the party. I mean I enjoyed life. Now there's not so much to say."

According to participants, family reunions communicate to children "where your family started, how they migrated out. Our history is not written; it must be done through word of mouth." The reunions allow them to "bring history back, for kids to see," stated one participant. "They give substance to what you've told your children," stated another participant, "Plus an identity. Sometimes they don't carry the name, but they carry a physical trait." She described the large-ears characteristic of one side of her family. Although her children do not carry that surname, they spent time at the family reunion examining all their cousins' ears. "They were so happy," she reported, "at how the ears went on down."

These reunions "give children ownership, a heritage. It maintains that togetherness. One gets a sense of what other relatives are doing." "They may be a singer, a doctor, a teacher. This way you're not losing sight of who you really are." "Children can reflect on who they want to emulate, how they want to look back." "Reunions give you a road mark, what to do with your life and self. They position you to know something about somebody else you wouldn't ordinarily know." One participant summarized many of these sentiments by saying, "Family reunions are important to our cultural heritage as African Americans, for keeping the family structure together, communicating what we're all about, defining who we are, maintaining ourselves as a group of people. We can come together and share in fellowship who we are."

One woman stated that her church reunions held in Fort Dupont for the last twenty years bring back people who have moved away: "Sometimes the choir travels down south, and those friends and family will travel up to the reunion to keep up the connection." A woman who organizes class reunions noted that "I never hear from them until this time of year, and it's beautiful. We're 18 again. You look exactly the same. Your essence is still the same. You just want to know that people are doing okay. They say of your children, `They look just like you.' Or `I remember your Mama.' We laugh and laugh."

d. General Users

There are many other important and frequent users of Fort Dupont, such as those attending church gatherings and concerts, picnickers, and ice skaters. A woman who participated in the Fort Stevens area focus group remembered with fondness Christian Day at Fort Dupont. She described a great march, including people "from every walk of life. We left from RFK, and we covered one whole side of East Capitol Street, down Ridge Road and onto Minnesota Avenue. We were singing, and people were all outside clapping." The group ended its journey with a rally at the park. Similarly, in many other contexts, people we interviewed described attending concerts, picnicking, or skating at the park. Because of the winter season, we did not interview the musicians and concert goers who probably form one of the park's most important user groups. Because of time constraints, we did not review concert memorabilia either. Nonetheless, many people we interviewed know Fort Dupont Park primarily for its concerts. Generally, it appears to be the best-known of the Civil War Defenses of Washington east of the Anacostia River. In a telephone interview, a minister described a church picnic hosted by the church's eight choirs. The picnic welcomed 150 to 200 participants, who brought in prepared foods and also used the grills to cook hot dogs and hamburgers.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The attitudes and concerns of the Fort Dupont users are described in detail below. Their comments have been divided by user category into four groups: 1) community gardeners, 2) the ice hockey program participants, organizers, and supporters, 3) people who organize reunions at the park; and 4) other users.

a. Concerns Expressed by the Gardeners

The gardeners' most important concern involves turning over the soil in the fall, and again in the spring. The following quotes illustrate their concerns about the garden.

- One gardener drew on his experiences in the south to buttress this request: "Why we were successful, we always turned our land over in the winter and in the fall. But this land doesn't get turned over 'til the spring, and late spring at that, just about May 1. Fall would be a good time to turn it over, and then it would have time to lay there and turn all that stuff that had grown back under and let it ferment and rot. But now we have to get out there, and they may plow it up one week and next week we're out there plantin'... It doesn't have time... We get out there and till it again, and it doesn't have time to ferment."

- Another gardener noted the value of planting a cover crop: "They used to till those gardens at the end of the season, and when they did, they'd go back in the spring and finish them off, nobody needed a tiller, the ground was so good and fine... Plow it in the fall and put in a cover crop, like rye grass or wheat; plow it again in the spring; it will add nitrogen and phosphorous to the soil. Even this spring, it's January now, go back the first available date and plow it, and then go back and plow it again. I just want to go on record saying that. I'll bring my mule."

- Another gardener stated that, in the past, the gardening season was longer, enabling him to plant early crops: "Six, seven, eight years ago, you could go out there, and they used to open the gardens up the latter part of March a long time ago and you could plant early peas, and you would have all kinds of early peas by the time June got here."

- Some gardeners expressed concerns about theft of their vegetables: "Fix that gate out there so we won't have so many intruders."

- Others stated that they would appreciate advice about pesticides: "The Park Service could help us with some natural pest control. I understand there are various things to use that are non-toxic, like other kinds of plants that will repel certain kinds of bugs. If somebody could find that kind of information and get it to us that would help. I read somewhere you can use meal on certain kinds of bugs, and it will constipate the bugs. If you could find out some things like that."

- Others expressed concerns about staff support. They agree that Fort Dupont is a well-managed park, but worry about the way staffing issues are handled: "One person who knows how to do it: S----- knows how to get the job done. Several people work for the Park Service, doing different things -- cut the grass one day, paperwork the next, a parade the next. What should happen, categorize the people who are able to take care of certain things, not just operate the tractor today, something else today, something else

today." "There is an art to cutting that land up there; you can't just grab a guy off the street to run the tractor."

• Gardeners clearly expressed the view that NPS staffers and community gardeners are on the same team. They value the Fort Dupont staff. "We have nice staff down here; people here are not in charge of tractors and personnel. The difficulty is farther away from this room," one gardener stated.

b. Concerns Expressed by Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Participants and Friends of Fort Dupont Ice Arena

Hockey team representatives expressed concern about their equipment, funding, and other support. Their concerns are described below.

• In the past, there have been concerns about low attendance and under use. Today, volunteers say that the arena receives more use. Our observations appeared to confirm that.

• The ice hockey team staff expressed a need for more equipment to supplement the "throw-aways" they receive from other teams, more area space, more sponsors, more community support, more funds, more volunteers, and more publicity, such as the publicity formerly provided by the NPS on television channels 20 and 54.

c. Concerns Expressed by People who Organize Reunions

The concerns which this user group expressed centered on the permit process and the demand for space at Fort Dupont. Other concerns, described below, included parking, regulations about music, and maintenance.

• All indicated that it is difficult to reserve space and that one must stand in a long line on the first day in January to obtain summer space. Some said it is easier to go to the park in the middle of the night and stay there than to get a reservation.

• Another participant noted that people at the park are polite and share tables.

• A few people expressed confusion about where to reserve space. One person thought it was possible to do so in the activity center at Fort Dupont because of the calendar there. Others told him he needed to travel uptown to 16th Street, Northwest (NW), and that, after obtaining the permit, the Fort Dupont staff would put his reservation on their calendar.

• One representative of a nearby church had difficulty getting permits for their events. This representative stated that frequently his congregation would like to use the park, but

it has already been scheduled and fully permitted. They have also asked to hold activities there, such as pony rides, which the NPS will not allow. They have often held their events in the church parking lot or in Virginia as a result. One year they obtained a permit for their Easter Egg Hunt, but, when they arrived at 10:00 AM, they found the park closed.

• All agreed that "parking is a hassle" in the Randle Circle area. One person noted (to hearty laughter) that "As soon as you're having a good time, the park police are wearing that road out [giving tickets]."

• Some expressed regret that they could not play amplified music. Other people argued that it is not appropriate in a residential area and suggested that park visitors bring their own radios.

• One person noted that the "back pavilion is never clean, and they never cut the grass." Another person stated that he always called the office the day before the reunion just before closing time and asked park staffers to clean the space.

d. Concerns Expressed by General Users and Residents

• Most people in the area expressed a great fondness for Fort Dupont.

• One community leader in the Marshall Heights neighborhood believes that Fort Dupont is "underutilized" and offers difficult, hilly terrain and too many isolated patches of parkland. He feels that the NPS should find "other uses to make it more useful to the community." He described the former golf course as "hilly and isolated." He believes that the community garden is a good use of space (with the exception of the "isolated" second garden off Texas Avenue). Otherwise, he feels that there are better potential uses for the park. He stated that there are not many family reunions at Fort Dupont considering the size of the park, that few people use the bike trail "because of the isolation there," and that "as large as it is, not a lot of things go on there."

• Another citizen expressed concern about off-road biking. He stated that the bikers should stay on the trails and away from the earthworks. An NPS official noted that "the bicyclists are highly organized, but they rarely cross the Anacostia River."

• Several people expressed the concern that Fort Dupont provides important green space. They praised the diverse mix of habitats that the park affords indigenous species of animals and plants, including the pink lady slipper orchid. Several NPS staffers also expressed a concern about threats to the parkland. These include the proposed expansion of the Seventh Day Adventist Home; the occasional dumping of large items, such as refrigerators and couches, on the access road and inside the park; the erosion on the Hiker-Biker trail; and general litter and pollution.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Dupont

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Fort Dupont has many dedicated users, including the community gardeners, the volunteers, skaters and hockey players who use the ice arena, people who attend the summer theater productions, and people who organize reunions there. Those who picnic at Fort Dupont feel pressed for space, otherwise these users utilize very different park facilities.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

In the winter, much of Fort Dupont Park is empty, except for the people who use the ice rink and those who drive through the park. Fort Dupont receives most of its use during the summer and particularly on weekends. At that time, the community garden plots, the amphitheater, and the two major picnic areas receive intensive use. Many gardeners come daily; picnickers and concert goers use the park mainly on weekends. Throughout the year there are interpretive/educational programs and special events such as the City-wide Cross Country Race in the spring.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Many Washingtonians perceive Fort Dupont primarily as the site of important summer musical performances. The concerts at Fort Dupont are discussed frequently on African American radio stations, for example. The community gardeners identify strongly with Fort Dupont and appreciate its "nice staff." In our focus group, they introduced themselves by referring to the number of years they had spent gardening there. The ice hockey affiliates also identify with the park. They purposely use the name for their team; they have organized a Friends group; and they state that outreach to the park community is central to their mission. The people who organize reunions also identify strongly with Fort Dupont, choosing it as the site for their "homecoming" activities, for rooting their families in Washington, rather than those places where they grew up or continue to have family ties. These visitors appear to be loyal allies of the NPS.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Many of the hockey players come from low-income households. The volunteers who work with them believe that ice hockey can provide them with college and career opportunities, offer alternatives to the streets, and help them learn values of sportsmanship and discipline.

The people who organize reunions are purposefully working to preserve ties of family, community, identity, and place. They gather to remember who they are and to give their children a legacy. They argued forcefully that reunions and coming home are central to who African Americans are as a people.

Fort Dupont has showcased musical performers in the Washington area for the last twenty years. For many people we interviewed, the Fort Dupont jazz, blues, gospel, and go-go concerts evoke fond memories of communal experiences and fine African American music. Go-go is a musical tradition indigenous and unique to Washington, DC.

Taken together, these activities testify to the importance of Fort Dupont Park as a site for rich and longstanding African American cultural practices.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

The gardeners stressed the importance of Fort Dupont's community gardens to their mental and physical health and to building community. In the garden, they preserve traditional provisioning strategies, exchange advice and strategies, and share foods with one another and with other people in the community. People in the larger community admire the gardens in the summertime, and each summer ends with a popular garden festival.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

The community garden plots are of special significance to the gardeners and other park visitors. Lanham Estates is especially popular among those who organize reunions. Many people express an attachment to the ice skating rink. Others remember the concerts at the amphitheater, and some speak of gatherings, festivities, vigils, rallies, and radio broadcasts at the Randle Circle entrance to the park. For some residents, the woods are important for the indigenous species they support. For many who drive through the park, Fort Dupont is valued as green space.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Dupont important?

Fort Dupont has well-preserved earthworks. However, we did not interview any people for whom the Civil War history was an important aspect of their connection to the park. The park's historical significance appears to lie in other areas for users. For example, people remember ice hockey victories, particularly exciting concerts, rewarding reunions, and severe weather.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The community gardeners would like park managers to know how much they appreciate the opportunity to garden at Fort Dupont and that they will make do with the situation exactly as it is, if necessary. People who organize reunions want park managers to know that "African Americans are doing something positive with the park. Don't give it away to white people" (as one focus group participant stated, to widespread assent). The ice hockey staff want to inform managers that they need assistance and that volunteer efforts are insufficient. They believe that they are supporting a worthy mission, and they would appreciate the publicity that the NPS provided them in the past. Concert partisans want park managers to know of the importance of

the summer concerts in nurturing African American music and making it available without charge to music lovers.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

The park's picnic areas appear to be over-utilized during the summer. Many people would like to use it but believe they cannot get permits for the time they need the space. Also, there is a waiting list for garden plots.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

The community gardeners would like to see the land turned over twice a year, as well as a longer gardening season. They would appreciate it if the staff in charge of doing so were experienced, skillful, and careful. They would also appreciate advice about usable pesticides, and they also recommended fixing the gate to solve problems of theft.

The people who organize family reunions appear satisfied for the most part with the park. However, some would like to see more picnic facilities because it is so difficult to get permits. Some expressed confusion about city versus federal responsibilities and jurisdiction.

The ice hockey team wants more support for its program in the form of equipment, space, and funding. The Friends of the Ice Arena recommended an expanded and more complex program. One community leader suggested clearing the hillside to provide skiing in the winter.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

All users we interviewed find the Fort Dupont park staff accessible, cordial, and helpful. They communicate simply by going to the activity center or speaking to volunteers. A minority of the park users we contacted expressed concerns related to what they perceive as higher-level NPS decision-making on personnel and procedures.

H. Fort Chaplin

1. Methodology

We visited and drove around Fort Chaplin and interviewed community leaders, a park neighbor, and a recreational staff person. Two of these interviews were in-person interviews conducted outside of the park site, and the others were telephone interviews. We asked questions about Fort Chaplin in two focus groups, which are described in Part One of this report.

2. Location

Fort Chaplin lies at the intersection of East Capitol Street, Texas Avenue, and C Street, Southeast (SE). It is surrounded by large apartment buildings, with the Benning-Stoddert District of Columbia (DC) Recreation Center on its eastern end and a police station across East Capitol Street. The closest named neighborhoods to this park are Greenway, Benning Terrace, Glendale, and Marshall Heights (see Map 7 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Fort Chaplin lay in a wooded, nearly rural area until the 1940s. In 1947, the eleventh police precinct, which covered the entire eastern side of the Anacostia River, was divided. A temporary police station house was set up in an annex of Davis Elementary School at 44th Street and Hannah Place, SE, to serve the newly created 14th precinct. Lewis and Gabbett (1958) reported that one of its first cases involved the theft of two cows from a pasture off Benning Road, which was solved by the arrest of two rustlers who tried to auction the cows at an Upper Marlboro, Maryland, cattle sale. In 1950, the 14th police precinct moved into the present station house at 42nd Street and Benning Road, Northeast (NE), in between Fort Chaplin and Fort Mahan. By 1958, the precinct had grown 150% and become mostly African American. Lewis and Gabbett (1958) note that "The pastures in which the cows grazed a dozen years ago have sprouted human habitations of every conceivable type in the interim. These range from the tar paper lean-tos which made Marshall Heights the city's first (and ill-fated) slum clearance target; to split-level creations well up in the luxury class."

Youth come from across the city to participate in activities, such as basketball tournaments at the Benning-Stoddert Recreation Center. Neighbors remember fondly the free sleep-over summer camps that they attended at Fort Chaplin. One woman remembers that the park used to be huge, with a large picnic area, "wide open space," and cooking grills.

4. Park Users

Neighbors host an annual Know Your Neighbor Day, when they clean up the area around the park and try to promote awareness of park resources. Youth play baseball and football in the park and engage in other organized activities in conjunction with the Police Boys and Girls Club. Families and civic associations, including the Fort Dupont Civic Association, picnic on the Texas Avenue side of Fort Chaplin. According to a sign at the park, a summer day camp also operates at Fort Chaplin.

5. Park Uses

We saw no signs of use during this study. However, people interviewed stated that the park is used by neighborhood youth in the spring, summer, and fall for recreational activities. Most people interviewed indicated that there is a close relationship between the Police Boys and Girls Club and the park. The community clean-up and awareness day takes place on the last weekend of October.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Park neighbors' concerns focused on their perceptions that Fort Chaplin is not well-known and that relationships between the park and other Civil War Defenses of Washington are not clear. Several people also expressed confusion about the relationship between the Police Boys and Girls Club and Fort Chaplin. Their concerns are detailed below.

- One neighbor termed the historical part of Fort Chaplin "a pain to get to, because you have to go up two bends, and then it's a five-second walk."

- Another neighbor wanted the relationship between Fort Chaplin and Fort Mahan to receive more emphasis. She suggested that the NPS "show how the two are united together, how they fit into the neighborhood."

- Another neighbor contrasted Fort Chaplin to Fort Mahan and Fort Dupont, both of which he sees as problematic parks. He said of Fort Chaplin: "It's okay as it is. People use the picnic area on Texas Avenue a lot. Families come in the spring and summer, and also to neighborhood associations."

- One person said that Fort Chaplin had "great potential. I've heard about games there, but it needs to be advertised. It's a great hidden resource."

- One person suggested that Fort Chaplin is "nothing but a field to the Boys and Girls Club. Take away the Boys and Girls Club, the police station, you have nothing left to

Fort Chaplin." Another person asked, "What is the relationship between the park and the Boys and Girls Club?"

• Another neighborhood activist made Fort Chaplin the centerpiece of her concerns about the Civil War Defenses in Wards 7 and 8. Her remarks might reflect her social position as an older woman and community development expert primarily concerned with situations promoting child welfare. However, we reproduce her remarks at some length because they crystallize a widespread confusion about the relationship between District and Federal properties and responsibilities (see Barthold 1993). She stated,

> We don't walk through the parks. They don't make them inviting. They should make them more visible. How is this park separate from Fort Dupont? Who controls the football field? What is the role of the Police Boys and Girls Club? The parks are too formidable. They are not usable space. We don't know when or how to reserve them; how to coordinate; they are formidable. It's hard to separate the city from the federal parks; is the park city or federal? What is that little triangle down on Minnesota Avenue? Is it city or federal?

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Chaplin

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Park users include youth, who use the ball field, and families and community organizations who use the picnic area on Texas Avenue. They do not appear to strain the resources.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Use at Fort Chaplin appears to be recreational, not consumptive, and to occur in the warmer months. Picnickers use the park mostly on weekend evenings, and youth use it daily for recreation.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

The Police Boys and Girls Club identifies strongly with the park and sees it as a welcome extension of their facilities. Some neighbors in the immediate area see it as a vital public space in their community, a place to meet neighbors and share responsibility for communal space. Other neighbors do not perceive it as a park that is inviting or usable.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

This context is one of a neighborhood of mixed incomes and few recreational and cultural facilities. Some neighbors see Fort Chaplin as a park of great, but unfulfilled, promise in helping to compensate for the dearth of other resources in the area.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We have not observed consumptive uses.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Most people identify Fort Chaplin with its football field and the Texas Avenue picnic area, an important place for families and community groups to gather. Fort Chaplin is probably best known to a wider city clientele for the Benning-Stoddert Recreation Center.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Chaplin important?

People enjoy reminiscing about the summer camp some attended as youth. This camp appears to symbolize a happier and safer period in neighborhood history. Half of the people we interviewed indicated that they wanted to know more about the history of the fort. One person indicated an interest in more accessible fort history, for the walk to the historical area to be more rewarding. Another person stated of Fort Chaplin: "Information is golden. People should know it. Introduce children to the legacies. The park provides opportunities, we should be more knowledgeable." Our data did not indicate that the Civil War history is important to current park users.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

Groups would like park managers to know of their needs for recreational and cultural facilities in the neighborhood and of the potential they see in Fort Chaplin for learning more about their history.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

One person stated that the park did not appear to be usable space. Many other potential users who cite the lack of places for children to play or people to gather do not recognize Fort Chaplin as a named park. This sense that Fort Chaplin is not a park limits some potential users.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

One person believes that Fort Chaplin is fine exactly as it is. Another person suggested more interpretive activities, such as walk-through reenactments or information illuminating the relationships among several of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. Another person, active in community development, wanted Fort Chaplin to become an urban jewel, a focus for their "rebuilding communities" initiative. She suggested mini-grants for beautification activities and community gardens. The clear thrust of these suggestions concerns the promise of Fort Chaplin.

k. How can the NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Since park use at this point is highly organizational, we suggest contacting the organizations directly, especially the Police Boys and Girls Club, the staff at the Benning-Stoddert Recreation Center, and staff at the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization.

I. Fort Mahan

1. Methodology

We researched Fort Mahan through visits to the park, direct observations of use, and interviews. We conducted one walking interview at the park site with a community ethnographer and informally interviewed two people across 2nd Street, Southeast (SE) from the park site. We observed the activities of approximately ten others, all youth who entered the park at dusk. Researchers also conducted two in-person interviews outside of the park site with neighbors who use and expressed concerns about Fort Mahan itself. In addition, we conducted telephone interviews with people who do not use the park but express a strong interest in neighborhood issues. One telephone interview was with a police officer who specialized in gang activities.

2. Location

Fort Mahan lies in the Marshall Heights neighborhood of Northeast Washington and at the edge of the Deanwood neighborhood. Marshall Heights has received widespread recognition for community development activities in the last ten years. Deanwood is well-known as a long-standing African American community. Pockets of African Americans have lived along Benning Road in Deanwood since the early 19th century. To our knowledge, the neighborhood is populated entirely today by African Americans of varied incomes. Fort Mahan Park is bounded by Minnesota Avenue, Benning Road, and 2nd Streets, Northeast (NE). It is surrounded by a commercial strip and single-family homes. Large apartment buildings, both privately and publicly owned, lie nearby. Woodson Junior High School, which adjoins the park on city land, has recently closed, as has the attached recreation center operated by the District of Columbia (see Map 7 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Elmer R. Reynolds conducted an archaeological excavation at Fort Mahan in 1879. In 1957, archaeologist Howard MacCord dubbed Reynolds' claim that "an aboriginal paint quarry" lay at Fort Mahan "of a doubtful scientific value." Reynolds based his claim on the soft core of limonitic iron ore located on top of the Fort Mahan hill, but MacCord argued that this limonite lay in creek beds and gravel outcrops all over the Anacostia Valley. He stated that, therefore, Native Americans did not need a quarry. MacCord believed that Reynold's find represented an exploratory colonial iron ore pit (MacCord 1957: 394).

Until the Civil War, this area was part of two large plantations, operated by the slave-holding Benning and Sheriff families. During the Civil War, the military established checkpoints at the Benning Road Bridge to check for identification and contraband. They also cleared all the

woodlands to allow for surveillance in the area. Overbeck provides vivid detail on the dramatic chopping down of these forests (see Schneider Smith 1988).

In 1862, 3,100 slaves, comprising about 30% of the African American population of Washington, were emancipated. Most of those in the Deanwood area chose to remain there. After the Civil War, the Sheriff farm never recovered, and land speculators' dreams to develop the area as a suburb did not materialize. At this time, the city was growing to the north and the west, away from the rivers, and those moving out of the congested central core had many options other than moving east of the Anacostia River.

The Deanwood area remained sparsely populated and rustic until after World War II. African Americans and European Americans lived together in this neighborhood in a residential pattern more characteristic of a small southern town than of neighborhoods which prevailed in many other parts of the city. The Deanwood area was known for its self-reliant population, including an unusual number of skilled African American craftsmen, carpenters, and construction foremen and crews. These workers have left their mark on the architecturally distinctive homes of the area; however, most found it difficult to get home loans for themselves (Overbeck in Schneider Smith 1988).

In 1921, the Suburban Gardens Amusement Park opened and became a major attraction for African American Washingtonians, who took the streetcar from uptown to the park at the old farmhouse site near what is today Nannie Helen Burroughs Avenue. The park offered a swimming pool, refreshment stands, a merry-go-round, a roller coaster called "The Dip," and big band music featuring Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway.

As late as 1927, Marshall Heights proper contained only two houses. In 1930, John Ihlder, housing consultant to the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, began to press the commission to provide residential development in the capital city. He counted 250 inhabited alleys holding blatantly substandard dwellings. He urged that these dwellings be razed and the population, largely African American, be located elsewhere. Also that year, the Capper-Cramton Act provided funds to acquire the parkland that included the Civil War Defenses of Washington properties.

The New Deal transformed the face of Washington. Government programs subsidized and promoted suburbanization through the Federal Housing Administration's new low down payment, long-term, low-interest, federally insured mortgage program and expanded aid to highways. However, other New Deal programs, including the Works Progress and Public Works Administration programs, and the Civilian Conservation Corps, provided support to the new federal parks. The most important programs affecting the Marshall Heights and Deanwood communities were the new public housing programs, which relocated residents from the monumental core to this area.

Housing programs stalled during the city's preoccupation with World War II, as the National Capital Housing Authority was crippled during those years by the diversion of funds for wartime needs. After the war, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act and the new Redevelopment Land Agency revived John Ihlder's plans for slum clearance, urban renewal, and redevelopment. Marshall Heights, with its frame houses, steeply sloping streets, and makeshift public services (such as the temporary grading and paving provided by the city and the lack of sewer and water lines) "was characterized as a shanty town," whose tax base did not cover the costs it posed to the city in public services (Gutheim 1976: 237). Planners hoped to make it the first urban renewal project in the city, but some citizens resisted the plan, and Congress found it politically unfeasible to fund.

The area remained isolated until the 1950s, when citizens pressed for paved streets, sewers, and sidewalks. As noted earlier in the discussions of the history of Fort Dupont and Fort Chaplin, the population of the area swelled during the 1950s and became African American by a great majority. In addition to the many public housing communities which were placed in the area, the area served 14,000 children in public schools, 13,000 of whom were "Negroes." Lewis and Gabbett (1958) reported 75 churches representing almost every denomination, and 1,537 new business licenses issued in 1957, more than half for apartment buildings. At that time, the Kenilworth landfill cast "an intriguing cloud" over the area. The police were concerned about the precinct's lusty showing in auto thefts (184) in 1957, but noted the absence of potentially troubling activities such as prostitution, horse betting, and traffic in narcotics (Lewis and Gabbett 1958).

The Minnesota Avenue subway stop opened in 1975, providing an important link between the neighborhood and the emerging region. In 1976, a group of concerned citizens organized around issues of substandard facilities and housing that needed rehabilitation. In 1980, the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization (MHCDO) began a period of growth under the new directorship of Lloyd Smith (see Marshall Heights Community Development Organization," GAO-95-69 Comprehensive Approaches to Community Development in Appendix C). Arguing that their area had been commercially redlined, this group has worked hard to develop Ward 7, by revitalizing the East River Park Shopping Center and acquiring housing to renovate for low- and moderate-income families. The group also sponsored and became co-owners in the only sit-down restaurant in Ward 7 (Smith 1995; General Accounting Office 1995). These efforts reflect the organization's concerns about the exodus of some 14,000 residents from the ward during the 1980s.

Historian Ruth Ann Overbeck reports that the history of communities east of the Anacostia River has largely "yet to be done" (Overbeck 1997). One man offered his personal memories and one perspective on changes of the last twenty years. He grew up attending a local elementary school and Woodson Junior High School and remembers many school picnics and other activities in Fort Mahan Park. For example, he cites a wading pool on the Woodson side of the park and noted that senior citizens used to play chess and checkers at the picnic tables in the park. He cites a more local orientation to facilities providing "all easy access." He believes that as African

Americans "arrived," they grew more cosmopolitan in their orientation toward a regional city and sought cultural and recreational activities farther away. He mentioned specifically Kings Dominion and Adventure World. He also believes that many middle-class residents left upper Northeast, that as the demographics of the area changed, the facilities became increasingly underutilized. He stated that since Woodson Junior High School closed, it and the park have fallen into a disrepair he cannot understand. In jogging in the park for the last 19 years, he has watched its steady demise. He stated that, in the 1980s, the park "used to be beautifully manicured and there was regular leaf collection." In 1982, his city council representative was supportive of the park and wrote a letter urging that it receive more care. At that point the NPS reinstalled the benches that had been removed because of illicit activities, but younger individuals moved them from the perimeter "up close to the trail to drink, smoke, and trash the place, so the benches were removed again." Since the late 1980s, this daily user cites a "downturn in upkeep" and virtually no security, so that women no longer use the trail, for example.

4. Park Users

Neighbors use the park as a short cut from the Safeway supermarket on Minnesota Avenue to their homes. Youth gather there in the evenings. One man jogs there almost daily. Although there are facilities for football and baseball and a children's playground, their disrepair appears to make the facilities unlikely to be used. We witnessed no one using those parts of the park. A graduate student in history who lives across the street from the park has been conducting a study of the park.

5. Park Uses

Fort Mahan park appears to receive very little use, except by its one vocal partisan, who jogs daily on the trail, people who walk through it as a "cut-through point" during the day, and youth who gather in the space near the Woodson side of the park in the evenings throughout the year. Men are said to gather at the picnic table during the summer months to talk. One winter morning there was a pair of shoes on the table. We also observed a paddy wagon parked near the children's playground for several hours one afternoon, but a resident cited his belief that the officer was "just there chilling." One man whom we interviewed on the 2nd Street side of the park told us he never entered the park for fear of being mugged. One police officer believes that there is a great deal of gang activity up and down Benning Road and that Fort Mahan may provide a meeting place for members to "strategize." One neighbor told us that Ward African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church occasionally uses the park for picnics and recreational activities for day care clients. These varied users, both observed and rumored, appear to use the park sparsely, in different places, and at different times of day.

However, there is a great deal of litter near the fence and evidence of driving in the park. A truck appears to have knocked a hole in the fence bordering the children's playground and the woods. These signs of use may indicate more intense uses or simply a buildup of garbage over a long period of time. However, newspapers we found along the trail bore dates within two weeks of our visit in late January.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The concerns which park users and neighbors expressed centered on maintenance, availability of facilities at the park, and security. Additional concerns included the possible use of parkland by a church and a lack of knowledge of the Civil War history of the site. These concerns are described in detail below and illustrated by direct quotations.

- One woman expressed dismay that people in the neighborhood do not know or use Fort Mahan. "They only see it for the front view," she stated. She also noted that "they just see it as a cut-through point, from the Safeway. Nobody uses it; it's just a cut-through area." One NPS official noted that neighborhood men do gather on Eads Street, which intersects 42nd Street at Fort Mahan, and thinks it might be useful to know why they gather there rather than in Fort Mahan Park. Another person noted, "I don't see it utilized."

- One person expressed concerns about the Fort Mahan playground, which she sees as in dismal disrepair. "People would like to take their kids there, but it's trashed," she said.

- Half of the people we contacted expressed concerns about security, about the possibility of being mugged in the park, and about the stabbing of a 12-year-old child there ten years ago.

- One person expressed concern about the behavior of youth in the park. He believes that they litter irresponsibly. He confronts them and "asks them to police themselves."

- A minority of those we interviewed expressed concerns about the trail. One man noted that leaves accumulate on the trail and maintenance workers do not clear it. He also described the underbrush as "like a jungle, you're always pushing stuff out of your way." He stated that the NPS has not resurfaced the trail since the 1970s, when it was just a dirt trail. He believes that adding gravel was enormously helpful. But since then, he finds that the trail has been "totally neglected." When it rains, he noted, it takes days for the ground to absorb the moisture. Along the Benning Road side of the park, there are deep crevices where rain has cascaded downward for years. He has found that a single misstep can cause harm, and he has twisted his ankle many times. He believes that one problem the NPS has in addressing his concerns is the overly specialized categorization of funds. The NPS cannot allocate money to resurface the trail, which he believes they should do every few years, because that money is already earmarked for underbrush and trees.

- Several people expressed dismay that the District of Columbia (DC) recreation center had been closed. Others mentioned concerns about a tree fallen down on the fence and contributing to its general disrepair, the graffiti, the trash and bottles throughout the park. One person noted that "Dumping is a serious problem at Fort Mahan."

- One leader of a community organization noted that her group would like to hold its annual picnic there but that there is only one picnic table at Fort Mahan.

- One person expressed confusion about why a church was building on national parkland, as its sign claims. "I didn't know they were allowed to build there; how did they get permission to do that?" she asked.

- One person expressed great concern that neighbors "don't know the history behind it [the park]." She noted that area libraries do not carry the book *Mr. Lincoln's Forts* (Cooling and Owen 1988). She also expressed curiosity about a mysterious foundation of brick and tubing that was built in one part of the trail. We noted this foundation as well.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Mahan

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Park users include youth who gather in the evenings near the recreation center and the entrance to the trail. Reportedly, men gather at the picnic table during, the summer and a church occasionally uses the park for recreation and picnics. One man that we know of jogs there every day, and he reported seeing very little other use. One woman reported that neighbors use the park for a short cut, and we observed one man walking through the park carrying grocery bags. The users appear to strain the resources of the park, as the facilities are in obvious disrepair and there is considerable litter. One user reported that the youth deface park resources. Another noted that neighborhood youth have nowhere else to gather.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

People who use the park for a short cut do so mostly during the daytime hours. Youth appear to gather at all times of day, but especially at night, and they do so year-round. The person who jogs does so before or after work. Men appear to use the park to gather on the 42nd Street side, mostly during the summer months. Only one person reports regularly using the trail, but it holds a great deal of litter in certain areas, especially by the fence and along the Benning Road side.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Several people expressed a strong connection to and concern for the park. One man described himself as "its only friend." A female non-user described it as unwelcoming, as not a park but

rather "an unsafe wooded area," and "not a space you can use." None of the participants in our focus groups indicated recognition of Fort Mahan by name, perhaps confirming her view. Fort Mahan was a focus for this resident's more general concern about the parks in Ward 7 and what she describes as "an established fear" surrounding them. She asked: "Which parks are federal and which are local? Which lots are parks?" She also sees Fort Mahan as a space which should be reclaimed by the community, and as "a focus for our rebuilding communities initiative."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Half of the people we contacted cited dramatic changes in the neighborhoods surrounding the park: the exodus of many middle-class citizens, the loss of other recreational and cultural resources, and resulting pressures on the park to serve needy citizens. The rest of those interviewed expressed their desire for the park to play a role in revitalizing the neighborhood and noted their many successful initiatives already underway.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We did not observe consumptive uses of park resources.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Half of the park users with whom we spoke cited the beautiful view and the potentially lovely woodland trail. None cited any wildlife which they considered to be of interest.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Mahan important?

A minority of those we contacted cited historical aspects of Fort Mahan as holding importance. To one interested neighbor, the park's historical significance is unappreciated but potentially of great importance to people in the neighborhood. She is currently doing historical research on the park, assisted by the NCP-East Historian. Another user told us of a local history teacher who leads her class on a field trip that stops in front of the historic sign. She lectures them about the role of the fort during the Civil War. Otherwise, we have not observed that the Civil War history is important.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

One man believes strongly that the NPS does not recognize the neighboring community's concern for the park or efforts made by local residents. He stated, "[The] Park Service says the people here are not worth the upkeep. They made a decision to place their money where they think it is appreciated. But I'm a taxpayer. Just because illicit activities occur, law-abiding citizens should not be penalized. The Park Service made a conscious decision to concentrate in other areas. The Randle Circle area is greatly utilized and kept up." This man also noted of the parks in upper Northwest, Washington, DC: "There's lots going on in those parks too," he said,

"but our park has no advocates. West of Rock Creek Park gets all the attention." He wants the NPS to know that many middle-class citizens live in the Fort Mahan area and that what he characterizes as the agency's irresponsibility has "made them afraid."

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

A majority of those we contacted about Fort Mahan mentioned aspects of the park which they felt limit its use. One person stated that the park does not appear to be usable space and that it is not safe. Another resident stated that "People have never heard of it, they don't know how to use it for their benefit." Another person noted that if there were more picnic tables, the park would be more inviting to neighborhood groups. An apparently widespread sense that Fort Mahan is not a park may limit other potential users. One person believes that the Hiker-Biker trail is unrealistic and never utilized for "biking-hiking."

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

A majority of the people we interviewed regarding Fort Mahan suggested adding new programs or facilities to the park. One woman suggested that the NPS make the park "more visible and inviting." She suggested a jazz club for the park. Another person would like to see it become a more integral part of the community and said that she would like it to be more like Fort Chaplin, "a place to meet neighbors and share responsibility for, as a communal place." Another person suggested that "they should come up with a plan to teach about the Civil War defense sites. The Park Service could go into an elementary school, do a walk, a tour. Kids could learn so much."

Another community leader believes that "the edges [of the park] need to be restudied in terms of how to be able to utilize the site in front of the Minnesota Avenue Metro Station." Especially in the area around the former Woodson Junior High School, he believes that the NPS "should pull back some of the edges and make it more available to commercial uses. He believes that the park blocks the restoration of Minnesota Avenue, which he sees as a problem area with a limited amount of space for commercial uses. "We can't do anything because the park is there," he claims.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

The citizen who sees himself as the park's best friend has communicated with NPS personnel many times over the last 15 years and has found them responsive. He cites one official in particular who came to the park with his supervisors and walked the circular trail with him. As a highly visible and vibrant community organization, the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization can articulate a pro-development perspective to the NPS. Other users might be contacted in person by park rangers.

J. Fort Bunker Hill

1. Methodology

During our visits to Fort Bunker Hill, we met and informally interviewed three park users at the park site. We also conducted a walking interview at the park site with a community ethnographer on our first visit to this park. In addition, we conducted telephone interviews with people who called in response to our flier and with another long-term park user recommended by one of these callers.

2. Location

Fort Bunker Hill lies near the Franciscan Monastery in the Brookland neighborhood of Northeast Washington. It is bordered by 14th Street, 13th Street, and Otis and Perry Streets, Northeast (NE). It lies near the business district along 12th Street. This is the commercial heart of Brookland. Many institutions supportive of a Catholic parish and late 19th century wooden frame single-family houses give Brookland its distinctive character. The neighborhood is also distinguished by its residential stability and its uniquely integrated quality as a home to European Americans, African Americans, and, increasingly, new immigrants (see Map 8 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

After the Civil War, Washington, District of Columbia (DC), saw a burst of new municipal projects: real estate development, public works programs, and the growth of gas, electric, and transit services. Outer residential areas like Brookland became accessible with the electrification of streetcars in 1888. Washington's growth resulted from the expansion of federal jobs by 600% between 1860 and 1880. In 1868, the Pendleton Civil Service Act established standard procedures for appointing and reviewing employees. This act removed government employment somewhat from political influence and made employees more permanent and secure. The proportion of Brookland residents in the professions increased from 30% in 1860 to 81% in 1900. Its natural settings, spacious lots, and single-family homes gave it an "isolated, countrylike, and distinctive ambience" (Gutheim 1976: 28). Rowhouses were added by the 1920s to house federal workers moving to the suburbs. During the Great Depression, Civilian Conservation Corps participants lived and worked at Fort Bunker Hill.

Largely Italian American at that time, Brookland began to attract African American families after the restrictive covenants were outlawed. Unlike many neighborhoods in the city, European American residents remained, many because they felt rooted by the parish institutions of the church, school, hospital, convent, and retirement home that had grown up around Catholic University. These institutions served Roman Catholics who early on had faced restrictive

covenants in other parts of the city. Thus Brookland has remained a uniquely interracial neighborhood, "a nest of happy homeowners" with unusual residential stability (see also McDaniel and Pearce 1982). These characteristics of the neighborhood have made themselves felt at Bunker Hill Park.

A lifelong resident recalls neighbors planting rhododendrons in the park over 45 years ago. Another woman who grew up near the park during the 1950s recalls vagrants living there, because the park is near the railroad tracks. She recalls in particular one man who made campfires and whom she avoided. She also recalls children, including Boy Scouts, making campfires on top of the hill, and children using the park as a "secret hideaway." There was never a playground, but children climbed on the trees and hills and dug for what they thought were treasures because of the old houses that were rumored to stand there (and whose foundations and steps one woman remembers seeing). This resident recalled the park as "like an island almost" and said that there were places you could stand where you couldn't see the city at all. In the past, there were also picnic tables in the interior of the park with barbecue pits made of stone. One resident remembers youth holding sleep-overs in the park.

In 1967, *The Washington Post* described Fort Bunker Hill as "a delightful and cool little park with picnic facilities and an amphitheater with logs set into the hillside making seats" (The Washington Post 1967). One lifelong resident believes that the amphitheater, which was "put together" in the 1930s, put on productions then but she doesn't really remember them. She recalled lively use there in the early 1970s. A group from the Catholic University Drama Program collaborated with neighborhood residents during one summer, producing three plays with two performances of each. They publicized the productions in neighborhood businesses, schools, and churches and drew 30 to 40 people to each play. After that summer, the group dispersed.

Many recall with fondness the performances at the amphitheater. One woman with whom we spoke recalls playing Miranda in a performance of "The Tempest." Neighbors also remembered folk dancing, community dancing, and concerts, including a performance by "Earth, Wind, and Fire." When Catholic University ceased doing productions there in 1978, the amphitheater began "a long, slow process of deterioration," according to one resident. In the late 1980s, St. Anselm's School tried unsuccessfully to get the lighting redone for the amphitheater.

In 1987, a reporter noted that the parapets were still visible, the water fountain broken, and the path clean. The ranger in charge at that time noted, "Either somebody's keeping it clean or it's not being used. There isn't much reason to come up here, for that matter" (Meyer 1987: E2).

Despite residents' and users' comments on decline, many have fond memories of growing up in and using the park during the last twenty years. One woman said that "part of my education growing up was the natural life of the park."

One caller attributed the recent turnaround in civic interest in the park to the new leader of the neighborhood civic association, who has worked very hard to make that organization more inclusive. Another disagreed with this viewpoint.

4. Park Users

Park users include hikers (often adults with small children); people eating lunch; dog-walkers; sledders; students and teachers involved in school science and environmental projects; people exercising; people who plant bulbs; and a group of neighbors who gather monthly for a park clean-up day (see Fort Bunker Hill Park Clean-Up fliers in Appendix C). Park users also mentioned observing signs of such unsavory uses as drinking alcohol, using drugs, holding dog fights, and prostitution. One woman, referred to as "the spirit of the park" by her neighbors, devotes her morning walks to cleaning up trash at the perimeter of the park. "There's nothing in the world I haven't found there," she reports, citing sheets, clothes, coconuts, tools, a bicycle, and a sledgehammer as examples of her finds. Another visitor reports finding a ceremonial saber in the park.

5. Park Uses

Fort Bunker Hill appears to be a neighborhood park that is used every day and year-round. Fort Bunker Hill has an energetic and involved activist community of neighbors. Whenever we went there, we met people, and we received many telephone calls from concerned neighbors in response to our flier. These calls seem to indicate active and attentive use. Because the amphitheater is now closed, most people use the trail and the top of the hill. There is also a picnic table where some people stop for lunch.

Because Fort Bunker Hill lies in a stable, integrated neighborhood including several Catholic parish institutions, many of its users are also lifelong visitors. Several people we talked to grew up using the park and expressed fond memories and strong affection for it. The callers from Bunker Hill who responded to our fliers were overwhelmingly long-term residents with personal memories of the sylvan theater or childhood forts and sentimental attachments to the natural resources.

Neighbors who met sledding there in 1995 organized to clean it up once a month, but want NPS support in making the park safer, clearing undergrowth, defining the trails, and cleaning to show that the park is not neglected. "We want to see enough of the infrastructure improved so that our efforts to clean it up are rewarded," commented one neighbor. Four schools in the area would like to use the park as an environmental classroom, to create a "positive, ongoing connection to that space," in the words of one school principal. Some neighbors feel that they have to be vigilant about persistent fighting, drug sales, prostitution, which they referred to as "uses that

make it less safe." Many users expressed concerns about the unsavory activities. For example, some of the dog-walkers patrol to watch for drug sales.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The following section highlights the concerns that park users and neighbors expressed about Fort Bunker Hill Park.

• Several callers were concerned about the vegetation and wildlife that Fort Bunker Hill hosts. Many people like the natural feel of the park, the "fantastic" mushrooms, and the rotten logs that provide viable habitats. These callers recommended the following measures:
- Keep the preserve for birds.
- Add a nature trail and more bulb planting along the perimeter.
- Clean out the poison ivy, which results in part from people dumping yard waste in the park, but keep the old growth to attract birds.
- One woman believes that people dump tree trimmings and yard waste there and occasionally dig up bulbs from the perimeter. Another woman suggested that the NPS coordinate with neighbors to create a composting program to discourage the dumping of yard waste at the park.
- A caller stated that the NPS' maintenance style causes erosion, which pollutes the water all the way to the Chesapeake Bay.

• Other callers made suggestions related to the facilities and upkeep of the park. These included:
- Cut down the overgrowth, define the trails, and add markers.
- Place benches along the path.
- Put tables on the plateau at the top for working out and training one's dog.
- Fix the broken water fountain.
- Replace the bench.
- Restore the amphitheater for acoustical concerts and other low-cost summer activities.
- One long-time resident who telephoned and faxed us stated, "This park suffers from 'drive-by management, drive-by security, and drive-by maintenance.' The managers need to walk through the park and see the results of their absenteeism. They have neglected this park for many years. The park now deserves some special attention and expenditure as restitution."

• Another topic of concern for several callers was safety at Fort Bunker Hill, as illustrated by the following comments:
- Additional police presence is needed at the park. Add a police substation in a log cabin to prevent dumping and vandalism on the Perry Street side.

- Add lighting, for the amphitheater and for security, but not all the time as it would be bad for the flora.
- Place motion detectors along the Perry Street side as deterrents to crime.

• One caller would like the NPS to provide more historical interpretation for the earthwork remains of the fort.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Bunker Hill

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Fort Bunker Hill is used intensively by the people who live nearby, who come to walk their dogs, enjoy the natural ambience, or climb the hill to the remains with small children. These users reported unsavory uses. They also reported patrolling the area and confronting those engaged in such uses. They stated that they clean up trash, both everyday and in an organized monthly clean-up campaign. Another user category includes sledders during heavy snows. One man reports working out on top of the hill. A teacher at a local elementary school has sought funding to expand the uses of Fort Bunker Hill to include a collaborative environmental studies program there among the four nearby elementary schools. One Cub Scout troop currently comes to the park for outings. Boy Scouts also have done some special clean-up campaigns at the park.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Park users appear to walk to, around, and through the park. Many come every day or several times a week, year-round. Most appear to live near the park. Some people who work nearby come there to eat their lunches at the perimeter of the park. Since the lights went out, neighbors no longer use the park at night, according to one caller.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Park users name and identify the park with ease. Those whom we met on the trail and who telephoned in response to our flier identify strongly with Fort Bunker Hill as an important part of community life. One woman referred to the park as "our park." Another noted that, despite being short of time and torn by varied commitments, she has "never missed a clean-up day." Another woman stated, "it's meant a lot to me. I really love the park."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Fort Bunker Hill has provided neighbors a way to meet (eg. while sledding in the winter of 1995). It has offered a focal point for community organizing, to clean it up and keep it safe. It has become central to how many neighbors think about the future of their community. Fort

Bunker Hill brings people together as part of a well-integrated, unusually stable community with little turnover in residential property and some of the characteristics of a Catholic parish.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

People reported seeing edible berries and picking blackberries up on the hill and on the edges of the park. People plant bulbs at the edge as well. One woman reported that some visitors dig up the bulbs that others had planted around the perimeter of the park.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

People enjoy the perimeter of the park, the trail, and the top of the hill. One woman noted that there used to be a bronze plaque and 15-foot American holly tree, both special to her. She claimed that both were stolen from the park. Many users reported precious memories surrounding the amphitheater, which community members enjoyed greatly when it was open. Visitors also appreciate the wildlife there. One woman reported seeing blackberries, maypops, chipmunks, rabbits, raccoons, a grey fox, shrews, voles, possums, and turtles. She has enjoyed showing these animals to her children. This woman also reported that she "values the ever-changing trees." Another man enjoys the preserve he believes that the park provides for birds, especially high on 13th Street.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Bunker Hill important?

Because of the residential stability of the neighborhood, many users report that they have grown up with Fort Bunker Hill. One caller reported that the park was "part of my education growing up." Another woman recalled children having campfires on the top of the hill and children using the park as a "secret hideaway." She recalled that her children used to climb on the trees and hills. As a child, she and her friends also dug for treasures because of rumors of old houses there.

One neighbor stated, "It is important to me that right here in Bunker Hill Park, one block from my house, American men served so that other American men might live free." As far as we could determine, the Civil War significance of Fort Bunker Hill is not highly relevant to other park users.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

Users would like park managers to know that many of them are lifelong residents who hold treasured memories of childhood adventures, community performances and dances, and a shared interest in the wildlife and well being of the park. They believe that they work hard to clean the park and would like to see their efforts rewarded. One woman commented that "people have

been interested over the years... It's good to have something wild, clear and green and pleasant. I vote to keep it wild and natural."

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

We did not identify any such persons.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently doesn't happen?

The majority of the park users we interviewed appreciate the wild and natural feel at Fort Bunker Hill and would "not like to see it too sanitized." One man noted in particular that the old growth attracts birds, which is good. They would, however, like to know that their efforts are rewarded. One man would like to see the NPS re-establish the trails and mark off the remains of the fort. He also recommended installing picnic tables at the top of the hill. Over half of those with whom we spoke wanted to see more lighting and to see the amphitheater restored. One person suggested that she would love to see Fort Bunker Hill an "active, vibrant park." She wanted "arts use" at the park, including building a small recreation center on the flat space at 13th Street, to include perhaps a performing arts camp. A dissenting minority of the park neighbors we interviewed disagreed. One person suggested that the police operate a substation in a log cabin on the Perry Street side of the park. Several people mentioned that they would appreciate more vigilance, and one woman also noted that there are sometimes brush fires. One person added, "Lately the Park Service hasn't had the resources or will to do anything at the park."

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

This active group of concerned neighbors can easily be communicated with through any of several representatives. They have also made their concerns known directly to the NPS.

K. Fort Totten

1. Methodology

We visited Fort Totten to make direct observations of use, held two focus groups that included users and neighbors of Fort Totten, and consulted with an NPS staff member. We conducted a walking interview with a community ethnographer at the park site. In addition, outside of the park we conducted informal, in-person interviews with three teenage boys who live near the park and a formal, in-person interview police department official who specializes in gang violence in order to address NPS concerns that there might be late-night gang activity there. All of the people we observed and interviewed, (including the focus group participants) were African American, except one, who was Asian American.

2. Location

Fort Totten, which is surrounded by busy roads, lies just south of Riggs Road and just east of North Capitol Street between Fort Totten Drive/Rock Creek Church Road and South Dakota Avenue, Northeast (NE). It is bordered on the southwest by Hawaii Avenue and by the railroad tracks for Metro, Marc (a commuter train), and freight trains. The park lies near Catholic University and its adjacent athletic fields, a concrete mixing company, a large garbage collection and compressing site, and the Fort Totten Metro station and path. It is situated between the neighborhoods of Michigan Park and Lamond-Riggs. Single-family homes and several apartment buildings housing African American residents are located across Rock Creek Church Road from Fort Totten (see Map 8 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

This area was settled in the early 20th century by Roman Catholics prohibited by restrictive covenants from living in other parts of the city. After the fall of restrictive covenants in 1949, many African Americans, who had been banned from the community, moved in, and the area became more diverse by social class. Middle- and working-class families populate the area, but the population of school-aged children is declining, and Keese Elementary School, located two blocks north of Fort Totten, will close. School officials plan to lease or sell the property for $1,000,000.00.

Two of our focus group participants, both African American women in their forties, reminisced about visiting Fort Totten as children in the 1950s, to picnic, play ball games, and explore the woods. One remembered that her father would "pile up the station wagon with my sisters and brothers and our friends. We'd run, skip rope, jump, play, and have a ball." One woman remembered Smokey the Bear presentations at Fort Totten. A third woman, also African

American, reported taking her children to Fort Totten in the 1940s: "The park was very good for my family in the past, an ideal place to take children." In 1967, a reporter visited the summer camp sponsored by the District of Columbia (DC) Department of Recreation at the park and reported children swinging over water-filled trenches and a number of picnic tables (The Washington Post 1967).

Meyer (1987) visited Fort Totten ten years ago while writing a newspaper article on the Civil War Defenses of Washington. He encountered a DC police officer who sat in his car reading a newspaper and informed Meyer: "No, nothing much really happens out here. In summers, though, there's a city youth camp." Meyer noted that the fort itself was relatively intact in 1987. Meyer also noted that in the woods above the Fort Totten Metro station lay "the crumbling remains of four of the original gateposts of the Capitol" (Meyer 1987: E2). These gateposts had been removed in 1873 when the Capitol grounds were enlarged from 31 acres to 56 acres. The old fence, constructed in the 1820s to keep wandering cows and pigs under control, was built of high posts of iron and sandstone. Nobody knows exactly how many there were, but experts guess that they numbered around 50. The Army Corps of Engineers was asked to dispose of the gateposts and apparently dumped four of them at Fort Totten. They have since been removed and now stand at the National Arboretum (Allen 1997).

4. Park Users

One person reported that she visited Fort Totten for picnics, and another man said that he went there to relax, reflect, and meditate, "to think his thoughts out." Others reported going there on the Fourth of July to watch the fireworks. Tire tracks indicate that bicyclists riding mountain/dirt bikes, and possibly people driving four-by-four's, come to the park. We observed children playing and making toys from strings and wood on the Fort Totten Drive side of the park. Graffiti seemed to indicate that young lovers visit the woods, for many names of couples joined by hearts and arrows are inscribed on the trees. One man jogs through the park. During the winter a makeshift shelter indicated that someone may have been sleeping there.

An NPS official reports that gangs meet at the park in the middle of the night to divide up territory and mark that territory with their insignia. A police department official we interviewed stated that gang activity previously occurred at Fort Totten. He described this activity as "meeting to strategize," but he believes that these strategy sessions ended about a year ago. We were unable to confirm any reports of gang activities from people in our focus groups or from several teenage boys who live nearby. We interviewed these boys informally on this topic.

5. Park Uses

Fort Totten gives the impression of drawing very little use, perhaps because our observations took place during the winter. The woman who reported holding picnics at the park said that she

did so during the summer. She also reported that during that time she saw other people there playing frisbee and "getting some sun." Only one picnic table is located at the site, but there are quite a few trash cans in what appears to be a former picnic area. Use at Fort Totten is at least uneven, although as the following comments indicate, neighbors' perceptions of unsavory uses often keep the residents out of the park.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The people who participated in our focus group on Fort Totten and those we interviewed about the park expressed opinions about the atmosphere at the park, concerns about maintenance at and access to the park, and ideas about what types of programs, activities, and facilities would make the park more attractive to potential visitors. These ideas and concerns are detailed below.

- One of our community ethnographers said of Fort Totten: "I think that Fort Totten -- is like what the old parks used to be, it hasn't lost its innocence, you can go there, walk around, think your thoughts out; at Anacostia Park you're always looking back, wondering if somebody's behind you." However, many of the other people with whom we talked expressed different feelings. One man says he gets a "creepy feeling" there because of the military character of the place, and the densely wooded hill and valley nature of the park, where it seems someone could easily surprise you. Others expressed fear as well. One lifelong resident of Washington said, "I passed Fort Totten many times; I go right by there and had no inclination of stopping there -- this society -- ordinarily you'd go to a park and sit down for a serenity type thing, after work, now you don't sit down and read a book for fear someone will take your book and everything else you have."

- Another person expressed the belief that Fort Totten is extremely unwelcoming. She cited deterioration as well as a sense of being shut out: "The parks are deteriorating. Some parks are kept very nice, but these fort parks are not kept up. I was there at Fort Totten today, and it was so difficult to get in. They got it shut off here, shut off there, if you want to ride through it, you can't do it there. It's a lack of upkeep, not a lack of usage. If you sit down on the benches there, they're all deteriorated, get a splinter here, a splinter there." A focus group participant mentioned deterioration as well: "If there were a certain amount of upkeep, there'd be some incentive to go there, but if the swings are hanging off, the sliding boards falling down...." Another focus group participant asked: "Why a closed road? Why the large parking lot and one table and lots of trash cans? One bench doesn't signify anything. Plus the lock gets cut."

- People who participated in one of our focus groups feel strongly that they lack political power and that their powerlessness is manifested in an inequality in park resources and a neglect of Fort Totten. Some of their comments include: "It's a political thing...a lack of funds for maintenance, deterioration," and

> The root of the problem for the Park Service is the Republican Party... That's when the parks began their demise, when the Republicans got into office. The demise of the Park Service and the revenue coming into certain areas, mainly Washington, DC because it's predominantly black.

A teenager contrasted Fort Totten to Fort Reno, which lies near her high school: "It's nice, a stage, nice and neat, they mow it every couple of weeks..... It's open, makes you safer." Another person noted that Rock Creek Park is well-maintained and received the response from another focus group participant: "You know why? Guess who lives in Rock Creek Park." A man who drives a Federal Express route in upper Northwest Washington spoke at length of how well-manicured the parks are in that area. Another person commented to him, "They [the NPS] have their priorities." Also, people expressed the belief that the neglect and deterioration at Fort Totten made it ripe for development. Some believed that the federal parks are already prime real estate, and one person argued that "If it's run down, with graffiti and all, that's to the developer's advantage."

• People expressed many ideas for improving Fort Totten. These included simply adding more tables, but some were more expansive. They included: adding more "days;" developing interpretive programs; hiring youth to act as tour guides of the historic area; persuading church groups to hold more events to make the park appear more populated and safe; and designing programs similar to television stations' projects designed to introduce youth to meteorology and computer skills. For example, one person noted:

> If you go back into the schools and you say, `Hey we're gonna do this park,' and give those kids a stipend, the Park Service has a lot of educational programs, why not set them up and say,`Hey we work in the park, out in the field,' and you'll have x amount of dollars put aside for their education.... Lure young people back into the parks and they can have their suggestions about how to build the parks back up... Young people draw adults back in. Suppose they designed a program to rebuild Fort Totten and hire the kids to have tours through these parks and talk about their original uses. Let the kids take the people on tours.

On the other hand, one teenager said that she would be attracted to Fort Totten: "If I saw a lot of people, something going on, I'd feel safe there...a carnival, or some bands or something like that." One person suggested that "Park Police on bikes might help because they would be more mobile." Others suggested that neighbors themselves patrol the park or generally take more interest in it. One person thought that a bicycle path around the perimeter might attract neighbors at least to the edge of Fort Totten.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Totten

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Park users include people who come to play or picnic, joggers, youth who come for romance, and one person who may have made a home in the park.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Children play on the Fort Totten Drive side of the park. Individuals jog up the road and past the remains at least occasionally. Some people come in the summer to picnic at the table near the driveway. There appear to be illicit activities such as making love, sleeping, inscribing names, such as "Red Dog," and laying claim to romantic relationships on the trees in the woods. "Tagging" (spray-painting) on the picnic table, the benches, and the "No Parking" sign expresses hostile sentiments about the U.S. Park Police.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Some former users express fond memories of using the park when they were children. Many people find it frightening, mysterious, and unwelcoming. That users do not appreciate its historic value, but value its rugged terrain, may be indicated by the mountain bike tracks on the earthworks. It is our general impression, as people who live here, that many Washingtonians see Fort Totten primarily as a subway stop.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

We would like to know more about the perceptions and experiences of those who appear to use the park illicitly, but we have not been able to determine the answer to this question.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We have not observed any consumptive uses of park resources.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

The woods show signs of use. We were unable, however, to encounter any of the park users to determine how people feel about them.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Totten important?

As far as we could determine, the Civil War history of the park is not significant to neighbors and users. One of our community ethnographers, upon learning about the history of the fort,

grew very enthusiastic about it and communicated that enthusiasm to people who came to the focus group. These participants quickly expressed a similar enthusiasm and made many suggestions for recreating and dramatizing the Civil War history of the fort in order to draw people there. In another focus group, a participant suggested a tour book highlighting the Civil War Defenses of Washington that are Metro-accessible, such as Fort Totten.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The park users and neighbors who participated in our focus group expressed a sense that they lack political power. They felt that this lack of power led the NPS to concentrate park resources and maintenance efforts at other sites, especially those in and near Rock Creek Park.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

According to the participants in our study, many people would like to use Fort Totten but believe that it is unwelcoming and unsafe.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

The people we spoke with posed numerous suggestions for modifying Fort Totten's facilities and activities ranging from adding new facilities, such as more picnic tables or a bicycle path, to starting an educational program for youth to study at the park and provide tours of the site.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

One NPS employee reported visiting Fort Totten late at night in an effort to communicate with, or at least observe, youth there. It might be difficult to communicate with park users, unless one walked door to door among the homes and apartments along Fort Totten Drive. Another method might be to work out of the Lamond-Riggs Library or Lamond-Riggs Recreation Center. The fliers that we posted in the park on three occasions drew no responses.

L. Fort Slocum

1. Methodology

We visited Fort Slocum and conducted a walking interview with a community ethnographer at the park site. We conducted informal, in-person interviews with a total of ten park users, four children and six adults, at the park site during our visits. We also discussed Fort Slocum in a focus group consisting of general users at Fort Slocum, Fort Totten, and Fort Stevens.

2. Location

Fort Slocum lies just north of Missouri Avenue in Northwest Washington. The closest neighborhoods to this park are Manor Park and Petworth. Fort Slocum lies in a neighborhood of African Americans, many of them older residents, including renters as well as many home-owners. A group home is located near the park. Fort Slocum Park is bordered by Second Street and Kansas Avenue, Northwest (NW). It lies adjacent to Rabaut School, now closed as a middle school but used by the District of Columbia (DC) Public Schools for other functions (see Maps 8 and 9 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

The neighborhood grew up as a streetcar suburb along the route of the Brightwood Street Railway in the late 19th century and was populated by African Americans in the 1950s. It is a residentially stable and quiet neighborhood, and the people we interviewed remember their children playing there.

One man stated that although he had been living in the neighborhood since 1972, he had no fond memories of the park. He remembered that "years ago kids used to play out here 'til they put the trees up" and that neighbors "opposed a basketball court in the hole." He also remembered that "they used to have people come over here with those metal detectors looking for Civil War artifacts, but we don't even get any of that anymore."

4. Park Users

Users include children who play in the park; young people who cut through the woods to use the facilities at Rabaut School; youth who play football and softball; dog-walkers; sledders; dumpers, and neighbors who patrol the area to confront them and clean up after them; and people who walk around the perimeter of the park and through the woods. Neighbors also picnic there occasionally.

5. Park Uses

Fort Slocum is a quiet park, in part because there are few children in the area. While used most heavily in the warmer months, Fort Slocum receives daily use year-round from dog-walkers and youth who play pick-up sports. In the summer, more children play there and college students returning home play football in the park. Occasionally neighbors come outside to eat there. One man reported that he might do that more often if the park were cleaner. Park neighbors find it a very attractive dog-walking area, and a neighbor reports that people come from outside the area to walk their dogs at Fort Slocum as well. He believes that these dog-walkers might cause problems for the youth playing football because they do not always clean up after their dogs. One person stated that a young woman was raped at a nearby club and then thrown nude into the park not long ago. Another man reports that youth see the park as an attractive, quiet place to smoke marijuana or have sexual relations. He stressed to us that this was "just an occasional thing," in part because the police are vigilant. He reported being stopped by the police when he came home from the store, "before I could even get out of the car with my groceries," because it was at night and they worried he might be planning to enter the park.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Attitudes and concerns expressed by the park users and neighbors centered on the issues of dumping at the park, dog-walkers who use the park and do not clean up after their pets, potential development of the park, and illegal uses of the site.

- Neighbors are very concerned about illegal dumping.

- One man stated of the youth playing football, "I don't know how they do that because you see people walking their dogs, but they manage." Another man stated, "Very few people come here for picnics, because the people with their dogs are such a nuisance. They bring them into the community, but I'd rather deal with them than other kinds of people."

- Most neighbors appear to like the park exactly the way it is. They would be concerned about developing new uses which they fear would attract more visitors who would "hang around" the park and generate trash. One man stated, "If you get into a lot of fancy things you get people who throw trash and just hang around. We don't want that. It's a nice quiet place. Leave it alone." Basketball courts, in particular concerned the park neighbors, as they felt such facilities would attract people from outside the area to play "at all hours of the day and night." The only suggestions for additional facilities came from children who suggested more playground equipment and a swimming pool and one woman suggested a paved, perimeter path for strollers, roller-bladers, and bicyclists.

• While park neighbors did report that illegal activities occasionally take place at Fort Slocum, these activities do not appear to be a major source of concern. The following comment illustrates this: "They smoke them joints up there, certain times during the summer there is lots of pot smoking; during the summer you get people having sex up there, lot of drinking, not that bad, just an occasional thing not a daily thing. People come through the neighborhood and say 'hey let's go up there and smoke a joint, it's a nice quiet place.'"

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Slocum

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Park users include children playing, neighbors picnicking and walking; dog-walkers; and people who dump trash at the park. Park neighbors cited potential conflicts between dog-walkers and children playing when the dog-walkers do not clean up after their dogs.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

Children and dog-walkers use the park year-round. Children enjoy playing on the big hills. One child stated that they use the park "not every day... Some days we gotta go to school, but after school we come over here." Youth use the flat grassy area to play football, as do dog-walkers to walk their dogs. One person reported that there is the most use on the eastern side of the park near the picnic tables, where he has most often seen users. The park receives heavier use in the summer months when picnickers, returned college students, and visitors who smoke marijuana and engage in sexual activities use the park as well.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Users feel strongly that it is a quiet neighborhood park. Several stated repeatedly that they like it exactly the way it is and that they would not want any additional development that might bring outsiders into the park.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

The social/cultural context is of a residentially stable neighborhood of African Americans. There are not many children there, although grandchildren visit in the summer and college students also return to the neighborhood then. This appears to be a close-knit community where many people know each other and are attentive to the park.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We did not observe any consumptive uses of park resources.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Children love the big hills. Dog-walkers and youth appreciate the flat grassy area.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Slocum important?

As far as we know, the Civil War history of the park is not significant to neighbors and users. People previously came to the park to look for Civil War artifacts, but they do not do so any more. Park neighbors remember organizing in response to proposed change, such as the basketball court proposed in the 1970s. Their memories are of working to keep the park quiet, clean, and oriented toward local use.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

"Leave the park alone" was the overwhelming message from groups to park managers. They like it as a neighborhood park and do not believe that a national park drawing outsiders is appropriate in the context of their neighborhood. While few use it to extend domestic or social space, they appreciate its quiet beauty.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

We know of no such persons, although current park users said that they might use the park for picnics more frequently if it were cleaner.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

Children would like to see swings, a sliding board, and a swimming pool, but the majority of the adults we interviewed would like to see the park stay the same.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Neighbors know one another and are vigilant in watching the park. One has only to go there in person to attract people who would like to communicate about it.

M. Fort Stevens

1. Methodology

Our research team visited Fort Stevens to observe use, look for signs of past use, and talk to park users. We consulted one NPS staff member about this park and conducted informal, in-person interviews at the park site with five park visitors. We also conducted an in-person interview outside of the park with a local historian and one walking interview at the park site with a community ethnographer. In addition, we held focus groups that involved Fort Stevens users and neighbors: one group with participants from the community garden and another group that included a mix of people who use Fort Stevens, Fort Totten, Fort Slocum, and Fort Bunker Hill Parks. We also received a telephone call from a park neighbor in response to our flier.

2. Location

Fort Stevens lies just north of Military Road and just east of Rock Creek Park in the Northwest Washington community of Brightwood, a largely African American neighborhood. Fort Stevens is bordered by 13th Street and Underwood Street, Northwest (NW). Two churches adjoin the park. The major commercial artery of Georgia Avenue lies just to the east and can be seen by looking down from the park (see Maps 8 and 9 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

This part of Georgia Avenue is known for its diverse West African and Caribbean shops, restaurants, carry-outs, and nightclubs established by new immigrants in the 1980s. However, the neighborhood surrounding Fort Stevens is a quiet residential community which grew up as a streetcar suburb at the end of the 19th century with the development of the Brightwood Street Railway. This community grew as rowhouse developers followed the trolley lines, utilities, and sewage facilities installed by the Board of Public Works. This took place under Washington's brief territorial government that replaced District of Columbia (DC) Home Rule from 1871 to 1874. Alexander "Boss" Shepherd directed the territorial government's Board of Public Works, which paved many miles of street, laid gas and sewer lines, planted trees, and developed green spaces along the roadways.

In 1937 and 1938, the Civilian Conservation Corps helped the NPS reconstruct Fort Stevens (Handly 1996). Handly (1996: 67) cites a newspaper article describing visitor patterns at Fort Stevens at that time:

> Everyone finds something of special interest at Fort Stevens. Historians and military engineers gain a wealth of technical information. Teachers and students discover that

historical facts and dates assume a new meaning. Even neighborhood children at play find the place thrilling (Kohn 1937).

Commuting government workers, mostly European American ethnics of modest means, lived there until the 1950s, when restrictive covenants fell. Along with new federal housing assistance programs, potential racial integration hastened European Americans' suburbanization and the racial composition of the neighborhood changed quickly and dramatically. Today it is mostly African American, but new immigrants from Latin America, Africa, and the Caribbean islands have begun to move to the area near Fort Stevens as well.

4. Park Users

The user groups at Fort Stevens include: neighborhood children (and visiting grandchildren) who play on the cannons, run and roll down the hill, or toss footballs in the open field area and approximately 50 gardeners, who use the garden plots across 13th Street. Boy Scouts sometimes stop there, and Civil War history buffs come to the park as tourists.

5. Park Uses

a. General Users and Neighbors

One 13-year-old boy reported that he and his friends often come to the park after school for the peace it provides or simply to sit and talk. Men occasionally gather in front of the cannons, and we once witnessed youth gathering behind the hill at sunset. One young visitor told us that people used to come there to drink, but no longer do so. An NPS official reported the need to be vigilant about litter. Visitors sometimes come after church on Sundays, for the peace Fort Stevens provides. Adults bring students there for educational purposes, and, in the past, the Boy Scouts have used it as a stopping place on their march from the Ellipse. Civil War History buffs come there as tourists, probably more so than to any other Civil War Defenses of Washington.

One daily user described Fort Stevens this way: "I come just to sit down because it's quiet. Kids come and play from the school. You can just sit down and think. We play football during football season, but mostly we just sit down and talk and think. Every blue moon you see people drinking, but people on the street are gone. It's mostly just kids. People stopped drinking, so it's better around here."

b. Gardeners

Fort Stevens' most dedicated and loyal user group probably consists of the gardeners. All were African American. Fort Stevens gardeners range in age from 40 to 65 and live within the same zip code area.

While most of the gardeners are African American, some gardeners mentioned seeing one Latin American woman and several Jamaicans at the garden site. One gardener commented that gardening is "peaceful, therapeutic and delicious." But a majority of the gardeners are concerned that "staying interested in gardening for a long time is a problem for the younger generations."

All of the gardeners interviewed for this study began gardening with family members at an early age, between the ages of three and eight. They have all been gardening at Fort Stevens for at least 11 years, and one woman said that she had been gardening there since 1980. The gardeners pay ten dollars each in annual dues to their gardening organization. The produce they mentioned growing or seeing others grow at the community garden plot is listed in the following table.

Table 2: Produce Grown by Fort Stevens Gardeners

peas	lettuce	beans: string beans, coffee beans
white potatoes (now banned)	tomatoes	squash (7 kinds)
Swiss chard	dandelion	collards
garlic	arugula	peppers
eggplant (including white variety)	greens	cabbage
beets	zucchini	okra
turnips	peanuts	figs

The garden is economically important to these gardeners for home consumption, as two women explicitly stated in our focus group. It provides them with organic produce which they can freeze and enjoy throughout the year.

The gardeners were enthusiastic about detailing their past experience with gardening. One woman, who had begun gardening by growing a bean in a coffee can while quarantined with scarlet fever, proclaimed, "I grow everything." Another man said that gardening came naturally to him and compared planting and making a garden grow to adding seasoning to a recipe. Another woman, who lived on a farm until she was 12 years old, recalled that it was an economic necessity for children to help out with gardening.

The days and times that the gardeners visit the garden vary depending on the season and what the garden requires. One female gardener reported that she goes to the garden everyday during "preparation and planting time," but then scales back her visits to once or twice per week. One man visits the garden daily, working on his plot in the morning and going back to "check on things." One gardener who attended the gardening focus group cannot visit the garden due to illness, but she sends her son-in-law as a "back-up."

The gardeners described in detail how they prepare the soil by adding organic materials, such as newspaper, manure, leaves, and straw. One man was praised for having the "nicest, spongy soil." They all said that gardeners at Fort Stevens have cut back on using chemicals on their plots, although two women still use liquid Severn. One man commented that he cannot find a way to kill the Johnson grass that invades his garden since "almost anything they've got at the seed store" is on the list of items prohibited by the NPS (see Rock Creek Park Gardening Regulations in Appendix D). The tools they use for gardening include a fork, hoe, spade, shovel, pick, and tiller. One woman reported that gardeners use the services of men who own tillers to help them prepare their plots for planting. One participant reported trouble getting leaves to stay in her plot due to the wind. She has not found a good way to accumulate leaves because she lives in an apartment with limited storage space. When she has tried leaving bags of leaves at the garden site they have been stolen.

Although some gardeners felt that they had made friends through the garden, most agreed that the "community is not there like it used to be." One gardener felt that this was because there was not a stable group of gardeners and the roster was not available. Another woman attributed this to the discontinuation of the Fort Stevens gardening association's annual picnic, which was not continued after many gardeners lost interest in attending it. One woman also mentioned that she had believed that a Latin American gardener was unfriendly because she did not initiate conversations. However, once she started talking with the Latina woman, the woman always smiled back at her.

When asked about ritual days related to gardening, the only ritual that the gardeners mentioned involved preparing for the next season of planting during the winter months. A minority of the gardeners mentioned looking through the seed catalogs which they receive by mail in anticipation of planting in the spring. One man said that when the weather reaches 60 degrees, even in January, he starts to think that "It can't be long now" until he can start planting.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

Below we present the attitudes and concerns which park users and neighbors expressed about Fort Stevens. We have divided this discussion be user category, separating the comments of general park users and neighbors from those of the gardeners. The general park users and neighbors focused on litter, the lack of restrooms and water fountains, and public consumption of alcohol at the park. The gardeners' concerns centered on the enforcement of their rules, maintenance of and safety at the garden, and administrative issues related to the gardening association. Their comments are described in greater detail below.

a. General Users' and Neighbors' Concerns

• Litter is a problem at Fort Stevens, according to park users and NPS staff, most likely due to a lack of garbage cans. The issue of litter was brought up by several people interviewed and by the gardeners at the focus group.

• There are no restrooms or water fountains at Fort Stevens, unless users rely upon the two nearby churches.

• One caller from the Fort Stevens area was concerned about a group of people who consume alcoholic beverages in the park in the morning and afternoon. He would like to see the police visit the park more frequently and remove these "loiterers." This problem was also brought up by one man in the gardening focus group who mentioned having seen drug activity at Fort Stevens. However, youths we interviewed at the park said that public drinking at the park is less common now than in the past.

• One woman learned that this was a national park from our researchers, and grew excited, asking: "Are there other National Park Service things around here?"

b. Gardeners' Concerns

• A primary concern of gardeners attending the focus group was the lack of enforcement of the rules designed for gardening program participants and the relaxation of the meeting schedule. These gardeners felt that in the past the gardening association had been more cohesive and held picnics where ribbons were awarded for growing quality produce. Previously, the association held two meetings per year and members were required to attend at least one meeting or forfeit their garden plot. Now this requirement has been waived, and the gardeners reported that the one annual meeting is not well-attended. Half of the focus group participants were concerned that the rules outlined in the gardening association's bylaws were not being followed and enforced. They felt that gardeners should be responsible for regularly tending their plots so that the weeds would not grow so tall that other gardeners could not see beyond them. One woman suggested, for example, that people should lose their right to have a plot if they did not tend it well during one season.

• The focus group participants were also concerned about the upkeep of the garden paths, which are at times overgrown with weeds. But they did not agree on whether the responsibility for paths lay with individuals or with the group.

• Safety at the garden site was a recurring theme in the gardeners' focus group discussion. Several gardeners mentioned being afraid to be at the garden alone because they could not be seen from the street due to overgrown weeds. One woman said that

she always calls another gardener so that he can meet her at the garden and they won't have to be there alone.

• One gardener also mentioned pranks by neighborhood children who threw vegetables at cars and threw water balloons at pedestrians.

• A minority of the gardeners were concerned that they had not recently received a roster of those who were assigned garden plots. They felt that they could not question unfamiliar people in the garden about their right to be there unless they had a roster.

• One gardener expressed interest in seeing a waiting list maintained with the names of interested gardeners who would like to be assigned plots as they become available. She thought that this would improve the quality of the gardening program by increasing the participation of interested gardeners. She also suggested printing information about how to obtain a garden plot at Fort Stevens in an NPS newsletter.

• A majority of gardeners attending our focus group, including the officers in attendance, mentioned that the NPS garden coordinator changes frequently and tends to be young. The gardeners who mentioned this issue felt that having a person who was interested in the Fort Stevens garden and dedicated to staying in the position of garden coordinator over time would be an improvement.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Stevens

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

The main user groups are the community gardeners and children who enjoy playing football in the grassy area or climbing on the fort. The children we interviewed reported that they sometimes see as many as twenty other youth there, but that there are no problem users. One person reported going to Fort Stevens after church on Sundays to seek serenity and peace. Also, tourists interested in the Civil War come there occasionally. On the Fourth of July, local families come to set off fireworks at the fort.

Most users, except for the people interested in Civil War history and three of the gardeners, are African American. The three gardeners who are not African American are from the Caribbean and Central America.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

The gardeners' use of the community garden area across 13th Street varies by the season, but most report coming daily during the gardening season between spring and fall. Local children

come to Fort Stevens after school daily to use the cannons and the fort itself or to play football in the grassy area during the fall. People picnic in the park at the fort site sometimes in the summer. Fast-food wrappings left in the park may indicate that people eat take-out foods there throughout the year.

One young user stated, "In the summertime, people be sitting up there, and sometimes people have picnics up there, kids and older people. People just go up there and sit down." During the entire year, reported another youth: "We just go up there (to the fort area) and watch other kids run and play." Another frequent visitor reported of Fort Stevens in the summer: "In the summertime, parents with their little kids rolling off the hill, it's not a deserted place, I can assure you." Our researchers also watched teenagers gather north of the fort on two different evenings.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Several people commented that Fort Stevens is an attractive place, but some had never thought about it as a park. For example, one woman passing by said that it had never occurred to her to stop and use it. Many people see Fort Stevens as a place for neighborhood children to play, a grassy, hilly, facilities-equipped extension of their yards. Others expand domestic space by eating there. For the gardeners, Fort Stevens provides peace, therapy, and an important place to stretch their food budgets. However, for historians and history enthusiasts in the area, Fort Stevens is valued as the only Civil War fort site in Washington, DC that saw battle. In addition, it is the only place where a standing president came under enemy fire during wartime in our history.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

The mostly African American and new immigrant residents of this neighborhood live in small row-houses and apartments with limited play space. The park is important in stretching those spaces and allowing children a place to play. A first-time visitor told us that she was drawn to the park by her son, who had heard about the cannons from his friend and wanted to see them. Also, at least one man comes there to wash his car and enjoy a sense of public civic life.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

A majority of the gardeners we contacted began gardening at an early age with their families. Some have gardened at Fort Stevens for many years. They sometimes preserve the vegetables they grow to consume throughout the year. They also report looking forward to the planting season with great anticipation. Many are quite skilled at soil preparation and planting techniques.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

Children enjoy playing on the remains of the fort and the cannons, and the gardeners are most attached to their plots across 13th Street. Some people who live nearby report knowing Fort Stevens only through stopping to read the historic sign.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Stevens important?

Our focus groups and interviews seemed to indicate that the history of Fort Stevens was less evident to users than we expected. For example, one neighbor said, "I've heard there was a war there, back in 18 something, there was a war there, I don't know if it was the British or what. I think it was a post and it was attacked." Another visitor noted that she would have liked to learn more about the battle and the soldiers, beyond the fact that President Abraham Lincoln was there. To a large extent, the remains are seen as places for children to play, even "dugouts."

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The gardeners would like park managers to understand that in the past they have had a more cohesive community. They also want park managers to know how important the gardening is to their households. They also expressed their desire for NPS staff to appreciate the many adversities they face gardening in the city: from problems finding storage space for compost and equipment in their small apartments to fears about security and pranks by neighborhood children. In addition, they feel that more stability in the NPS gardening coordinator position would better match their long-term experiences at the community garden.

i. Are there other groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

Our major finding in this regard was that several passersby and most members of our focus groups saw no reason to visit Fort Stevens. One person had just never thought to go there, but indicated that if there were picnic tables, "picnics attract everybody." A minority of the park visitors with whom we spoke find the park a little sterile.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

General users mentioned that they would like to see less litter, and more shrubbery and picnic tables, a water fountain, and restrooms. Several would appreciate richer historical information, especially regarding African American contributions to the Civil War effort. Several suggested reenactments and television and radio spots (similar to those featuring Michael Wilderman on Channel 8, a local public service television channel) or more publicity in *The Washington Post* Weekend section. Several youth wanted basketball courts in the park. The gardeners

recommended a roster of gardeners, more continuity in the NPS gardening coordinators, more security at their plots, stricter enforcement of the gardening rules, more consistent attention to the waiting list, and better upkeep of the paths, which they see as overgrown with weeds.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

The NPS can communicate with gardeners through the gardening association officers. Other groups are best contacted in person, as some regular users appear to gather there every day.

N. Fort DeRussey

1. Methodology

The researchers used a multi-method strategy to respond to the study questions for Fort DeRussey, which included a focus group and telephone interviews with park users who called in response to our flier posted at Fort DeRussey. The focus group consisted of general users from Forts DeRussey, Reno, and Bayard, and Battery Kemble Park. Additionally, members of the research team visited Fort DeRussey to look for park users and check for signs of use at the site.

2. Location

The name of the fort in the past, at various times and in varied contexts, has either been spelled DeRussy or DeRussey. Based upon research, the National Park Service recognizes DeRussey as the preferred spelling, and, except, for the previous printing of DeRussy on a couple of maps, we follow the recommendation in this report. Fort DeRussey is located slightly over 200 yards from Oregon Avenue at this street's intersection with Military Road, Northwest (NW). The fort is located along a worn trail through the woods in Rock Creek Park. The nearest community institutions are St. John's Academy and the Presbyterian Home (see Map 9 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. encouraged the McMillan Commission to look beyond the Mall to Rock Creek Park, described as "shabby, sordid, and disagreeable" and in need of formal drives and carefully planted trees. The acquisition and recreational development of Rock Creek Park reflected a longstanding effort to protect the city's precious natural resources surrounding the creek. The Capper-Cramton Acquisition provided funds through no-interest federal loans to acquire the George Washington Memorial Parkway and the Anacostia Park systems and to protect Rock Creek and its branches. The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps helped bring that dream to fulfillment. The Federal Writers Project described Rock Creek Park this way: "Most of the area is undisturbed native woodland, where dogwoods and redbuds blossom in spring, and where wildflowers bloom through three of the seasons. It has groves of smoke-colored beeches, areas of oak and the omnipresent native cedar, tantles of fragrant native honeysuckle, and open meadowlands. Tastefully improved by the addition of dozens of picnic sites, fireplaces, rustic tables and benches, water outlets, footpaths, bridges, and other facilities, the park has been so handled that it retains a maximum of its native wildwood character" (Works Progress Administration 1942: 343-344).

Rock Creek Park, where Fort DeRussey lies, draws visitors from around the city and region. However, the immediate neighborhood context is that of Chevy Chase, Washington, and Chevy

Chase, Maryland. These are mostly European American, affluent home-owners who live in single-family homes built in the 1940s and 1950s. At that time, several developments and events spurred the outward movement of the more prosperous residents of the central city to the Chevy Chase area. These developments included improvements in the technology of bridge construction, the subsequent construction of bridges crossing Rock Creek Park, and the burst of popularity in automobile transport. Today, there is a large retirement home community in the neighborhood, a focus of some concern about parkland, as is the heavy traffic along Military Road.

4. Park Users

Park users include hikers, joggers, equestrians, dog-walkers, Wilson High School's track team, the St. John's Academy cadets, mountain bikers, horse-back riders, and viewers (especially senior citizens). Residents of the Presbyterian Home may be an important user group, according to one long-term resident, for many value the view of Rock Creek Park and Fort DeRussey.

5. Park Uses

While many people use the trails, few reported purposely visiting the fort. The two telephone callers with whom we spoke both live near the park and use the Fort DeRussey area to walk their dogs. One of these men visits Rock Creek Park daily, but only goes to Fort DeRussey once a month.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The principal concern of the users we interviewed was the unrestored state of the fortifications. Users commented on aspects of the park they enjoy, as well as their concerns about the park, such as parking and litter. The following text provides greater detail about users' comments on these topics.

- A majority of the callers suggested that the NPS restore the fortifications at Fort DeRussey. One man stated, "It's the poorest maintained of the ones I've seen." He compared the fort to Fort Totten and Fort Stevens and felt that reconstruction, similar to that at Fort Stevens, would be desirable. He was concerned that the embankments would be worn away by weather and also felt that reconstruction would give users a better idea of what the fort had looked like. This caller said that the marker off the horse trail is the "only indication that there's anything there." Another caller thinks that the NPS should consider the possibility of restoring the site to the state it was in during the Civil War. He stated that he understands their philosophy of "letting the park be," but feels that the purpose of historic sites is "to fix the place at a specific time." He has no idea from his

visits what the fort was like or if it was more than "crude trenches." One 50-year resident of Chevy Chase is very enthusiastic about the fort and the parapets.

- Neighbors informed us that they appreciate the greenery and the cooler temperatures they feel from the park in the summer.

- One caller mentioned that there is no place for cars to park and stated that few people visit the park because it is "hard to get to" for people who live outside of the surrounding neighborhood.

- One caller was concerned about litter along the trails in Rock Creek Park, including those near Fort DeRussey. He suggested that the NPS add trash receptacles along the trails.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort DeRussey

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

The users at Fort DeRussey are primarily neighborhood residents who use Rock Creek Park's trails for hiking and walking their dogs. As the residents of the Presbyterian Home do not actually travel to the park, but rather view it from their windows, they do not draw on the park's resources. Dog-walkers, hikers, and viewers use the park throughout the year. Our research does not indicate high pressure on the available resources at Fort DeRussey. Users access the park at a level with which they are satisfied.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources?

The park resources used most are the trails. One user also reported seeing horse-back riders and mountain bikers occasionally riding on the fortifications.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Most people reported seeing the park as a part of Rock Creek Park rather than a separate entity. They see it as an area that is primarily accessible to neighbors due to the limited signs and parking.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Neighbors appear to see Rock Creek Park, including Fort DeRussey, as a valued extension of their homes and yards. For many, it provides an important natural sanctuary.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

No consumptive uses of this park were reported or observed.

f. What aspects of their history do users relate to park resources?

While other parts of Rock Creek Park are important for celebrations, the Fort DeRussey area seems to be primarily important as a refuge. Some report valued childhood memories of time spent away from home in the park.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort DeRussey important?

A majority of those we asked about Fort DeRussey reported interest in the Civil War history of the site. Most of these park users were concerned that the park currently does not communicate its Civil War history to park users effectively, while one user enjoys the current state of the fort. More often, however, visitors appear to simply enjoy the trails.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

None were mentioned during our research.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

No groups that we contacted felt that they had limited access to Fort DeRussey. A few mentioned that they feel hampered by a lack of parking. One person reported feeling intimidated by the cadets, who occasionally march and chant military slogans near Fort DeRussey.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the parks that currently does not happen?

User suggestions related to this question focussed primarily on physical changes in the park's resources. The dog-walkers whom we interviewed suggested an interpretative reconstruction of the fortifications, which would communicate what the fort had been like during the Civil War.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

These users appear adept at communicating their concerns. Making available a sign with a telephone number or address for the NPS would ensure that park users and neighbors can communicate their concerns about Fort DeRussey.

O. Fort Reno

1. Methodology

The research team used a multi-method strategy to address the study questions as they relate to Fort Reno Park, including consultations with NPS staff members, focus groups, in-person interviews with park users, and telephone interviews. The focus groups related to this park included a focus group with gardeners from the community garden, and two groups with general park users and current and potential sports users representing organized soccer and baseball leagues. The group of general users also covered Battery Kemble and Forts Bayard and DeRussey. Researchers conducted two in-person interviews related to Fort Reno outside of the park and two in-person interviews at the park site. The interviews conducted at the park site involved a park visitor and a concert organizer. In addition, members of the research team visited Fort Reno to observe the users present and search for signs of use. Researchers also attended one public meeting of the Woodrow Wilson High School Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA).

2. Location

Fort Reno Park is located between Nebraska Avenue, Chesapeake Street, Fessenden Street, and Belt Road, Northwest (NW). The park is accessible by bus and subway, located two blocks from the Tenleytown Metro stop. The park is bordered by two public schools, Woodrow Wilson Senior High School and Alice Deal Junior High School. The headquarters of the Neighborhoods Five and Six Planning Council, which also houses the Northwest Youth Alliance, is located at the corner of Chesapeake and Belt Road, bordering on the park. The remainder of the park's immediate surroundings are private residences, although the park is close to the Wisconsin Avenue commercial district. The nearest named neighborhoods include Tenleytown, American University Park, and Friendship Heights. Most park neighbors are European American (see Maps 9 and 10 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

The United States Congress approved the acquisition of the site for Fort Reno Park in 1930, based on the McMillan Commission's recommendation to convert the Civil War defense sites into parks. This was followed by the acquisition of the land where Alice Deal Junior High School (in 1931) and Woodrow Wilson Senior High School (in 1935) now stand. At that time the schools served only European American students.

In addition to officers and soldiers, Fort Reno housed escaped slaves and Freedmen, who sought protection, work, and food during the Civil War. The fort was a desirable refuge because it was

located fairly far from the center of Washington. The soldiers stationed at Fort Reno referred to these African Americans by the legal term "contraband" and paid them low wages and offered them food and housing in return for such chores as doing laundry, washing dishes, and searching for provisions. They also entertained the soldiers by singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments; and worked as laborers, cooks, blacksmiths, seamstresses, and grooms for the horses (Beck Helm 1981: 129). After the Civil War, the encampments and hospitals at the fort were dismantled and the land that had supported Fort Reno was returned to the original land-owner, who divided the land into plots for sale. These plots were purchased by freed slaves, who settled in the area they referred to as "Reno," an abbreviated version of "Reno City." Initially the houses they built at Reno City were not strong, but rather were "shanty frame structures built on stilts" (Smardz 1978: 1). These structures were later replaced by sturdier homes, and, by the turn of the century, approximately 60 houses stood in Reno City.

From 1900 to 1940, Reno City was an integrated neighborhood with African American and European American residents. By the time the park opened, the characteristics of residents in the neighborhood surrounding Fort Reno were shifting, as new affluent, European American residents who had once shunned the hilly fort sites came to consider them desirable for residences. The majority of African American residents in Reno City moved to other areas of the city, such as Brookland, Mount Pleasant, Benning, and neighborhoods in Southeast Washington. Many resented their removal from Reno. Beck Helm writes: "The forced removal of the residents cut off the very strong roots they had in the Reno settlement -- in some cases, roots that went back two generations or 65 years" (Beck Helm 1981: 479). Thus, the descendants of Freedmen do not live in the area today. By 1940, the neighborhood which currently surrounds Fort Reno Park was comprised almost entirely of European American residents (Beck Helm 1981; Schneider Smith 1988; Smardz 1978). Today the residents living near Fort Reno are predominantly European American, although the steadily increasing numbers of minority and immigrant students from Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School also use the park, as do Latin American families who travel there from other parts of Washington and the suburbs.

In 1968, in conjunction with the NPS' Summer in the Parks program, which also offered summer jobs, recreational, and crafts programs, the Neighborhood Planning Council (NPC) started its summer concert series through the Northwest Youth Alliance (see Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc. brochure in Appendix C). The most long-term historical use of the park may be these concerts. Although the NPC has steadily lost funding for its more extensive programs, particularly the youth employment program, it has continued to produce the concerts through private donations and volunteer efforts.

On the park site, tennis courts were constructed on top of the reservoir, but these were closed in 1942 when a fence was built to protect the reservoirs. The tennis courts reopened about ten years ago at a different location in the park. During the 1970's the NPS' Beautification Committee used the buildings which had served as houses for the family that tended the reservoir as offices (Cressman 1978). Fort Reno has also been influenced by the opening of the Wilson Senior High

School swimming pool in 1969, which stirred great neighborhood controversy. Residents had fears about teenagers frequenting the pool. Also, the opening of the Tenleytown Metro stop in 1976 led to increased usage of the park as a pathway to the subway stop used by students from Deal Junior High School.

The garden plot at Fort Reno was established fifty years ago by the Civilian Conservation Corps, according to one elderly gardener who uses the plot now. The plot has been moved to various sites within the park since that time.

4. Park Users

The park users at Fort Reno are comprised of: neighborhood residents; students from Woodrow Wilson High School and Alice Deal Junior High School; the NPC, which holds summer concerts there twice a week; and organized youth and adult soccer leagues. Residents who use the park fall into several categories, including dog-walkers, tennis players, sledders, and gardeners. Several baseball leagues also are interested in using Fort Reno and have submitted a proposal to expand the sports fields there. Some nearby residents do not use the park because they find it unappealing. The following section describes these user categories in greater detail.

a. Organized Sports Groups

Two soccer leagues currently use the park. The first is Stoddert Soccer League, which serves approximately 5,000 boys from Northwest Washington. Up to 150 13- to 18-year-olds participate in the league's Super Seniors program as scholarship recipients. These soccer players come to Fort Reno from other neighborhoods, such as Mount Pleasant, and from Patterson and Paul Middle Schools. Soccer organizers stated that most of the scholarship players travel to the field at Fort Reno by public transportation. The second soccer league that Fort Reno hosts is Las Ligas Unidas, which, according to interviewees, organizes between five and six soccer games on Sundays. These soccer games draw primarily Central Americans. Those who play in the league's games are all men between the ages of 28 and 42. Spectators include both men and women of all ages, as many families attend the games to watch relatives play. According to one spectator, total attendance on a typical Sunday ranges from approximately 200 to 300 people. At least three vendors' trucks offer food for sale, and participants in the soccer celebrations also use the park to picnic. One person mentioned that many of the Ligas Unidas players and spectators reach Fort Reno by bus or Metro, and some drive to the park.

Wilson High School and Deal Junior High School, which together serve 2,500 students from many parts of the city, use Fort Reno for practice and playing fields for boys' and girls' varsity and junior varsity baseball, football, track, and soccer teams. Wilson and Deal host one annual city-wide cross country meet at Fort Reno. Also, approximately 300 to 400 students from Deal use the park as a path to the metro.

b. Gardeners

The twelve garden plots at Fort Reno currently draw eleven gardeners ranging in age from 30 to over 70. About half are elderly, and they have gardened there for approximately 8 to 30 years. The individual who began gardening there most recently started three years ago. The garden attracts men and women in equal numbers. All of the gardeners contacted for this study were European American. Most of the gardeners live in the area, but the majority drive to the garden and one rides his bike there. The following table illustrates the produce that the Fort Reno gardeners mentioned growing (see also "Rock Creek Park Gardening Regulations" in Appendix D).

Table 3: Produce Grown by Fort Reno Gardeners

Radishes, particularly Daikon Radishes	teas, chicory	okra
black eyed peas	peppers & chiles, such as jalapenos	tomatoes
onions	herbs	flowers
greens: turnip greens, kale, and others	garlic	lettuce
snow peas	beans: pull beans, bush beans, lima beans, wonder beans	turnips
carrots	zucchini	corn
winter squash, such as pumpkins, butternut, Tahitian squash	spinach	leaks
beets	broccoli	radishes

c. General Users and Neighbors

Additional users include concert-goers, sledders, and tennis players. From 150 to 300 teenagers, most of whom are local residents, attend the summer concerts organized by the NPC/Northwest Youth Alliance on Tuesday and Thursday nights. These concerts feature home-grown musicians and have helped to launch such local groups as Fugazi, Kermit's Vengeance, and Swollen Colon. Residents from the surrounding neighborhood reported bringing their dogs to Fort Reno. Many let their dogs run around the park without a leash. Some dog-walkers gather on the hill across the service road from the garden, and the gardeners refer to them as the "puppy club." Tennis players use the courts at Fort Reno consistently in good weather. The tennis players observed during the course of this study were European American and in their twenties and thirties. Many of them were observed to arrive at the park by car. The gardeners reported that people also sleep

in the park near the garden plot, but this could not be confirmed by observation, possibly because of the winter season when this study was conducted.

Potential park users include District Northwest Little League, Northwest Little League, and Capital City Little League. These three hardball leagues serve boys between the ages of 13 and 15. The organizers for all three leagues have been instrumental in the development of a proposal to build additional sports fields at Fort Reno. Organizers from Stoddert Soccer League and Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School have also participated in the proposal development. The proposed new facilities would include two new baseball fields, one measuring 75 feet and the other 90 feet. The proposal would also entail upgrading the soccer field and moving it to a new location within the park. The little leagues would provide funding for these new fields and be partially responsible for their upkeep under this proposal. In return, organizers have stated that they would expect to have some input as to who is permitted to use the fields. Representatives from the little leagues stated that Fort Reno is the only available space to play baseball in Ward 3 and emphasized that there are no satisfactory baseball diamonds in Washington. Currently, none of these leagues plays baseball at Fort Reno.

In one focus group, a participant mentioned that she does not use Fort Reno because she finds the park boring and "not intellectually stimulating." She stated that there is nothing at Fort Reno that motivates a single woman, like her, to go there.

5. Park Uses

Of the categories of users mentioned above, the students, dog-walkers, gardeners, and tennis players all use the park year-round, weather permitting. The athletics programs from both schools use the fields all year, during and after school, while students from Deal Junior High School use the park as a short-cut before and after school on weekdays during the school year. The sports students engage in vary with the season, but the track teams use the park throughout the year. The dog-walkers use the park in the morning and late afternoon on weekdays and all during the day on the weekends. Dog-walkers reported that many spend at least half an hour there each time they visit with their dogs, and a group of dog-walkers gathers at 6:00 PM on weekdays. The majority of the gardeners garden during the spring through the early fall, and some harvest vegetables through January. Many of the gardeners visit their plots daily within these seasons, including weekends. The elderly gardeners prefer to garden in the early morning hours. The tennis players were observed using the park on weekends.

The two soccer leagues that consistently use the park play there from the spring through the late fall. The older boys' teams in the Stoddert Soccer League use the soccer field at Fort Reno on Saturdays, and the younger boys' teams use it after school on weekdays. Las Ligas Unidas uses Fort Reno on Sundays from approximately 11:00 AM until 6:00 PM.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

This section details the attitudes and concerns that users explicitly expressed. The concerns are grouped by user category: organized sports teams, gardeners, and general users. In the general users section, concerns that were shared by several users in different categories will be summarized.

a. Organized Sports Groups' Concerns

Organized sports users expressed many of the same issues, which centered on access to the sports fields at Fort Reno. The concerns and comments of the soccer organizers and the Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School athletics participants focused on the soccer field and the two new baseball fields proposed. Organizers from the schools and youth leagues also emphasized the importance of permitting the fields to youth rather than to adults. Some additional issues surfaced related to the Ligas Unidas soccer league, as some participants expressed a strong social link with the park. The following comments detail the concerns of these sports users.

- Participants in the sports focus group were afraid of losing and competing for existing space for sports use across Washington, District of Columbia (DC). They felt that the loss of field space was due to the construction of new memorials and development on Wisconsin Avenue. They attributed the competition for existing space to the public schools' need to generate income by renting fields and gyms and to the reluctance of some Ward 3 residents to travel to other parts of the city. One soccer organizer felt that some fields in other parts of the city were not viable alternatives to the field at Fort Reno because Ward 3 users are perceived as arrogant appropriators of other peoples' space when they attempt to use fields in other wards. Conversely, NPS officials note that soccer organizers do not perceive certain green spaces as playing fields, for example the long strip of green land on South Dakota Avenue, Northeast (NE), that runs between Galloway and Gallatin Streets.

- Fort Reno has the largest soccer field in Ward 3, but the city lacks baseball fields, according to youth sports league organizers. The two schools' representatives helped to work out the sports plan for the park. However, parents, and coaches at Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School are afraid that their students' access to the sports fields might be restricted if the two proposed baseball fields were limited to Little League use. One coach who works at both schools mentioned that many in the schools' athletics department were upset when they learned that plans were well underway for the proposal and that they had not been asked to participate in the planning process. "Wilson and Deal are desperate for that space," claimed one parent. The boys' baseball team has to share the football field, and the track team has to "run for their lives around the track while the baseball team is practicing." The Little Leagues' proposed plan for Fort Reno calls for primarily baseball use with soccer capabilities, which seems reasonable,

adequate, and workable to representatives of both sports. These representatives would prefer separate fields for each sport over joint-use fields.

• Some users feel strongly that Fort Reno, like other NPS parks, does not give youth priorities over adults; that the city and the NPS do too little for kids, especially teenagers; that adults are more mobile and should travel where they need to go. "They wring their hands about teenagers... Then they turn the whole city over to the adults and wonder why they have a problem," stated one baseball organizer. This concern surfaced repeatedly. Others expressed sympathy for the adults for whom "soccer is their national pastime," and see the soccer festivals as important sites of multicultural diversity, community-building, and family sociability. However, some youth soccer organizers pointed out that Sunday, the festival day, is a travel team day. Therefore, since youth soccer players travel to other, better fields on Sundays, there is currently no pressure on that space on that day. Latin American players for the most part find the field satisfactory. One problem arises, however, because the Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC) would like to see "down days," which would likely be scheduled on Sundays.

• Residents stated that they are enriched culturally by the Latin American soccer celebrations at the park, and some of the soccer players feel at home there. One daily visitor described the barbecues and festivities with enthusiasm and termed this use "an excellent use of the park." One Latin American soccer player said of soccer at Fort Reno:

> It is through soccer that I made many friends. More than that, it is through soccer that I maintain my physical and psychological sanity. I need the sport as an athlete and the soccer as a Salvadoran. I can break all obstacles through soccer. It is very special to me. It is where I put my mind and my body. Since I left home, I value it even more.... Soccer is the one thing that maintains who I am (Ferguson 1996).

• One person we interviewed feels that the Latin American soccer celebrations can become dangerous as many participants drink alcoholic beverages at the park and carry weapons to the games. There are no signs posted which state in Spanish that the consumption of alcoholic beverages is prohibited in the park. This informant stated that when police are called to the park because of fights, the spectators who are drinking drop or hide their beer bottles. Increased security was called for by this informant. However, no one else we interviewed confirmed this observation or expressed this fear.

• Organizers of youth soccer and baseball leagues and a representative of Wilson Senior High School's PTSA stated that the permit process currently administered by the DC Department of Recreation is not efficient or fair and that the NPS should resume responsibility for this. Sports users mentioned that a directory of fields would be useful, containing information about who owns them, how they are used, and where to apply for which permits.

- Sports organizers expressed the need to share responsibility for the stewardship of the park. Local users worry about the lack of accountability of those groups who come in from the suburbs. They argue that if they are to take responsibility for garbage or upkeep of the fields, they should have some control over who is permitted to use the park at other times.

b. Gardeners' Concerns

The gardeners' concerns and attitudes toward Fort Reno are related to their garden plots. They are highly positive toward the park, but have several suggestions for how to improve the park environment that affects them and their gardens. The following examples illustrate these concerns.

- The gardeners are thankful for a place to garden in the city, where they do not have much space, and they find the garden beautiful, especially in midsummer when it attracts goldfinches and butterflies. People who have moved away continue to write to the volunteer coordinator about their memories of the garden. As one gardener noted, "The Park Service needs to know how much it adds to the park."

- The gardeners share a concern for their crops and resources, as in the past they have experienced the theft of their vegetables (especially squash and peppers) and compost. Two gardeners mentioned that they suspect the Latin American soccer players of stealing their fresh vegetables. They feel that the NPS should be made aware of this theft and planned to organize a fund to hire a contractor to repair the garden fence to hinder future theft.

- Gardeners agree that the NPS should get rid of the old manure and wood chip piles and replace them with new ones, as grass and weeds grow in the current piles. When they add manure from the pile to the garden soil, they inadvertently transfer these weeds into their plots. One gardener suggested that the NPS level the area, remove the manure, and start over.

- Gardeners reported that other people remove the manure from their pile, sometimes in large quantities. One gardener confronted a man who was taking away cans of manure, but the gardeners believe that they have no power to prevent the removal of manure and compost from their garden piles.

- Parking was cited as a problem, especially for the elderly gardeners who drive to the park, and then must carry their gardening tools from far-away parking places.

- The shade in the garden creates a high turnover in one plot. But the trees are valuable "federal" trees (sugar maple and black walnut) which cannot be removed, according to one gardener.

• One gardener cited several physical problems with the garden: It slopes in the wrong direction, creating a "swamp" at one end, and it is very small, too small to grow corn. Some gardeners believe that the area near the garden needs to be leveled and the grass cut.

c. General Users' and Residents' Concerns

This section illustrates the comments of residents living near Fort Reno and parents and students from Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School. Their primary concerns were the lack of water fountains and restroom facilities at the park, sporadic trash collection, safety, and the overuse of the facilities. The lack of water fountains and restrooms and trash collection were concerns shared by the gardeners and organized sports users as well.

• Many people would like to see restroom/portable toilet facilities and water available. Some worry that these facilities would attract homeless people, but others felt that the park could and should serve homeless people in that way. The gardeners share their water with others in the park. They run the hose for those who ask, but believe that the NPS should provide water for all of its users. Several sports users and gardeners reported that the drinking fountain by the tennis courts has been broken for years. "If the Park Service is going to make the fields available, they should provide adequate facilities," stated one park user. The gardeners also mentioned that people who use the park for sports occasionally relieve themselves on the trees near the garden for lack of toilets.

• Users and neighbors have varied perspectives on garbage at Fort Reno. One neighbor termed it "the trashiest park" in Ward 3. Students argued that it is not a trashy park, and one parent commented that Wilson Senior High School staff make a real effort to clean up litter. One dog-walker commented on the trash at the driveway near the service entrance, but feels that the NPS keeps the park clean. Several gardeners worry that Radio Shack dumps large boxes in the garbage that homeless people then use to build homes in the warm compost piles. Most people agree that they would like to see regular, rather than sporadic, garbage collection and more trash cans placed around the park.

• Residents and parents of students recommended lighting along Belt Road, which would also allow ball players to play at night. Everyone agrees lighting would be good. "Aim the lights at the park and don't turn them off at 9:30," said one resident who summarizes these sentiments. People do not feel safe at Fort Reno at night, and one man was robbed on Nebraska Avenue bordering the park. Fort Reno is usually fairly empty after 6:00 PM.

• Parents would like to see the students' path in better repair: It is "a muddy mess" and "often dark and dangerous."

• Problems with the noise from the concerts seems to have been resolved by repositioning the stage. Some nearby residents enjoy the music, but one person expressed concern about youth's drinking and smoking marijuana at the concerts.

• Some users thought that more individual uses would enliven the park. Their suggestions included: basketball courts to attract students who walk through to stay longer; chess and checker tables; and facilities for pick-up games, which used to be prevalent but are now almost totally displaced by more organized sports.

• Some people find it strange that there are no provisions for picnicking at Fort Reno. Latin American users bring their own barbeque grills, but some would like to see grills and tables available to the public. One man mentioned that he wanted more picnic tables there and noted that in the 1970s and 1980s there were picnics and grills. Several gardeners mentioned that a picnic shelter used to stand in the park, but added that it attracted drug users and homeless people.

• Some people feel a general concern about overuse and rapid deterioration of the park: "We need to leave time for nature to go through the healing process, for replanting, (the park) has to be controlled, for any use," stated one sports user.

• Some people invoke the role of the Civilian Conservation Corps in providing public sector employment for youth at Fort Reno. Several recommended the possibility of offering jobs for teenagers at the park -- doing interpretive work or picking up trash. In many contexts the concern arises that the NPS offers nothing for boys 13 to 19: "Zip, zero, nothing!" exclaimed one woman commenting on NPS' youth programs.

• One concert organizer is wary of the sports plan for Fort Reno. He appreciated the wooded nature of the park ten years ago, and he would "like to see it stay the way it is, not too regimented." He worries about leveling off the area where the concert stage sits, about cutting down more trees, and making the park too artificial. It will be expensive to move the stage and redirect the sound systems. Filling parkland with playing fields, according to him, "takes away the casual nature of the park."

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Reno

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

Fort Reno is heavily used, especially by sports groups from organized soccer leagues and the two schools which border the park. All of the categories of users at Fort Reno have been using the park for at least five years, and some for as long as thirty years. Some long-term users have used the park for over twenty years, but their use of resources has changed over that time period. For example, some dog-walkers said that they attended concerts at Fort Reno as teenagers, but now

go there only to walk their dogs. Gardeners are long-term users, who have spent from eight to 30 years gardening in the park. Some individual users, such as dog-walkers, are new to the area, and thus have used the park for a relatively short time.

Many park visitors are students from the neighboring schools and Stoddert Soccer League. Adults use the park through Las Ligas Unidas soccer gatherings, the gardening program, walking their dogs, and playing tennis. The neighborhood residents who use the park are predominantly European American, but African Americans and Latin Americans use the park through the schools' athletics programs, Stoddert Soccer's Super Seniors scholarship program, and the Latin American soccer celebrations.

Generally park users share resources effectively, by using separate areas of the park or playing on the sports fields at different times. There is a great demand for the sports facilities. The pending proposal to modify parkland by building two new baseball diamonds could make the park desirable to even more sports users and create additional competition for limited field space. The plan has caused tension among the organized sports leagues, the neighboring schools, and concert organizers.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources?

Fort Reno is used year-round, but experiences the heaviest use from spring to fall. Several kinds of users make use of the park's facilities throughout the year. These include students, who use the park as a path or are involved in athletics programs, tennis players, dog-walkers, and a few gardeners. During warmer seasons, in addition to these users, the park hosts organized soccer leagues and concert-goers. The park is used throughout the week, at all times during the day. Weekends bring a higher volume of users to the park than do weekdays. The park is not used after dark, according to park users' statements and researchers' observations.

The same users return to the park repeatedly. In many cases, some, such as dog-walkers and students, come to the park daily. A few users, such as soccer spectators who go to watch a particular team play, only visit the park occasionally.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

All of the park users, with the exception of the dog-walkers, focus on the portion of the park that they use. Gardeners are concerned about the garden plot and its immediate surroundings, while soccer players and organizers are concerned about the soccer field. Dog-walkers tend to use the entire park to run their dogs, but also have an established gathering spot.

The local institutions which identify strongly with Fort Reno are Wilson Senior High School, Deal Junior High School, and the NPC. Students from these schools have named the short-cut which they use to cross the park "the path," and athletes from both institutions reportedly view the fields as an expansion of the schools' fields.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Two categories of users, the gardeners and organized sports participants, have formed strong socio-cultural links to the park. Several of the gardeners use their garden plots in a culturally significant manner, to recreate familiar pastoral and southern traditions. The Latin American soccer players and families who watch the games also use the park to create a sense of community in Washington, DC. In addition, these soccer participants recreate the environment of their home countries by playing a traditional sport, preparing and consuming typical food, and listening to music. The boys who participate in Stoddert Soccer League, as well as their families, take part in a world of youth soccer through which they meet new friends and cultivate their aspirations to play soccer at the university or professional level. Parents from Wilson Senior High School and Deal Junior High School see the park as playing a role in integrating diverse students and families in their public lives.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

The only category of users who consume park resources are the gardeners, as the Latin American picnickers bring their own food to the park. The gardeners use their produce to establish and reinforce their connections with their fellow gardeners and to solidify their existing social networks through gifts of food to relatives and neighbors. One woman stated that she never plants squash because she knows that she will receive squash as a gift from a fellow gardener. Some gardeners also establish networks with other park users, such as soccer players and students, by giving away samples of their vegetables when a passer-by inquires about their garden plot. This use of produce to solidify and create social networks echoes patterns discovered by Landman in her study of community gardens in Washington, DC (Landman 1993).

f. What aspects of their history do users relate to park resources?

The gardeners and some of the sports users felt ties to the areas of the park that they use most frequently, and connected personal histories there. The gardeners shared a history of garden lore, provisioning strategies, and crop theft, for example. Stoddert Soccer League and the two schools shared a history of struggle over playing fields. Students from Deal Junior High School and Wilson Senior High School spend a considerable portion of their teenage years in Fort Reno Park walking with friends, playing sports, and attending concerts. One mother described time spent at Fort Reno as "family time." The concert organizers have nurtured and supported local musicians for the last thirty years, and long-term residents as well as current students share stories of memorable concerts. Other user categories did not provide information on their history as related to the park resources.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Reno important?

While no category of users contacted for this study felt that the primary importance of Fort Reno was historical, some users were aware of parts of the park's history. Others held misconceptions about the park's past. A history class from Wilson Senior High School reportedly uses the park as a tour site in the local history class. About ten years ago the NPC sponsored a local history project that included an excavation and the publication of an historical booklet (see Cressman 1978). Some parents of students at Wilson High School expressed a desire for a careful excavation to ensure that, if built, the new ball fields do not destroy important artifacts.

The only people who expressed a complete lack of knowledge about the park's history were the Latin American soccer players and spectators. While one user felt that the park should display more historical markers, several other users argued that Fort Reno is a recreational space and that history should not be a concern there. All categories of users agreed that the historical sign should be moved to a location where users actually gather or pass by and that the sign itself is uninteresting.

Many users also mentioned rumored uses of Fort Reno. For example, some park users wondered about the facilities at the top of the hill. Very few understood what the reservoir is or to whom it supplies water. Others speculated that airplane surveillance and the canine corps of the Secret Service occupy those facilities.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

Dog-walkers stated that the NPS should know that dogs need freedom to run around without a leash. Gardeners hoped to communicate their experience with theft of vegetables and manure and the fact that they feel that the garden contributes to the beauty of Fort Reno. While no gardeners explicitly stated that they wanted the NPS to know about the role of their garden in building community, they did comment on sharing their produce with other park users, family members, neighbors, and fellow gardeners.

Concert organizers believe that the NPS should know that the concerts provide "a big bang for the buck" and that the concerts have posed no problems to the neighborhood for the last eight or nine years.

Many users from the neighborhood surrounding Fort Reno stress the difficulty that Fort Reno faces in being both a national and a neighborhood park. Several argued that Washington is unique in that so many neighborhood parks are national parks. Visitors come to the parks from far away, but residents treat them as neighborhood parks.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

The only non-users contacted who expressed an interest in using the park in the future were the organizers of youth baseball leagues. They currently do not use the park due to the lack of baseball diamonds and bleachers and the heavy demand for the existing sports fields. These leagues have already prepared and submitted a proposal to add baseball fields to Fort Reno. One non-user who participated in a general use focus group does not use the park because she finds it uninteresting. She stated that Washington's national parks are not as "intellectually stimulating" as other national parks she has visited and that there is nothing at Fort Reno to attract a single, middle-aged woman without children.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the parks that currently does not happen?

All of the users contacted, with the exception of dog-walkers, suggested improvements for the park's facilities and services. Some users suggested new programs or facilities which they would like to see implemented at Fort Reno. For example, some students believe that a recreation center would further enhance Fort Reno's role as a sports and recreational park. Others spoke of the possibility of more interpretive programs, or at least the presence of park rangers -- "They love the park and make it come alive;" and of bus/walking tours for students to other Civil War Defenses of Washington. The organized sports users all agreed that improved athletics fields were desirable, and gardeners recommended specific improvements for the garden plot.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

The contact which park users currently have with the NPS varies. The organized groups, such as Stoddert Soccer and the gardeners, have representatives who handle their communications with the NPS. The concert organizers feel that they work closely with the NPS. Some users, such as dog walkers and other residents, do not know how they can contact the NPS and mentioned that they never notice park employees at Fort Reno. To communicate with these park visitors, the NPS could increase the presence of park rangers at Fort Reno. Some users who do maintain contact with the NPS feel that the staff changes too often and "none of them have enough experience."

P. Fort Bayard

1. Methodology

The research team used a multi-method strategy, including telephone interviews with park users, a focus group, and site visits to study this park. Researchers conducted telephone interviews with park users and neighbors who called in response to our flier; held one focus group, which also included park users from Fort Reno, Battery Kemble, and Fort DeRussey, and visited the park site to observe users and signs of use. During these visits we conducted informal, in-person interviews with three park users at the park site.

2. Location

Fort Bayard is located at the northern edge of the American University Park neighborhood at the intersection of River Road and Western Avenue, two major arterial roads leading to Montgomery County from Upper Northwest Washington. Fort Bayard thus borders Washington, District of Columbia (DC), and Maryland. A heavily commercial stretch of River Road lies north of the park. Fort Bayard is surrounded by affluent European American residents, mostly families residing in single-family houses (see Map 10 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Between 1920 and 1930, automobile registration in the District of Columbia quadrupled. During that decade, the city grew northward across the new bridges crossing Rock Creek Park. The development of the Fort Bayard/American University Park area in the 1940s reflects the suburbanization that followed the decentralization of the federal government, the outward migration of European American families taking advantage of new postwar housing programs and the GI Bill's housing allowances for male veterans, and the growing popularity of the automobile in the city (Gutheim 1976).

4. Park Users

The users at Fort Bayard Park include dog-walkers, parents who use the playground with their children, picnickers, sledders, baseball players, people who walk in the park, young adults who "hang out," soccer players, football players, and people who drive in the park. Neighborhood residents call those who use the playground and bring some of their own toys "the toddler set." The callers from Fort Bayard who responded to our flier appeared to be most concerned with the aesthetics of the perimeter and the quality of the playground equipment. A few callers reported that teenagers gather there and sometimes drink beer, especially when the trees are full. On New

Year's Eve a group shot off fireworks at the park, according to our interpretation of remains we found at the park the next day.

A variety of youth uses the park for recreational sports. According to youth baseball organizers, there is a softball diamond that is adequate for pick-up ball, but too short and too close to traffic for organized softball or baseball. Girls' softball and soccer teams practice and play there. Boys also use the park to play soccer and football, and young people sometimes visit from other areas to throw a frisbee around, according to focus group participants and several callers.

Many callers reported that local residents come to Fort Bayard to walk their dogs. A group of neighbors meets to run their dogs in the morning on weekdays, according to one caller. Some local residents also mentioned picnicking there either alone or with neighbors. Researchers observed a little graffiti on the picnic table, a "social path," indicating people use the park for walking and short cuts, and some tire tracks. One caller attributed the tracks to garbage trucks, police canine unit trucks, and picnickers who drive into the park. Another caller suggested that the tire tracks were from four-wheel-drive vehicles.

5. Park Uses

The park is used more heavily in warmer weather, according to study participants. Certain user groups, such as "the toddler set" on the playground and the youth who play sports, were neither observed at the park during our visits nor reported using the park during the winter months. Other users, such as dog-walkers and residents who stop at the park to watch the sunset, use the park year-round. A group of dog-walkers meets at the park at 7:00 AM on weekdays. Teenagers reportedly gather at the park at night in the summer. Some users reported enjoying the park as they pass by on foot or in their cars on their way to and from work.

6. Attitudes and Concerns Expressed

All of the callers who responded to our flier felt that the park was beneficial to the surrounding neighbors. They shared concerns about the maintenance of the park, the position of the historical marker, the condition of the playground, and safety. The following comments illustrate callers' attitudes and concerns.

- Park users expressed positive attitudes towards Fort Bayard. One said that the park is "magnificent." Another caller called the park "a great asset to the community." Additional callers said that the park was a "much-loved place."

- A majority of the callers commented on the NPS sign at Fort Bayard. One man, who declared himself "a bit of a Civil War history buff," felt that the sign at Fort Bayard contained "pretty good information for a sign." He mentioned that the sign is not in the

right place, though. He suggests that the NPS either add another sign or move the current one to the other side of the park (near Fessenden Street or 46th Street). Additional callers also recommended adding another sign on that side of the park. One caller suggested that an historical marker, noting the spot where Abraham Lincoln walked among the hospital tents for the wounded, would be a moving addition to the park. She also felt that a sign reminding visitors that Fort Bayard is a national park would encourage them to treat it more respectfully.

• Most of the callers suggested improvements to the playground. These comments are summarized below.

- Several callers felt that improving the playground would attract more children and enhance the park. They noted the need to add more sand to the sandbox. One woman stated, "There's no sand left in the box. It's just grass and dirt."
- A few callers mentioned that mulching or wood chips would help with the mud problem. One caller referred to the playground as "a muddy lake."
- One caller noted that an elm and a maple tree that provided shade were lost in recent years and had not been replaced. Another caller also expressed concern that the trees were not well-cared for. A playground user said that the slide becomes dangerously hot, especially in mid-day, due to a lack of shade.
- One woman mentioned that four to five years ago the NPS was more conscientious about repairs. For example, at the climbing area, the rungs get loose and slip under the children's feet. She said that the rungs should be simple to tighten. Another caller mentioned that friends from Montgomery County who bring their children to the playground are afraid of the equipment. Another woman echoed this concern, expressing fear about the slide, which she described as "scary for little kids."
- One caller mentioned that the horizontal poles on the wooden fence surrounding the playground are frequently broken, about every other week. She believes that vandals or trucks be responsible for this. She informed us that the NPS repairs the fence quickly, but wonders why the poles are broken and by whom.
- One man noted that the playground does not seem to meet the federal code, which mandates that federally-owned play equipment be handicapped-accessible.
- A few callers mentioned that they feel that the playground is under-used because of the unsafe equipment and muddy conditions. One referred to it as a "wasteland" and said that nannies in the area are "spooked" and afraid to take children there.

• Half of the callers expressed concern about general maintenance in the park, as represented by the following two comments: "Upkeep at Fort Bayard could be better," and "The park has not been adopted."

• Sidewalk maintenance was a concern for three callers. They reported that the sidewalk on Fessenden Street between 46th and 47th Streets is covered with grass and dirt and that for a long stretch you cannot see the sidewalk. One caller suggested that someone needs to scrape it off with a shovel so that strollers can move more safely. Another woman

claims that the sidewalk has been overgrown since early 1989. She thought that neighbors would volunteer to trim the lawn back and remove the dirt from the sidewalk if the NPS would send a truck to take away the clippings and dirt. Another area which callers saw as neglected was the entire sidewalk along 46th Street from Fessenden Street to River Road. One man who called stated, "I do my part to volunteer keeping the sidewalk clean, and I'd like to know that the Park Service supported my efforts." One caller reported that rodents run in and out of a steep grade overgrown with poison ivy that hasn't been cleaned for years.

• A minority of callers from the neighborhood mentioned seeing trash along the sides of the park that border on Western Avenue and River Road.

• A minority of callers were concerned about the grass being cut. One caller mentioned that the grass grows up to nine inches between mowings and that weeds have overtaken the grass. Another caller echoed this concern, stating that in the summer the park needs more consistent lawn care. She claimed that the park employees mow, but only at intervals of weeks and weeks. She was concerned that the grass gets eight inches high, which is hard on the girls' softball and soccer teams.

• Several callers reported that they find the park safe during the day, but not at night. One woman explained, "The park is dark, and most women would probably not go there at night."

• Some of the baseball advocates wanted to see Fort Bayard permitted for use by "little kids." One park neighbor said that the field is "under-maintained" and "can't really be used," although he does take a friend's son there to practice baseball skills. One frequent park user suggested that soccer goals would be nice for the younger teams (composed of first and second graders) who play soccer on the field.

• Some neighbors worry about the teen gatherings, which attract users from suburban Maryland. One caller mentioned that the teens hide and surprise passers-by on Halloween, but did not find this worrisome. One man commented, "The neighbors like it the way it is. People of all ages use it and that's what it's for. Young adults use it late at night, and so what?" Another frequent visitor commented that kids gather, bring park benches together, organize a club, and place symbols on a tree. She too felt that they do not get out of hand.

• One caller suggested that a sign be posted to remind dog-walkers to clean up after their dogs. Another caller mentioned that he hoped that the NPS would not "crack down" on dogs off leash. Both callers felt that the dogs who run off leash at Fort Bayard do not pose a problem.

• One caller mentioned that the drinking fountain is broken "half of the time."

- A caller reported that garbage trucks and police canine trucks drive up the hill at the park to collect trash and let their dogs run. He points out that while the garbage trucks do a good job of collecting the trash, they also leave ruts and destroy vegetation. The same caller reports having seen picnickers who drove up the hill in station wagons and pickup trucks on two occasions. Another caller also mentioned seeing tire tracks during the past year and suggested that they were from a four-wheel drive vehicle, although he had never seen one there.

- One caller mentioned that a picnic table from the park had been removed by neighbors who used it for a party in their yard. He said that nobody had reported it to the NPS because they did not know whom to call.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Bayard

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

The users at Fort Bayard are primarily neighborhood residents from Northwest Washington and Montgomery County, Maryland. Most of the users with whom we spoke had used the park for as many years as they had lived in the neighborhood. Two of the users had lived near the park for less than a year, while the others had lived in the area for three to five years. One man reported using Fort Bayard for over 24 years.

Users did not report any conflicting demands on park resources. Park visitors appear to use the park at different times, and thus do not over-burden the resources of the park. Teens who gather at night and use the picnic benches do not interfere with picnickers who come to eat lunch or dinner at the park, for example. Some residents fall into several user categories. For example, one man walks his dog at the park several times a week, picnics there with neighbors, and brings a friend's child to the park to practice baseball on occasion.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources?

Fort Bayard is used daily by some residents, who walk through the park or walk their dogs there everyday. Other residents use the park less frequently, but do use it repeatedly in pleasant weather. Young children and their parents use the playground; children use the sports field; teenagers use the picnic tables; and adults use the picnic tables and the open areas (for walking dogs and walking through the park).

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

The users with whom we spoke see the park as a part of their neighborhood. No users reported any connections with neighborhood institutions. No informants reported having any special

names for parts of the park, but rather used terms such as "the playground" or "on top of the hill."

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Aside from providing recreation for individuals and families, the park brings neighbors together. Some neighbors use the park as a meeting place for picnics or walking their dogs, for example.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

No consumptive uses of this park were reported or observed.

f. What aspects of their history do users relate to park resources?

One user said that the park wildlife reminds her of her home in Tennessee. Other users noted special community memories, of Halloween and Fourth of July celebrations as examples. Most users appeared to link the park to generally pleasant experiences of growing up in this community or watching children and youth use park resources in evolving ways.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Bayard important?

A majority of the park users with whom we spoke mentioned the Civil War history of Fort Bayard. All of these callers were concerned that the sign was not well-placed and that people did not see it when they visit the park. One woman called for "more history" at the park and suggested that the sign mention that Fort Bayard had been one of President Abraham Lincoln's favorite strolling places. Another caller thought that parts of the fort remained on the hill and said that they should be protected by the NPS. One caller stated that in Washington, DC, people need a sense of history that goes beyond the monuments, and he felt that the Civil War Defenses of Washington could help to provide this history.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The only category of users who expressed cultural attributes which they would like communicated to the NPS were dog-walkers. A few callers stated that dogs running free in the park did not pose any problems. One man explained that only friendly dogs were allowed to come and that owners "police dogs so that nasty dogs" are forced to leave. He felt that the dogs make the park safe and stated that if the NPS were to restrict dog-runs it would be a "disservice" to residents.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

No groups that we contacted felt that they had limited access to Fort Bayard. However, youth baseball organizers noted that young children could use the park for organized Little League games if the NPS would permit the field there.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the parks that currently does not happen?

The only changes that users suggested at Fort Bayard were related to maintenance and the resources available at the park. The suggested changes related to resources involved the playground and the NPS sign posted at the corner of River Road and Western Avenue.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

No users we interviewed had contact with the NPS. One woman stated that she had been planning to write a letter with her suggestions, and another man mentioned that he did not report a neighbor who stole a picnic table from the park because he did not know who to call. Perhaps including the NPS phone number or address on the sign at the park site would provide a channel of communication for park users and neighbors.

Q. Battery Kemble

1. Methodology

The research team used a multi-method research strategy to explore the study questions as they relate to Battery Kemble Park. Park users called us after seeing flyers about the study, and three park users from Battery Kemble participated in a focus group that also included users from Fort DeRussey, Fort Reno, and Fort Bayard. Members of the research team also visited the park to observe users and look for signs of use. We conducted informal, in-person interviews with seven park visitors at the park site.

2. Location

Battery Kemble is located along Chain Bridge Road between Nebraska Avenue and Canal Road. The park is located three blocks from Horace Mann Elementary School and American University and one block from Georgetown Day School. The park is surrounded by upper-class, private residences. The residents of the surrounding neighborhoods of Wesley Heights and Spring Valley are predominantly European American (see Map 10 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

Battery Kemble is a long, narrow park running through neighborhoods in Upper Northwest Washington populated almost entirely by affluent European American home-owners and members of the diplomatic community. Wesley Heights was developed as a subdivision in the 1920s. Because of the rugged topography of upper Northwest Washington, this area developed as a rectangle with few cross streets, containing single-family houses and wide expanses of natural woodland, including Battery Kemble Park. In the 1920s it was called "The Garden Spot of Washington." The success of Wesley Heights inspired the development in the 1930s of a more expansive subdivision, Spring Valley, a garden suburb with curving streets and large, costly, single-family homes (Gutheim 1976: 190). The residences in these neighborhoods were built in the 1920s and 1930s "and set back from the street on larger than usual city lots" (Walsh 1989: E1). Wesley Heights residents have resisted zoning that would permit large apartment buildings and development in their neighborhood (Torry 1991, Walsh 1989, Willmann 1981).

4. Park Users

Park users include dog-walkers; picnickers; neighbors who take their Sunday paper to the park to read; people engaging in pick-up sports; sledders; people who slide on blocks of ice; hikers;

joggers; school field trips; organizations such as American University departments and clubs holding annual events; and people taking walks.

"Dogs dominate the personality of the park," claims one frequent visitor, and people with dogs appear to be there through the day, everyday, based on our site visits. One dog-walker mentioned that on the Fourth of July a group marches on MacArthur Boulevard as the "Dog People of Battery Kemble Park." Another visitor emphasized that "weekend fathers," non-custodial fathers who see their children on weekends, bring their children to Battery Kemble because they want "to go to a dog park to play with dogs." People also spoke of going there Sunday mornings with "bagels, cream cheese, the Sunday paper, and a dog." Dog-walkers we spoke with have been using the park for at least eight years, and some reported using the park for over thirty years.

Battery Kemble is also a popular sledding spot. Users reported that, in the summer, families come to slide down the very steep hill on blocks of ice, covering the ice with towels to tolerate sitting on it. "The ice goes flying down the hill," one woman noted. Others noted that "you don't know how steep and fast the hill is until it snows."

School groups, from day care centers taking field trips and nature hikes, to American University organizations, come for picnics and pick-up sports like softball, volleyball, and occasionally soccer. People also use the trails for walking, jogging, and running. Battery Kemble Park blends into Glover Park and the Chesapeake and Ohio (C & O) Canal, so people often cross through the park in the course of a longer hike. Park users are predominantly European American, reflecting the part of the city where the park lies. Some visitors come from suburban Maryland and Virginia.

5. Park Uses

Dog-walkers visit the park everyday, but park users reported that they go there more frequently on weekends. One dog-walker who lives near Fort Bayard reported going to Battery Kemble at least four times each weekend. Another commented that he visits the park with his dog more frequently in the colder months because there are many fleas there in the summer. One man who has used the park for over 30 years recalls that Battery Kemble was not always a "dog park." He claims that it became a "dog park" approximately 15 years ago. This comment differs from others' contention that the park has served as a dog-run for over 50 years. One long-term user noted that in the past, people held picnics there, and children organized games such as "capture the flag," and played in the gun pits, which are now overgrown.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The primary concerns of park users centered on the issue of dogs being allowed to run off-leash. Several park users were also concerned with historical features of the park. The following section illustrates the attitudes and concerns that park users expressed.

- Battery Kemble has many partisans, who describe it as "a nice welcoming park," a "hidden treasure," a "valuable resource," a "magnet," and "heaven on Earth." They feel that dogs are part of the attraction, both to people and to other dogs. Some people who do not like to be around dogs running loose avoid Battery Kemble. "I don't like dogs and kids in the same park; both need to run and play, but not in the same place," stated one woman. Others feel that dogs make the park "the safest park around."

- The most dramatic and publicized concerns focus on what dog-walkers characterized as harassment by the rangers. This "harassment" involves ticketing dogs off leash, which dog-owners claimed caused the park rangers to neglect real problems and even create new problems through their excessive attention to dogs. Dog-owners feel that they behave responsibly with their dogs and clean up well after them. They argue that Battery Kemble has been used as a dog-run for 50 years; that this use is a community tradition and that it brings people together. Some others in the community, however, cite the example of Meridian Hill. They saw the proposed dog-run there as yet another affront by Congress to the residents of the District and a threat to a unique and elegant park. These residents feel that park aesthetics should counterbalance the needs of dog-owners.

- Minor concerns surround the historic plaque. Some visitors feel it would be read and appreciated more if it were moved near the water fountain or where users gather. One visitor said that "Battery Kemble is like one word; it never occurred to me it was an actual battery." A daily visitor has never seen the plaque because she walks to the park or uses a different entrance.

- One man would like to see the pits around the artillery platforms, which are now overgrown, cleared out again because "That's a piece of history." He would rather see the pits cleared out and a sign placed there than an historical pamphlet.

- One long-term user recommends reducing the parking area to 10 to 15 spaces, because he estimates that 75% of the visitors bring their dogs in from other areas. He feels that the lower parking lot should be closed and allowed to become overgrown with grass.

- One American University student who uses the park trails for jogging was concerned that the trails are not wide enough, nor well-maintained. He was recently injured on a tree root in the path which he could not see. He would like the trail to be widened to three feet and cleared of leaves and vegetation to improve safety.

• A Washington, DC resident who does not live nearby suggests that "Some parks are everyday parks, but sometimes you want to go to a different park. Battery Kemble is a special park, one I really appreciate and would fight to protect."

• Many other people in the city do not know the park exists. There are no locational signs and limited parking spaces. Some stated that they feel the park is too much of a secret, too exclusive. Large houses occupy many potential entrances to the park so that it functions in some spots as an extension of peoples' back yards. It might not seem like a welcoming park to everyone. Some users, for example, would adamantly oppose additions such as a basketball court or other kinds of sports facilities, arguing that "Not every park should be all things to all people. The last thing we need at Battery Kemble is something like basketball; it's not the nature of the use of that park."

7. Analysis of Findings for Battery Kemble

a. Who are the user groups and do they share resources effectively?

The dog-walkers are an established user group that has been using the park for many years. Many come from the area surrounding the park, while others drive to the park with their dogs from Maryland, Virginia, and occasionally other parts of Washington, DC. Other users, including hikers, joggers, sledders, and picnickers, are also long-term users. While some park users reported that there are no conflicts between different categories of users, one focus group participant recalled when a dog stole and ate his sandwich at the park. This suggests that there may be a potential conflict between picnickers and dog-walkers at Battery Kemble Park.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources?

While some park users visit Battery Kemble daily, some are occasional users or only visit the park on weekends. Some visitors come to Battery Kemble on special occasions such as field trips, annual celebrations, and organizational gatherings. Hikers, walkers, and joggers use the trails, while picnickers and people seeking sun reported using the picnic tables. Sledders use the hills in the winter, and people also use them in the summer for sliding on blocks of ice. Users reported that the park gets the most use on weekends.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

Several park users referred to Battery Kemble as a "dog park," and one user mentioned that he takes his dog to the "puppy jamboree" there. One visitor who lives in another part of the city refers to Battery Kemble as "a special park," both for families and for school groups taking field trips there.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources?

Park users stated that the park is a "wonderful place for dog-owners to meet," and one woman mentioned that a group of dog-owners marches together on the Fourth of July as the "Dog People of Battery Kemble Park." Battery Kemble might also be seen as an extension of neighboring residents' yards, as several reported going to the park to eat breakfast and read the Sunday paper or to sit in the sun at the picnic tables.

e. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive resources?

No consumptive uses of this park were reported or observed.

f. What aspects of their history do users relate to park resources?

Battery Kemble users relate aspects of their family histories to park resources, including the times they travel there for special birthday or school events or to enjoy the wooded trails. Others remember especially dramatic snowfalls from their times sledding in the park. One woman vividly remembers summer days spent sliding downhill on blocks of ice.

g. When is the historical significance of Battery Kemble important?

When specifically asked about historical aspects of the park, some users mentioned being "vaguely aware" of the site's history. Only one user with whom we talked was actively aware of the park's role in the Civil War.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

The dog-owners and former dog-owners who now use the park for purposes other than walking their dogs were adamant that running dogs off-leash should not be restricted. These users felt that they managed to keep a balance between dog-owners and those without dogs who wanted to use the park.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access?

Some people from different parts of the city, especially African Americans, indicated to members of our team that they would not feel welcome in Battery Kemble Park. Also, during a meeting of six members of the research team, at which two community ethnographers were present, several of the African American researchers expressed discomfort at the notion of visiting Battery Kemble after listening to a summary of the park users' characteristics. They feared that they would experience racial discrimination if they were to visit the park.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the parks that currently does not happen?

The categories of users who suggested a change at Battery Kemble included the dog-walkers who would like to see fewer restrictions on dogs running without leashes, and a runner, who wanted the trails cleared and widened. Some non-users, including the community ethnographers, would like to see Battery Kemble become more welcoming to racially and ethnically diverse park users.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Currently the only contact with the NPS which users mentioned was being ticketed or chastised by park rangers for allowing their dogs to be in the park without leashes. These users appear adept at communicating their concerns, however, through community meetings, the press, and the NPS public scoping meetings.

R. Fort Marcy

1. Methodology

The research team studied Fort Marcy through direct observations of use and interviews with park visitors. Members of the research team visited the park site and consulted NPS employees. We conducted five informal, in-person interviews at the park site with park visitors. We also received one telephone call from a park user in response to our flier.

2. Location

Fort Marcy lies in northern Virginia across the Potomac River from Washington, District of Columbia (DC). It is situated between George Washington Memorial Parkway and Route 123. Fort Marcy adjoins additional parkland administered by the NPS. The park is located in a sparsely populated area that includes large estates and is generally considered an upper-class neighborhood. It is located across the street from the Saudi Arabian consulate. The closest communities with commonly known names are Chain Bridge Forest and The Dogwoods at Langley, which are approximately one-quarter mile from the park. There are no neighborhood institutions, such as schools or churches, immediately adjacent to Fort Marcy (see Map 10 in Appendix A).

3. Ethnohistory

The Union Army built Fort Marcy in 1861 as part of the defenses of Washington to protect the Chain Bridge, which connected the city to northern Virginia (Hansen 1973). After the end of the Civil War, the land where Fort Marcy stood was returned to its pre-war owner, Gilbert Vanderwerken in October 1865 (Handly 1996). The land remained under private ownership for over 80 years.

In the 1950s, the Virginia State Highway Department began the construction of the George Washington Memorial Parkway. Bulldozers were preparing to destroy the fortifications at Fort Marcy to obtain backfill for the highway construction project. A concerned citizen sat in her parked car to block bulldozers from destroying the remains of the fortifications at Fort Marcy until Fairfax County administrators could arrange for police to stop the demolition of the remains (Hansen 1973). This concerned citizen and other community members urged the State of Virginia to purchase the land and preserve the fortifications. However, other area citizens opposed the acquisition of Fort Marcy, wondering "...why the state should contemplate buying and preserving a fort the Confederacy tried unsuccessfully to destroy during the War Between the States." Proponents of the plan to acquire Fort Marcy argued that "true southerners are good sports and dignified losers....These forts were a tribute to the Confederates, tangible proof of

Federal fear of their might." After this debate, the Virginia Highway Department decided not to purchase Fort Marcy, stating "We don't think we'd want to buy a Union fort" (Hansen 1973: 76-77). The DeLashmutt family purchased the land that comprises Fort Marcy in 1952.

The National Park Service did not act alone when Fort Marcy was acquired in 1959. The fort site was purchased from Anna DeLashmutt who "received $75,000 for this 'unimproved' land, one half paid from funds appropriated to the National Capital Planning Commission by Congress as part of the parkway, and the other half from funds contributed by Fairfax County [Virginia]" (Hansen 1973: 80). After four years of preparation, the site of Fort Marcy was opened to the public for use as a park in May of 1963 (Hansen 1973).

4. Park Users

Park users are primarily European American individuals of both genders from Virginia who come to the park as tourists. The park user who called in response to our flier lives in Silver Spring, Maryland. NPS staff reported that park users include people meeting for lunch and occasional picnickers. Sometimes Civil War history buffs visit the park, according to NPS officials, and the NPS offers interpretive tours to groups of all sizes upon request. NPS staff informed us that these groups primarily consist of college students who are enrolled in courses related to Civil War history.

5. Park Uses

Observed uses of the park were consistent with those described by NPS staff. According to NPS staff members, "it is infrequent that people come here," and park visitors tend to use the park primarily on weekends during warmer seasons. One man who telephoned reported stopping at Fort Marcy after driving his relatives to the airport. Most park visitors tour the historic fortifications, walk in the surrounding woods, or picnic. In our seven visits, which totaled nine hours of observation, we observed five users. Three of our visits took place during weekends (Saturdays and Sundays), and four took place on weekdays (Wednesdays and Thursdays). Three of the park users we observed parked their cars (all of which had Virginia license plates) in the parking lot, read the informational signs, walked around the fortifications for approximately 15 minutes and then drove away. One man with whom we spoke reported stopping on impulse for a first visit. He sees Fort Marcy while driving home from work everyday, but "I figure it will always be there." We observed one woman sunbathing and reading a newspaper who reported that this was her third visit. She carried a walkie-talkie, but stated she had never "seen a soul here. I wouldn't be sunbathing if I did." The remaining park visitor was walking through the woods outside of the fortifications and entered the main fort via a narrow path. During our visits we observed a total of four cars parked in the Fort Marcy parking lot. All of these cars had Virginia license plates as well.

6. Attitudes and Concerns

The following text summarizes the attitudes and concerns towards Fort Marcy that park visitors and NPS staff expressed during our site visits.

• The accessibility of Fort Marcy was a concern mentioned both by NPS staff and park visitors. According to some NPS officials, many people seeking Fort Marcy have considerable difficulty finding and entering the park. One NPS staff member disagreed, stating that the park is easily accessed by drivers. This staff member added that, in addition to the park's main entrance from the right lane northbound on the George Washington Memorial Parkway, visitors can enter Fort Marcy from Route 123. The concern with access was also described by one first-time park visitor, who had passed the park many times, but never stopped because he normally traveled in the left northbound lane of the Parkway and could not change lanes in time to exit at Fort Marcy. On the day we saw him at the park, he said that construction work caused him to be in the right lane so he could exit the Parkway and stop at the park.

• The majority of the park visitors we spoke with were at the park for the first time, although they mentioned having passed the park entrance many times. One couple had lived in the area for 28 years. They said that they decided to stop at the park on their way home from visiting the monuments on the Mall in Washington, DC. Another first-time visitor also mentioned having driven past the park sign many times without stopping, but said he had always wondered what "Fort Marcy" was. All of these visitors were observed reading the informational sign in the parking lot.

• One first time park visitor commented, "You can tell they don't spend a lot of money here," but did not elaborate on what led him to feel that way about the park.

• A minority of visitors with whom we spoke stated that they appreciated Fort Marcy as a "nice park" rather than a historical site. One of these park users was a visitor from England sunbathing in a clearing with a picnic table, who mentioned the solitude of the park as a positive feature. She said that she never noticed other park visitors while she was there. The other was a man from Vienna, Virginia who said he enjoys walking through the woods at the park and knows "a little" about the history of the site.

• One park visitor was concerned that exotic plants, such as Asiatic Bittersweet and English Ivy, are driving out indigenous plants at Fort Marcy.

7. Analysis of Findings for Fort Marcy

a. Who are the park users and do they share resources effectively?

Park users are motorists from the Virginia area who stop to see the historic fortifications and residents from neighboring Virginia communities who walk through the woods. One park user we interviewed comes to Fort Marcy to sunbathe. No park users mentioned any conflicts over resources at the park, and NPS staff stated that the park is infrequently used.

b. How do different categories of users use the park resources, and when do they use those resources?

There are two categories of users at Fort Marcy: 1) tourists interested in the park's history and 2) occasional recreational users who appear to come primarily at mid-day to eat lunch, sunbathe, or walk in the woods. Based on our observations and consultations with NPS staff, park users visit the park in warm weather, and are somewhat more likely to visit the park on weekends.

c. How do users perceive and identify the park?

The park is perceived primarily in two ways: 1) as a site of Civil War history and 2) as a nice place to walk, relax, and eat lunch.

d. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of recreational resources?

Although NPS staff informed us that groups sometimes visit the park for historic tours, it does not appear that this park serves to strengthen community ties. Users, for the most part, are individuals who drive to the park from other neighborhoods, and there is not a neighborhood setting surrounding the park that might lead groups to use the park to strengthen social ties.

e. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of consumptive resources?

We observed no signs of consumptive uses.

f. What places in the park hold special significance?

All of the individual users with whom we spoke at the park were interested in the Civil War history of the site or saw the park as a facility that allowed them to enjoy nature and solitude. No areas other than the fort were mentioned as having special significance.

g. When is the historical significance of Fort Marcy important?

For the majority of park users at Fort Marcy, the park's role as a Civil War site is important. All of the first time visitors with whom we spoke mentioned the Civil War history of the site as part of what motivated them to stop there. One man stated that he was unable to interpret the significance of what he saw. He said, "There are just two cannons, right?" According to NPS staff, the Civil War history of the site is also of interest to tour groups and college students.

h. What aspects of their culture/history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers?

No park visitors that we interviewed mentioned any cultural or historical issues that they wished to communicate to the NPS.

i. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access?

We are not aware of any groups who would like to use the park but feel they face impediments. Based on the various comments that the traffic patterns on the George Washington Memorial Parkway make access difficult, it is possible that heavy traffic may impede potential visitors who do not travel in the right lane of the northbound parkway, despite the posted road sign along the parkway northbound notifying motorists of the next turn to Fort Marcy.

j. What would groups like to see happen at the park that currently does not happen?

Park staffers of the George Washington Memorial Parkway generally believe that access to Fort Marcy is not a significant problem. Nevertheless, concern about park accessibility was voiced by one park visitor. One staff member suggested that if access happened to be easier there could be a need to staff the park more, to protect the earthworks and other fragile features. Another visitor would like to see the exotic plants, especially the "Mile a Minute," removed. He also believes that the "Blue Blaze Trail" should be better marked. This visitor would like more interpretation of the remaining earthworks, as well as "maybe something like a nature trail." The Blue Blaze Trail is actually and properly named the Potomac Heritage Trail. Fort Marcy is used as an access point and is listed on the Potomac Heritage Trail map that is available at Fort Marcy, Turkey Run Park, and Theodore Roosevelt Island.

k. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

At least three of the visitors we observed read the informational sign in the parking lot, and one man looked in the attached, covered brochure box. NPS could communicate with visitors by adding their telephone number to this sign or placing brochures in the attached box. NPS staff mentioned the possibility of adding an unstaffed kiosk at the park to provide visitors with park information.

V. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

A. Analysis of Findings for Anacostia Park

1. Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively? When and how do the parks provide people bridges rather than barriers to members of different groups? Do women and men, children and adults, use the parks differently?

Anacostia Park brings together a diverse mix of people. Park users range from adult softball players who live west of the Anacostia River to young mothers who live in public housing and rely on the park as a place to calm their children. Life-long African American Washingtonians, who grew up along the Anacostia River, share park space with new immigrants, who come to Anacostia Park to play soccer. They use parkland to help make the city home. The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens may draw more people from far away than nearby, as visitors come from many parts of the city and even the world. Anacostia Park and its Kenilworth Park section also provide the setting for the community to gather and for those who have moved away to come home.

Anacostia Park thus welcomes a variety of users, and they use the park differently. The different types of users do not necessarily interact in the park. Nevertheless, the park seems to function as a setting to pursue recreational activities, to preserve certain cultural traditions, and to seek aspects of social change. Park users play softball, basketball, and soccer there; they picnic, fish, and celebrate family reunions; they have demonstrated there to help integrate park facilities, and they still honor Juneteenth, commemorating the end of slavery. All of these activities offer community-building opportunities.

2. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where do they use those resources? How do these uses vary during the day, the week, and the cycle of seasons? Are there places where people go once in their lives, every weekend, for an annual event, everyday?

Sections C, D, and E of Anacostia Park (from the Frederick Douglass Bridge to the Conrail Trestle) comprise a place that people visit year-round, to seek peace and solitude, fish, play basketball, and eat lunch. From the spring to the fall, other uses accumulate, straining the park and stretching its resources, as organized soccer and baseball teams enter the park, boating activities pick up, and teen socializing and family picnicking peak. Anacostia Park is an everyday park for many users who go there to expand domestic and social space; a weekend park, especially for the young; and a special park, for those who hold reunions there.

Seafarers' Boat Club is used year-round, as members gather for boating activities, to hold meetings and socialize, and to commemorate special events such as birthdays and weddings. The

River Terrace and Kingman Park sections of Anacostia Park function as extensions of the homes of those who live in the area and enjoy walking out to the river to appreciate the water, the sunset or the sky, to walk their dogs, to find peace, and to play ball. Like the parkland stretching from the Frederick Douglass Bridge to the Conrail Trestle, which we will refer to henceforth as "Anacostia Park," River Terrace welcomes many users from outside the immediate neighborhood during warmer months, as people journey there to play baseball and basketball.

Kenilworth Park plays a unique role in the overall park. Some users report going there when the main part of the park grows too crowded. Others report being displaced there for family reunions they would prefer to hold at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. Some park users see it as the special place where they go for the Stone Soul Picnic, the Malcolm X Celebration, or the Oldies but Goodies concerts. Some value the natural sanctuary this part of the park provides to rare indigenous species. For youth soccer organizers, Kenilworth represents wasted, abandoned space that they believe could help revive the city. Kenilworth is thus a contested space, in peoples' experiences, perceptions, and visions for the city, representing much that people seek from parks.

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens remain largely empty in the winter, except for the community outreach and educational programs they provide. Many users describe them as perfect, a secret garden in the city.

3. How do different groups perceive the park's place in the city and their connections to the park? How do they name and identify the park, the parts of the park, and the communities that surround the park?

This is a park whose names people know and use. Many see Kenilworth Park and the other sections as separate parks, however, and use "Anacostia Park" to refer only to the section between the Frederick Douglass Bridge and the Conrail Trestle. Many others see the park in conjunction with the water and think of parkland primarily in terms of how it complements the river or ought to contribute to an ecosystem in which the river and its associated wildlife thrive. For many people who live east of the Anacostia River, the park represents a precious resource: a place to gather, a place to find peace. For many people west of the Anacostia River, both Anacostia Park and Kenilworth Park are newly discovered lands, additions to scarce green space in the quest for recreational facilities that seem to be shrinking.

4. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources? Is the park an important backdrop, or does it provide significant resources, for preserving cultural traditions and national identities, marking biographical transitions, celebrating family reunions, building new communities, or making the city home?

Anacostia Park is extremely important to the residents of River Terrace and Old Anacostia, for whom the river and the green space provide valued extensions of their homes. The park also draws many people with few other options: teenagers for whom there are no movie theaters and

few recreational facilities; children for whom the only other playground lies at Fort Dupont; and adults who live in crowded quarters and use the space to give their families a place to gather and room to breathe. Schools that have built successful athletic teams under severe financial constraints rely on Anacostia Park to stretch their facilities and support their efforts to help youth succeed. Certain families who want to honor the extended family tradition and give their children a sense of their roots -- who they are and where they have come from -- stage their homecoming celebrations in the park, which many say feels like part of home. Even recreational users, who often did not display the same connection to the community, use the park to build new communities of fellow immigrants, or of fellow soccer players and fans.

5. What is the social/cultural context of consumptive uses of park resources such as gardening and fishing?

We do not know of any community gardens in Anacostia Park. The District of Columbia Fisheries Management Branch has gathered information on fishing there (see Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch 1991 through 1996).

6. What places in the park hold special significance? What aspects of their history do groups relate to park resources?

Overwhelmingly, users cited the river as a part of Anacostia Park which is significant to them, but for many different reasons. For some, it is a place that symbolizes the economic disparities of the city. This belief emerged in many comments contrasting park maintenance and facilities east of the river to those on the west, or comparing the cleanliness of the Potomac and Anacostia rivers. Some have transformed this sense of injustice that surrounds the river into environmental activism, as evidenced by community support for the volunteer cleanup campaign each spring.

At the same time, the river brings peace, beauty, and childhood memories to some users. These include memories of using the Anacostia River recreationally, of seeking it out for natural air-conditioning, and of crossing back and forth in the context of dispersed extended family life. Among these users are those who continue to use it recreationally and to introduce younger users to that possibility. Thus the river bridges past and future perhaps more than any other part of the park.

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Three other parts of Anacostia Park that the NPS might evaluate for this listing are the Anacostia Flats (the site of the 1932 Bonus Marchers' campground), the Anacostia Swimming Pool, and Seafarers Boat Club (both of which were sites of civil rights struggles) (see Winks 1994).

7. What other (historical/natural resource) relevance does Anacostia Park have to park neighbors and users?

As indicated above, Anacostia Park is an important site for reflecting on childhood memories. It has long been important culturally and recreationally to local families, although their uses have changed somewhat. The park is an important place for courtship as well. For many users, it holds memories of segregation, of civil rights activism, of social change. In other instances, it symbolizes the threat of discovery by outsiders, or the loss of something precious because others now value it. It is also a place around which to mobilize new civic activism, either on behalf of development in the community or on behalf of the preservation of natural resources.

Increasingly, people in the community have turned to Kenilworth Park and Anacostia Park in a new appreciation of its wildlife and the educational opportunity it represents.

8. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

All local groups emphasize that park managers and planners should understand the special importance of Anacostia Park to residents of the eastern part of Washington. It is precious as recreational and play space, as a place to gather, as a space of reunion, and as a place to be alone.

Other groups emphasize the pressures on parkland throughout the city and the importance of soccer in the social relations of new immigrants, in the college and career aspirations of youth, and in the new multicultural mosaic emerging in the city as a whole. Many people value soccer for the game itself. But people also value soccer for the ways it has come to symbolize a battle between nations. For some it represents a future: a different kind of more globally-sensitive, immigrant-friendly nation. These groups bring to Anacostia Park, and the Kenilworth section, all the complexities of their quest for soccer space and their appreciation of the game.

Many users want park managers to understand the critical importance of the Anacostia River as a waterway in the city's history: in supporting Nacotchank villages, agriculture, and trade; undergirding early Anglo-American hopes that Washington would thrive as a commercial port; damaged by the deforestation and spoilage the early plantations, industries, and military installations brought; and physically separating eastern residents as the city turned away from the water. Today the Anacostia River affords them a different vista of the monumental city from the other side. Rallying around the river today also honors the communities people have worked hard to build east of the Anacostia River and asks that a precious resource be restored to them.

Finally, local residents' hopes and fears are fastened in large part on Anacostia Park. People link the presence of new people who are visibly outsiders to other signs of change in their neighborhoods: the transformation of Good Hope Road, the long-delayed construction of Metro stations, the opening of new businesses on Pennsylvania Avenue, and signs of improving conditions on the Anacostia River. Some residents dread this development, for they bring to it

memories and stories of other dislocations their families have suffered. Others welcome the opportunity to profit from development or to live in a transformed community. But many residents project these fears onto parkland. Many transfer more general feelings of injustice and neglect by government to the National Park Service (NPS), even in situations where the NPS bears no responsibility or blame. In being more responsive than many agencies to residents' sentiments, the NPS may become vulnerable to those sentiments' full force and scope.

9. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the park but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the park make them more welcome?

If anything, Anacostia Park is a park that is all too welcoming. Despite unflattering stereotypes that outsiders sometimes report regarding communities east of the Anacostia River and the somewhat confusing access from west of the river, outsiders who do not live east of the Anacostia River in the District of Columbia come to the park in numbers. Despite the lack of pedestrian walkways, the strained traffic patterns, the congestion, and their resentment at being invaded, local residents still come to the park. Local residents and outsiders alike complain about unpleasant sights, sounds, and smells; teenagers; crowds; cars; trash; deterioration; and disrepair. But they come to the park year-round and fill it to capacity during the warmer months. It welcomes people of all races and ethnic groups, native-born and immigrant, rich and poor, old and young, women and men, people courting, playing games, or seeking peace.

10. What would groups like to see happen at Anacostia Park that currently does not happen?

People, speaking in many different voices, want Anacostia Park to do it all: to compensate for other lacks in their communities and their households, to serve visitors in diverse ways, and to offer more modern and usable equipment and facilities. Visitors would also like to see the park cleaner and better maintained. Beyond that, and a great enthusiasm for the park, there is no unanimity, as discussed below.

Those interested in the Anacostia River want a more water-oriented park: with ramps welcoming water-borne visitors to many sites along the river. They want youth to learn to love and use the waterway and to value it more than commercial amusements. Some want a more developed recreational space, that could rival the sports facilities of other parks, especially in Virginia, offer Washington youth the opportunities of those in better-equipped cities, and attract visitors to Washington. Others want to see Anacostia Park become a mirror image of the western bank of the Potomac: an attractive, developed, visitor- and commerce-oriented spot. In this context, many people mentioned Hains Point in Southwest Washington. Some want it to be a better backyard for their children, where they will be safe near the water, on the playground, and in the restroom. Some want it to provide more cultural activities for youth who need a place to gather, socialize, and meet new people. Students, parents, and teachers want Anacostia Park to complement their school resources, in both athletic and scientific offerings. Some want the park to help commemorate the history of a part of the city that seems absent in the official historical record.

11. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Members of the boating community reported good relations and easy communication with the staff of National Capital Parks-East (NCP-East) division of the NPS. Latino soccer organizers expressed the same ease of communication with the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of NCP-East, as did many local users. Softball and youth soccer organizers have the resources for communicating with park managers, as well as access to people in powerful positions in the city, but may not communicate with local NPS staff as effectively as they would like. If the National Park Service handled all use permits, we believe that communication would improve with organized users and that some of their resentment would dissipate. The most important voices to hear, and the ones probably most available to NPS staff, are those of local people, especially poor people, who may need the park the most. Several people suggested a more active, visible ranger presence in Anacostia Park. Others suggested interpretive tours of the wildlife or historical sites in the park for visitors or local students. Others suggested providing assistance with history or science projects, internships, or for youth at the NPS.

B. Analysis of Findings for the Civil War Defenses of Washington

1. Who are the user groups? Which groups are established and which are new? Do they share resources effectively? When and how do the parks provide people bridges rather than barriers to members of different groups? Do women and men, children and adults, use the parks differently?

The users at the Civil War Defenses of Washington are primarily local citizens from the city and the suburbs. We identified very few instances of national and international visitors to the parks, possibly because we conducted this study during the winter. There are exceptions to this general rule. For example, Civil War buffs sometimes travel to Washington, District of Columbia (DC), to visit some of the sites, and hikers on the Potomac Heritage Trail stop to see the remains of Fort Marcy. Sometimes visitors to the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception and the Franciscan Monastery stop to climb Fort Bunker Hill. Fort Dupont attracts visitors from up and down the East Coast to its concerts, often in conjunction with visiting friends and family here. The ice rink also attracts visiting hockey teams, just as Fort Reno sometimes hosts visiting soccer teams.

Taken together, the Civil War Defenses of Washington serve a full array of Washington residents, of all ages, races, ethnic groups, and social classes. Women appear to use them as comfortably as men, although there are important gender differences that attend feeling secure in the parks, particularly at night. Established users at many of the Civil War Defenses of Washington include people hiking, walking their dogs, and sometimes having picnics. At three of the Civil War Defenses of Washington, community gardeners are long-established users. Some of the Civil War Defenses of Washington host time-honored community events. The best examples of such events are the popular summer concerts at Fort Dupont, which feature traditional and emerging African American musical performances. Several of the parks host newer events organized by neighbors, such as the Know Your Neighbor Day at Fort Chaplin.

Several parks, including Fort Mahan, Fort Greble, Fort Chaplin, and Fort Bayard have long provided recreational facilities to young neighborhood baseball and football players. Joggers and hikers frequent Bunker Hill, DeRussey, Battery Kemble, and Mahan, and have done so for many years.

New users at one of the Civil War Defenses of Washington include the recent immigrant and youth soccer players at Fort Reno. The explosion of both soccer and baseball in the city contribute to struggles over space at Fort Reno and Fort Bayard.

Despite the wide array of residents they serve, and despite commonalities in use, the Civil War Defenses of Washington serve different ethnic groups. There are three exceptions to this general rule. Fort Reno serves park users of various ethnic backgrounds because the students from the neighboring schools use the sports facilities and the path. Otherwise, even at Fort Reno, diverse users such as gardeners and soccer players use the park at different times, in different spots, and

in different ways. Another exception is Bunker Hill, which lies in an unusual Washington neighborhood. The interracial character of the neighborhood is reflected in the coalition of community activists who use and care for the park. Third, special events at Fort Dupont, such as the cross country race, ice skating activities, and occasionally the concerts bring together people of different ethnic and racial groups. Otherwise people of largely homogenous ethnic and racial backgrounds use each of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. Gendered uses vary as well, with women somewhat more likely to use the trails at a park like Fort DeRussey than other kinds of spaces, but these did not emerge as strongly in our findings as did other kinds of differences.

2. What park resources do different groups use? How, when, and where do they use those resources? How do these uses vary during the day, the week, and the cycle of seasons? Are there places where people go once in their lives, every weekend, for an annual event, everyday?

Many of the Civil War Defenses of Washington are neighborhood parks, used most intensely by neighbors. The exceptions are Fort Reno and Fort Dupont. Battery Kemble is a neighborhood park, primarily for daily dog-walkers, that also functions as a special park for users around the region who come there to picnic and hike. Some of the Civil War Defenses of Washington receive daily, year-round use, such as Forts Bayard, Bunker Hill, Reno, Slocum, Stevens, and Battery Kemble Park.

At other sites, use is uneven. Fort Dupont is heavily used during the summer and almost empty through the winter, as are Fort Stanton, Fort Chaplin, and Fort Greble. Several parks appear to receive almost no use at all, especially Fort Totten, Battery Carroll, Fort Mahan, and Fort Marcy. Despite the pressures on parkland throughout the region, the Civil War Defenses of Washington receive uneven use.

3. How do different groups perceive the parks' place in the city and their connections to the parks? How do they name and identify the parks, the parts of the parks, and the communities that surround the parks?

Fort Foote, Fort Dupont, and Fort Reno, which are large, cosmopolitan parks, serve a regional clientele. People perceive Fort DeRussey as part of Rock Creek Park. Fort Marcy appears disconnected from the nearby mansions, and Fort Davis appears to be a park that people primarily drive through on their way somewhere else. Forts Carroll, Totten, and Mahan are not widely perceived as parks at all. Otherwise, residents identify and perceive the Civil War Defenses of Washington as neighborhood parks.

In several cases, members of the community identify strongly with their parks. This is especially true of Fort Bunker Hill, Fort Greble, Fort Bayard, and Battery Kemble, where residents watch out for and think about the park, clean it up, confront dumpers, and in many ways connect their own identities to the character of their park. We believe it is more quietly true of Fort Slocum,

where neighbors watch out for unsavory uses and come daily to walk their dogs, play pick-up sports, and sometimes go sledding or walk in the woods.

For the most part, Fort Reno and Fort Dupont are not perceived as neighborhood parks. In the past, neighbors in both places have expressed dissatisfaction with the noise, litter, and traffic that they believe outsiders bring into the parks. At the same time, both parks are a source of pride to some neighbors. At Fort Dupont neighbors are proud of the hockey team, the community gardens, and the rich cultural heritage offered by the concerts. At Fort Reno, some take pride in the way the park fosters integrated public life and in the diversity provided by the new immigrant soccer festivals.

Virtually no users see the Civil War Defenses of Washington in the context of "the watchfires of 100 circling camps;" that is, in relation to one another or holistically as filling the hilly perimeter of the city. The only exception might be during the Fourth of July celebrations when fireworks are visible from and at many of the parks.

4. What is the social/cultural context of peoples' use of park recreational resources? Is the park an important backdrop, or does it provide significant resources, for preserving cultural traditions and national identities, marking biographical transitions, celebrating family reunions, building new communities, or making the city home?

The parks provide rich cultural contexts for recreational events. These range from the community level; where, as examples, Fort Bunker Hill neighbors gather monthly to clean the park, and Battery Kemble dog-owners gather daily to run their dogs. They include ethnic cultural traditions as well. For example, new immigrants use Fort Reno to recreate the social practices surrounding soccer in their home countries, as they gather friends and family to cook, eat, play music, watch, and cheer. African Americans keep alive a core tradition of coming home and honoring their legacy through the family reunions they organize at Fort Dupont.

5. What is the social cultural context of consumptive uses of park resources such as gardening and fishing?

Anglers at Fort Foote catch, share, and prepare fish according to traditions honed in the rural south and kept alive throughout Washington. Fishing provides an arena for friends and kin to come together and for fishermen and -women to cement social networks through sharing and consuming the fish they catch. Fishing is also an important provisioning strategy for those with limited food budgets.

The gardens at Fort Dupont, Fort Stevens, and Fort Reno are centers for sharing skills and stories, growing the foods of home, preserving treasured recipes, and constructing social ties to other gardeners and many members of the communities where the gardens lie.

6. What places in the parks hold special significance? What aspects of their history do groups relate to park resources?

The beach at Fort Foote is appreciated for its view of the river and its rich fishing opportunities. The amphitheater and ice rink at Fort Dupont are core parts of many residents' memories of growing up in Washington; as are the concert stage, playing fields, and path at Fort Reno for people who attended school at Alice Deal Junior High School and Woodrow Wilson Senior High School. For many residents, exposure to Fort Bunker Hill was a valued part of their education about the natural resources of the city. One woman associated joyful childhood memories with her family's excursions to Fort Totten, and another woman recalled the time when her family buried their dog at Fort Slocum. One man believes that he has been the best friend of Fort Mahan for the last 19 years. Many people have fond memories of watching the Fourth of July fireworks from Fort Stanton. No one mentioned identifying with the Freedmen's villages which previously existed at two of the Civil War Defenses of Washington which are now under NPS jurisdiction.

Battleground National Cemetery is currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, as are the remains of the fortifications of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. The NPS might evaluate the Civilian Conservation Corps projects at Fort Dupont (especially Lanham Estates) and the Fort Stanton neighborhood for inclusion on the National Register.

7. What other (historical/natural resource) relevance do the Civil War Defenses of Washington have to park neighbors and users?

Users primarily mentioned the natural resources and beauty of Fort Bayard, Battery Kemble and Bunker Hill, although Fort Dupont has an active naturalists' group as well. Many parks, these first three in particular, serve as extensions of peoples' homes and yards, protect them from intrusions of development, and make them feel healthier. This was a feeling frequently expressed about Fort DeRussey/Rock Creek Park also.

The historical relevance of the Civil War Defenses of Washington seems important to only a few residents and users. One person praised the parapets at Fort DeRussey, for example. Many people expressed confusion about the war in which the forts were involved. Some people expressed an interest in fuller, or alternative histories at the Civil War Defenses of Washington. These include accounts of Lincoln walking the tuberculosis tents at Fort Bayard, the early residential community at Fort Reno, and the possible Native American quarry at Fort Mahan.

8. What aspects of their culture and history do groups feel are important to convey to park managers and planners?

Gardeners at all three parks which host them want park managers to know how important their gardens are to their mental and physical health and to building community. Fishermen at Fort Foote want park managers to know the value of that fishing spot and how it might be more

productive with a few more amenities. Parents, students and staff at Deal Junior High School and Wilson High School want to communicate that the schools are desperate for park space. Residents near Fort Greble, Fort Mahan, and Fort Stanton want park managers to know how precious the facilities of those parks are as resources for their neighborhoods. Some residents who live near Fort Mahan and Fort Chaplin want park managers to know that those spaces do not seem like parks to them. Others want the NPS to know that Fort Mahan in particular needs more attention and friends. Battery Kemble users want park managers to realize that they exercise their dogs responsibly, that dogs keep the park safe and add to its vitality, and that letting dogs run free in the park is a long-standing community tradition.

9. Are there other local groups which have expressed interest in using the parks but feel they have limited access? Why? How could the parks make them more welcome?

Some residents of the Anacostia area expressed fears regarding Fort Stanton; residents of Marshall Heights indicated feeling unsafe and unwelcome at Fort Mahan and Fort Chaplin; and all participants at our focus group on Fort Totten argued strongly that it was extremely unwelcoming. Several African American members of the research team indicated that they would not feel comfortable in parks such as Battery Kemble. They drew this conclusion from the park's location in a wealthy Euro-American neighborhood and from the fact that the entrance is not prominently marked.

10. What would groups like to see happen at the Civil War Defenses of Washington that currently does not happen?

As shown in our discussion of each park, people express a diversity of views about changes that they would like to see in the Civil War Defenses of Washington. These views cluster in four ways. Some groups would like to see the parks more formally organized for sports use. These users would like to see the trees cut down, the underbrush cleared, and a Fort Reno model applied to the wilder parks. Neighbors of Fort Totten especially suggested this kind of development.

A second set of views, shared by a large number of users, is related to making the parks more historically interesting. Suggestions ranged from small matters such as repositioning the signs, to replacing the signs with more distinctive and engaging text and photographs that are more appropriate to the neighborhoods where the parks are located. Users also suggested that the NPS offer more interpretive programs and articulate more diverse histories: of the parks as sanctuaries for slaves and Freedmen; as Native American villages; or as sites for the preservation of African American cultural traditions.

Preserving the natural resources of parks also has partisans among users, particularly at Fort DeRussey, Fort Bunker Hill and Battery Kemble.

Finally, people would also like to see the parks be more equal in terms of the financial resources and attention they receive. Some also noted the more individualized character of the Civil War Defenses of Washington west of the Anacostia River compared to those lying east of the river. The discrepancies between the conditions and facilities of parks in Upper Northwest and those east of the Anacostia River appear particularly harsh to some. Several people commented on the potential of the Civil War Defenses of Washington to be model urban parks, cultural jewels, and sites for rebuilding community.

11. How can NPS personnel effectively communicate with each group?

Users differ widely in their feelings of being able to articulate their concerns to NPS personnel. Some are visible, vocal, and command attention, including those who developed the Sports Plan for Fort Reno and the dog-owners at Battery Kemble. Some communicate fairly well through volunteers, especially the community gardeners; and others deal mostly with park rangers and park police, sometimes in an unfriendly fashion (at Fort Foote, for example). In the case of Fort Dupont, users speak very highly of an accessible, congenial, responsive park staff. In the discussion of each park, we have made more specific suggestions about how to communicate to users, either through their own organized groups, other community groups, or on the park grounds.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Under the first subheading, "Conclusions Regarding the Research and REAP," we offer conclusions regarding the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP) employed in the study. The second section, under the subheading "Conclusions Regarding the Parks and Planning," discusses conclusions stemming from research findings in the parks that planners may find useful.

A. Conclusions Regarding the Research and REAP

In our Methodology section, we discussed many of the methodological issues which surrounded the research for this study. In this concluding section, we reflect on the ways in which the methodology was successful, the challenges it posed, and the ways such research might be even more fruitful.

Our understanding is that rapid ethnographic assessment is in an experimental, pioneering phase in the study of national parks. We appreciated the opportunity to participate in this exciting new field of study. For our study, we modified the narrower focus of much rapid assessment to examine a number of complicated issues in 23 different park sites, both historically and currently. During the course of our work, we felt the tension between depth and breadth, but did our best to achieve wide coverage while exploring issues in as much detail as possible given the constraints of time.

Similarly, we faced challenges in attempting to achieve the value-free ideal that currently is an issue in Cultural Anthropology. Understanding the National Park Service's needs for an objective, balanced account sometimes meant suppressing sympathies for those we worked with as well as conscientiously reporting the views of those with whom we disagreed. We believe that we have done this as charged and have tried to convey a range of views without taking sides. For this reason, we used direct quotations heavily as way to separate our opinions from others', to document a variety of views, and to convey views that reflect peoples' own social positions and perceptions whether or not we believe them to be correct.

Another challenge stemmed from our charge to solicit the views of all park users, including those from whom the National Park Service (NPS) does not ordinarily hear. Those users are less visible and vocal in public media and forums, and more challenging to locate and interview. The situation was complicated by the winter season, when the parks were not heavily used, and by the spread-out geography of the parks in many different neighborhoods throughout the city and in two suburbs. However, despite these challenges, we have discovered and recorded varied Washingtonians' perceptions of the parks as well as the cultural meanings they attach to them.

Among the several ways we modified REAP, two were especially useful. Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures stress the importance of local knowledge, and in seeking local knowledge we included community ethnographers as fully participating researchers. Community ethnographers' local knowledge of the communities and the parks and their social networks offered us an early grasp of the complexities of the issues, and also allowed us to make contacts rapidly and to work from a foundation of trust. REAP guidelines also emphasize collaboration with communities, which for us included holding focus groups in informal local settings and attending community meetings. Both were intended to minimize the power differential between anthropologists and the people who were subjects of research. Going to community meetings, where we met organized groups on their terms and in their own space, elicited a greater range of views than we might otherwise have discovered. People also spoke very frankly in these settings. These strategies gave us access to critics as well as partisans of the parks and allowed us to document a variety of views rather than posit an artificial consensus of opinion.

In the final analysis, the intent of the NPS to distribute this document to the people we consulted will provide the best check on the accuracy of our work. Their responses to the report will garner additional data as well. Few anthropologists return their ethnographic findings so completely to the people who consult with them on their research. We believe that this contributes to the honesty and completeness of our work. We conclude the research with an even firmer commitment to the value of qualitative research in seeking insiders' perspectives and knowledge and evaluating cultural resources in the national parks.

B. Conclusions Regarding the Parks and Planning

The following conclusions stem from our use of REAP, which included examining historical materials and use permits, consulting with NPS staff, visiting the 23 park sites, conducting interviews and focus groups, posting fliers soliciting telephone calls from park visitors, and attending community meetings.

1. Our study revealed that the parks cluster in four general categories. First, neighborhood parks are those used most frequently by neighborhood residents for varied activities such as dog-walking, sports and recreation, hiking, and contemplation. They include: River Terrace, Kingman Park, Forts Greble, Stanton, Chaplin, Bunker Hill, Slocum, Stevens, Bayard, and Battery Kemble Park. These parks are used predominantly by neighbors. Fort Stevens sometimes attracts people interested in the Civil War from other parts of the city and country. Battery Kemble sometimes draws residents from other neighborhoods for special celebrations. Some neighbors find their neighborhood parks unwelcoming. This is especially true for Forts Greble, Stanton, and Chaplin.

Second, multiple-use parks are larger parks that serve a city-wide or regional clientele for varied purposes. They include "Anacostia Park" (the official NPS Sections C, D, and E of Anacostia Park), Kenilworth Park, Forts Foote, Dupont, and Reno. Visitors to these parks are multi-ethnic,

but often they engage in separate activities there. One exception is Fort Foote, where African American and Euro-American visitors engage in the same activities, often at the same time. At Fort Reno, youth who walk the path from school to Metro and who use the park for sports include Euro Americans, African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans. These youth of different ethnic backgrounds frequently play on the same sports teams. The concerts at Fort Reno also include Euro-Americans and African Americans as musicians and members of the audience.

Third, we define as "serendipitous parks" those parks that people walk or drive through, happen upon, or visit impulsively. These parks are Forts Davis, DeRussey, and Marcy. Finally, we define as "orphan parks" those parks that appear to receive few visitors and little care: Forts Carroll, Mahan, and Totten. The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, as a national and international tourist attraction that appears to receive few local visitors, are anomalous.

2. Secondly, we have found a striking unevenness in park use, as the above categories already suggest. Many study participants reported pressures on scarce parkland. They reported congestion and competition for space at Anacostia Park and Fort Reno in particular. We collected discrepant information about Kenilworth Park, which some participants state is crowded as well. Near these parks, however, other parks lie empty. This unevenness is reflected also at Fort Dupont and Fort Stanton, which house sites of intensive use amidst large empty spaces.

3. Park visitors cluster into four general categories. The first group consists of those who value most the natural resources of the parks and emphasize the fragile and important ecology of parkland. In the words of one partisan, they urge the NPS to "keep it natural." They include the environmental activists who stress the relationship between Anacostia Park and the Anacostia River.

A second group includes those that some label "green and clean." We term them organized sports users, who emphasize the popularity of sports, especially baseball, softball, and soccer for Washington-area adults and youth. These users urge the NPS to develop parkland to provide additional and improved sports facilities such as baseball diamonds and soccer fields.

The third category includes users who stress the need for educational and cultural programs for visitors. They urge improved interpretive facilities, brochures, tours, and more contact with park rangers.

Finally, a fourth category includes traditional users, who "assign significance to places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples" (National Park Service 1994: 166). This category includes new immigrant soccer players, for whom soccer games are culturally meaningful and include family members, music, and traditional foods. It also includes the community gardeners, urban anglers, and those who organize reunions. Finally, it includes those who rely on the national parks to expand

domestic and neighborhood space, calm their children and let them play, walk their dogs, and hold picnics. They express varied concerns, but in general ask the NPS for cleaner, safer parks and improved picnic and playground facilities.

4. Most visitors to the Civil War Defenses of Washington have no notion of the historical role of the parks or of the connections among them. However, several of these parks are important to visitors because of their personal, family, ethnic, or community histories. As far as we can discern, these parks are: Forts Foote, Stanton, Dupont, Bunker Hill, Slocum, Reno, Bayard, and Battery Kemble.

5. Study participants expressed attachments to and affection for Anacostia Park and many of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. Most also expressed dissatisfaction with park facilities, equipment, maintenance, and programs. We note especially the concerns of neighbors at Fort Bunker Hill and Fort Bayard, and of one man at Fort Mahan, who believe that their considerable efforts to care for the parks should be rewarded by NPS attention to park infrastructure.

6. Finally, African American study participants expressed a general belief that there are inequities in the parks: between Anacostia Park and East and West Potomac Parks west of the river; and between the Civil War Defenses of Washington in the Northeast and Southeast quadrants and those in the Upper Northwest section of the city. Most of the Euro-American respondents did not express this belief, and only a few expressed an awareness of possible inequities.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

This Recommendations section contains two parts. The first concerns recommendations regarding our use of Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP). The second contains recommendations stemming from our research. We offer these for National Park Service (NPS) planners to consider for the Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park.

A. Recommendations Regarding the Research

We understand well the budgetary constraints under which the NPS operates. We offer the following recommendations for further ethnographic, historical, and scientific research in the context of that understanding. We hope that individual researchers, public-private partnerships, historical and cultural agencies, foundations, or teachers and students might be interested in some of these issues.

1. We believe that traditional participant-observation during warmer weather when the parks are more fully in use would complement what we have discovered through interviews, focus groups, community meetings, and observations of park users and signs of use. This research would be valuable for several reasons. It would supplement our findings, which have illuminated peoples' sentiments, perceptions, memories, and desires for the parks, with more precise descriptions of their actual, grounded experiences there. Researchers might also meet more regional, national, and international visitors to supplement the perspectives of neighbors and local visitors we have interviewed this winter.

In addition to everyday and recreational use, researchers could observe such special events as Stone Soul Day at Kenilworth Park, concerts, family reunions, and the harvest festival at Fort Dupont, Unifest and Juneteenth at Anacostia Park, or Know Your Neighbor Day at Fort Chaplin. Also, new immigrant celebrations, especially those surrounding soccer, such as the Trinidadian "fete match," are worthy of study as emerging traditional uses of the parks. Many study participants noted that these events are sites for building community and honoring cultural tradition. They deserve fuller documentation as part of the rich multicultural complexity of the District of Columbia's ritual and symbolic life.

The stories, lore, and knowledge that we gathered from community gardeners convinced us of the importance of gardening to peoples' provisioning strategies during hard times, and to building social networks through sharing gardening skills, recipes, and foods. Following the community gardeners from planting through harvest, preparation, preservation, exchanges and consumption of their foods would be a valuable research endeavor.

Finally, warmer weather research would resolve lingering discrepancies in our research. Resolving these discrepancies could have policy implications for planners. For example,

participants differ dramatically in their claims that Kenilworth Park is under-utilized, or conversely, very crowded. We believe that both accounts are true, because the park receives uneven use. But this belief can only be tested and documented in the summer. Similarly, we repeatedly visited parks that appear to lie empty, including Fort Greble, Fort Stanton, and Fort Chaplin. However, neighbors informed us that the parks are heavily and appropriately used. Summer research could explore that use and document further how visitors experience and perceive these parks.

2. Fort Stanton deserves fuller study in its own right for several reasons. It is a huge, sprawling park with many different uses of land and facilities by diverse religious and cultural institutions and the District of Columbia government. It is reported to have housed a Freedmen's village, and it welcomed African Americans in the 1930s who were restricted from living in other parts of the city. One of these residents reports finding evidence of Native American settlements there. Fort Stanton is surrounded by an underserved and understudied neighborhood that houses many people. Researching the history of the community, and the role of the park in the community, would enrich Washington, District of Columbia (DC), studies, especially since we could find virtually no works in cultural anthropology and social history on groups or subjects east of the Anacostia River.

3. Little historical research has been conducted east of the Anacostia River, with the exception of Ruth Ann Overbeck's published articles and her study of Anacostia Park, which is in progress (see Overbeck in Schneider Smith 1988 and forthcoming). In writing this history, the national parks will be important to the story. We believe this because of several clues gleaned from our research. For example, many of the Civil War Defenses of Washington were designed when planners embraced a Neighborhood Education Center model that envisioned parks as centers of community life and therefore planned them in conjunction with other agencies as sites for schools, churches, and recreation centers. Later, the NPS responded actively through outreach programs to the new communities that grew up around the parks. Today, these mixed uses are sources of confusion to many of the people we interviewed. But they are clues as well to a progressive planning vision, presaged by NPS-Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) collaborations to develop the parks in the 1930s, and re-emergent in the NPS outreach programs in the 1960s and 1970s.

A second issue concerns the rapid development of the area east of the Anacostia River. It appears that many people were forced into too small a space and that social services and employment opportunities have been inadequate. At the same time, arterial highways supporting suburbanization sliced through the area, in some cases causing disruption and dislocation. The history of how this happened could be an important resource for empowering community organizations. In this context of stresses on people and space, the Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park have preserved undeveloped green space, contributing to a healthier ecosystem and literally giving people room to breathe. Understanding the parks' historical roles might be useful to those currently debating development in Marshall Heights, Old Anacostia, Anacostia and Kenilworth Parks, and Kingman Island.

One consequence of further historical research east of the Anacostia River might be that the Civil War Defenses of Washington could illuminate different kinds of histories. Little professional archaeological excavation has been done in the parks, and such work might yield information on the Nacotchtank settlements there, on the everyday lives and institutions of the runaway slaves and freed slaves who sought work and sanctuary at the Civil War forts, and on the free African American villages that may have grown up near some of them. Such work would contribute to knowledge about Native American and African American history.

4. Several of the parks, especially Fort Bunker Hill, Fort Davis, Fort Dupont, Kenilworth, and Anacostia Park offer important opportunities to natural scientists. The National Capital Parks - East (NCP-East) Natural Resource Specialist has documented that these parks support a variety of indigenous species of plants and animals. Some of the areas in transition, such as the eroding seawall of the Anacostia River or the fairways of the former golf course at Fort Dupont offer important opportunities for scientific research into ecological systems. The NPS has already pioneered such research at Kenilworth and developed an important fossil fuels conservation program there.

5. Another proposal for further research involves the unique nature of Washington's parks as urban parks of great promise. Comparative perspectives on urban parks in other places, and on NPS parks in other venues, would provide planners information about alternative courses of action. Cities in southern Europe might be interesting to examine, in part because they were crucial to Pierre L'Enfant's vision. He believed that their water- and greenery-filled plazas offered natural air conditioning to a place burdened by hot, muggy weather. Washingtonians sought out Anacostia Park for the same reasons in the 1960s.

As another example, Anacostia Park has survived as a restful, natural park unencumbered by development. But to some people development sounds desirable. What have been the experiences of other waterfront parks, such as Baltimore's Inner Harbor or New York's South Street Seaport? Has development there been fruitful and worth the value of what it replaced?

Another example of how a comparative perspective might be helpful concerns Kenilworth Park. Soccer enthusiasts would like to develop this park as a premier soccer complex, offering practice and playing facilities for local teams and hosting tournaments for visiting players. Their hope is that such a use would attract visitors to Washington, help to dispel stereotypes about the city, and generate jobs and visitor spending. What have been the experiences of Richmond or St. Louis in this regard? What were the factors prompting Virginia Beach to move in this direction?

Our final two examples concern other NPS parks and how planners might apply experiences there to Washington, DC. One focus group participant argued articulately that this area's national parks are "boring," especially in contrast to the intellectual stimulation she has experienced at other national parks. Our open-ended questions to other study participants elicited many similar, if not quite so frank, comments. Why are Washington's parks boring and others stimulating? How could the parks histories' be more engaged and engaging? What aspects of the earthen forts

makes them potential sites for learning? What does the NPS do in other places that has not been done here?

6. Finally, in a more theoretical but potentially useful vein, the Applied Ethnography Program might consider reviving approaches akin to William F. Whyte's work for the NPS in the 1970s on "The Social Uses of Small Urban Spaces" (Whyte 1979). Whyte presaged and pioneered geographer David Harvey's more recent call to study place-making processes. This call has energized the field of cultural geography, for it focuses attention on what people do to make places their own. Examining these processes also highlights differences in cultural orientations and social power. We were struck by the value of a place-making perspective in making sense of Washington's parks and believe that it would be useful, as park ethnography grows and experiments, to try it out.

B. Recommendations for Planners

We offer six recommendations. They include: (1) serious considering alternative directions for Kenilworth Park; (2) collaborating with environmental activists on issues concerning the Anacostia River; (3) developing interpretive facilities for the Civil War Defenses of Washington that explore multiple histories; (4) planning initiatives that emphasize the needs of "traditional users," such as community gardeners, concert-goers, and people fishing; (5) evaluating several sites for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places; and (6) allocating urgent attention and financial resources to those parks we call "orphan parks."

1. Kenilworth Park has had a particularly troubled past. Today, some people emphasize its fragile ecology, natural beauty, and rare wetland habitats and resources. Others, including new immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean and adults representing both Euro-American and African American girls and boys, argue for active recreational use. These advocates have offered to pay the costs of developing Kenilworth as a soccer complex. They state that nothing there will change aesthetically or ecologically and that this complex will attract visitors to Washington, invite investment, and create jobs. They argue that Kenilworth Park would offer outsiders a pleasant experience in the city and help to dispel stereotypes about Washington, DC. They believe that they can alleviate neighbors' concerns about potential parking problems. Some activists in the community support the plan, because they would like to see soccer more accessible to inner-city African American youth. This proposal merits serious consideration.

2. The second recommendation stems from historical accounts of the Anacostia River's past, the unhappiness many residents east of the Anacostia River express about the river's pollution, the community momentum underway for restoring the river's health, and the important ways the state of the river affects Anacostia Park. The NPS could sponsor or support interpretive programs related to the physical environment surrounding the Anacostia River. Several such projects are in progress under different auspices already. The Natural Resources Specialist offers advice to students whose science projects concern the Anacostia River. The NPS operates an

Aquatic Education Center that includes fishing workshops. The District of Columbia has collected information for several years on fishermen and fisher-women, whose traditional uses of the park and the Anacostia River have been imperiled by its pollution. Seafarers Boat Club and the Anacostia Watershed Society hold an annual volunteer cleanup day. The NPS can build on and support these initiatives that are already in place. For example, District of Columbia high school students, who must complete 100 hours of community service to graduate, could help staff park facilities, clean the riverbank and the park, conduct scientific studies on the ecology of the area or the points of contact that cause pollution, or work with community organizations on issues of development. The NPS might also work with college and university interns, who could investigate such issues as relations between communities lying along the river and the river itself. Such investigations could include the role of the park in making the river more or less accessible and part of the community.

3. Many participants in our study expressed disinterest in the current historical resources at the Civil War Defenses of Washington . Many also expressed an apparently contradictory desire for more interpretive, educational programs, including guided trails, kiosks, brochures, tours conducted by youth, reenactments, collaboration with schools, and contact with NPS rangers.

One person noted to us that a soldier was shot several feet from where President Abraham Lincoln stood observing the battle at Fort Stevens. If President Lincoln had died then, history might have been different, for the Emancipation Proclamation was not law, but an Executive Order. There are probably several ways the history of the Civil War Defenses of Washington could be more compelling, even though there was only one battle at the Civil War Defenses of Washington, DC. The historical interpretive sign at all of the Civil War Defenses of Washington parks features one generic photograph depicting an historic fort scene, rather than photographs of the actual park sites. The soldiers are all Euro-American, although African Americans were also present at the forts and many of the parks lie in African-American neighborhoods.

Also, the Civil War Defenses of Washington could illuminate different kinds of histories, especially those related to the little-known Nacotchtank settlements, and to the early African-Americans who bought their own freedom, fled slavery, or settled as Freedmen there. Other histories that might be explored and interpreted include that of the Civilian Conservation Corps, which had camps for youth in at least two parks (Fort Dupont and Fort Bunker Hill) and whose participants built lasting, aesthetically impressive facilities and structures there. Providing public sector jobs to do socially useful work could model larger policy directions today. Many study participants suggested that the NPS offer jobs to local youth.

4. "Traditional users" who "typically assign significance to places in parks closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples" (National Park Service 1994: 166), do not make their desires for parkland known as fully as sports users and environmental activists. But we have documented their experiences, perceptions, and suggestions in great detail in this report. They deserve special consideration. These users include the community gardeners. The NPS could both recognize their efforts and

take steps to enhance their success. Appreciating the cultural resources of the community gardens, we suggest that the NPS confirm that they are included in the forthcoming Heritage Tourism database of culturally significant sites in Washington (underway at the Humanities Council of Washington, DC). We also suggest introducing the community gardeners to each other and affording them the opportunity to visit each other's sites and exchange information. A documentary video on the community gardeners would capture the cultural resources of the gardens while city dwellers still grow their own foods, in this case traditional foods from the South. Further, all three groups of gardeners offered concrete, seemingly affordable suggestions for improving security and productivity at the gardens. We urge the NPS to act on their suggestions.

In addition to the community gardeners, Fort Dupont Park has sponsored long-standing and popular outdoor summer concerts. These concerts have highlighted African American musical traditions, including blues, jazz, gospel, and go-go, which is indigenous to Washington, DC. Fort Dupont also houses Lanham Estates, which has hosted family and community reunions for many years. Our study documents the importance of these reunions to the African American cultural tradition of coming home. The NPS should consider educational and interpretive programs that recognize, enhance, and communicate to a wider public the cultural value of these practices. Examples of such programs might include videos of family reunions or concerts, oral history projects, instruction in gathering genealogies, audiotapes of live concert performances, or portable and traveling museum exhibits in NPS facilities and District of Columbia libraries and recreation centers.

People fishing also constitute traditional users. More public attention to and support of their activities at Anacostia Park, Kenilworth Park, and Fort Foote would be productive. The fishermen at Fort Foote made specific suggestions for facilities that would improve fishing there. Environmental activists at the Anacostia River are concerned that the pollution affects the quality of fish that people catch and eat. River cleanup efforts help to address these concerns. Additionally, a documentary on the Anacostia River, perhaps similar to "Fishing in the City," which explores fishing on the Potomac River, would help create an appreciation for the cultural complexities and social networks involved in catching, sharing, and cooking fish.

Least visible of all the traditional users are those park neighbors who rely on the national parks to find solitude; expand home and family space, gather with friends; or organize reunions for their extended families, church and community groups, or former schoolmates. In this report, their requests are simple and straightforward. They would like cleaner, safer parks, more picnic facilities, trash collection, restrooms, and playground equipment. Involving youth in park activities as volunteers or paid employees, was also a recurring and valuable recommendation. We urge the NPS to respond to these users in the ways they have suggested.

5. The following sites should be evaluated for eligibility on the National Register of Historic Places as sites of important civil and human rights movements (Winks 1994): the Anacostia

Swimming Pool, parkland resting on the flats where the Bonus Army of 1932 camped, and the Seafarers Boat Club. The neighborhood that took Fort Stanton as its name and the Civilian Conservation Corps projects at Fort Dupont (especially Lanham Estates) also deserve such evaluation.

6. Finally, we urge the NPS to pay special attention to those parks that our study found to be "orphan parks," somewhat eclipsed by more active parks like Fort Dupont. Battery Carroll, Fort Mahan, and Fort Totten are parks with urgent needs for financial resources, innovative programs, and improved facilities and maintenance. They need more distinctive identities and balanced attention to the natural, cultural, and recreational uses that potentially exist. They should welcome neighbors and visitors rather than frightening them. Again, the people we interviewed offered many ideas for revitalizing these parks, which we have detailed in our report. These ideas include a jazz club at Fort Mahan, a scenic overlook at Battery Carroll, a Fort Reno-style remake of Fort Totten. While these suggestions may seem extreme, we urge the NPS to think boldly about how these three parks might contribute in more interesting and positive ways to the life of the city.

We make these suggestions in the spirit of the joys of discovery which the NPS made available to us in our city's parks and with enthusiasm for the role that researchers collaborating with communities can play in understanding urban parks and helping them be the best they can be.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agar, Michael and James MacDonald
1995 Focus Groups and Ethnography. Human Organization 54: 78-86.

Allen, Bill
1997 Telephone conversation with the principal investigator, May 1997.

Armstrong, Jenice
1991 People who Make a Difference. National Wildlife 29 (6): 40-46.

Army War College Historical Section
1929 A Guide to the Military Features in and about Washington. The Official Program.

Barna, David
1996 NPS Internet Project to List 230,000 African Americans in Civil War. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov, September 10.

Barnes, Linwood E.
1996 Langston Golf Course. Text posted on the World Wide Web at: http://www.asaol.com/linwood.htm, May 5.

Barnes, William
1980 A Battle for Washington. Washington, DC: Records of the Columbia Historical Society (50): 452-483.

Barthold, Elizabeth
1993 The Predicament of the Parklets. Washington History Spring/Summer: 28-45.

Beck Helm, Judith
1981 Tenleytown, DC: Country Village into City Neighborhood. Washington, DC: Tennally Press.

1988 "Tenleytown Crossroads." *In* Washington At Home: An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital. Kathryn Schneider Smith, ed. Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc. Pages 79-87.

Beebe, James
1995 Basic Concepts and Techniques of Rapid Appraisal. Human Organization 54: 42-51.

Bell, Thomas
1990 Group Envisions a Clean Anacostia. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, April 19. Page 11.

Borchert, James
1982 Alley Life in Washington. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Brown, Leticia W. And Elsie M. Lewis
1971 Washington from Banneker to Douglass: 1791-1870. Washington, DC: Education Department, National Portrait Gallery.

1972 Washington in the New Era: 1870-1970. Washington, DC: Education Department, National Portrait Gallery.

Bushong, William
1990 Historic Resource Study: Rock Creek Park. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Carey, Francine Curro
1996 Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, DC. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation
1995 Rebuilding a Community: Marshall Heights Community Development Organization. A.E.C. Focus, Fall 1995.

Chui, Yvonne
No date. In Marshall Heights, Bagels Come Wrapped in Optimism: Model Financial Package Helps Fund Chesapeake's Start Up. Washington, DC: The Washington Post.

Churchman, Deborah
1981 Searching for the Civil War. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, October 21.

Clinton, William J.
1996a Memorandum on National Children's Island. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 32 (30): 1298.

1996b Statement on Signing the National Children's Island Act of 1995. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 32 (30): 1297-1298.

Combes, Abbott
1971 Fort Dupont Park to Close Golf Links. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, November 23. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Conway, Patricia L.
1967 A New Look for District Playgrounds. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 18. Pages 22 and 24. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Cooling III, B. Franklin and Walton H. Owen II.
1988 Mr. Lincoln's Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington. Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Company.

The Council of the District of Columbia
1985 A Ceremonial Resolution to Honor and Recognize the Fort Stanton Civic Association on the Occasion of its June 1, 1985 Dedication of the Fort Stanton Citizens' Park. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Register.

Cranz, Galen
1982 The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cressman, Elizabeth
1978 The Reno that Was. Washington, DC: Neighborhood History Project, Neighborhood Planning Council. Brochure on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Daniels, Roger
1971 The Bonus March. Westport, CT: Greenwald.

Davis, Gentry
1996 The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed. Washington, DC: National Park Service, National Capital Area.

Deloria, Vine
1980 Our New Research Society: Some Warnings for Social Scientists. In Ethical Problems for Fieldwork. Edited by Murray Wax and Joan Cassell. Special issue of Social Problems 27(3): 265-272.

Derning, Mike
1997 Fur Flies After Yates' Aide Tries Park Power Play. Chicago: The Chicago Tribune, January 16. Pages 1 and 27.

District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds
1940 Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue. Brochure on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

The District of Columbia Government
1993 Indices: A Statistical Index to District of Columbia Services, Volume X. Washington, DC: The Office of Policy and Evaluation, December 1993.

English, Harry C.
1940 Spring Activities. *In* District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds, Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue: 11-12. Brochure on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

The Evening Star
No date. Top of Washington. Washington, DC: The Evening Star. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Faragasso, Frank
1996 The History of Fort Dupont. Washington, DC: National Capital Parks-East.

1997 Conversations with the principal investigator. Washington, DC: National Capital Parks - East Division of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, April 1997.

Farrington, Max
1940 Summer Water Program in Washington. *In* District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds, Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue: 14, 15, and 20. Brochure on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Ferguson, James
1996 Soccer Medley. Washington, DC: Humanities Council of Washington, DC.

Floyd, Dale
Forthcoming. History of Fort Circle Parks.

Friends of the Fort Dupont Ice Arena, Inc.
1996 Fort Dupont 2000: Draft Four Year (1996-2000) Plan. Washington, DC: Friends of the Fort Dupont Ice Arena, Inc.

Furman, Lloyd
1987 1865 Beltway of Forts. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 6. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Gaines-Carter, Patrice
1991 An Easy Retreat from the Bustle and the Heat. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 8. Page 5.

Gaiter, Dorothy J.
1992 Profits with Honor: More Community-development Organizations Create Business to Serve the Urban Poor. New York: The Wall Street Journal, October 16. Page 18.

General Accounting Office
1995 Appendix IV: Marshall Heights Community Development Organization. Washington, DC: General Accounting Office.

Gifford, Bill
1992 At Home with the Bicycle Man. Washington, DC: Washington City Paper, September 18. Pages 8 and 9.

Gilbert, Ben W.
1993 Toward a Color-Blind Newspaper: Race Relations and The Washington Post. Washington History, Fall/Winter: 4-27.

Gillette, Howard
1995 Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, DC. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch
1991 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

1992 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

1993 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

1994 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

1995 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

1996 Recreational Fishing Survey of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: Government of the District of Columbia, Fisheries Management Branch.

Grant, Nellie Laws
1996 Fort Dupont Ice Rink. Washington, DC: Washington Living: 50.

Green, Constance McLaughlin
1967 The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Grobsmith, Elizabeth S.
1991 Inmates and Anthropologists: The Impact of Advocacy on the Expression of American Indian Culture in Prison. High Plains Applied Anthropologist 11: 84-98.

Gutheim, Frederick
1976 The Federal City: Plans and Realities. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1977 Worthy of the Nation: The History of Planning for the National Capital. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Laurence Halprin and Associates
1970 Anacostia Park Master Plan. No site of publication listed: Halprin, Laurence and Associates.

Handly, Jacqui
1996 Civil War Defenses of Washington, D.C.: A Cultural Landscape Inventory. Denver: National Park Service.

Hanna, Ronald R.
1985 Carter Barron, Ft. Dupont Mark D.C. as Entertainment Capital. Washington, DC: The Washington Afro-American, July 20. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Hannold, Elizabeth
1993 Comfort and Respectability: Washington's Philanthropic Housing Movement. Washington History, Fall Winter: 20-39.

Hansen, Captain Reed
1973 Civil War to Civil Concern: A History of Fort Marcy, Virginia. Arlington, VA: George Mason University.

Harris, Hamil R.
1993 Visions of Change in Anacostia: Development Project Fosters Hope for New Growth, But Some Fear the Community Will Lose Out. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, District Weekly, April 15. Pages 1 and 5.

Harvey, David
1989 The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Heine, Cornelius W.
1953 A History of National Capital Parks. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Capital Parks.

Heyden, Neil
1981 The Fort Reno Community: The Conversion and Its Causes. Washington, DC: The American University, Department of History.

The Historical Society of Washington, DC
1891 A Ramble over the Hills East of the Anacostia. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available.

No date a. Captain Powell Considering Plans for Beautifying the City. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available.

No date b. Island Site Proposed for New Dog Pound. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available.

Howell, Benita J.
1989 The Anthropologist as Advocate for Local Interests in National Park Planning. *In* International Perspectives on Cultural Parks: Proceedings of the First World Conference, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, 1984. Denver: Colorado Historical Society in association with U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Pages 275-279.

Humphrey, R.L. and M.E. Chambers
1976 Ancient Washington/American Indian Cultures of the Potomac Valley. Washington, DC: George Washington Studies 6.

Hutchinson, Louise Daniel
1977 The Anacostia Story: 1608-1930. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin
1988 Anacostia: One Year Later. Potomac Basin Reporter 44: 1-3.

1992 In the Anacostia Watershed. Rockville, MD: Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin 5(3).

Kauffman, Erle
1933 A Park for the Blue-Bloods of Treedom. American Motorist, January: 6-7 and 44-45. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Kelly, Tom
No date. Ft. Stanton Lies Mostly in the Mind's Eye. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available.

Kennedy, Will P.
1925 Linking of Forts Embodied in Plan: Interparkway Would Connect and Preserve Chain of Historic Civil War Sites. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, December 4. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Keyes, Lethbridge, and Condon
1973 Anacostia River Community Parks: National Park Service General Development Plan. No site of publication listed: BLK Group, Inc.

Kirby, Brendan
1996 Fort Reno Conflicts Force Wilson to Scramble. Washington, DC: Northwest Current, November 13. Pages 24-25.

Kohn, Bernard
1937 Restored Civil War Fort is New Sightseeing Shrine. Washington, DC: Sunday Star, July 4. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Landis, Kenesaw
1948 Segregation in Washington: A Report of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Landman, Ruth H.
1993 Creating Community in the City: Cooperatives and Community Gardens in Washington, D.C. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey: 99-120.

Laws Grant, Nellie
1986 Fort Dupont Ice Rink. Washington, DC: Washington Living: 50.

Lewis, Alfred and Harry Gabbett
1958 Juveniles Harass 'Baby' Precinct. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, no date. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Lewis, David
1976 District of Columbia: A Bicentennial History. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.

Lewis, Jesse W.
1966 6500 Anacostians Have Swinging Time. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, September 6. Pages A1 and A3. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Loeb, Vernon
1996 Currents of Change: The Anacostia River. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, December 1. Pages B1 and B4-5.

MacCord, Howard
1957 Archaeology of the Anacostia Valley of Washington, DC. Baltimore: Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences 47: 393-397. Article on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Mansfield, Virginia
1985 Senior Citizens' Park is Dedicated, Then Forgotten, in District. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 20. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Mansperger, Mark C.
1995 Tourism and Cultural Change in Small-Scale Societies. Human Organization 54: 87-94.

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization, Inc. (MHCDO)
1995 Marshall Heights Community Development Organization, Inc.: 1995 Annual Report. Washington, DC: Marshall Heights Community Development Organization, Inc.

McDaniel, George W., John N. Pearce, and Martin Aurand
1982 Images of Brookland: The History and Architecture of a Washington Suburb. Washington, DC: Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University.

McFeely, William S.
1968 Yankee Stepfather-General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Meyer, Eugene
1987 Holding Down the Fort in DC. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, January 23. Pages E1-E2. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Mitchell, Brent
1991 Anacostia Neighbors Mend Park: Local Garden Club Vows to Make a Difference. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, District Weekly, August 22. Page 1.

Mooar, Brian
1997 Hundreds Remember Slain Student: Friends, Family, Politicians and Strangers Urge an End to the Killing. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, May 29. Page D6.

Moore, C. (Ed.)
1901 The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia. Washington, DC: McMillan Commission Report on U.S. Senate Reports, 57th Congress, 1st Session, 3(166).

National Park Service
1966 Draft Master Plan, Fort Circle Parks, Washington, District of Columbia (Civil War Defenses of Washington). Washington, DC: National Capital Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

1977 National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form: Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens. Washington, DC: National Capital Parks, National Capital Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

1981 Information Base for a Development Concept Plan: Kenilworth and the Aquatic Gardens, National Capital Parks- East, Washington, DC. Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

1987 CRM Bulletin 10: Ethnography and the NPS: A Growing Partnership. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

1988 Management Policies. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

1994 Cultural Resources Management: NPS-28. Chapter 10. Washington, District of Columbia: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.

1996a Fort Bunker Hill. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/bunker.htm, January 23.

1996b National Capital Area Celebrates National Park Week. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov, April 4.

1996c Rock Creek Park General Management Plan / Environment Impact Statement: A Newsletter from the National Park Service. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov, June.

1996d Urban Tree House Celebration. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov, April 4.

1997a Battery Kemble. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/kemble.htm, January 18.

1997b Battleground National Cemetery. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/btcemet.htm, January 25.

1997c Fort Bayard. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/bayard.htm, January 18.

1997d Fort Derussy. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/derussy.htm, January 18.

1997e Fort Reno. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/reno.htm, January 24.

1997f Fort Slocum. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/slocum.htm, January 18.

1997g Fort Stevens. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/stevens.htm, January 24.

1997h Fort Totten. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov/rocr/ftcircle/totten.htm, January 23.

No date a. National Register Information System: District of Columbia Listings. National Park Service Home Page, The World Wide Web at: http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/nris.html. Downloaded by the research team on September 11, 1997.

No date b. Protests in Anacostia. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at: http://www.nps.gov. Downloaded by the research team in December 1996. See Appendix D for a hard copy.

National Parks
1995 Lawsuit Ends in Win for Conservation. National Parks 69 (1-2): 11.

1996 Urban Park will be Transferred: Conservationists Lose Battle to Protect Area from Development. National Parks 70 (9-10): 19-20.

Orlin, Glenn
1989 Roads and Parks in Harmony. Washington, DC: Washington History 1(1): 59-69.

Overbeck, Ruth Ann
1997 Telephone conversation and e-mail communication with the principal investigator, May 1997.

Forthcoming. 10,000 Years of Human Habitation along the Anacostia, working title. Washington, DC: National Park Service.

Parks and History Association
1993 Fort Circle Parks: Civil War Defenses of Washington, D.C. Washington, DC: Parks and History Association in cooperation with the National Park Service.

Payton, F. J.
1994 Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Program: History in the Making. November 24. No source or city of publication available.

Rosenbaum, Claudia
1992 Garden's a Fortress Against City Clamor. Washington, DC: The Washington Times, June 4. Page B1.

Sargent, Edward D.
1981 Fort Dupont Concerts. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 6. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Schneider Smith, Kathryn
1988 Washington At Home: An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital. Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc.

Shields, William R., Gentry Davis, and Audrey Calhoun
1997 Civil War Defenses of Washington Management Plan/Environmental Assessment: A Newsletter from the National Park Service. Falls Church, VA: National Park Service. Number 1, January.

Sklansky, Jeff
1988 Anacostia Boat Clubs Just Keep Rollin' Along: Love of the River Binds Mariners who are Proud to Defy Blue-Blood Image. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, July 28. Pages B1 and B6. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Smardz, Zofia
1978 Students Make History of Fort Reno Park their Business. The Washington Star, March 28. Pages 1 and 4. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Smith, Captain John
1631 Works, 1608-1631. Edited by Edward Arber. Birmingham, England, United Kingdom: English Scholars' Library. Reprinted and edited in 1884.

Smith, Lloyd D.
1995 View from the Top. Pipeline. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Building Industry Association.

Strayer, Martha
1931 Old Fort Foote, A Forlorn and Forgotten Place. Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, July 20. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

The Sunday Star
1926 Anacostia Flats Reclamation Now Is About Half Completed. Washington, DC: The Sunday Star, August 15. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

1939 Reno Death Gave Name to Fortress: Monument Recalls Popular Devotion to Washington. Washington, DC: The Sunday Star, September 10. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Sutner, Shaun
1991 Park Service Stirs a Hornet's Nest: Tenleytown Unhappy with Eviction Notice. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, District Weekly, June 18. Pages 1 and 4.

Torry, Saundra
1991 Woodsy Wesley Heights Fights Change. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, July 27. Pages E1 and E5.

Von Eckardt, Wolf
1974 A Park for People. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, July 13. Pages B1-B2. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

1988 The Comeback of Anacostia. Washington, DC: The Washingtonian, June: 71-72. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Walsh, Elsa
1989 Changing Landscape of Wesley Heights Unwelcome in Some of its Quieter Quarters. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 8. Pages E1 and E4.

The Washington Daily News
1937 400 Wild Acres to be Opened this Year in Eastern D.C. Will be 'Picnic Heaven.' Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, March 1. Page 14. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1972 Ft. Dupont Eyed for Theater, Zoo. Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, March 6. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

The Washington Post
1940a Fighting Anacostia Citizens with Many Needed Projects. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, October 1. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

1940b First Families Move into Fort Dupont: Rents Range from $11 to $33, According to Tenant's Income. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, November 2. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1961 Plan Disclosed for Completing Anacostia Park. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, October 19. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

1967 Area Forts: The Ramparts Once Watched. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 25. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1980 Weekends at Fort Dupont. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 21. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1997 Fees Increased at National Parks. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, January 3. Page A23.

The Washington Star

1924 Fort Foote Wanted in D.C. Park System: Senator Fernald Introduces Resolution to Transfer Land to Army Engineers' Chief. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, April 29. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1938a Fort Dupont Park, Little Publicized, To be Elaborate One: Best 18-Hole Golf Course in City to be Built There. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, December 18. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1938b $1,080,000 Asked for Fort Drive. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, August 24. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

1946 Fort Dupont Park Gets Mounted Policeman. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, November 17. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

The Washington Times

1934 Civil War Fort to Become Camp for Children. Washington, DC: The Washington Times, June 28. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Washingtoniana Room

1922a Civil War Forts as a Part of Park System of Capital. February 7. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library. No author, name of newspaper, or place of publication available.

1922b The History of Fort Foote. December 30. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC:. Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library. No author, name of newspaper, or place of publication available.

Wheatley, William

1926 Great Northeast Park is Projected: Plan of Area Similar to Rock Creek Now Considered. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, January 31. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

No date. Anacostia Marsh to Form Big Park. Washington, DC: The Sunday Star. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Wheeler, Linda

1997 Don't BYOB, Park Service Says. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, February 25. Pages A1 and A7.

White, Ron

1986 Black Ice: Neil Henderson Talks about his Fort Dupont Hockey Club in Southeast D.C. Washington, DC: Washington Living: 49-51 and 62.

Whyte, William H.

1979 The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. New York: Municipal Art Society.

Willmann, John B.

1981 American University Park: Quiet Corner in Northwest. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, May 2. Pages E1 and E44.

Winks, Robin

1994 Sites of Shame. National Parks 68(3-4): 22-23.

Winterble, Peter

1966 Youths Lead Official to Park Sites. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 5. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Works Progress Administration

1937 The Fort Drive. City and Capital Federal Writer's Project, Works Progress Administration. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office: 593-594.

1942 The WPA Guide to Washington, DC: The Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s Washington. Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration for the District of Columbia. New York: Hastings House.

1983 The WPA Guide to Washington, DC: The Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s Washington. Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration for the District of Columbia. New York: Pantheon Books.

Wright, Mark
1990 Coach Teaches Winning in Life. Washington, DC: The Community News.

APPENDIX A: MAPS OF PARKS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

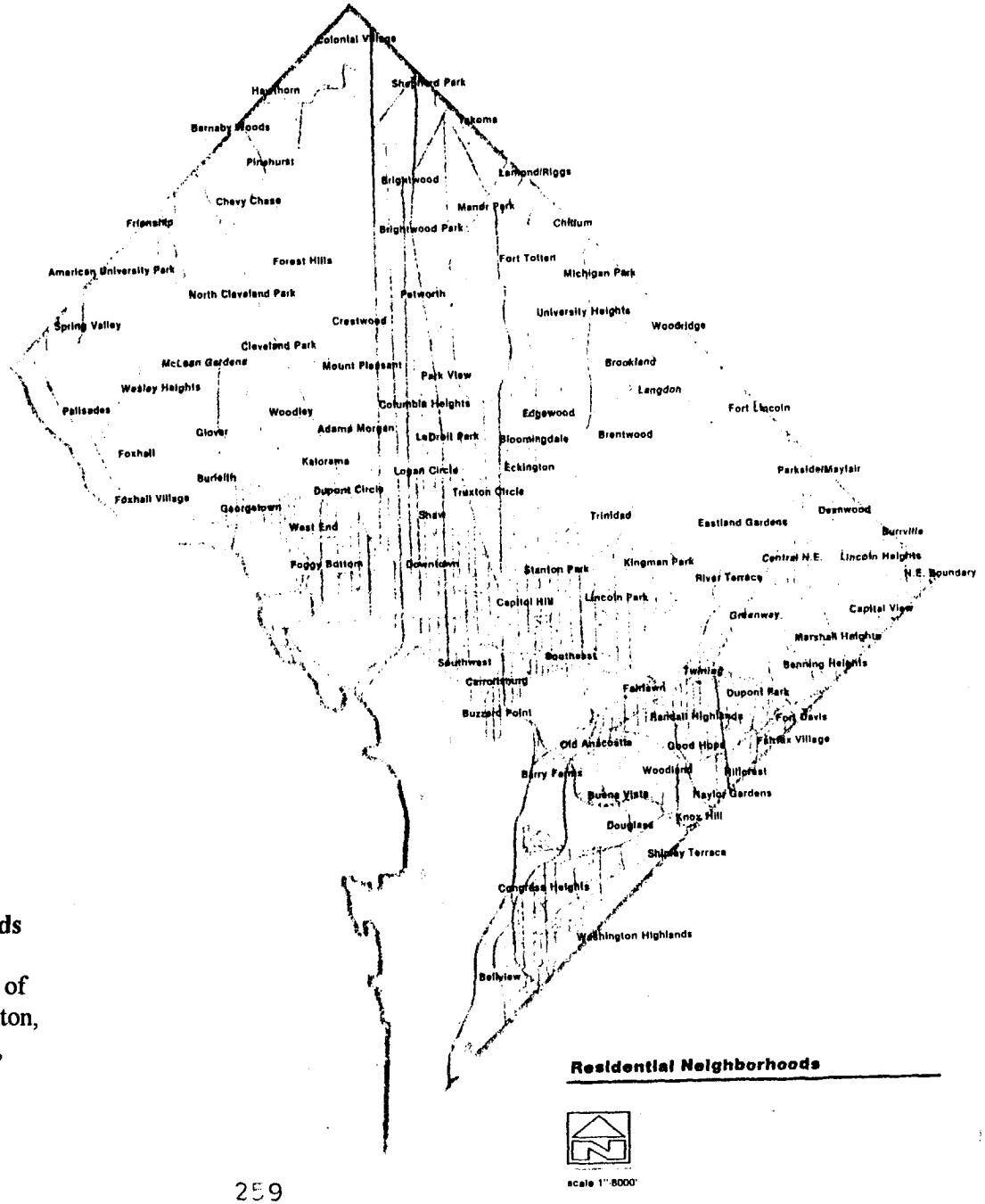
List of Maps

Map 1: District of Columbia Residential Neighborhoods 259
Map 2: Anacostia Park and Anacostia River 260
Map 3: 1865 Beltway of Forts 261
Map 4: Fort Foote 262
Map 5: Fort Greble 263
Map 6: Fort Greble, Battery Carroll, and Fort Stanton 264
Map 7: Forts Stanton, Davis, Dupont, Chaplin, and Mahan 265
Map 8: Forts Bunker Hill, Totten, Slocum, and Stevens 266
Map 9: Forts Slocum, Stevens, DeRussey, and Reno 267
Map 10: Forts Reno and Bayard, Battery Kemble, and Fort Marcy 268

Washington, District of Columbia

Each year over 20 million visitors from around the world come to the District of Columbia to see one of the world's greatest democracies, its museums and cultural events, and its eclectic international ambiance. Washington, D.C. is also a community of many neighborhoods, and home to more than 606,900 people. According to the 1990 census, Washington's population is 65.8 percent African American, 29.6 percent white, and 4.5 percent other races; 5.4 percent were Latino(a category that includes various races). The District's per capita income is the third highest in the nation, exceeded only by Connecticut and New Jersey. The average earnings of workers in the District were $32,106, or 42 percent above the 1989 national average.

Within the 63 square miles that make up the District proper, are five television and 61 radio stations, 43 hospitals, and twelve universities and colleges. The District of Columbia is unique in that it operates simultaneously as a city, a state, and as the seat of federal government. Seeking to discharge all three of these functions is a very complex task for agencies of the District government.



Map 1: District of Columbia Residential Neighborhoods
Source: The District of Columbia Government
1993 Indices: A Statistical Index to District of Columbia Services, Volume X. Washington, DC: The Office of Policy and Evaluation, December 1993. Page 2.

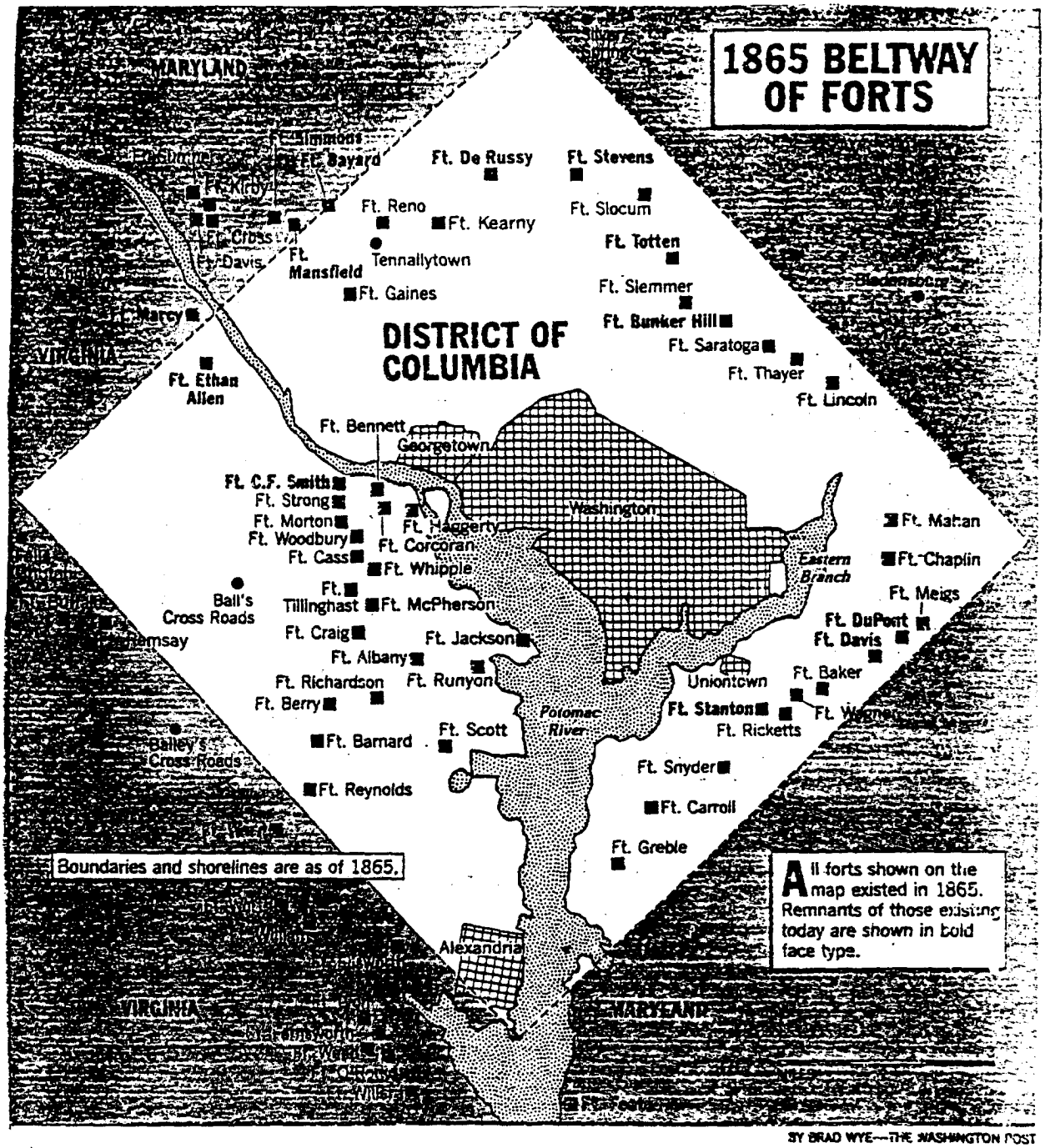


1. "Anacostia Park" (Sections C, D, and E of Anacostia Park)
2. Seafarers Boat Club
3. River Terrace
4. Kingman Park
5. Kenilworth Park
6. Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens

N

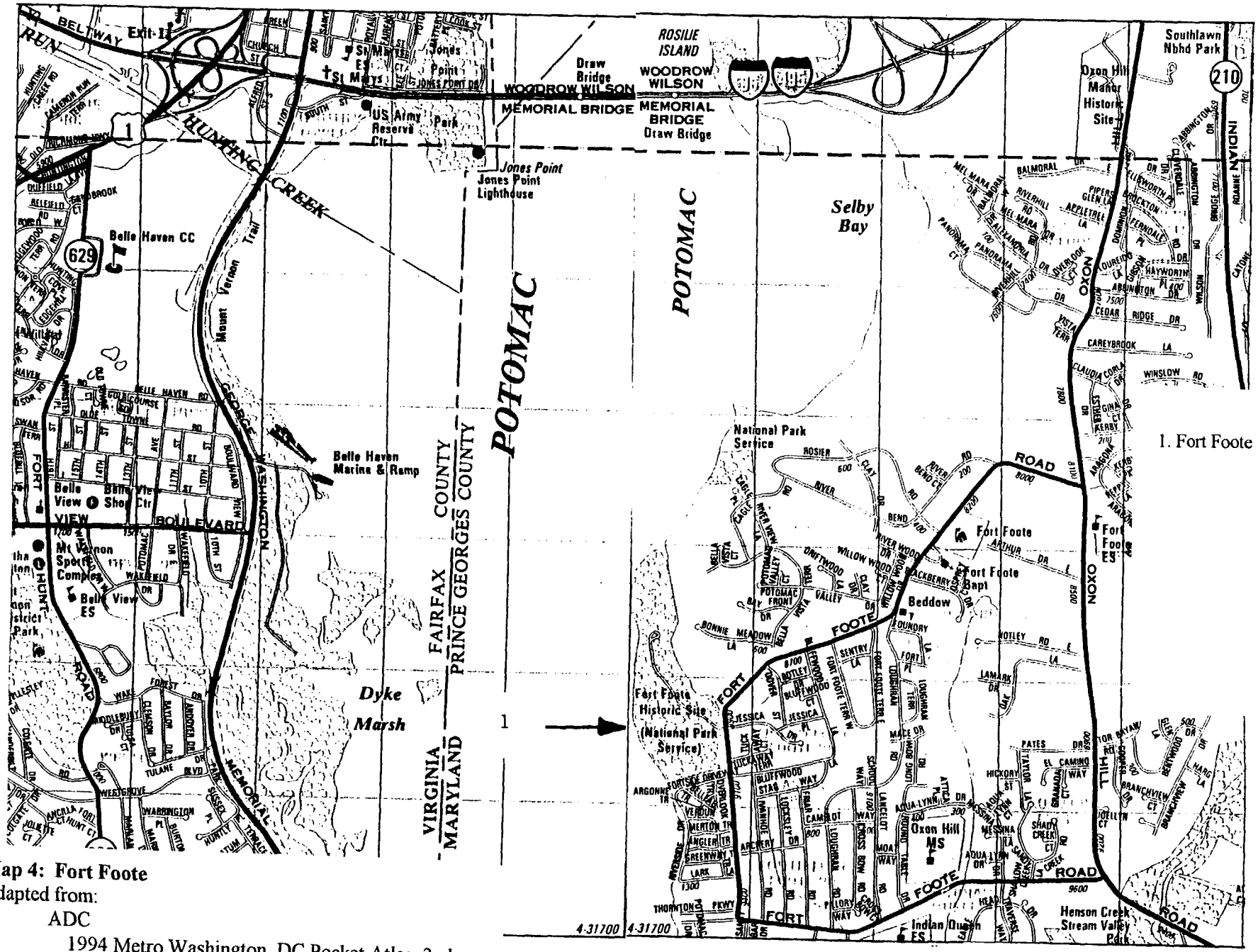
approximate scale 1"=1,684'

Map 2: Anacostia Park and Anacostia River
Adapted from:
ADC
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 56-58 and 68-70.



▲
N
approximate scale unknown

Map 3: 1865 Beltway of Forts
Source: Furman, Lloyd
1987 1865 Beltway of Forts. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, August 6, 1987.



1. Fort Foote

Map 4: Fort Foote

Adapted from:

ADC

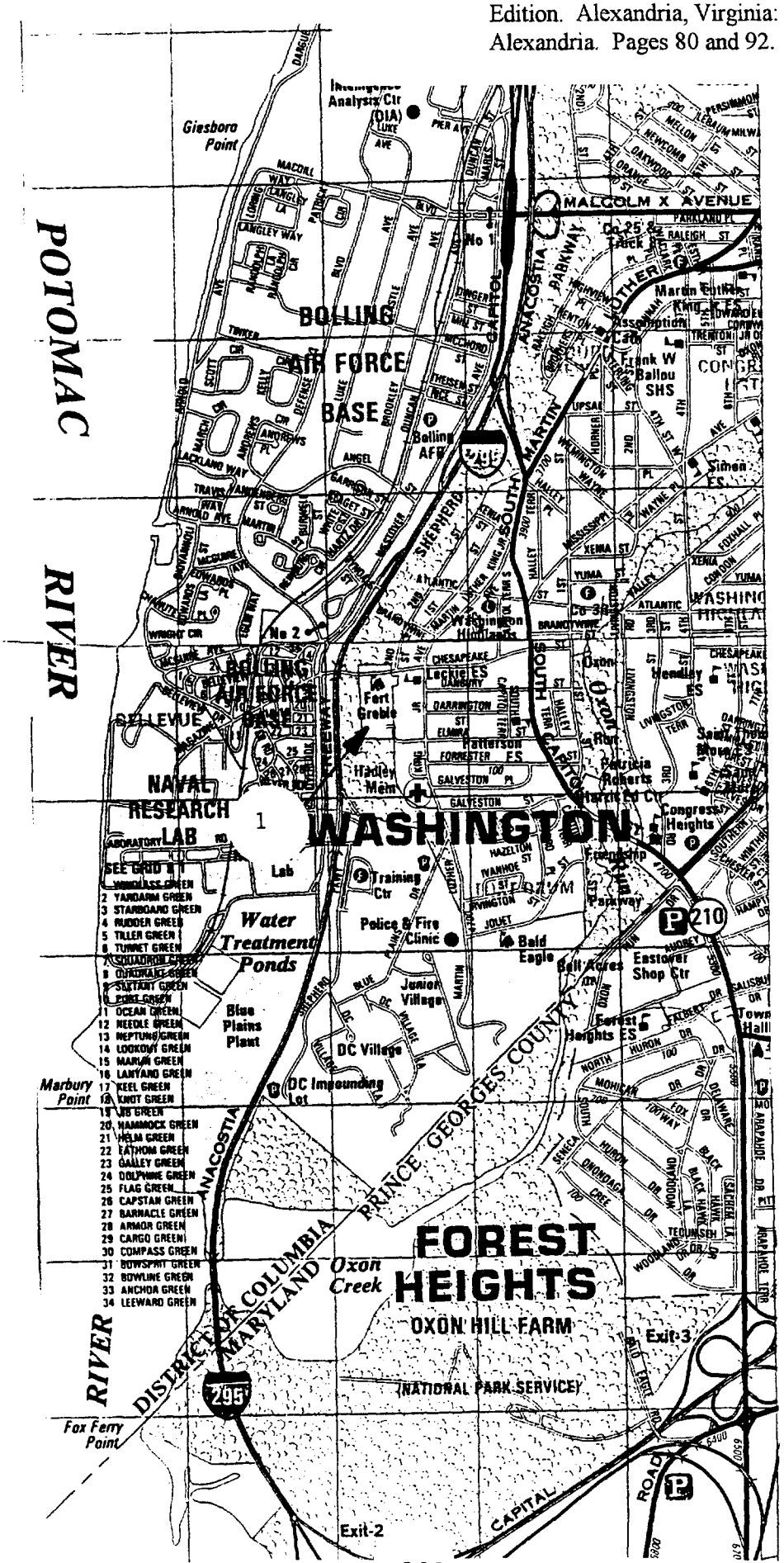
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 103-104.

N

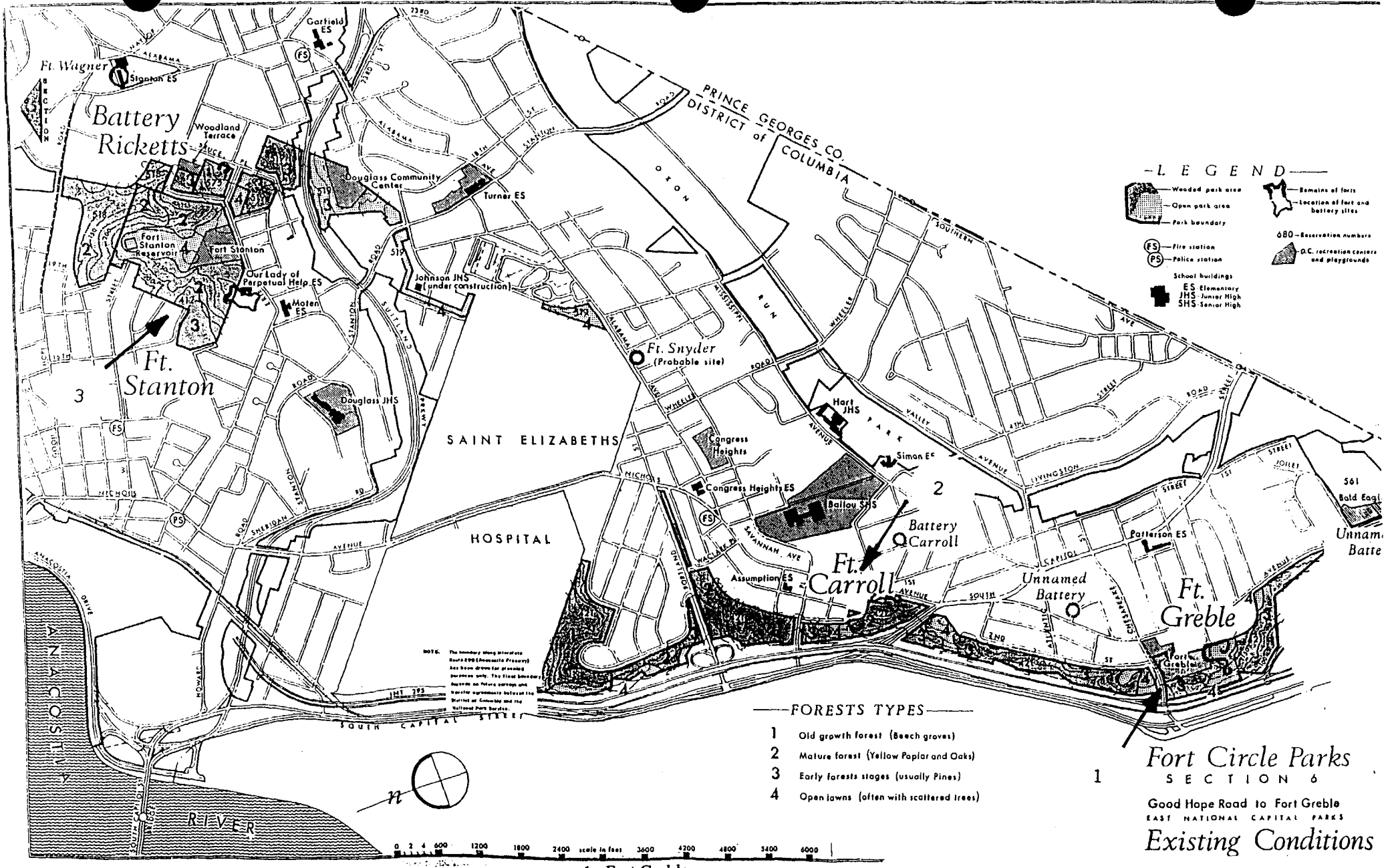
approximate scale 1"= 2,105'

▲
N
approximate scale 1"= 2,105'

Map 5: Fort Greble
Adapted from:
ADC
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 80 and 92.



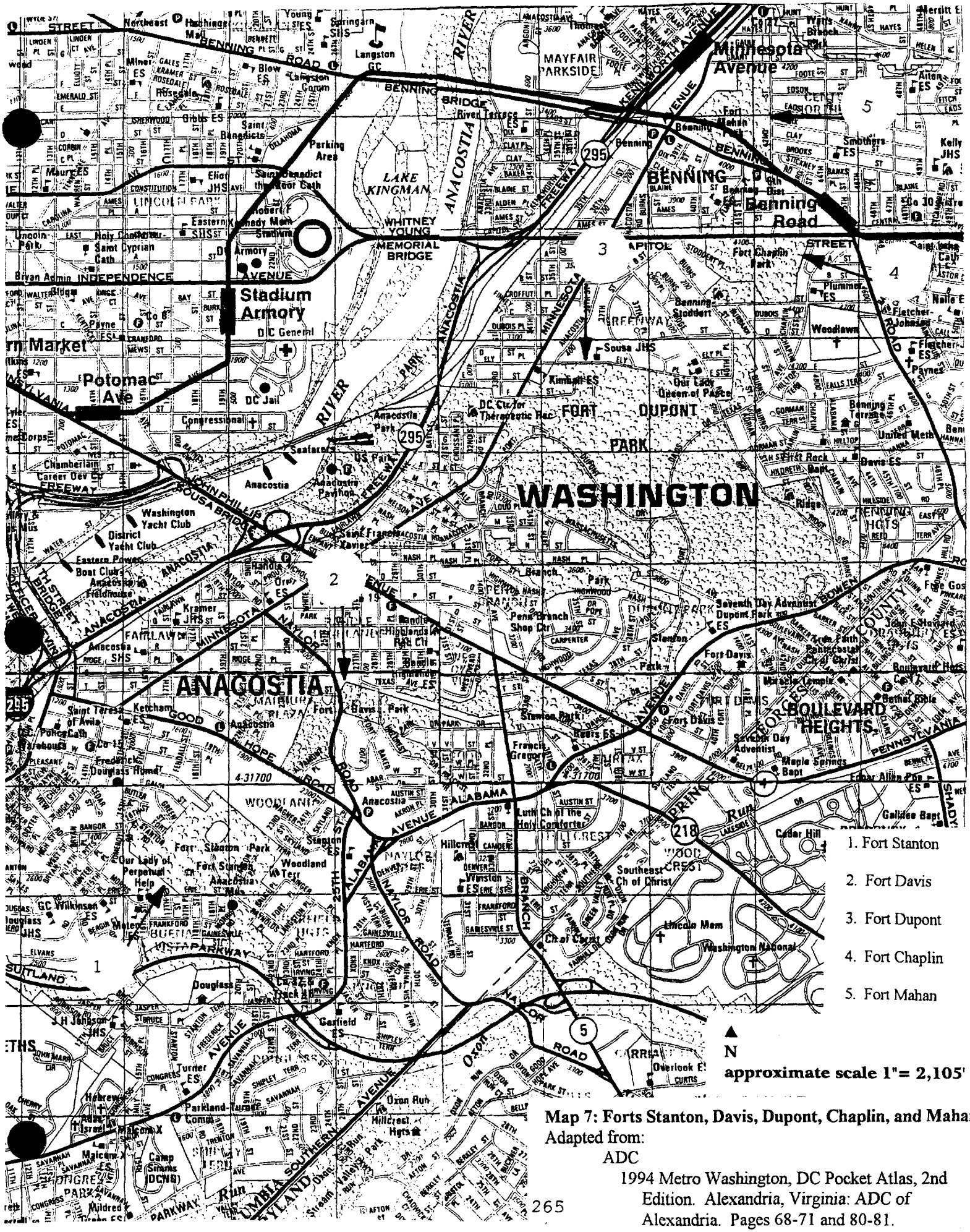
1. Fort Greble



Fort Circle Parks
SECTION 6
Good Hope Road to Fort Greble
EAST NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS
Existing Conditions

1. Fort Greble
2. Battery Carroll
3. Fort Stanton

Map 6: Fort Greble, Battery Carroll, and Fort Stanton
Source: National Park Service
1966. Draft Master Plan, Fort Circle Parks, Washington, District of Columbia (Civil War Defenses of Washington). Washington, DC: National Capital Regional Office, NPS.



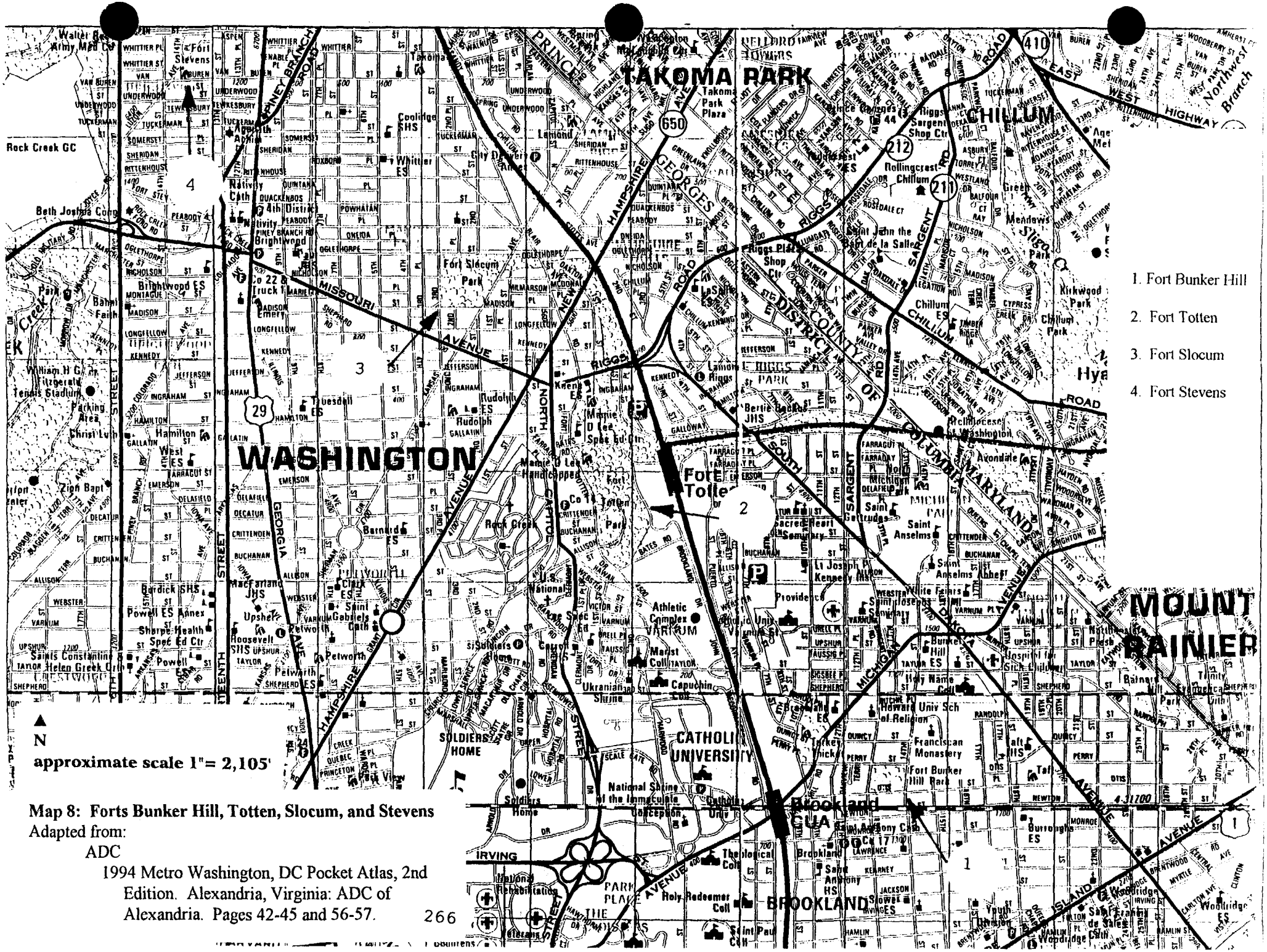
1. Fort Stanton
2. Fort Davis
3. Fort Dupont
4. Fort Chaplin
5. Fort Mahan

Map 7: Forts Stanton, Davis, Dupont, Chaplin, and Mahan

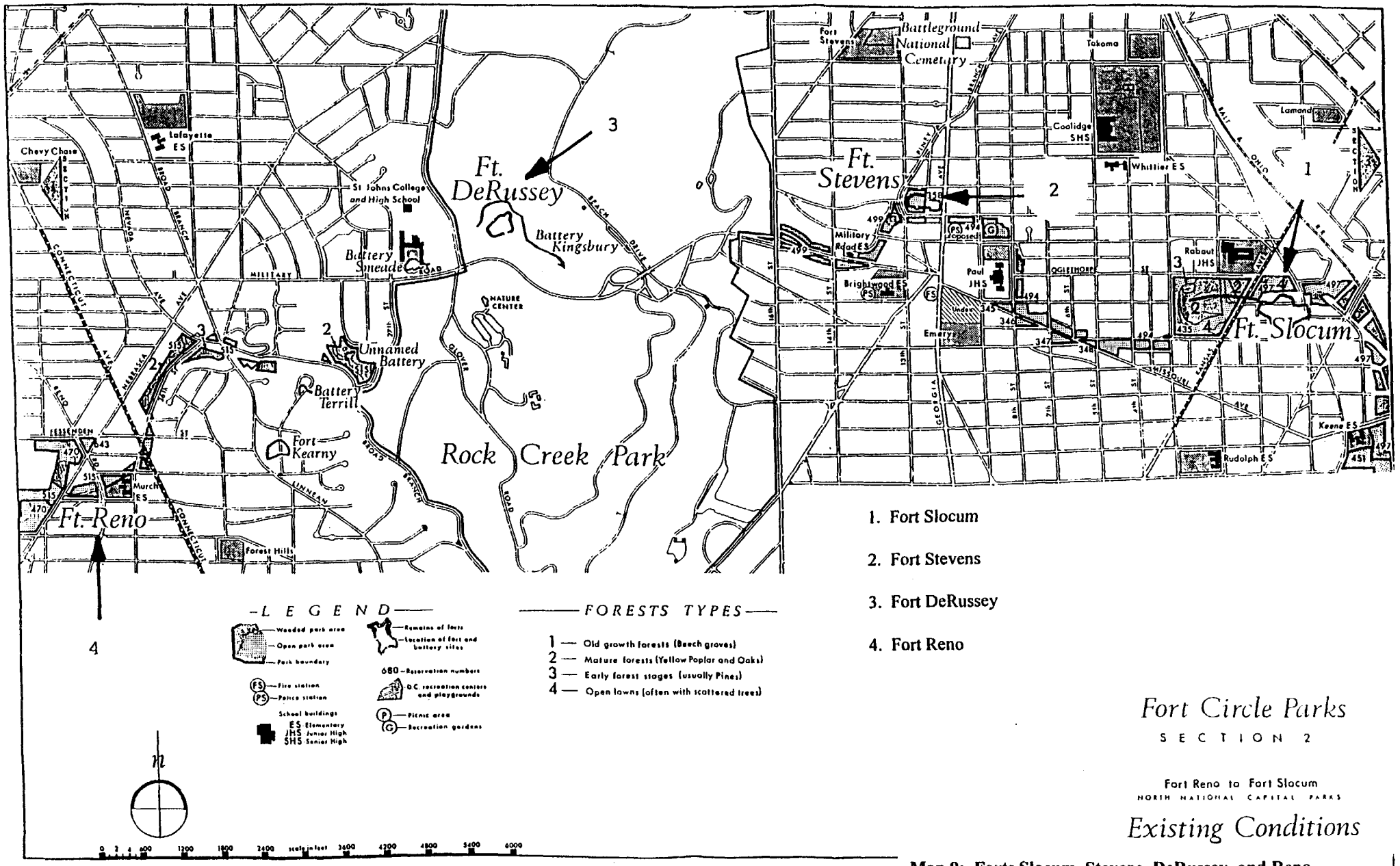
Adapted from:

ADC

1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 68-71 and 80-81.



Map 8: Forts Bunker Hill, Totten, Slocum, and Stevens
Adapted from:
ADC
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 42-45 and 56-57.



1. Fort Slocum
2. Fort Stevens
3. Fort DeRussey
4. Fort Reno

Fort Circle Parks

SECTION 2

Fort Reno to Fort Slocum

NORTH NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS

Existing Conditions

Map 9: Forts Slocum, Stevens, DeRussey, and Reno

Source: National Park Service
1966. Draft Master Plan, Fort Circle Parks, Washington, District of Columbia (Civil War Defenses of Washington). Washington, DC: National Capital Regional Office, NPS.



Map 10: Forts Reno, Bayard and Marcy and Battery Kemble
Adapted from:
ADC
1994 Metro Washington, DC Pocket Atlas, 2nd Edition. Alexandria, Virginia: ADC of Alexandria. Pages 40-42 and 52-55.

APPENDIX B: ILLUSTRATIVE NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE CLIPPINGS

List of Newspaper and Magazine Clippings

Farrington, Max
1940 Summer Water Program in Washington. *In* District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds, Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue 271

Kennedy, Will P.
1925 Linking of Forts Embodied in Plan: Interparkway Would Connect and Preserve Chain of Historic Civil War Sites. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, December 4. 272

Wheatley, William
1926 Great Northeast Park is Projected: Plan of Area Similar to Rock Creek Now Considered. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, January 31. 273

The Washington Daily News
1937 400 Wild Acres to be Opened this Year in Eastern D.C. Will be 'Picnic Heaven.' Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, March 1. 274

The Washington Post
1967 Area Forts: The Ramparts Once Watched. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 25. 275

Kelly, Tom
No date. Ft. Stanton Lies Mostly in the Mind's Eye. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library. No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or date available. 278

Lewis, Alfred and Harry Gabbett
1958 Juveniles Harass 'Baby' Precinct. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, no date. 279

The Washington Post
1980 Weekends at Fort Dupont. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 21 280

Rosenbaum, Claudia
1992 Garden's a Fortress Against City Clamor. Washington, DC: The Washington Times, June 4. 281

Kirby, Brendan
1996 Fort Reno Conflicts Force Wilson to Scramble. Washington, DC: Northwest Current, November 13. 283

SWIMMING POOLS

Name	Location	Opening date	Closing date (White)	Free Swimming Begins	Free Hours	Pay Hours
East Potomac	E. Potomac Park, S. W.	May 30	Sept. 3	June 19	9-12 A. M.	12 Noon-10 P. M.
Anacostia	Anacostia Park, S. E.	June 8	Sept. 3	June 19	9 A. M.-12 Noon	12 Noon-10 P. M.
McKinley	Lincoln Rd. & Randolph Pl., N. E.	June 8	Sept. 3	June 19	9 A. M.-12 Noon	12 Noon-10 P. M.
Takoma	4th & Van Buren St., N. W.	June 8	Sept. 3	June 19	9 A. M.-12 Noon	12 Noon-10 P. M.
Georgetown	33rd & Volta Pl., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	6 A.M.-6 P. M.	None
Rosedale	17th & Kramer, N. E.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	6 A.M.-6 P. M.	None
			(Colored)			
Banneker	Georgia Ave. at Howard Place, N. W.	June 8	Sept. 3	June 19	9 A. M.-12 Noon	12 Noon-6 P. M.
Francis	25th & N Sts., N. W.	June 8	Sept. 3	June 19	9 A. M.- 5 P. M. Monday through Friday	All day, Saturday

WADING POOLS

			(White)			
Chevy Chase	41st & Livington Sts., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Georgetown	33rd & Volta, N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Garfield Park	2nd & F St., S. E.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Hamilton	14th & Hamilton, N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Happy Hollow	18th & Kalorama Rd., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Hoover	2nd & Delaware Ave., S. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Langdon Park	20th & Franklin, N. E.	June 8	Aug. 31	June 8	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
New York Ave.	1st & New York Ave., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Palisades	Dana & Sherrier Pl., N. W.	June 8	Aug. 31	June 8	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Park View	Warder & Otis St., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Raymond	10th & Spring Rd., N. W.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Rosedale	17th & Kramer, N. E.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Virginia Avenue	11th & Virginia Ave., S. E.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
			(Colored)			
Lincoln Play Ground	6th & L Sts., S. E.	June 19	Aug. 31	June 19	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	
Howard	5th & W Sts., N. W.	June 8	Aug. 31	June 8	10 A. M.-Noon 2 P. M.-4 P. M.	

STREET SHOWERS

Open July 1. Close August 31st. Assigned to each section of the City. 9:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M., Monday through Friday each week.

Farrington, Max
1940 Summer Water Program in Washington. *In* District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds, Recreation for Washington. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Centers and Playgrounds. Spring Issue.

Kennedy, Will P.

1925 Linking of Forts Embodied in Plan: Interparkway Would Connect and Preserve Chain of Historic Civil War Sites. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, December 4. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

LINKING OF FORTS EMBODIED IN PLAN

Interparkway Would Connect and Preserve Chain of Historic Civil War Sites.

Wash. Star

Note.—This is the sixth in a series of eight articles showing what Congress must do to carry along and perfect Maj. L'Enfant's plan (made in 1791, and approved by President Washington) in order that the City of Washington may properly fulfill its destiny to be the great world capital. "The visible expression of the power and taste of the people of the United States."

BY WILL P. KENNEDY.

Carefully developed plans for parkways and connecting drives between Rock Creek Park, the Soldiers' Home Grounds, the National Training School for Boys and Anacostia Park, which will link up seven of the most important old forts about the National Capital, will be presented to Congress for approval as part of the permanent highway plan of the District of Columbia.

Because of intensive building operations within the last few months these plans have been materially changed in many important respects from the system of drives contemplated by the Capital planners for the last quarter of a century. This emphasizes the need for prompt action now, before the more desirable routes are further blocked, or old fort sites leveled by building operations.

Where Lincoln Was Under Fire.

Very definite developments in Piney Branch Valley east from Sixteenth street to Kansas avenue, including Fort Stevens, where President Lincoln stood under fire—the only time in the history of this Government when a President actually stood on the battle line—and Fort Slocum, have been charted. Congress also will be asked to authorize a proposed development from Kansas avenue to Fort Totten.

This same route will ultimately lead to Fort Lincoln, on the grounds of the National Training School for Boys, on the east side of the District, and to Anacostia Park. Then a study will be made of the chain of forts on the Anacostia side down as far as Blue Plains. From there, eventually, the fort drive will be extended to include Fort Foote and Fort Washington, on the east bank of the Potomac, and on to Marshall Hall. This drive down the river would be a counterpart to the Mount Vernon boulevard, on the opposite bank.

The importance of some such interparkway connection and fort drive through the section of the District east of Rock Creek Park was emphasized in the famous McMillan report on the park systems of the District, which was prepared by Charles Moore, now chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, which said:

"It is of the utmost importance to secure an agreeable parklike connection between Rock Creek Park and Soldiers' Home as bringing into organic relation two of the largest and most beautiful places of recreation lying within reach of the principal residence district of the city. Such a connection would form one of the links binding the eastern and western parks into a comprehensive system."

Importance of Forts.

With specific reference to the projected fort drive, the report said: "It is necessary that the chain of forts which occupy higher summits in the northern part of the central section, extending from Fort Stevens, near Rock Creek, to Fort Thayer, near the Anacostia school. The views from these forts are impressive in proportion to the commanding military positions they are well worth acquirement for future local parks, in addition to the claim their historical and military interest may afford. With Fort Stevens, Totten, Slemmer, Bunker Hill and Thayer, a northern park circuit of great interest would be formed, having views off into the country in contrast with the principal inner circuit of larger parks, presenting views chiefly south toward the city. In the section east of the Anacostia a similar chain of hilltop forts marks the points of most commanding views. With the Anacostia and the Potomac below and the City of Washington spread out beyond and the hills of Virginia in the distance, these are the most beautiful of the broad views to be had in the District. Forts Mahan, Chaplin, Sedgwick, Du Pont, Davis, Baker, Stanton, Greble and Battery Ricketts can be linked together readily by means of the permanent system of highways with a few modifications and some widening into a drive comparable in beauty with that along the Potomac Palisades, but utterly different in character."

It is proposed to widen the Piney Branch parkway, already owned west of Sixteenth street, to the tops of the hills on each side, covering the forested area. Then the parkway development would proceed eastward under Sixteenth street at the Tiger Bridge, which was built for just this purpose, and continue for some distance in the valley of Piney Branch, thus taking advantage of one of the most charming passages of natural valley scenery in the District (part of which has been used recently as a dump). Proceeding along through land which is now being acquired under condemnation proceedings, the development will extend to Upshur street and Alaska avenue. Here two routes would be opened for flight driving.

Would Link Valleys.

One route would proceed by way of Upshur street and Kansas avenue in a northeasterly direction, passing by Fort Slocum, and by a viaduct under the Metropolitan branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad into an attractive valley which leads into a larger valley in Maryland and which will link up with future parkway valley acquisitions in that State.

The other route is by way of Arkansas avenue and Fourteenth street to the Municipal Hospital, where the grounds will always be maintained in parklike and attractive fashion, and to Fort Stevens, which site has recently been acquired. This road would give access to the old National Cemetery, containing the bodies of those who fell at Fort Stevens. Thence the drive would continue by way of Piney Branch road to Takoma. The park commission already has purchased a playground site between Third and Fourth streets and Van Buren and Whittier, to be called the Takoma Park playground.

Development of Sixteenth street as a great artery of traffic is also comprehended in the plans that are being worked out, leading by Alaska avenue where it reaches a hill crest, now being leveled, where a large circle has been shown in the spot at one time considered for the Roosevelt Memorial. Then the development passes on to the limits of the District, where it is planned to introduce a large oval, from which it is hoped that an adequate parkway will lead in the general direction of Columbia road to Ellicott City and thence to Baltimore, furnishing a very beautiful route to that city.

In the region immediately west of Sixteenth street and north of Rock Creek Park it is designed to have two valley parkways extending from Rock Creek Park to the oval at the District line, just referred to above, and to the apex of the District. This latter parkway would lead eventually to Rockville.

GREAT NORTHEAST PARK IS PROJECTED

Plan of Area Similar in Extent to Rock Creek Now Considered.

STAR 31 Jan 1926

BY WILLIAM WHEATLEY.

Development of a parkway in the eastern section of the city comparable to Rock Creek Park in the western section is being given much consideration by Maj. Carey H. Brown, chairman of city and park planning committee of the National Capital Park Commission, in the course of examination of available park areas in the eastern section, according to the planning committee chairman.

Fort Dupont, which borders on Alabama avenue, or Marlboro road, as most people know it, and the tract of 80 acres recently connected with this old Civil War fort will form the nucleus of this parkway, which will extend from Alabama avenue to the shore of the Anacostia River. Extending between the present Government holdings in this area and the river are between 300 and 400 acres of virgin land, mostly covered with heavy timber, which, it is said, would make a parkway rivaling Rock Creek Park in beauty and natural splendor. It will be a different type of park, in that Rock Creek Park on both sides of the creek is a natural valley, while in the proposed Fort Dupont park the land is a great hillside, extending from the Alabama avenue boundary and sloping gently to the banks of the Anacostia. It would join with the development of Anacostia Park, made from a throwing up of dredgings from the Anacostia River and filling the flats, improvement work which now is going on.

Used as Nursery.

Fort Dupont proper and the 80 acres recently acquired now are under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia, which is using part of the property as a nursery, on which are grown the seedling trees which are transplanted to the roadsides. It has been loaned to the District Government for this purpose, but is subject to withdrawal at any time. Officials of the Office of Public Buildings and Parks point out that this arrangement will assist the Government in getting the land already purchased cleared up and made available for the use of the people for recreation purposes. In fact, this area now is available for public use and will furnish ideal picnic grounds, away from the lanes of main travel, during the Summer months. Maj. U. S. Grant, 3d, director of the Office of Public Buildings and Parks of the National Capital, has issued instructions to the District authorities that this land is to be made available for public use even while under the jurisdiction of the District Government.

Limited funds, it was pointed out, have prevented the National Capital Park Commission from going promptly ahead and purchasing lands needed for park purposes, but it was pointed out that the Fort Dupont Park will receive consideration in the near future. Whether it will extend from Ridge road to Pennsylvania avenue has not been determined in the plans, although much of this land now is virgin area and largely undeveloped. However, at the present time the Government does own a large tract of land on Pennsylvania avenue in what was formerly the site of Fort Davis. This is close to the Fort Dupont tract, and could be made a connecting link in the park system in this area.

Price Increase Feared.

While there is much land for park purposes still to be considered in the western section of the city, land that must be purchased promptly unless the Government is to pay an exceedingly high figure after development, nevertheless it was pointed out that the time had now arrived where the Government must give its consideration to the eastern section unless it is to find itself in the same condition that it was when it delayed the purchase of needed park lands in the western section. After development the lands purchased had to be obtained at almost three times the figure they could have been obtained for several years ago.

Senator Jones of Washington recently called attention to the matter that the northeast section seemed to have been neglected in the purchasing of park areas, and Maj. Grant also expressed the belief that that area of the city should have some attention at the hands of the park commission. The northeast section now is developing rapidly, he pointed out, and the Government should take prompt step to set aside lands for park and recreation purposes.

Bound By Fund Limit.

However, he pointed out that the commission was only bound by the limit of funds allowed by Congress and could purchase only so much with the funds available. The $600,000 appropriation for this year has been spent or obligated and the commission can do nothing further in the matter of purchases until the estimate of an appropriation of a similar amount for this year becomes available. The budget bureau recommended that it be made immediately available instead of waiting for the beginning of the next fiscal year.

The park commission organic act provided for an allowance of 1 cent for each citizen of the United States as shown by the last census, which would be $1,110,000, but Congress has never given the commission this amount to expend for lands.

One Park in Northeast.

Maj. Brown pointed out that the northeast section has only one small parking area, a small triangle at Fourteenth and Rhode Island avenue northeast. Some inspections have been made of this area, and one tract which has been given consideration is one on part of two squares running along Franklin street between Sixteenth street and Mills avenue. This land is close to the Langdon School. Another large tract which has been given consideration is land lying east of the Franciscan Monastery in Brookland, which would be a part of the proposed fort drive.

Another tract which has been given consideration, but on which no action has been taken, is the Patterson tract, on Florida avenue, better known during and since the war as the site of Camp Meigs. This tract, for many years, was up for purchase by Congress in the same bill that included the Klingle Valley and Piney Branch tracts. However, Congress took no action. After the park commission was established the Klingle Valley tract was purchased, and proceedings started to get the Piney Branch tract, but the advance of commercial development even now has partly destroyed the latter site for park purposes.

Foundry Valley Problem.

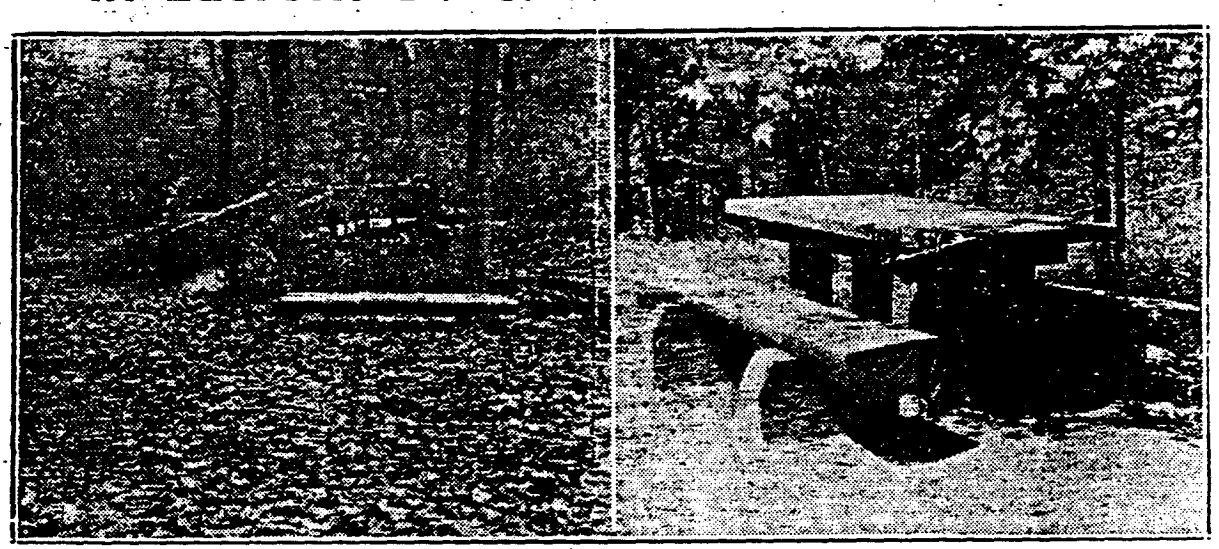
The park commission has a very serious problem thrust before it with the limited funds available, it was pointed out. It is faced with the call to buy lands for all sections of the city, yet there are still several tracts in the northwest section which must be given prompt attention if they are to be saved at all. One of these is the land in Georgetown lying between Reservoir road and the Potomac River. The so-called Glover and Archbold tracts, ceded to the Government, only run down as far as Reservoir road, and the valley between this road and the river is still privately owned. Development of this area now is going on, and the Government, it was added, must act quickly if it is to save this Foundry Valley. It must purchase this land in order to get a connecting parkway, and thus save the valley as a drainage area for the upper part of the parkway, otherwise the drainage waters will have to be disposed of by sewer at Reservoir road.

The Fort Stevens tract near Brightwood is being developed rapidly, and this must receive prompt attention if it is to be saved for park purposes, and the city and park planners believe that it should be saved.

Wheatley, William
1926 Great Northeast Park is Projected: Plan of Area Similar to Rock Creek Now Considered. Washington, DC: The Washington Star, January 31. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

The Washington Daily News
1937 400 Wild Acres to be Opened this Year in Eastern D.C. Will be 'Picnic Heaven.' Washington, DC: The Washington Daily News, March 1. Page 14. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

400 Wild Acres to Be Opened This Year in Eastern D. C. Will Be 'Picnic Heaven'



MAR 1 1937

A pint-sized version of Rock Creek Park will be completed this spring in east Washington, Parks Supt. C. Marshall Finnan announced today.

The new park, Ft. Dupont, comprises 400 acres of woods surrounding the site of a Civil War fort. Except for a few picnic areas the land has been left wild. Only two roads will cross it and so far it hasn't even bridle paths.

Some day a golf course may be built in one end. But now it is a spot appealing more to the hiker and the old-fashioned picnicker who likes a little inconvenience and hard work with his outings.

Sixty picnic tables, hewn from logs, have been put up in groups of from two to five. Each group has a fireplace and water fountain. Unlike similar places in Rock Creek Park, the picnic grounds are set back from the road.

The park lies between Anacostia and Ridge Roads and Alabama-av se. Massachusetts-av grazes one edge for a short distance. A section of Ft. Drive, a road which some day will run around Washington thru Civil War fort sites has been built thru the park from north to south. Intersecting it is a road which will eventually meet Massachusetts-av at Branch Road, where Randle Circle will be built.

Ft. Dupont is a rolling bit of woods which CCC boys have been cleaning up for more than three years. A playfield for children is being prepared near the mounds of earth which represent old Ft. Dupont, in the eastern tip of the park. The proposed golf course would run along the northeast edge and would take up almost half the park.

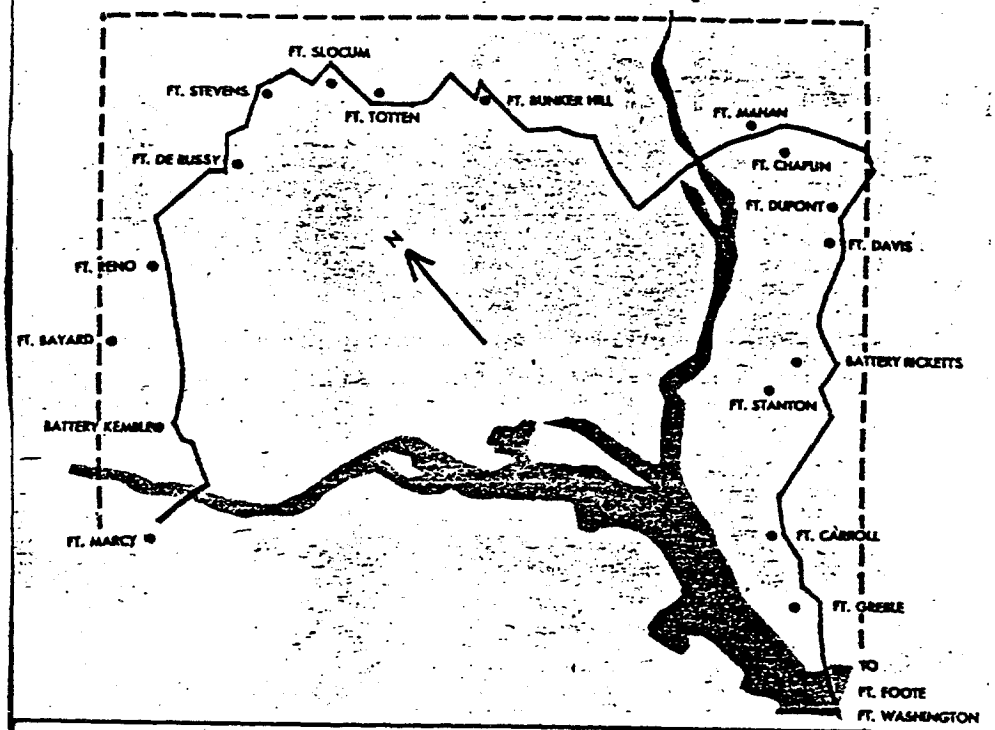
Used informally for several years, the park is the only one of its kind servicing the eastern part of town. Anacostia Park is mostly grass and regularly planted young trees.

The Washington Post
1967 Area Forts: The Ramparts Once Watched.
Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 25.
Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC:
Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

TAKE NOTE!

Area Forts: The Ramparts Once Watched

WASH. POST
JUN 25 1967



In 1967 the National Capital city is protectively ringed by a number of Nike-Hercules sites. In the 19th century the city was guarded by surrounding forts, practically all built in 1861 during the Civil War. Traces of some remain. Others have been eaten up by automobile dealers and real estate hucksters bulldozing through the countryside.

A tour of existing forts makes a pleasant two- or three-day excursion and kills several birds. It is a good way to familiarize yourself with the area. Also you can return to your own bed each night. People who live close to a fort are lucky. They are lovely areas in which to walk and enjoy the outdoors. Each is different and when you sniff the air among the trees and greens you almost forget about air pollution.

This week we Take Note of some of the area forts. We had the invaluable aid of Stanley W. McClure, Regional Historian for the National Capital Regional Park Service. To be certain of having a picnic table call the D. C. Recreation Department (AD 4-2050) and reserve one.

Fort Ward

4301 W. Braddock Road, Alexandria

The city of Alexandria has completely restored one bastion to its 1865 condition. The fort was built in 1861 and is presently situated on 40 acres of prime park picnicking land. There is also a Civil War museum open from 9 to 5 Mondays through Saturdays and 12 to 5 Sundays. Everything else is open daily from 9 a.m. to sunset.

Fort Marcy

Off George Washington Memorial Parkway just below Chain Bridge cutoff.

This fort was named for Brig. Gen. Randolph B. Marcy, chief of staff for Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan (also McClellan's father-in-law). It was built in 1861 and had 17 guns, one vacant platform and 3 mortars. It was considered the most important defense guard to the approach of Chain Bridge and the capital. Today it is a clean wooded area with well-preserved earthworks and a 12-pounder brass howitzer aimed bravely into the Virginia woods. It doesn't look too threatening to the modern eye. There is also a covered well which is one of two remaining from existing Civil War forts.

Battery Kemble

On Chain Bridge road above MacArthur Boulevard

Named after Gouveneur Kemble of Cold Spring, N.Y., this battery had two 100-pounder Parrott rifles which could sweep Chain Bridge and the Virginia hills beyond. Today it is a wonderful open and wooded parkland with enough room for walks and playing baseball in the summer. It also has a hill used for sledding and skiing in the winter.

TEAR OUT AND SAVE FOR WHEN YOU WANT TO SEE AN OLD FORT

Fort Bayard

Corner of River road and Western ave. nw.

Probably no one of the hundreds driving by this corner daily realizes or remembers what once stood here as protection to the city. Little remains today. Close examination produces some very slight indentations. On the whole, however, it is now a quiet and small park for the neighborhood.

Fort Reno

Bounded by Nebraska ave., Fessenden and Chesapeake sts. and Belt road nw.

Fort Reno was the highest point in the District and was chosen as a site on August, 1861. It had a 430-foot elevation which commanded views of three important roads into the city. There is a hockey field there now and some park area. Also the District waterworks.

Fort De Russy

Northwest corner of Military road and Oregon ave. intersection in Rock Creek Park.

You can't drive right into this fort like you can most of the others. Proceed slowly so that you don't take a wrong turn (the roads are unmarked) or you will find yourself swooping down into the park which is where you don't want to go yet. When you finally get up to the fort you will find that it is well preserved. It commanded Rock Creek valley with 11 guns and mortars including a 100-pounder Parrott rifle.

Fort Stevens

13th and Rittenhouse sts. nw.

The brave Lieut. Gen. Jubal Early led his troops against Fort Stevens but reinforcements drove the Confederates back as President Lincoln watched close by under fire. This Civil War fort is the best restored. There are cannon and stockade sections. It had 17 guns and mortars, mostly 24-pounders.

Fort Slocum

3rd and Oglethorpe sts. nw.

Built in the fall of 1861, this fort had 22 guns and 3 mortars. The lines of rifle trenches are very fine as you can see today.

Fort Totten

Fort Totten drive off North Capitol st.

There are some really terrific trenches here. By the end of 1861 there were 20 guns and mortars, including eight 32-pounders. There aren't any cannon there now. But there are some big square stones that young boys like to climb up and play on. You might get a tour of the trenches by a training sergeant (age 11), a sergeant (age 10) and a corporal (age [illegible]) who spend a lot of free time at the fort and who attend the summer camps held there by the D.C. Recreation Department. In the summer, a couple of the trenches are filled with water, a swingrope (sometimes called a Tarzan swing) is strung up in a tree, and you can swing across the trench, with your trunks on, of course, and perhaps be lucky enough to lose your grip and fall into the cool water. There are picnic tables if you don't go to camp and just want to have lunch in the woods.

Fort Bunker Hill

Bounded by 13th, 14th, Otis and Perry sts.

With such an illustrious name, something ought to have remained. Very little does in fact. But it is a delightful and little park with picnic facilities and an amphitheater with logs set into the hillside making seats. Originally the fort had 13 guns and mortars.

Fort Chaplin

Bounded by East Capitol, C st. and Texas ave. se.

The real trouble with this fort is that you really have to do some maneuvering in your car to get to it. Once you do, you will find a well-preserved and quiet fort. It is behind the Fort Chaplin apartments. From the hill you might look down on that modern-day fortress, D.C. Stadium. Also there are some good trenches to play in.

Fort Dupont

Massachusetts and Minnesota aves. se.

The park here is really marvelous. There is a fine golf course, plenty of beautiful picnic areas, room to play or walk in as well as a well-preserved fort. Some archaeological digging is going to be done around the fort and then a 24-pounder smooth-bore gun and 6-pounder will be moved into place.

Fort Davis

Out Pennsylvania ave. se. (near Fort Dupont)

Also well preserved. There will be a 12-pounder rifle and a 24-pounder here. The park is a lot smaller than its northern neighbor (Dupont) but it is very pretty and winding. It winds more or less right into Fort Stanton.

Fort Stanton and Battery Ricketts

Alabama ave. to Ainger place se.

The battery is finely preserved although there were only small works. You can make out a ditch parapet and gun position. It is creeping with honeysuckle and various greens, however. The fort is only partially preserved and it is difficult to make much out.

Fort Carroll

Alabama ave. and E. Capitol st.

The fort's inaccessibility presents a minor problem. It is bounded by roads with cars zinging by and is hard to get into. Also there are just a few remains of the Fort. It had 13 guns and one mortar.

Fort Greble

2d and Chesapeake sts. se.

There is very little remaining of this fort which once had 17 guns and mortars aiming out over the Potomac. It is opposite the Naval Research Laboratory and there is a playground.

Fort Foote

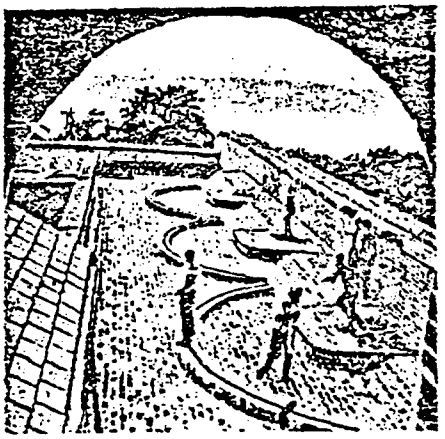
Six miles south of Washington on Maryland side of Potomac, opposite Alexandria.

Built in 1863 to guard the Potomac approach to Washington and mounted with eight 200-pounders and two 15-inch rifles. Today it is well preserved and two 25-ton guns are mounted there.

Fort Washington

South on Interstate 295, east on Interstate 495 to Indian Head Road (Maryland 210)

This fort is terrific. It was built from 1815-1824 and is in very well-preserved condition. The ramparts are still standing and there are two 24-pounder iron siege guns weighing 3 tons each mounted on Barbette carriages. They are impressive. So is the view down the river. And there are beautiful picnic spots throughout the surrounding park area. The fort and park are open daily from 7:30 to dark. The museum is open daily through Labor Day and on weekends and holidays during the rest of the year.



Fort Mahan

42nd and Eads st. ne.

There are only a few traces of the fort's earthworks. Today you will find a good playground and places to sit under the trees.

Kelly, Tom
No date. Ft. Stanton Lies Mostly in the Mind's Eye.
Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC:
Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.
No author, name of newspaper, place of publication, or
date available.

Civil War Buff Found Some Real Traces

Ft. Stanton Lies Mostly in the Mind's Eye

By TOM KELLY

WASHINGTON is flanked on the southeast by a three-mile tangle of wilderness which snakes thru Anacostia like a boa constrictor that has swallowed a packing case.

Within it, eight of the 68 fortifications which ringed the city during the Civil War are preserved—Forts Stanton, Ricketts, Wagner, Baker, Davis, Meigs, Shaplin and Mahan. They are preserved in the way plums are preserved in jam; they have lost their shape and tho they still have a flavor it is not the flavor they had when they were fresh.

A ninth, Ft. Dupont, the one that gives the strip its packing case bulge, has been manicured into a large, rectangular park with pine trees and dogwood and fieldstone fire places for parties.

¶ Visit to the Past

For the Civil War student straining to hear the beat of distant drums, the abandoned eight are more enticing than the manicured one. Last February Peter Hudson, 22, of 2419 Good Hope Road-se, a George Washington University student, began looking for Fort Stanton, a major fortification whose function in the 1860s was to protect the Navy Yard from "sudden dashes of cavalry."

Fort Stanton is clearly marked on the average service station map, being centered in a patch of green labeled Fort Stanton Park, adjacent to Avalon Playground and just off 18th st. se.

In fact the park and the playground exist only on maps and the land, as Army Engineer J. G. Burney wrote in 1871, is cut by "numerous depressions, almost ravine like in character."

At the edge of the woods a few signs of civilziation are visible, old shoes and beer cans, but just beyond are thick trees, brush, briar, poison ivy and the faint songs and scratchings of birds and flying squirrels.

Peter Hudson first plunged into the tangle off 18th st. last February, equipped with a trenching tool and accompanied by his father-in-law, Irvin Fitzgerald. They made their way slowly, up and down small, abrupt hills, across a creek and eventually to the top of a ridge. There Peter found the faint scar of an old dirt road and, just beyond, two intersecting rows of field stones.

"I could tell it was the foundation of something," he said later. "And it looked too small to be a farm house."

Ten yards farther on he found an outcropping of concrete and, digging it free, he found a capped well, eight feet across. Time had worn an eight-inch hole in the cap, making it both dangerous and interesting. It was brick-lined and, by dropping a pebble and counting the seconds until it hit, Peter deduced that it was about 180 feet deep. He decided that he had either found Ft. Stanton, or a well connected in some way with the nearby reservoir, or the forgetten home of some farmer with a very small house and a very large well.

In time the word of Peter's find reached The Washington Daily News and some mild research began. At the National Archives detailed plans of Fort Stanton were available plus the wonderfully precise maps of Washington and its environs made, in the 1860s, by a German cartographer named A. Bosche.

The old maps showed Union Town, a small grid of streets at the end of the 11th st. bridge, the Good Hope Tavern and the farms of N. Naylor, J. Kelly, J. Barry, B. Smith, J. Moore, J. Taylor, and T. Jenkins. They showed Fort Stanton in the woods, a few hundred yards from the U. S. Lunatic Asylum, three-eighs of a mile west of Fort Ricketts, Latitude 38 degrees, 51 minutes, and 26.44 seconds, Longitude, 76 degrees, 58 minutes, 36.12 seconds.

The Fort, the maps showed, was linked to the other fortifications by a winding military road. A comparison with the modern map of Stanley McClure, of the National Capital Parks, shows that the remains of Fort Stanton lay on a straight line extended from the dead-end of W-st se.

At the District's Central Library there was further data. Fort Stanton was named for the Secretary of War, altho many of the forts were named after their own commanding officers. In that case, Fort Stanton might have been called Fort Bumpus since Capt. Bumpus of the 10th Massachusetts was in charge in 1864 at least.

The Fort had, in its prime, a number of small, square block houses firmly built on fieldstone foundations and 16 guns—four seige howitzers, six seacoast howitzers, three field howitzers, one parrott rifle, one seige mortar and one Calhoun mortar.

¶ The Deepest Well

One particularly significant fact emerged; Fort Stanton had the deepest well of any of the 68 forts and batteries—brick-lined, eight feet across, 220 feet deep. There was no doubt that Pete Hudson had found Fort Stanton or, at least, its well.

Last week Pete, a photographer and a reporter went to the woods off 18th-st. The air was laden with honeysuckle and at the top of the ridge was the old military road. Beyond the road were the fieldstones of the block house. Pete poked around with his trenching tool and uncovered two ancient looking bricks, eight inches long and made of pink Potomac clay.

Pete and his companions toiled up to the well.

The well was gone. The ground around had been torn and cut and where the well should have been was a fresh, four-foot mound of clay. Someone, it seemed, had used a bulldozer and filled the well.

It turned out that it was the National Capital Parks and while they had covered it they ered the hole in the cap with boards and they had then covered the boards with dirt.

One day soon they'll take off the dirt, take off the boards and fix the hole in the cap.

Meanwhile there are, no doubt, other hidden traces of Capt. Bumpus and his troops nearby. Bullets, perhaps, belt buckles, fieldstones, old bricks, the rise of an earth embankment, the dip of an amunition cache.

And for those, who like Peter Hudson, prefer to find more substantial relics, there are still a few patches of green on the map. Stanley McClure, of the National Capital Parks, who knows best, said history hunters might do well at Fort Carroll. Fort Greble, Fort Mahan and Fort Shaplin. First get a good map from a gas station.

Juveniles Harass 'Baby' Precinct—No. 14

Lewis, Alfred and Harry Gabbett
1958 Juveniles Harass 'Baby' Precinct. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, no date. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

(Fourteenth of a Series)

By Alfred E. Lewis
and Harry Gabbett
Staff Reporter

Ten years ago last July, the city's newest precinct was formed by the simple expedient of halving the Eleventh which until then had handled everything east of the Anacostia River.

The new precinct was duly christened the Fourteenth and its personnel began operations from a temporary stationhouse set up in an annex of the Davis Elementary School at 44th st. and Hanna pl. se.

One of its very first cases was a grand larceny involving the theft of two cows from a pasture off Benning rd. It was solved several days later with the arrest of two rustlers as they were about to auction off their loot in an Upper Marlboro cattle sale.

The case typifies the rurality of the Fourteenth Precinct in that day of Toonerville trolleys (since replaced by buses), and a collection of suburban Washington villages spread over a 7.21-square-mile area euphemistically called Deanwood County. None of the 25 grand larcenies recorded last year in the Fourteenth Precinct involved cows.

Geographically, the precinct is squarish, with the District Line confining it on the north and east. Pennsylvania ave. se. separates it from the Eleventh on the south, and the Anacostia's marshes form its western limits.

As the 1950 census was counting 66,169 persons resident in the area, the Fourteenth moved into its new stationhouse at 42d st. and Benning rd. ne., its Negroes outnumbered its whites by less than 8000. Population estimates these eight years later place some 90,000 within the Fourteenth's confines, with Negroes in a better than 3-to-1 majority.

Since 1954, this third-largest of the city's precincts has been in command of Capt. Howard F. Mowry, 45-year-old former head of the Narcotics Squad. His 92-man complement is man-for-man the youngest assigned to any precinct in the city, averaging about 5 years service per man.

Man-for-man also they are the hardest-working unit in the city, having logged a total of 13,100 cases last year (exclusive of parking violations)—a figure unapproached on a per capita basis in any other precinct.

The 999 serious crimes reported by the Fourteenth last year cut their hard work out for them. The figure ranked the precinct just above its mother precinct, but a goodly 10th from the top of the list in overall wickedness.

The pastures in which the cows grazed a dozen years ago have sprouted human habitations of every conceivable type in the interim. These range from the tarpaper leantos which made Marshall Heights the city's first (and ill-fated) slum clearance target to split-level creations well up in the luxury class.

Biggest landlord in the Fourteenth, however, is Uncle Sam, operator of no less than seven public housing apartment projects in the area. It is estimated that nearly 14,000 persons live in these projects today and 474 new units currently are under construction to provide shelter for some 3000 others.

Nearly 14,000 children are enrolled in its 16 public schools and more than 13,000 of them are Negroes. There are three parochial schools and one private educational institution in the area. The Fourteenth's spiritual needs are administered by 75 churches with nearly every denomination represented. Many well-appointed shopping centers have sprung up along its arterial highways and light industry in various forms thrives along the rail lines cutting through the precinct's northwestern section.

Of the 1537 business licenses issued in the precinct last year, more than half were for apartment house operation. Much of this type living accommodations is so new its impact on crime incidence has not yet been fully determined.

Colorful City Dump

Fourteenth Precinct boosters are not quick to point out that the intriguing cloud effects, which often prompt the traveler's first remarks as he nears the Nation's Capital from the north, are home-grown.

They rise from the city dump, known technically as the Kenilworth Landfill, located on the Anacostia's marshes. The smoke and flying ash of which they are composed can be beautiful in the slanting rays of the setting suns they filter, but—as Capt. Mowry puts it—"if visitors don't notice it, we don't talk it up."

After petty larcenies (413), auto thefts (184), aggravated assaults (142) and housebreakings (140), led the Fourteenth's serious crime production for 1958, combining with 9 homicides, 13 rapes, 73 robberies and the 25 grand larcenies to show an increase of slightly less than 10 per cent over last year's figures.



The Washington Post

CAPT. HOWARD F. MOWRY
. . . no more cows

Capt. Mowry attributes fully 75 per cent of the serious crime committed in his precinct to juveniles. They are responsible for his lusty showing in auto thefts, and perpetrate more than their share of his housebreakings and robberies, he said.

Housebreakers Chief Menace

The daylight housebreaker, who "works" in the absence of husbands and wives who are employed and away from home all day, continues to pose a primary police problem. Special patrols in areas where this type of offense begins to show a pattern have been only partialy successful in combatting it.

"We have vice in every form out here," Capt. Mowry admits, "but prostitution, horse betting and the traffic in narcotics are at a minimum. Every day we encounter more drug addicts who've been ousted from their former slum haunts in the Second and Fourth Precincts, but our biggest vice problem is the illicit liquor salesman."

Although he believes crime in his area has stabilized, Capt. Mowry looks to the future as a professional challenge, referring to the steady increase in low-cost public housing within his precinct.

"There is no doubt that people who own their own homes are the more civic-minded and as a consequence more law-abiding than those who are more or less transient and without roots in the community," he explained.

Nor have all of the Fourteenth's homicides through the years been perfunctory or routine. Still unsolved on the precinct's books is the revolting rape-slaying of 8-year-old Valerie Lee, whose ravished body was found in a thicket about a block from her home at 5013 Jay st. ne., on April 11, 1957.

Despite a 'round-the-clock effort by the department's best murder sleuths the degenerate responsible for the little girl's death escaped detection.

Almost a year to the day after the slaying, the 14th Precinct juvenile hoodlums which Capt. Mowry blames for so many of his troubles put the area in the headlines again.

This time a near-riot in Fort Dupont Park on Easter Monday of that year wounded a United States Park Policeman and showered dozens of Fourteenth patrolmen who responded with a barrage of eggs, stones and other missiles. Two police cruisers were damaged and a Park Policeman's horse was cut by a knife thrown by one of the estimated 2500 youngsters who took part in the disturbance.

Capt. Mowry is justifiably proud of his complement's high morale as indicated by his men's eagerness to undertake special tasks no matter what the cost in personal time or inconvenience.

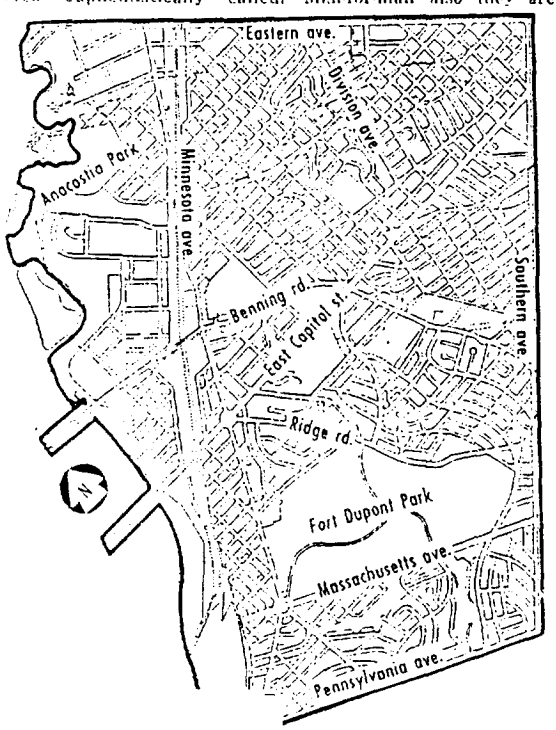
"It is this type of command which every police captain hopes one day to direct," Capt. Mowry enthused. "Because they are so proud of their accomplishments as a group, they were the more deeply hurt by the implications involved in the recent arrest of a Fourteenth Precinct detective on gambling charges."

Cites Detective's Arrest

The captain referred to another Fourteenth Precinct case which made headlines of a different nature last fall. A surprise capture in a Gambling Squad raid at 4923 Just st. ne., last Oct. 1 was Detective Sgt. Morris Lewis, 41, supervisor of the Fourteenth's plainclothes detachment. Since resigned, he is awaiting trial on charges of lottery operation.

"I could see the persor resentment of this defectio.. in the eyes of every policeman at roll call the day the news of that raid was reported," Capt. Mowry recalled. "I would have given my 23 years on the force to have been able to assure them it was all a bad dream."

Mowry also had high praise for his area's civic and business association which he said were constantly working with members of his command to the end that the Fourteenth be kept a safe and decent place in which to live and do business. The stationhouse's squad room serves as a regular meeting place for several of these groups.



The Washington Post

14th Precinct while the inset
. C. precincts.

THE WASHINGTON POST Saturday, June 21, 1980

Weekends at Fort Dupont

SINCE 1974, Fort Dupont has played host to a variety of summer entertainment, free. Every Saturday and Sunday at 8:30 p.m., an average crowd of 20,000 to 25,000 people walk, roller skate, drive, bike, piggyback or run to a hole in the woods in Southeast for a couple of hours of fun. This weekend through the last weekend in August, a whole family can picnic in the park, without paying for baby sitters or gas, stretch out and take in Washington's laid-back summer scene.

The National Park Service sponsors the entertainment available at Fort Dupont, which includes local and big-name performers of disco and jazz music, children's theater, modern dance and, new this year, gospel music. The idea of a community-arts program began six years ago when Al Dale, director of the Fort Dupont Summer Theater program, felt the need to provide entertainment for low-income families right in their own community. Since then, the people in the neighborhood have seemingly adopted the entertainment and recreational facilities available at Fort Dupont as their own, and have cooperated with Mr. Dale and the Park Service in suggesting ways that the influx of weekend theatergoers might be more easily accommodated, although adequate parking remains a problem. But District and Park Service police will also be cooperating to ensure, among other things, that cars do not block neighborhood driveways.

Last year, an estimated total of 450,000 people attended the concert series, evidence that the summer scene at Fort Dupont is enjoyed by residents citywide, and even more people are expected to spread their blankets this year because of higher gas prices. Fortunately, cuts in the federal budget have had no visible impact on the summer theater program, since this year's budget was approved last year, before t budget cuts were made. But next summer's budge may be in doubt. There is no reason why it should be, however, and there is every reason for the Park Service to continue funding Mr. Dale's popular and very successful community-arts program in the foreseeable future. Especially with unemployment so high among black teen-agers in the area, Fort Dupont seems an excellent way of giving positive direction to jobless and perhaps restless youths on summer weekends. Providing free entertainment for these youths will not touch the unemployment problem, but it will provide many of them a sorely needed social outlet that may help to make everyone's summer a little more entertaining and enjoyable.

The Washington Post
1980 Weekends at Fort Dupont. Washington, DC: The Washington Post, June 21. Newspaper clipping on file, Washington, DC: Washingtoniana Room, Martin Luther King Library.

Garden's a fortress against city clamor

By Claudia Rosenbaum
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Tucked away in Fort Dupont Park in Southeast lies a clearing overflowing with homegrown vegetables, fruits and spices. Here the sound of city traffic is hushed by trees, and avid gardeners plod through the dirt, weeding and planting.

Formerly the back nine of an 18-hole golf course, the land is currently used as a community garden, providing inspired individuals with not just produce, but a sense of accomplishment and an opportunity to be closer to nature.

"It's like therapy for me to be around people that you can deal with on this level," said Earl Patrick, 49, as he proudly surveyed his plot filled with tomatoes, cucumbers, string beans, squash and peppers. "You get away from the house, TV, telephone, neighbors and get back in touch with nature."

Mr. Patrick is among 243 people that share the 218 plots in the community garden section of Fort Dupont Park, located at the intersection of Fort Davis and Fort Dupont drives in Southeast.

The garden was created in 1974, when Robert Pinchback, a volunteer at the park, asked permission to use the then-overgrown and unused land to encourage community involvement. Mr. Pinchback, a District resident, has maintained a plot there ever since.

The plots are free and doled out when a previous owner leaves or neglects to maintain his lot. The basic guidelines are that no artificial fertilizers or chemicals can be used, since all gardening is strictly organic.

The plots must also be kept clear of weeds and must not look neglected.

Each plot mirrors the individual style of its owner. Some are planted in neat rows. Others are strewn about in patches, complete with marshes and moats.

"You have to pull the rocks out to help the water flow off the crops," said Viola Jones, 43, a quality specialist for the Federal Aviation Administration, as she demonstrated her gardening technique. "Except this is like Rock Creek Park, you can't ever get the rocks out."

The park service coordinator provides gardeners with some basics such as mulch, sawdust and wood chunks for the pathway, and will till the soil at the beginning and end of the season. There are hoses for watering, but it is up to individual gardeners to do the rest.

"Working out here keeps me out of the Safeway on the weekend," said Efrid K. Nobel, 77, who has had his plot for eight years. "It keeps me busy and I put away stuff for the winter."

Many of the gardeners grew up on

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1992

Rosenbaum, Claudia
1992 Garden's a Fortress Against City Clamor. Washington, DC: The Washington Times, June. Page B1.

WASHINGTONIANA DIVISION
District of Columbia Public Library



Photo by Kevin T. Gilbert The Washington Times

Jay Bevan gives his green thumbs a rest after planting cucumbers.

farms, while others are just cultivating their new craft. John and Mattie Davis came out to check on their plot after the weekend rainfall.

"We've both been gardeners since our youth when we lived on farms in North Carolina," said Mrs. Davis, 70, as she pulled weeds. "We live in an apartment in the city which doesn't have a garden, so we came out here."

Some elderly individuals who are unable to work fields come out just to view the gardens.

"I come out here every once in a while since I like to see gardens grow," said Celeste Williams, 79, as she surveryed the plots from the road. "I grew up on a farm in Virginia, so everything looks real good to me."

Originally a Civil War fort, the park was purchased by the U.S. government in the 1930s. Besides the golf course, it contained tennis courts, softball and athletic fields and picnic tables.

Fort Reno conflicts force Wilson to scramble

By BRENDAN KIRBY
Current Staff Writer

Wilson High School athletic director Eddie Saah earlier this year applied for a permit to use the fields at Fort Reno Park that the school has used for the last 35 years.

But when he got the permit from the Department of Recreation and Parks, Saah said he discovered that a youth soccer league got a permit that overlapped with his.

The situation — resolved at least for now after weeks of scrambling — points to the sometimes strained relationship between recreation and schools officials.

The recreation department is responsible for overseeing use of the park, which is owned by the National Park Service. The federal agency is considering a proposal to turn over use of the land to a conglomeration of private sports groups, which would renovate the park and build three first-class athletic fields.

Under such a plan, Wilson would get first dibs on fields, proponents say.

Chaos ensued when Wilson athletes and members of Northwest's popular Stoddert Soccer League showed up at the same time to play on the overused patch of ground across the street from the school. The situation was all the more complicated by Wilson's addition of a junior varsity soccer team.

"It was hard. We had to change three schedules," Saah said. "I'm one of the first people to get my permit request in."

The relationship between the D.C. school system and the recreation department has been notoriously bad for years. The two agencies have sparred in the past over maintenance responsibilities and ownership of parks, pools and other facilities.

That relationship has grown more tense in recent years as the number of sports organizations and youth groups has proliferated. All of the groups are fighting over the same amount of land, which city officials say was already inadequate.

See **Wilson**/Page 25

WILSON

From Page 24

Bell Multicultural High School soccer coach Victor Molina said the recreation department has shut his team out of a field less than a block from the school. He said the department has forced Bell players off the field even when no other group was around to use it.

"They've even called the police on us," he said. "We have a field sitting there, and we cannot use it."

Saah said the overlapping permits caused a major headache for his football and soccer teams and could cause problems again this spring, when the softball and junior varsity baseball teams are supposed to use the Fort Reno fields.

Faced with unsympathetic responses downtown, Saah said he finds it difficult to accommodate recreation officials when they need something.

"D.C. Rec came in here and had the nerve to ask us to let them use our tennis courts," he said. "When they want us to put on a clinic, they act real nice."

Saah, who also coaches Wilson's baseball team, said the school system did not have an easy time securing use of Hamilton Field for the city's baseball championship last year.

"We had to beg to use Hamilton Field," he said. "We had to beg. There's no cooperation."

Larry Brown, a spokesperson for the recreation department, said the department does its best to ensure that all youth groups get a shot at the District's limited fields.

"We have limited open space," he said. "We have to work together to share the space. ... We don't have any exclusive-use fields in this city. We all have to work together."

And while Brown acknowledged criticism that the department has not worked well with the schools, he said many others disagree.

"I can show you hundreds of letters that say we have," he said.

Ward 3 Council member Kathy Patterson said the dispute points up the need to expand field space in the District. Patterson, a former Little League coach, said some amount of compromise is necessary.

"Obviously, the best thing is to work it out," she said. "This does speak to the issue of moving forward and building additional fields" at Fort Reno.

In the long term, Patterson said the council should explore ways to improve coordination between the recreation department and the school system. One way, she said, would be to place all recreation and education services under the jurisdiction of a single council committee. This would allow the council member in charge to have direct communication with both.

"It does make sense to have joint oversight," she said.

Kirby, Brendan
1996 Fort Reno Conflicts Force Wilson to Scramble.
Washington, DC: Northwest Current, November 13.
Pages 24-25.

APPENDIX C: ILLUSTRATIVE FLIERS AND BROCHURES FROM NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

List of Fliers and Brochures from Neighborhood Organizations

"Anacostia River Clean-Up Day" (Flier). 287
"Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program, Inc.: Press Release". 289
"Marshall Heights Community Development Organization" (Appendix IV, GAO/RCED/HEHS-95-69 Comprehensive Approaches to Community Development). 290
"Fort Bunker Hill Park Clean-Up" (Fliers). 294
"Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc." (Brochure). 297

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

ANACOSTIA RIVER CLEAN-UP DAY

Saturday, April 19, 1997
8:00am until 1:00pm
(Rain or Shine)

Wear work clothes and gloves.

A picnic lunch will be provided for all volunteers at the Anacostia Park.

Co-Sponsors

Seafarers Yacht Club
12th Annual Clean-Up

"Our River. We Mean To Keep It Clean"

Anacostia Watershed
Citizens Advisory Committee

In partnership with the
Anacostia Watershed
Restoration Committee

STOP TRASHING THE ANACOSTIA RIVER TODAY

Anacostia Watershed Society
8th Annual Clean-Up

"Volunteer Hands Across the Anacostia"

~Over fo

Flier Promoting Anacostia River Clean-Up Day. Date: April 19, 1997. This event was co-sponsored by Seafarers Yacht Club. The Seafarers members call the campaign "Our River, We Mean to Keep It Clean." Source: Seafarers Boat Club. Obtained in April 1997.

Directions To Staging Areas

Bladensburg

Take Kenilworth Avenue north (295 north) and exit at MD Route 450 west. Turn right at the stop light onto 450. Go approximately 300 yards, and turn left into Historic Port of Bladensburg Waterfront (large, blue sign at the entrance). Meet in the first parking lot on the right.
Point of Contact: Roylene Roberts, (301) 927-7048.

Kenilworth Park

Take Kenilworth Avenue north (295 north). Exit at Minnesota Avenue north and turn left onto Burroughs Avenue underneath the bridge. At the stop sign look for a white open gate and brown National Park Service sign: "Kenilworth Park." Park at the second parking area on your right, after the street curves around.
Point of Contact: Robert Boone, (301) 513-0316.

Anacostia Park

Take Kenilworth Avenue south (295 south)and exit at Pennsylvania Avenue east. Take the first right onto Fairlawn Avenue. Go to the stop sign and make a right onto Nicholson Avenue and enter Anacostia Park. Go to the next stop sign and make a left onto Anacostia Drive. Continue approximately 1 mile and make a left into the NPS/Park Police complex.
Point of Contact: Howard Gasaway, (202) 583-7121.

Participating and Coordinating Organizations

National Capital Parks - East
DCDPW
DCWASA
Brown Ferris Industries
Washington Gas
Town of Bladensburg
Town of Cheverly
USACE
National Children's Island, Inc.
RWADC
DC Department of Recreation
EPA
MWCOG
Prince George's Citizens For A Cleaner County
E and B Marine
American University
Giant Foods
Kramer Middle School
DCERA
Green Peace
Prince George's County DER
PEPCO
DC Lottery Board
A.R.E. - DC Fresh
DC Department of Corrections
UMD - Food Coop

Printed by Washington Gas

Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program, Inc.
1328 Aspen Street, N. W. • Washington, D. C. 20012 • (202) 291-2058

PRESS RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C.'S WELL KEPT SECRET

In the northeast-southeast corridor of Washington, D.C., there is a well kept secret. It is mysterious how something so positive could be over-shadowed by the negatives that overflow our newscasts and publications. It is a puzzle when consideration is given to the lamentations about young people "hanging out".

The secret is the Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Program (FDIHP). This is an all volunteer effort affording professional training of "at-risk" youth, ages 8 - 17, in preparation for ice hockey. After hearing about this program, many youth who are not necessarily "at-risk" have elected to join this program. Future professional hockey players are a very real possibility for this venture. This developmental alternative recreation program provides weekly training for approximately 40 - 50 youth throughout the season which runs from October - March. Classroom instruction is a component of this program. Even though ice hockey is a major component of this program, there is also focus on academics, discipline, responsibility, sportsmanship, building self-confidence and development of positive attitudes. This has proven to be most important in the lives of the many youth who have come from single family homes and lower socioeconomic settings. Some of our alumnus have gone on to college and are playing ice hockey. One recent alumnus is now attending the Naval Academy in Annapolis and is anticipating playing ice hockey while there.

Neal Henderson, a 14 year veteran professional hockey player introduced ice hockey to southeast youth an an alternative to the streets in 1978. In 1979 it was incorporated as a non-profit organization within the District of Columbia The success of this program can be measured somewhat by the fact that in 1993, head coach, Neal Henderson was one of the recipients of the acclaimed Channel 9 "One and Only" awards. Today FDIHP is open to all youth throughout the Washington, D. C., metropolitan area.

FDIHP is funded by small monthly dues, contributions from families, friends, interested individuals and club sponsored fundraising. Parents and supporters play multiple roles in making life meaningful to these youth who are making a valiant effort to do the right thing.

To learn more about this innovative program and to become a supporter, please contact Neal Henderson or Betty Dean on (202) 291-2058. They will be happy to share the secret that is having such a positive effect on these youth. New members and sponsors are welcome to ensure continued success. Please feel free to visit them at the Fort Dupont Ice Arena, 37th Street and Ely Place, S. E. on Monday or Wednesday evening between 6:00 P.M. and 7:30 P.M.

Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program, Inc.: Press Release. No date. This document describes the Ft. Dupont Ice Hockey Program which uses the Fort Dupont Ice Arena. Source: A member of the Fort Dupont Ice Hockey Program. Obtained in January 1997.

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization. Date: 1995. This document describes the activities of the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization (MHCDO), which is active in the community surrounding Fort Mahan. Source: A member of MHCDO. Obtained in March 1997.

Origin and Evolution

In 1976, a group of concerned citizens in the Marshall Heights neighborhood of northeast Washington, D.C., organized themselves around issues such as substandard streets and sidewalks, poor storm drainage, and housing in need of rehabilitation. Marshall Heights is one of 26 individual neighborhoods located in a section of Washington known as Ward 7. Geographically, Ward 7 is the District's easternmost ward, and it is physically separated from the central and western sections of the city by the Anacostia River. Although it was never among the wealthiest of the District's communities, Ward 7 once had a solid base of middle-class families, as well as a substantial number of small businesses and retail establishments. However, the out-migration of many middle-income families and businesses, which began in the 1970s, has helped to destabilize the ward.

In 1978, the citizens of Marshall Heights incorporated as a nonprofit organization to provide a formal avenue to express their needs to the District of Columbia's Department of Housing and Community Development. At the same time, the organization expanded to include other neighborhoods within the ward. The organization's current executive director, hired in 1980, is largely credited with focusing the organization's efforts on economic development and self-sufficiency. The executive director and the chairman of the board of directors also encouraged linking the organization's efforts to housing and social service issues. Residents who attended the organization's first community development conference in 1981 agreed with and supported the comprehensive approach.

Organizational Structure

The Marshall Heights Community Development Organization (MHCDO) is a nonprofit corporation as defined by section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. MHCDO's by-laws provide for a 69-member board of directors, with membership categories designed to provide representation for a broad cross-section of the community. Board members represent citizens at large, churches, Advisory Neighborhood Commissions (a community-participation vehicle organized by the District government), civic associations, commercial interests, and public housing tenants. The board sets overall policy for MHCDO's three program areas: economic development, human development, and housing. MHCDO started with two full-time staff and evolved to its current staff of 56. It also uses volunteers extensively to carry out its diverse activities. Aside from its main nonprofit corporation, MHCDO also operates three for-profit subsidiaries—East R[illegible] Park, Inc.; Citizens' Housing Development Corporation; and Burroughs

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization. *(Continued)*

Development Corporation—each of which was established to insulate MHCDO from financial risk and protect its tax exempt status.

Goals and Strategies

MHCDO's strategy for revitalizing Ward 7 is to involve residents in the process of improving conditions in the community by creating new and diverse economic activities, increasing the availability of affordable housing, and assisting residents to overcome barriers to self-sufficiency. Central to MHCDO's strategy is the use of economic development to reduce reliance on outside funding and to increase economic opportunities within the community. In fact, one of MHCDO's most visible accomplishments is the revitalization of the East River Park Shopping Center, a 155,000-square-foot facility that currently has 11 tenants, including a large Safeway supermarket, a CVS drug store, and a Citibank branch office. One of MHCDO's subsidiaries, East River Park, Inc., owns 40 percent of the shopping center and receives income through rents and management fees. Income from the shopping center is used to leverage funding to operate other programs and to cover program shortfalls and funding gaps.

Affordable housing is provided through another of the organization's for-profit subsidiaries. The Citizens' Housing Development Corporation acquires, rehabilitates, and sells single-family housing to low- and moderate-income families. The organization also provides counseling to help residents qualify as homebuyers, manage their finances, or gain information on arranging a mortgage.

MHCDO also emphasizes social services. In most cases, MHCDO provides services directly, such as drug and alcohol counseling, HIV testing and counseling, and crisis intervention. In other cases, the organization refers clients to other community-based or District government agencies that provide social services.

Residents become involved in MHCDO primarily by serving on the organization's board of directors. However, residents also participate as volunteers in many of MHCDO's activities, such as neighborhood cleanups and community appreciation days. According to MHCDO officials, the size and diversity of the board of directors, which is one of the largest of any community development corporation, helps to ensure a cross section of community representation and a broad base of support for the organization's projects and activities.

Marshall Heights Community Development Organiz
(Continued)

MHCDO is expanding into community outreach, particularly for residents living in public housing in Ward 7. According to MHCDO's executive director, although seats are set aside for public housing residents on the MHCDO board of directors, the seats generally have not been filled. To increase participation by public housing residents, MHCDO established a youth advisory council and, in January 1994, received a planning grant from the Annie E. Casey Foundation to, among other things, develop its base of support within the community, including residents of public housing.

Accomplishments

MHCDO's most visible accomplishment in economic development is the East Park Shopping Center. However, MHCDO also has accomplishments in housing rehabilitation and social services. Some of MHCDO's many accomplishments are listed below:

Housing Development

- Rehabilitated 33 single-family homes and 14 condominiums.
- Constructed 10 new single-family homes and 12 new condominiums.
- Constructed seven transitional housing units.
- Manages two rental properties containing a total of 21 apartment units.

Social Services

- Provided counseling, referral, and other services to relieve residents during immediate crises brought on by sudden disruptions of their daily lives, such as the loss or impending loss of housing or jobs, domestic violence, and other emergency situations, including lack of food, heat, or electricity. In 1993, the crisis unit provided needs assessments and counseling services for 3,700 residents, emergency food for 2,500, and emergency clothing for 3,100.
- Established the "Fighting Back" program to combat drug and alcohol abuse by increasing public awareness of the extent and consequences of substance abuse, increasing and accelerating efforts to prevent substance abuse and to intervene as early as possible when problems arise, stimulating the development of new treatment services, and providing the necessary support for people who have been treated for substance abuse problems. Fighting Back is housed in a 5,000-square-foot commercial facility that was purchased and rehabilitated by MHCDO's subsidiary, East River Park, Inc.
- Manages a socialization program for the mentally ill elderly. This program offers a wide range of social and recreational activities, including grou discussions, exercise sessions conducted by the University of the Distr

Marshall Heights Community Development Organization.
(Continued)

of Columbia's Institute of Gerontology Department, arts and crafts, and field trips. It also offers programs to improve literacy and math skills.

- Provides employment and training services, including a job bank, job development services, counseling, job readiness workshops, job retention counseling, vocational training, and referrals. In 1993, a total of 8,214 clients received employment and training services.
- Took over the city's Automated Labor Exchange system after the District government closed its Ward 7 Employment Services Office because of insufficient funding. The system lists employment opportunities from coast to coast, including government and private sector jobs. Since its installation in May 1993, 5,260 queries have been made. According to the District's Department of Employment Services, Ward 7's system is one of the most active in the city.

Economic Development

- Rehabilitated a 155,000-square-foot commercial shopping center, which now employs over 300 members of the community.
- Established an industrial park to attract light industry to the community. MHCDO owns 6.5 acres of land zoned for industrial use with a 13,000-square-foot building that houses MHCDO's business incubator.



Join your neighbors for the monthly

FORT BUNKER HILL PARK CLEAN-UP

Saturday, May 11, 9AM - 12 NOON

(2nd Saturday of every month)





Who are we?

We are your neighbors who live in the blocks near the park -- bounded by 13th, 14th, Otis and Perry Streets. All of us like to use the park. None of us wants to see it deteriorate and become a place where drug users hang out and where people dump bottles, paper trash and yard waste.

What are our goals?

We want to make the park a place where people feel safe letting their children play, walking their dogs, or just enjoying a quiet stroll through a beautiful, leafy retreat in the middle of the city. Ultimately, we'd like to see the park become a center for occasional neighborhood celebrations, such as community picnics and concerts.

Why is volunteer action needed?

Because with cuts in government funding, there is only so much the National Park Service can do. The NPS will mow the grass periodically and cut down dead trees that might fall and hurt somebody. But they rely on local residents to help keep the park cleaned up and in use.

Fliers Promoting Fort Bunker Hill Park Clean-Up. Date: May 11, 1996 and August 17, 1996. These fliers descr

(over) the clean-up activities organized by neighbors of Fort Bunker Hill Park and some of the concerns that surround the park site. Source: A neighbor of Fort Bunker Hill park who called in response to our flier. Obtained in March 1997.

What <u>will</u> the NPS provide?

The NPS official in charge of Fort Bunker Hill Park (and many other small parks in the metro area) has met with us and approves of the steps we are taking. She will work with us to schedule trash pick-ups after our monthly clean-up efforts. We are also exploring the possibility of having the Park Service turn any fallen or cleared branches we collect into wood chips to put on the paths.

What are our goals for this summer?

This summer the volunteers have formed groups to accomplish the following tasks:

1) **Park edge clean-up** -- To make the park more inviting for children and families and to discourage trash-dumping and drug dealing, we want to clear the edges of the park of brambles, vines, yard waste and other trash so that people passing by can see into the park and can see that it is maintained and used. This Saturday, we will concentrate on the edge along 14th Street and tackle the other sides in June, July and August.

2) **Path definition** -- Contrary to rumors circulating in the neighborhood, no one is proposing to install paved or unpaved jogging tracks in the park! What we do want to do this summer is clean and reinforce the paths that are already in the park, by clearing them of weeds, putting down a layer of wood chips and in some places preventing erosion by using logs as curbs.

2) **Amphitheater clean-up** -- The little theater in the park is deteriorating. Fallen trees need to be removed, encroaching vines and weeds removed and the log seats renewed. At present, there is no plan to restore electricity to the amphitheater, given the vandalism to lights and outlets in the past. Our aim is to have the amphitheater cleaned up enough to hold a neighborhood celebration there this September, with a pot-luck dinner, games for kids and perhaps even a concert by one of the military bands.

What can I do?

- ★ ***Lend a hand this Saturday between 9 and noon.***
- ★ ***Meet at the corner of 14th and Otis Streets***
- ★ ***Bring plastic bags & ties, clippers, axes, shovels and snacks.***
- ★ ***Wear gloves, long-sleeve shirts & pants for the poison ivy!***

For more information:

On the clean-up work: Call Peter at 526-4799 or Rebecca at 269-3032

On the path restoration: Call Alan at 529-4826

On the amphitheater repair: Call Lee at 269-1995

Oops! We skipped a week!

But we still need your help at this month's
FORT BUNKER HILL PARK CLEAN-UP

Saturday, August 17, 9AM - 12 NOON

(Any time you can devote during the morning will be most appreciated!)

****

Focus for the 17th:

- Park edge and interior trash pick-up
- Jungle thinning
- Meet at corner of Otis and 14th Streets
- Bring clippers, shovels, trash bags & refreshments
- Wear long sleeve shirts, pants & gloves (poison ivy)

****

A PLEA FOR VIGILANCE:

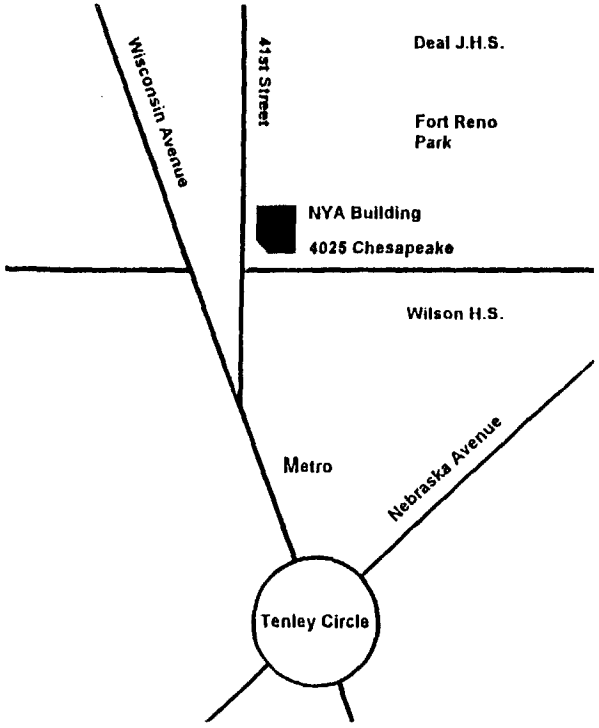
A number of people in the neighborhood have recently noticed materials and activities of a sexual nature in the park. These are not in keeping with our desire to make the park a safe, friendly place -- especially for kids.

Two suggestions:

- Dog-owners, please walk your dogs through the park interior as often as possible.
- Everyone, when you see illegal activity in the park, please call the park police at 202-619-7300.



When you support youth, everyone benefits...

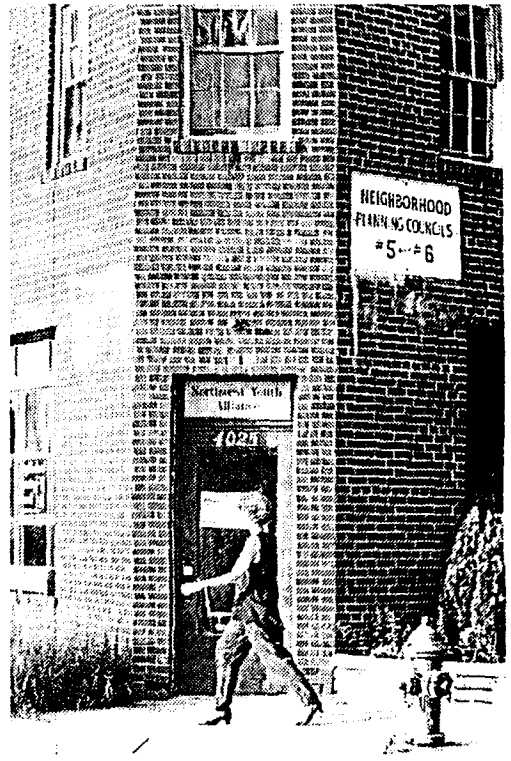


4025 Chesapeake Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Brochure from Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc. No date. This document describes the purpose and programs of the Northwest Youth Alliance, a community organization which borders Fort Reno Park and sponsors the summer concerts at the park. Source: A staff member of the Northwest Youth Alliance. Obtained in March 1997.

Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc

Serving Washington's students and the local community since 1968



4025 Chesapeake Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
202-282-0018

With Purpose,

The Northwest Youth Alliance is a nonprofit 501 (c) (3) corporation founded in 1968 by Neighborhood Planning Councils 5 & 6. Originally managing City-sponsored programs, we have expanded into other, non-governmental areas.

■ The Alliance helps students with programs providing jobs, recreation, education and intellectual stimulation.

■ Housed in a free-standing building at the corner of Chesapeake and 41st Street, NW under an agreement with the National Park Service, we are within walking distance of Deal J.H.S. and Wilson H.S. Other schools, both public and private, are within easy reach.

■ Financed by District agencies and donations from corporations, foundations and individuals, the Alliance seeks private support to make up for declining public revenues.

Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc

Programs

Primarily, we manage three programs to further neighborhood objectives:

■ **Summer Jobs:** Since 1983 we have maintained the District's Summer Youth Employment Program to provide job opportunities, screen and council candidates, prepare resumes and practice interview techniques.

■ **Summer Concerts:** Since 1968, the Alliance has provided recreation for thousands of youth via our Fort Reno bandstand concerts.

■ **After School Chess:** In 1995, the Alliance introduced a chess program. Affiliated with the U.S. Chess Center, the Alliance provides chessboards, computer games, supervision, snacks and visiting experts.

Currently the Alliance enjoys and appreciates participation from a variety of people concerned about the community, including the following Directors:

Paul Strauss, Esq., Chair
George Dennis, V. Chair and Treas.
Barbara Luchs, Secretary
Michael Bindner
Michael Carter
William Fothergill
Lane Hurewitz, Esq.
Catherine Kirschner
Mark Servatius
William Stone
Katherine Lafleur Strauss
Emily Swartz

and Commitment

We strive to improve and expand our programs to meet the needs of our neighborhood youth. To continue, we need your help, your ideas, your time and your financial support.

Donations Welcome

Contributions to the Alliance's work are welcome and tax-deductible.

I/we would like to help. Please find our contribution of ____$25 ____50 ____75 ____100 ____500 or other $_____

I/we can offer help in the following way:

_____

_____

_____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Telephone: _____

Thanks for your support!

Brochure from Northwest Youth Alliance, Inc. *(Continued)*

APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIVE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FLIERS, BROCHURES, AND MEMORANDUMS

List of National Park Service Fliers, Brochures, and Memorandums

"Protests in Anacostia" (Text from National Park Service Home Page) 301
"Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed'" 302
"Calendar of Events: National Capital Parks- East" 309
"Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens" (Brochure). 313
"Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens and Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule" 315
"Civil War Defenses of Washington Management Plan/Environmental Assessment: A Newsletter from the National Park Service" 316
"Fort Dupont Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule" 321
"Rock Creek Park Gardening Regulations" 322

Protests in Anacostia. (No date. National Park Service Home Page, National Capital Regional Office, The World Wide Web at http://www.nps.gov. Downloaded by the research team in December 1996). This text provides context for our discussion of the "Bonus Marchers," some of whom used Anacostia Park as a campsite in 1932.

A number of nationally significant protest marches and demonstrations have also occurred on the Avenue. While these marches may have helped change the economic, political, or social fabric of the Nation, many others have been all but forgotten. One of the first large protest marches on the Avenue was that fo "Coxey's Army" on May 1, 1894. Left idle by the Panic of 1893, unemployed workers around the country organized "armies" to protest their condition. Led by bagpipes and the drums, Jacob S. Coxey of Massillon, Ohio led 500 unemployed men down the Avenue to the Capitol, where Coxey and his staff were arrested for walking the grass. In the early 1900s, protesters supporting women's suffrage were regular visitors to the Avenue, and the massive Suffragist Parade of 1913 helped bring that issue to the attention of the Nation's leadership. The Ku Klux Klan parade of 1925 helped demonstrate the strength of that organization to the nation as well.

In 1932, during the Great Depression, over 60,000 unemployed World War I veterans came to Washington to protest their condition, and to seek increased borrowing privileges on their bonus certificates. While they did not hold a formal march, the "Bonus Marchers" simply engulfed the Avenue, with many camping out in vacant buildings in the Federal Triangle area. Others camped on the **Anacostia Flats**. After the Senate rejected the Patman Bonus Bill on July 15, many of the marchers down the Avenue to remove the remaining veterans. Many veterans attempted to sit down in the street, but were routed by tear gas. MacArthur's troops continued down on to the Anacostia camp which they then burned. In the 1960s a number of large civil rights and anti-Vietnam War marches were held on or near the Avenue. In January 1992, thousands marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House to protest the Nation's involvement in the Persian Gulf crisis.

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
National Capital Area
1100 Ohio Drive, SW.
Washington, D.C. 20242

December 20, 1996

Memorandum

To: Field Director, National Capital Area

From: Superintendent, National Capital Parks-East

Subject: The National Park Service In The Anacostia Watershed

Pursuant to your request, I am sending the attached summary of various activities and other projects we are participating in that involve the Anacostia River Watershed. Please feel free to contact me at 202-690-5185 if you have questions.

Gentry Davis

Attachment

Memorandum on 'The National Park Service in the Anacostia Watershed.' (December 20, 1996. Provided to the researchers by Gentry Davis, Superintendent, National Capital Parks - East in December 1996). This document describes activities and projects, many of which involve Anacostia Park, such as The Aquatic Education Center and the Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Garden "BioBlitz."

National Capital Parks-East In The Anacostia Watershed

National Capital Parks-East (NACE) manages over 4000 acres of park land within the Anacostia River Watershed. They include **Anacostia Park, Kenilworth Park & Aquatic Gardens, Greenbelt Park**, the **Frederick Douglass National Historic Site**, the **Capitol Hill Parks**, and portions of the **Civil War Defenses of Washington** and the **Baltimore/Washington Parkway**. Also, three concession-operated marinas and four boat clubs are located on NACE properties along the Anacostia River.

A major role of NACE along the Anacostia River involves day to day maintenance. Pollution and dumping along the Anacostia River are well known issues, and NACE Maintenance staff routinely remove enormous quantities of trash and debris from the shoreline. NACE has good working arrangements with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers River Maintenance Division and with the District of Columbia Department of Public Works to coordinate clean-up and trash disposal operations along the Anacostia River.

Each year, NACE plays host to numerous volunteer clean-up events each year during which park staff removes and disposes of tons of trash and debris. In addition to routine shoreline clean-up, the Park regularly provides logistical and other support to numerous Anacostia programs and improvement projects sponsored by other agencies and organizations.

Interpretation and Outreach Programs

Park staff regularly attend various community and Advisory Neighborhood Commission meetings to discuss park programs and other shared interests.

Park Rangers and Resource Management staff regularly give presentations on Anacostia natural resource concerns, on and off site, and during special events.

Park Rangers at the historic Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, Greenbelt Park, and the Fort Dupont Activity Center continue to conduct outreach and on-site interpretive/educational programs covering a wide range of environmental topics year round. Programs such as the Youth Conservation Corps and the Junior Rangers are hosted at these sites as well. These long-running programs give Washington. D.C. (D.C.) kids and young adults an opportunity to learn about the NPS and about the natural environment.

The Aquatic Education Center: In a cooperative effort between the NPS, D.C., and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), an old Anacostia Park structure was converted into the classrooms and labs of the Aquatic Education Center. Operated by D.C. and maintained by the NPS, the Aquatic Education Center provides students of all ages with an understanding of aquatic ecology and environmental education with the Anacostia River as the focus.

The Urban Treehouse: NACE is looking forward to the June 21, 1996 opening of the Urban Treehouse. Presently under construction in Anacostia Park near the Aquatic Education Center, the Urban Treehouse is a large deck in the shape of the United States that will provide a unique setting for environmental education programs for young people and other park visitors.

Frederick Douglass Annual Oratorical Contest: This contest remains very popular with the number of participants increasing each year. Contest entries have come in from Delaware, New Jersey, Atlanta and the Washington, D.C. metropolitan areas.

Tree Plantings: Hundreds of trees have been planted in the Capitol Hill Parks and at other sites by the beautification project "Trees for Capital Hill," spearheaded by the Advisory Neighborhood Commission, the Capital Hill Restoration Society, National Capital Parks-East, the Garden Club in conjunction with Trees for the City, and the Urban Forest Council of Washington, D.C.

The Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens "BioBlitz": This unique program was held on June 1, 1996, to bring in scientists and researchers from a wide range expertise to document as many plant and animal species as possible during a 24-hour period. Literally hundreds of species, from white-tailed deer to iron oxidizing bacteria, were recorded. The event has stirred much interest among the scientific community.

The "Route One Corridor": NACE has recently met with local government planners and other community groups in Prince George's County to explore the feasibility of having this portion of the Anacostia Watershed being designated as a "Heritage Area".

Resource Management

Ecological Inventories and Monitoring: NACE is continuing with its compilation of a computerized ecological inventory. The inventory includes on-going monitoring work and currently includes thousands of historic and recent records on the plant

and animal species of Anacostia Park (including Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens). The Park has identified additional opportunities to enhance natural habitat along the Anacostia River corridor including managed meadow and riparian forest buffers. These areas can improve aquatic habitat as well as adjacent terrestrial habitat.

Kenilworth Marsh Restoration Project: What began as an NPS investigation into the factors limiting wetland plant production in this important tidal marsh (the last in D.C.), evolved into a major interagency effort which resulted in the reconstruction of 32 acres of tidal emergent marsh land. The project was truly a cooperative effort and enlisted the support of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (COE), D.C., the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Washington Metropolitan Council of Governments (COG), the FWS, University of the District of Columbia (UDC), the National Biological Survey (NBS), Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, and others.

Kenilworth Marsh Monitoring Committee: The NPS established the interagency Kenilworth Marsh Monitoring Committee to identify, implement, and track, a 5-year monitoring program. We are currently winding-up year 2 of that comprehensive program. For it's part, the NPS is coordinating the regular meetings, and is performing wildlife utilization studies (including breeding bird and waterfowl censuses), water quality monitoring, and marsh vegetation studies. Moreover, the Park has funded 3 years of additional vegetation biomass studies that are being performed by the UDC. We are looking forward to extending that arrangement with UDC if additional funding can be obtained. However, no funding is currently available to continue that important work.

The Park continues to work with the COE in developing additional wetland restoration projects in the D.C. reach of the tidal Anacostia River (Kingman Lake, river fringe marsh).

Chesapeake Bay Program: NACE is active in "Bay Program" activities and meetings, and attempts to incorporate Bay Program goals into daily management actions whenever possible. Similarly, NACE provided details of Park management activities to the NPS's Chesapeake Bay Action Agenda.

Federal Workplan for the Restoration of the Anacostia: NACE has been an active participant in developing the activities of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Federal Workplan.

Anacostia River Toxics Management Action Plan: NACE has worked closely with the District of Columbia Government's Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs to develop the recently issued draft (12/1996) of the subject plan.

Integrated Pest Management (IPM): For approximately 15 years, the NPS has worked under an IPM philosophy and policy. Among the benefits of the IPM program is a major overall decrease in the use of pesticides. Reduced usage of pesticides reduces the potential for pesticide runoff from NPS sites.

Anacostia Watershed Restoration Committee: NACE has been serving to represent the NPS in the Anacostia Watershed Restoration Committee (AWRC) and attends the committee meetings. To the extent possible, NACE coordinates with region-wide efforts to achieve the "clean-up" goals established by that interagency group.

Projects with the Private Sector

Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO): NACE is working with D.C. and PEPCO on a project that links the construction of the utility company's new cooling intake system with the creation of a fringe tidal marsh. This project, which has been plagued with numerous problems since its been underway, will provide a small-scale demonstration that will test the feasibility of constructing "fringe" wetlands along the mainstem Anacostia River in advance of similar plans developed on a larger scale by the COE.

Washington Gas: The NPS has also been working with Washington Gas to address soil and water contamination issues at an old gas manufacturing plant site that pre-dates Anacostia Park. The project involves the operation of a ground-water extraction system and investigation into the possible use of *in situ* enhanced bioremediation technology.

The following is a list of the most recent improvements in Anacostia Park:

1. Reconstruction of the Boat Ramp, the parking lot and the Aquatic Educational Center - Total cost $525,000.

2. Amended our cooperative agreement with the District Government to complete the original project of the Aquatic Educational Center - $125,000.

3. Kenilworth Marsh Restoration/Anacostia Channel Maintenance - $2 million.

4. Urban Tree House - $250,000.00.

5. Anacostia River Clean Ups - $400,000.00 over last five years.

6. Planted over 1000 trees along the Anacostia/River Terrace area - Total cost $35,000.00.

7. Planted 100 trees along the river at Kenilworth Park - $5,000.

8. Rehab of the Anacostia Park Learning Center and the Skating Rink Pavilion - $200,000.00.

9. Rehab of all the tennis courts, playground equipment and ballfields - $150,000.00

10. Langston Golf Course improvements - $200,000.00.

11. Renovation of Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens visitor center and office space - $400,000.00.

12. Installed electrical, water and sewer lines for U.S. Park Police trailers in Anacostia Park - 01/94 - $140,000.00.

13. Vehicle parking area at AOF - 12/91 - $75,000.00.

14. Emergency power supply U.S. Park Police hanger - 02/95 - $5,000.00

15. Emergency electrical service for District system and AOF - 08/93 - $29,000.00.

16. Replaced roofing AOF - 07/92 - $170,000.00.

17. Replaced hanger door AOF Aviation - 12/92 - $13,000.00.

18. Renovated indoor pistol range at AOF - 01/91 - $87,000.00.

19. Addition to park headquarters - 01/90 - $200,000.00.

20. Installation of gas heat at U.S. Park Police Aviation Hanger - 11/92 - $50,000.00.

21. Improvements at Anacostia Marina - $380,000.00.

22. Improvements at James Creek Marina - $5 million.

23. Improvements at Buzzard Point Marina - $1 million.

24. Installation of traffic loops in Anacostia and Kenilworth Parks - $25,000.00.

Calendar of Events: National Capital Parks- East. (December 1996. Provided to the researchers by a National Capital - East staff member in January 1997). This document describes several activities which involve Anacostia Park, such as tours and programs at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, and Fort Dupont Park's visit with "Santa" activity.

OTHER SPECIAL EVENTS AROUND THE CITY.....

ANACOSTIA MUSEUM AND THE CENTER FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

Saturday December 7. Kwanzaa Family Workshop. Learn how to celebrate Kwanzaa at home. Using the seven principles of Kwanzaa, 9:30 til 1 pm. Call for more information (202) 287-3369.

Saturday, December 14. Holiday Activities. Holiday family day: Traditions of the African Diaspora. Learn the traditions African Diaspora. For more information call (202) 287-2060.

Monday, December 30. Kwanzaa Concert. Come and celebrate Kwanzaa. Enjoy performances by the Dance Institute of Washington. Free and open to the public. For more information call (202) 287-2060.



CALENDAR OF EVENTS
DECEMBER 1996



National Capital Parks-East

Division of Interpretation, Recreation & Visitor Services

Superintendent, Gentry Davis

CALENDAR OF EVENTS
DECEMBER 1996
NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS- EAST



OXON COVE PARK- Learn about cows, try your hands at milking.

Mon., Wed. & Fri
10 am, 11:30 am & 3:30 pm
Sat. & Sun. 10 am & 3:30 pm
Tues. & Thurs.
11:30 am & 3:30 pm
Sat. & Sun. 10 am & 3:30 pm

Learn about chickens and eggs, shell a crack of corn and collect eggs. Sat., Sun., Mon., Wed., 11 am.

Join the farm staff for a wagon ride around the farm. Sat. - Sun, Mon, Wed. 1:30 pm., Fri., 11 am.

Join a Park Ranger for a 30 minute walk and learn the history of the farm. (Oxon Cove Park) Sat., Sun., Mon., Wed. 2:30 pm..

KENILWORTH AQUATIC GARDENS Saturday December 7, 8:30 am Bird Watching for Beginners: Join a ranger and volunteer for a special bird walk around the gardens.

Saturday December 14, 10:00 am, Summer Dejavu: A special tour of the pond and historic greenhouses. Program ends with a 15 minute slide program of the summer's splendors.

Saturday December 28, 10 am. Backyard Wildlife Refuges: Find out how your apartment patio, a window box or your back yard can be turned into a refuge for some of the native wildlife at the area.

Sunday December 29, 1 pm. Gardening with Native plants: Grow a garden with a natural history and benefit nature at the same time.

FORT WASHINGTON PARK - Park open to visitors and permitted events for an entrance fee of $4.00 per vehicle, $2.00 for hikers, bikers, and joggers. Permit allows unlimited access for seven days.

GREENBELT PARK - December 14. "What Tree Is That"? - Learn how to identify trees with a Park Ranger at 11 am, meet at Blueberry Nature Trail.

All about Snakes. December 1 & 8. Snakes are the most feared and misunderstood of all creatures. In our area the majority of snakes are completely harmless. Come meet at the Ranger Station t at 10 am and be introduced to our scaly friends.

Winter Woodland Hike. December 7, 14, 21 and 28. Discover the sights, sounds and signs of the wildlife in the winter forest. Meet at Ranger Station t 10 am.

What Tree is That? December 14. Learn how to identify trees with a Park Ranger. Meet at 11 am at the Blueberry Nature Trail.

Are You Polluting The Water? December 15 & 22. Learn how our everyday life can effect the cleanliness of our water and what you can do to help the rapidly deteriorating watershed. Meet a Ranger Station at 10 am.

6 mile Hike. December 22 & 29. Put on your hiking boots and kick off the winter trekking season with Park Ranger.

Seed Craft. December 28. Learn about the seeds at Greenbelt Park and how to make various crafts from them. Meet at the Ranger Station at 1 pm.



FORT DUPONT PARK -

December 18 & 19 at 10 am and 1 pm. Area elementary schools are invited to visit with Santa and join in the festive activities planned for the day. Limited space available, reservations are required.





ANACOSTIA PARK/PAVILION

The skating floor is open from 7 am until dark daily. Piped music is provided for your skating enjoyment from 10 am until 8 pm. The basketball courts, picnic areas, recreational areas and Urban Tree House are open and free to the public. From October til May. Call (202) 690-5176 for more information.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE-

During the entire month of December, the Frederick Douglass NHS will be decorated in the same Victorian splendor as the Douglass' decorations over one hundred years ago. Christmas trees, mistletoe and other symbolic of the season will adorn the Home.

The Interpretive Staff will conduct tours and provide other visitor services in period clothing. The Frederick Douglass National Historic Site is closed on Christmas Day.

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE-

Proudly announces The Art Songs of Harry T. Burleigh: The Roots of African American Nationalist Music. Saturday, Decembat 2pm. Also featured will be Regina McConnell, Soprano, Dr. Marva Cooper, Pianist and Dr. Doris Evans McGinty, Ethnomusicologist. The admission is free for all. Please join us for a tribute to Mr. Burleigh, the nation's first African American Composer of Nationalist Music.

These sites are units of The National Park Service, National Capital Parks East, 1900 Anacostia Drive SE, Washington DC 20020.
Superintendent Gentry Davis, (202) 690-5185.

The National Park Service, National Capital Parks-East, encourages the involvement and participation of individuals with disabilities in all programs and services. Please let us know how we can best meet your needs. You may call this office (202) 690-5185 or the individual park prior to your visit for directions and additional information.

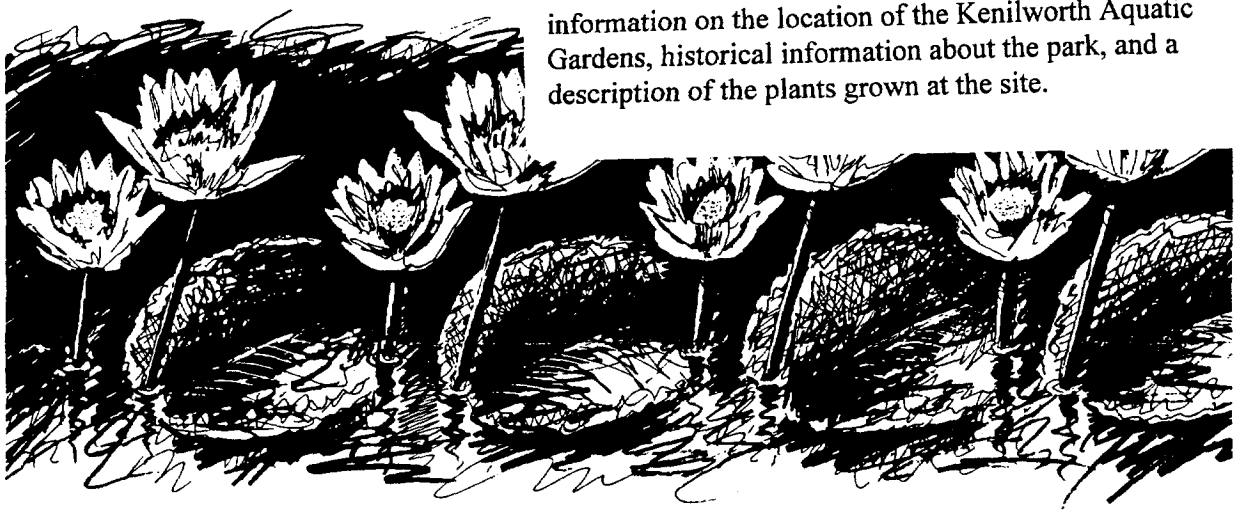
Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site
(202) 332-1233/9201
Frederick Douglass National Historic Site (202) 426-5961
Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens
(202) 426-6905
Anacostia Park/Pavilion
(202) 472-3873
Fort Washington Park
(301) 763-4600
Oxon Cove Park (301) 839-1176
Greenbelt Park (301) 343-3948
Fort Dupont Park (202) 426-7723



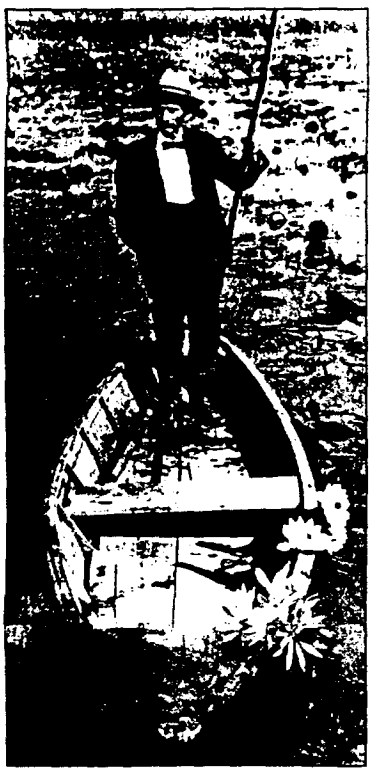
Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens

Washington, D.C.

Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens (Brochure). (No date. Obtained at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens by research team members in January 1997). This brochure provides information on the location of the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, historical information about the park, and a description of the plants grown at the site.



Welcome to the only national park devoted entirely to water-loving plants, a 12-acre sanctuary featuring exotic water lilies. Created on the east bank of the Anacostia River seven miles upstream from its junction with the Potomac, this mosaic of shallow ponds and dikes, bordered by 44 acres of tidal marsh, forms an island of green next to the busy neighborhoods of Washington's far northeast corner.



W. B. SHAW, FOUNDER

A Park's Story

After the Civil War Walter B. Shaw, who had lost an arm in Union service, located a job as clerk in the U.S. Treasury Department. He married and bought from his father-in-law 37 acres along the Anacostia in 1880. His fondness for water lilies led him to plant a few native species from his home state of Maine in an unused ice pond. In time, his hobby became his business and life's work as he dredged more pools, collected exotic plants, developed varieties, and sold plants and blooms far and wide.

With the help of his daughter, Helen Fowler, Shaw created a unique habitat, combining the gleam of water with the starlike blooms of the lilies. Mrs. Fowler eventually succeeded her father as manager of W. B. Shaw Lily Ponds. She imported lotuses from the Orient, blue lilies of the Nile, and specimens native to South America. Her pastel studies of lilies are displayed at the visitor center.

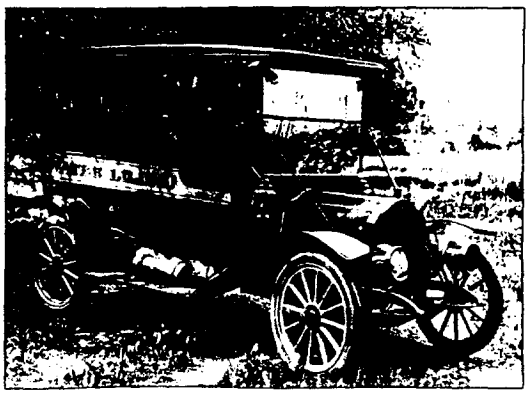
In the 1920s visitors by the thousands came on Sunday mornings to see the waxy flowers as they opened in the summer sun. President Calvin Coolidge and his wife Grace liked to stroll under the willows from pool to pool. Then in the 1930s, the gardens were threatened with destruction. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, with a mission to dredge the river and reclaim the marshes, moved to take the land by condemnation. The Interior Department stepped in and purchased the gardens in 1938 for $15,000 to preserve them for the American people. The National Park Service renamed the gardens Kenilworth for the community that had grown up at the turn of the century on the neighboring farmlands.

High-speed highways have limited the approach and kept the gardens isolated. These acres remain home to a variety of wetland plants and animals: from turtles to snakes, fingernail-sized frogs to bullfrog boomers, as well as insects, mosquito fish, and muskrats. Migratory birds pause to rest here. Ducks paddle along the edges and red-winged blackbirds nest in the thickets. The annual Christmas bird count of the local Audubon Naturalist Society finds some 40 species in the area.

At the pool edges cattails and yellow flag iris stand straight and tall. Buttonbush and rose mallow shrubs send roots down into the moist earth. On the ponds' surface, water primrose and lavender water-hyacinth float in a tangle.

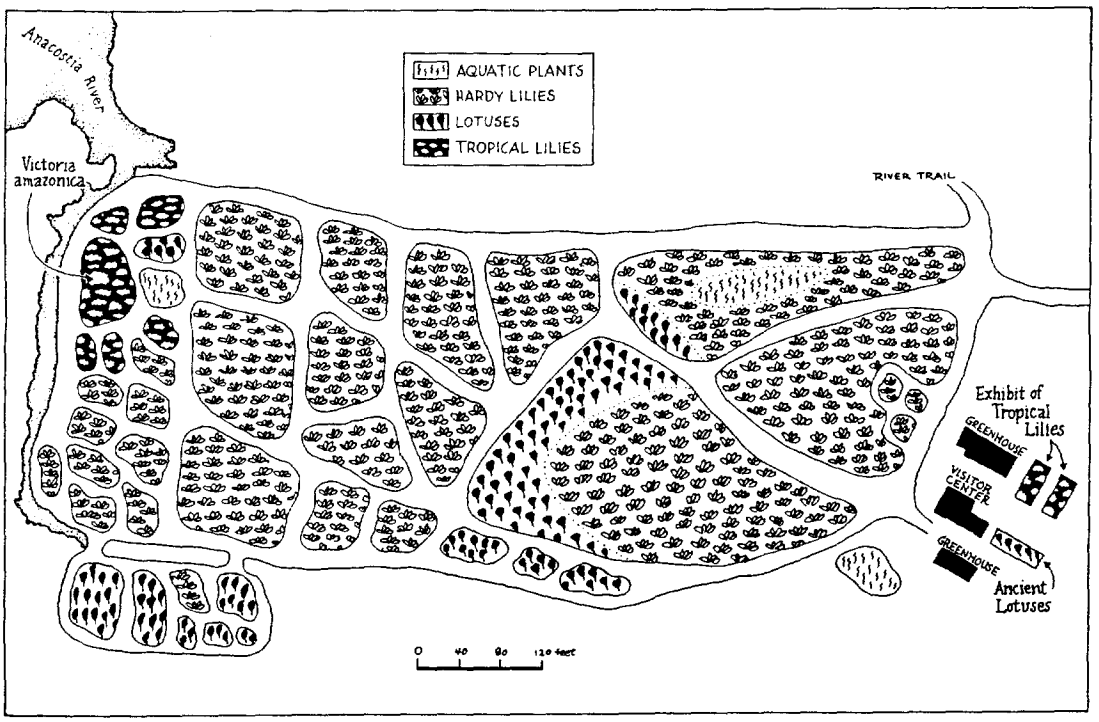
Park gardeners repair dikes after periodic flooding. The staff also maintains the system of conduits that keep a slow trickle moving into the pools as the tidal river daily flushes the marsh and mud flats along its banks.





Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens

Washington, D.C.



About Water Lilies and Lotuses

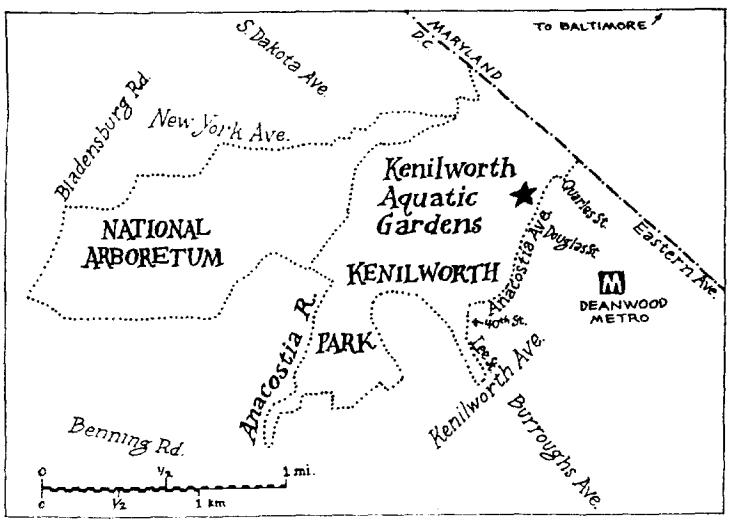
The water lily family takes its name, *Nymphaea*, from the graceful female spirits of ancient myth who lived in lakes and streams. Many species of lilies live in different parts of the world, varying in form and color, but they are broadly grouped into hardy and tropical. All grow in shallow, slow-moving water, usually from tubers rooted in the mud. Leaves form underwater and grow to reach the surface and the sun. Flowers bloom for 3 to 14 days, opening and closing with the change of light. The seedpods dip underwater to ripen.

The ponds at Kenilworth harbor many types of hardy lilies recognized by the round pads with smooth edges. Their flowers peak in June and July.

The tender tropical lilies are stored in greenhouses all winter. When the ponds warm up in May, the tubers are moved outdoors in containers. Serrated or rippled edges of their leaf pads distinguish the tropicals. Their large flowers peak in July and August. Some bloom at night; many are fragrant. The extraordinary *Victoria amazonica* from South America displays leaves like platters with upturned edges, some extending to six feet across.

The lotus (genus *Nelumbo*) has waxy leaves that rise above the water and shed rain. Its showy flowers drop petals to reveal seedpods that look like shower-heads; its seeds ripen above the water. In a pool near the visitor center cluster pink-tinged East Indian lotus, descended from ancient plants whose seeds were recovered in 1951 from a dry Manchurian lakebed. A recent estimate placed their age at 350 to 575 years. National Park Service botanist Horace Wester induced germination of the seeds, believed to be the oldest viable seeds ever found.

Centuries before Christ, eastern religions made the lotus a sacred symbol. In India, Hindus believe Brahma was born from the heart of the flower. The Buddha is often shown seated on a lotus. The beauty of the bloom rising from murky waters gave the Chinese an image for purity; and its lovely form figures in the design of Egyptian temple columns.



How to Get There

The gardens are located directly across the Anacostia River from the National Arboretum. Take Kenilworth Avenue to Burroughs Avenue (West) to Lee Street; follow Lee Street to 40th Street; take 40th street to the end and turn right onto Anacostia Avenue. Follow Anacostia Avenue approximately 1/8 mile to the park entrance on the left. By Metro — take the Orange line to Deanwood Metro station.

When to Visit

June and July for hardy water lilies
July and August for tropical plants

Hours 7 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Mornings are best for viewing night-bloomers before they close and day-bloomers as they open.

Special Features

Picnic tables
Garden walks on summer weekends and holidays 9 am., 11 am, and 1 pm
For the handicapped, transportation available

Information

Call (202) 426-6905 V/TDD or write:
National Capital Parks—East
1900 Anacostia Drive, S.E.
Washington, DC 20020

KENILWORTH AQUATIC GARDENS AND PARK
National Capital Parks-East

PROPOSED INTERPRETIVE SCHEDULE

PROGRAM	DATES OFFERED	ISP NO	PAGE NO.
Garden Walks	May - September	1	9
Morning/Night Garden Walks	July - September	2	11
Environmental Interpretive Programs	September - June	3	13
Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens Cleanups	Fall/Spring/Summer	4	19
Dawn Chorus	May	5	20
Annual Waterlily/Founders Day Festival	July	6	23
Turtles of Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens	April - August	7	25
The Eastern Woodland Indians of Kenilworth	January - December	8	27
Snake Talk	January - December	9	29
Wonders of Nature	January - December	10	31
Cultural Garden Walks	January - December	11	33
Pond Ecology	January - December	12	35
Winter Tree Identification	January & February	13	37
Window Box Gardens	January - May	14	39
Backyard Habitat for Wildlife	November - March	15	41
Native Plant Gardens	November - March	16	43
Water Study	September - June	17	45

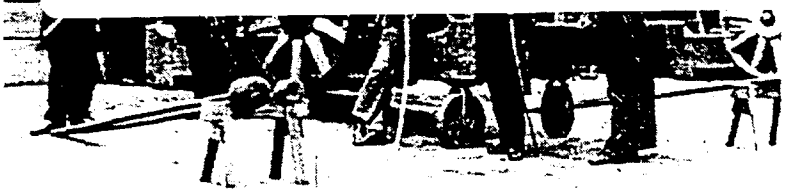
Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens and Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule. (No date. Obtained at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens by research team members in January 1997). This document provides information on the types of programs offered at the Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens and Park and the approximate dates during which they take place.

CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

Management Plan/Environmental Assessment

A Newsletter from the
National Park Service
Number 1, January 1997

Civil War Defenses of Washington Management Plan/Environmental Assessment: A Newsletter from the National Park Service. (January 1997. Provided to the research team by NPS staff members in January 1997). This newsletter includes an historical overview of the Civil War Defenses of Washington, information on park management plan development, and a reader comment form related to the Civil War Defenses of Washingt



Dear Friends:

Fort Reno...Fort Dupont...Fort Totten...most Washingtonians know them as a reservoir, a recreation center, and a METRO stop. But from 1861 to 1865 these areas were part of the extensive earthen fortifications that surrounded and protected Washington from the armies of the Confederacy. At that time, Washington, D.C. was not only the capital of the United States, but also the center of military operations and the very symbol of the Union. President Lincoln knew it was critical for the Union cause to protect Washington.

Today we are writing to you because the National Park Service has begun a planning process to determine how to manage approximately 20 Civil War defense sites for the next 10 to 15 years. Early this century there were plans to use the lands to create a green belt parkway around Washington for a "Fort Circle Drive". Later, a bike trail was considered. Today in this era of tight budgets we need to look at these areas again to see how to best tell the story of the Civil War defenses, determine appropriate recreation, and plan management of cultural and natural resources.

Although the fort system continues across suburban Maryland and Virginia counties, only the areas that are administered by the National Park Service will be included in this plan. The fort sites are spread through three National Park Service units: Rock Creek Park, National Capital Parks-East, and George Washington Memorial Parkway. The fort areas are on the map on page t

Our goal is to develop a plan that will protect the resources, meet the needs of our visitors, and address the concerns of our neighbors. To achieve this we will be working closely with the District of Columbia; state, local, and federal agencies; private landowners; interest groups; and the general public.

So we are asking for your help. We need your thoughts in this process. The following will provide some ideas on the purpose and significance of the sites, as well as some information on the National Park Service's planning process. Please tell us what you think. We look forward to receiving your comments as we work together to plan the future of these Civil War Defenses of Washington.

Sincerely,

William R. Shields
Superintendent, Rock Creek Park

Gentry Davis
Superintendent, National Capital Parks-East

Audrey Calhoun
Superintendent, GWMP

PURPOSE OF THE MANAGEMENT PLAN

The purpose of this project is to produce a plan and generate actions that will enhance the understanding, appreciation, protection, and use of the Civil War Defenses of Washington resources. It is intended to provide broad guidance for long-term management of the park, and direct future uses in the areas of preservation, recreation, interpretation, visitor use, and resource management. The plan will study existing conditions and future possibilities, and then determine the best course of action to accomplish the goals. It will describe the path that the National Park Service (NPS) intends to follow in managing the Civil War defense sites over the next 10 to 15 years.

An environmental assessment will be prepared concurrent with the management plan, to comply with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). The assessment will identify significant issues and concerns facing the management of the park, present a reasonable range of management alternatives, and analyze effects of the alternatives. In addition, a separate historic resource study is underway to provide understanding of the history of the park sites and the distribution of the historic resources; and an ethnographic study is being conducted to identify park user groups and neighborhood affiliations with the sites.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR DEFENSES

After the defeat of Federal troops at the Battle of Manassas during the opening year of the Civil War, the government realized the importance of fortifying the capital city. Major John G. Barnard of the Corps of Engineers was put in charge of building the new forts. His engineers selected sites surrounding the city that overlooked major transportation routes and sites vital to the economy of Washington, D.C.

The fort system was only challenged once, in July of 1864 when Confederate General Jubal Early tested the forts with an attack from the north. In the Battle of Fort Stevens the Union defenders repelled the Confederates. The action was attended by President Lincoln, making him the only president ever to come under direct fire in war while in office. Battleground National Cemetery on Georgia Avenue is managed by NPS and contains 41 headstones of soldiers who fought in the battle.

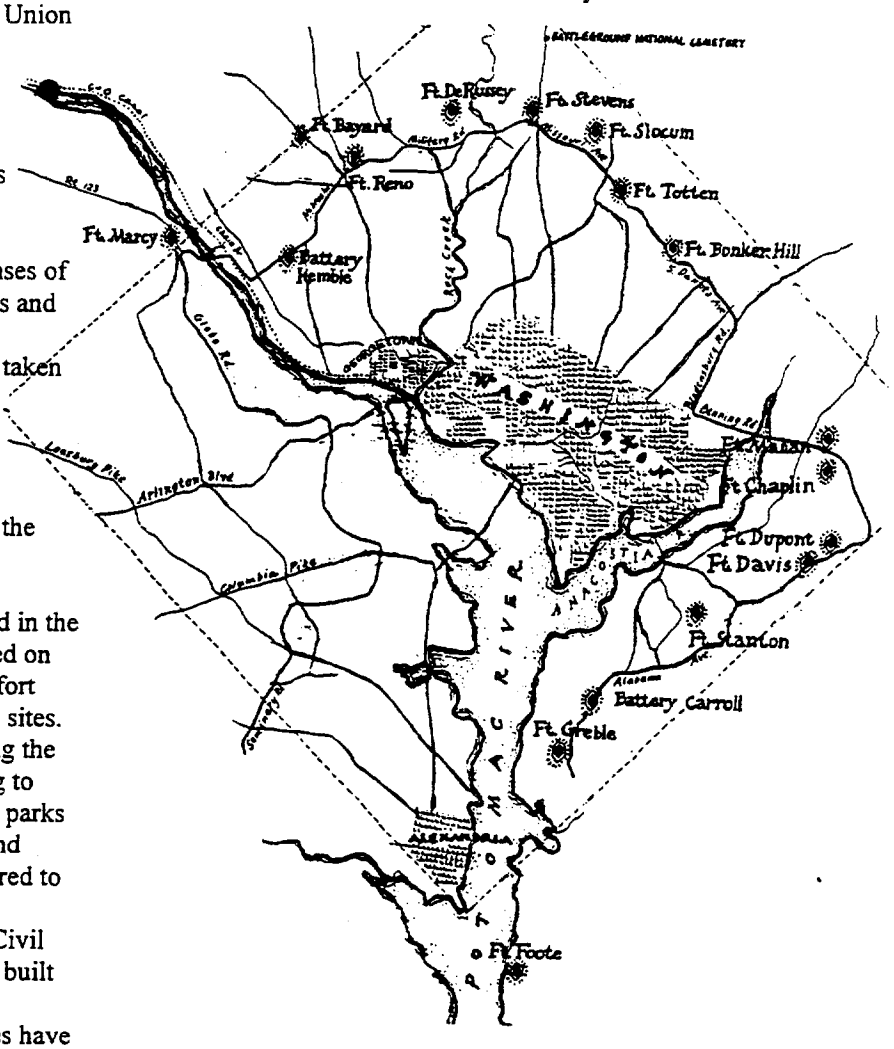
When General Lee surrendered in April 1865, the defenses of Washington had grown to 68 forts, 93 unarmed batteries and 20 miles of rifle trenches. Shortly thereafter, the War Department began to disassemble the fort system it had taken four years to build. The army abandoned the forts and surplus property was sold at public auction. Some fort properties stayed in federal hands and some were returned to the original farm owners. A few became freedmen's villages for former slaves under direction of the U.S. Freedman's Bureau.

The 1901 McMillan Park Commission plan for park land in the District of Columbia considered the fort sites and focused on the impressive character of the views from the elevated fort positions and proposed that parks be established at these sites. To link the parks, a continuous scenic parkway encircling the city was proposed along the crests of the hills. Planning to implement the proposal of the Fort Circle Drive and fort parks was started in the 1920's by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. In 1933, the system was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior for administration by the National Park Service. About 20 Civil War fort sites were acquired, but the parkway was never built since the proposed corridor was overtaken by urban development. Over the years several of the fort park sites have become natural areas which support a diversity of plant and animal species native to the region.

A 1965 National Park Service report on the "Fort Park System" evaluated the forts and connectors and recommended preservation of the historic forts and proposed linkages with bike trails. In addition to the historical importance, it recognized the sites' value for community recreation. The fort sites administered by the National Park Service were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977 for their rich historical and cultural values. Individual fort areas have received some preservation treatments and also host recreational activities, but no unified plan for the fort system has been approved and implemented.

AREAS TO BE INCLUDED

The project includes only the fort sites administered by the National Park Service. The main fort sites are shown on the map. NPS also has batteries and trench systems that are too small to include on the map. There were additional forts in the original defense system, such as Fort Ward in Alexandria, Fort C.F. Smith in Arlington, and sites in Fairfax and Montgomery Counties, which are not administered by NPS.



PURPOSES OF THE CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON PARK AREAS

Purpose statements provide a foundation for the management of units and sites administered by the NPS. Since there is no specific legislation offering direction for the management of the fort properties, the following statements are based on direction provided in NPS policy and previous planning efforts. The purposes for NPS management of the sites are:

- To preserve historical resources related to the Civil War Defenses of Washington

- To conserve contiguous woodland communities and scenic landscapes linking the Civil War Defenses of Washington

- To provide open space and community-oriented recreational opportunities compatible with the historic and natural values

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARK AREAS

Significance statements for NPS units and sites identify the resources and values central to managing the park areas and express the importance of the sites to our natural and cultural heritage.

- The park sites contain remains of the system of Civil War defenses (e.g., forts, batteries, rifle trenches) that effectively deterred invasion of the nation's capital.

- The Civil War Defenses of Washington includes the remains of forts which were engaged in the Battle of Ft. Stevens in July 1864 - the only Civil War battle in the District of Columbia and the only time a sitting U.S. President has come under enemy fire in warfare.

- The pattern (green belt) of public space of "Fort Circle Drive" represents an element of one of the earliest urban planning effort for public recreation in the U.S. (as first suggested in the 1901 McMillan Plan and 1920's National Capital Planning Commission Plan), and today enhances the aesthetics of the capital city and the quality of life for its citizens.

- The maintenance of the undeveloped "greenbelt" for over a century has resulted in the preservation of significant natural features rarely found in developed urban areas.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

The planning process includes the steps of gathering information, developing, and evaluating alternatives, preparing, and publishing a draft plan/environmental assessment; and revising and publishing a final plan/NEPA document. The following table gives the schedule for these steps, as well as projected completion dates and opportunities for public involvement.

Three possible management directions are currently being discussed. Under the first, existing management policies would be continued, with no major program changes. The second direction would be to emphasize history. This approach could include actions such as selective stabilization of the forts, some vegetation clearing, installation of wayside exhibits, and production of a handbook and brochure. The third direction would be to emphasize recreation, and would provide recreation opportunities compatible with the cultural and natural resources. This approach could include more picnicking, ballfields, trails, and special events.

STEP	DATE	PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT
1. Gather Information; Develop Alternatives	Summer 1996 to Spring 1997	Newsletter 1/Response Form Public Scoping Meetings
2. Prepare and Publish Draft Management Plan/ EA	Summer 1997	Newsletter 2/Response Form Public Review Public Meeting
3. Revise and Publish Final Management Plan & NEPA Document	Fall 1997	Public Distribution Newsletter 3

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Public involvement is a key component in the preparation of a management plan and environmental assessment. This newsletter provides information on the planning process and how you can be involved. You are invited to share ideas with the planning team in two ways:

First, by completing and mailing the enclosed postage-paid response form. Do you agree with the purpose and significance statements presented above? What do you think of the three different management directions mentioned above? What are your ideas about the future of the park?

Second, by attending one of our public scoping meetings in January , where you will have an opportunity to present your ideas, questions, and concerns directly to the planning team. A series of local meetings will be held:

January 22, 7 to 9 P.M. at the Fort Dupont Activity Center, Fort Dupont Park, enter Ft. Dupont Drive, S.E. at Randle Circle (Minnesotota and Massachusetts Avenues, S.E.), activity center on left in about 1/4 mile.

January 23, 1997, 7 to P.M. at McLean Community Center, located at 1234 Ingleside Avenue, off Rte.123 (George Washington Memorial Parkway to exit Rte. 123 -McLean/Chain Bridge; Rte 123 toward McLean - through six traffic lights; right at next street, which is Ingleside; about one block, on left).

January 29, 7 to 9 P.M. at the Rock Creek Park Nature Center, 5200 Glover Road, N.W., Rock Creek Park, enter park from Military Road (across from Oregon Road, N.W.).

You can also get the latest information on the management plan by being on our mailing list; by calling the Civil War Defenses of Washington Planning Info Line **(202) 205-2330** for a recorded message and, if desired, to leave your comments; or by checking our homepage on the Internet at the following address:

http://www.nps.gov/cwdw/newsletter1

COMMENT FORM

Please use this form to record your comments and ideas. If you need more space, please feel free to attach additional pages to this form. When you are finished, fold the form on the line, tape it closed, and mail. No postage is required.

Comments on purposes of the fort parks.

Comments on the significance of the fort parks.

Comments and suggestions about the future of the Civil War Defenses of Washington. What would you like the parks to look like 10 to 15 years from now?

What is your greatest concern about the future of the Civil War Defenses of Washington?

Other concerns or issues the National Park Service should address in the plan.

Comments are welcome on the fort parks in general, but if you have special interest in specific forts, please circle them below and indicate which comments are for which forts.

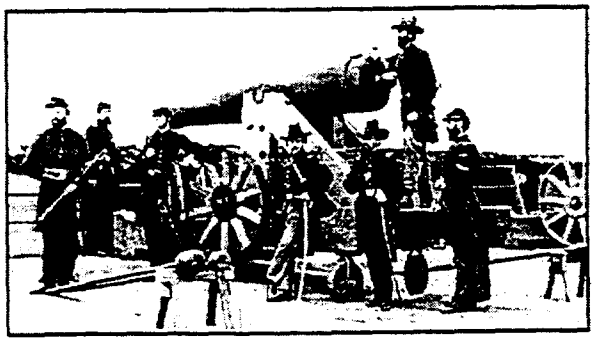
Battery Kemble
Fort Bayard
Fort Reno
Fort DeRussey
Battery Kingsbury
Battery Sill
Fort Stevens
Fort Slocum
Fort Totten
Fort Bunker Hill
Fort Mahan
Fort Chaplin
Fort Dupont
Fort Davis
Fort Stanton
Fort Ricketts
Battery Carroll
Fort Greble
Fort Foote
Fort Marcy

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST-CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 12651 WASHINGTON DC
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS

SUPERINTENDENT
NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS-EAST
1100 OHIO DR SW
WASHINGTON DC 20277-2651

Fold here and tape above



THE CIVIL WAR DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

Public Involvement Begins
Newsletter 1, January 1997

Please provide your name and address to be added to our mailing list. If you know of individuals and/or major organizations interested in this project who should be receiving this newsletter, please provide their name and address. Thank you.

Name_____ Title_____

Organization_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

FORT DUPONT PARK

PROPOSED INTERPRETIVE SCHEDULE

PROGRAM	DATES OFFERED	ISP NO
Butterfly Garden	May - August	1
Colors	Sept. - Nov.	2
Summer Theatre	May - August	3
Study of Ecosystem	Oct. - June	4
Community Gardens	April - November	5
This Land is Your Land	Throughout the Year	6
Pathfinders	Throughout the Year	7
Are You Polluting the Water	Throughout the Year	8
Junior Ranger Program	July - August	9
Recycle-Mania	Throughout the Year	10
Reptile and Amphibian	Throughout the Year	11
Spiders	Throughout the Year	12
Trees	April - December	13
Urban Wildlife Watch	Throughout the Year	14
All About Snakes	Throughout the Year	15
Introduction to Weather	Throughout the Year	16
Civil War Days	May & November	17
Snakes	Throughout the Year	18
Ft. Dupont & Civil War History	Throughout the Year	19
Multi-Cultural History	Feb. - May/Sept.-Nov.	20

Fort Dupont Park: Proposed Interpretive Schedule. (No date. Obtained at the Fort Dupont Activity Center by members of the research team in January 1997). This document provides information on the types of programs offered at Fort Dupont Park and the approximate dates during which they take place.

Rock Creek Park Gardening Regulations. (No date. Provided to the research team by Brenda Henson, Gardening Coordinator, Rock Creek Park, in January 1997). This document describes the rules for gardening at Rock Creek Park and applies to the community gardens at Fort Reno and Fort Stevens. These regulations provide background information related to some of the concerns expressed by the community gardeners who use these two gardens.

Rock Creek Park
Gardening Regulations

A. Regulations pertaining to the use of Rock Creek Park lands for the purpose of gardening:

1. The United States shall not be held liable for the loss, damage, or liability arising from the use of these lands under this special use permit.

2. The use of the garden is free and subject to the rules of the National Park Service and Rock Creek Park.

3. Gardeners will comply with any instructions from official representatives of the National Park Service or the United States Park Police.

4. Only one plot is to be assigned per household while there are other applicants waiting for garden space.

B. Regulations pertaining to plants and planting:

1. Gardeners should use organic gardening methods such as soil improvements by adding compost, using soap and vegetable sprays, squashing harmful insects with your fingers, purchase seeds and plants that are healthy and disease resistant, companion planting for insect control, and mulching for weed control.

2. Garden area is to be used for growing vegetables for household use only.

3. No woody stem plants, trees, or shrubs (including rose bushes) are to be planted in or adjacent to the garden without written approval from the Superintendent.

4. Existing trees within approved garden boundaries are to remain until that time when the tree poses a threat to safety.

5. No natural materials should be removed from the areas adjacent to the gardens.

C. Regulations pertaining to maintenance of garden area:

1. All materials brought into the site for gardening purposes will be stored so as not to create a public hazard or visual intrusion, as defined by the Superintendent.

2. Gardening is permitted only within assigned staked plots. Where practical, borders of flexible metal or plastic edging, which is easily removed, is permitted. Bricks, logs, tree sections, timbers, and other heavy materials are not permitted without prior written approval of the Superintendent.

3. No stones or other debris shall be thrown or piled on grassy areas.

4. The permittee shall dispose of brush and refuse as required by the Superintendent.

5. The garden, including individual plots and walkways, shall be maintained at all times in an orderly and weed-free condition.

6. Compliance with current pesticide regulation is mandatory.

7. At the end of the garden season, all garden plots will be cleared and cleaned up in a manner satisfactory to officials of the executive committee.

8. Gardeners are responsible for removal of all waste they produce. Matter suitable for compost may be composted at each garden.

9. National Park Service tool boxes should be repainted ranch or NPS brown, as needed.

10. The permittee shall not burn any material whatsoever on parkland, including but not limited to, trash and debris.

D. Regulations pertaining to overall operation of garden area:

1. The permittee shall ensure that all activities undertaken by it or its members pursuant to this permit shall be within the boundaries of the land area assigned for use by this permit.

2. The permittee shall ensure that each of its members is aware of the conditions of this permit, and that each member is informed of the necessity of compliance by them with these permit conditions.

3. The permittee shall be responsible for all maintenance and operational costs, and shall assume full responsibility for activities undertaken by it or its members pursuant to this permit within the boundaries of the land area assigned for use by this permit.

4. The permittee is authorized to undertake gardening activities within the boundaries of the land area assigned for use by this permit. The permittee agrees to conduct all gardening activities in compliance with good gardening practices and in accordance with organic practices.

5. The permittee recognizes that the parkland outside of the boundaries of the land area assigned for use by this permit is managed so as to protect the natural, historical, and recreational features of the land, and thus, that no dumping, cutting of vegetation, and collecting of soil or other resources are permitted.

6. The permittee and its members shall immediately surrender to the Superintendent any relics or historic objects found on parkland either within or outside of the boundaries of the land area assigned for use by this permit.

7. The permittee and its members shall use the land area assigned in such a manner that the visual quality of the area will not be impaired, and in such manner that the aesthetic effect of the use will be pleasing to reasonable persons with normal sensibilities, particularly to those persons on parkland outside of the boundaries of the permitted area.

8. The permittee shall maintain a list of people interested in membership and undertaking gardening activities within the permitted area. The list shall be kept on a first applied, first admitted for membership basis. To ensure compliance, all applications for membership must be made in writing and must be mailed to the permittee. The postmarked envelope must be attached to all applications as evidence of priority in membership. The permittee shall make all membership applications available for inspection by the Superintendent upon request.

9. The permittee shall advertise availability of membership, either through public service announcements or newspapers, in order to maintain a reasonable waiting list for membership. The methods of advertising and the content of all advertisements shall be approved in advance by the Superintendent.

10. The permittee shall provide the Superintendent with a list of members no later than May 15th of each year which identifies names, addresses, telephone numbers, and plot assignments. A current waiting list will also be provided upon request.

11. In event that future development of the area is accelerated, the permittee may be required to vacate the land on short notice with the privilege of salvaging all plants and crops possible, and must restore the area to the satisfaction of the Superintendent.

12. The permittee shall notify the Superintendent annually of the dues it proposes to assess each member in the yearly letter request for use of the community garden locations.

13. The land identified shall be used as a vegetable garden. Flowers can only be used as companion plantings for organic gardening purposes and keeping beneficial insects in dominance. Up to 5% of the whole garden or individual plots may be flowers. Perennials, shrubs and roses are not allowed (shrubs spread seeds to natural areas, roses require intensive chemical spraying).

14. The permittee agrees to be fully responsible for management performance, use, and safety within the permitted park area. The permittee hereby agrees to accept responsibility and assume liability for any claims arising directly from the actions of its members connected with the use of the permitted area.

15. Each permittee requesting permission to operate at identified community garden sites will have their by-laws on file with the Superintendent.

16. The permittee shall provide the superintendent with an annual report at the end of each gardening season. The report should provide number of gardeners, number of applicants unable to get plots, and number of hours spent by the association's administrative staff.

17. The permittee shall ensure that all deliveries of materials are made within the boundaries of the permitted area. Materials shall not be stockpiled for any longer than two weeks.

18. The Superintendent may inspect the garden site at any time, and may, without advance notice, inspect the permittee's records in order to assure compliance with the terms of this permit.

19. The Superintendent may add conditions to this permit as needed.

20. "Superintendent" means the Superintendent, Rock Creek Park, or any duly authorized representative.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Interview consent form used to obtain interviewees' and focus groups participants' permission to use the data elicited during interviews and focus groups

PERMISSION TO USE INFORMATION

I, the person named below, understand that notes from my interview may be taken by the interviewer, and/or the interview may be tape recorded or video taped. The information is to be used by the National Park Service only for purposes of education and park planning.

I do hereby give and grant to the United States of America all rights, title and interest, which I may possess to the interviewer's notes, tape or video recording(s), and transcript(s). I understand that confidentiality will be maintained in that my name will not be identified in the report with any specific information or point of view. I give permission for my name to be listed, without address or telephone number, as an interviewee in the final report.

_____By checking here, I request a copy of the final report be sent to me.

Name Printed_____

Address_____

_____

_____

Telephone Number (starting with area code) _____

Signature_____

Date _____

APPENDIX F: MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CONSULTED FOR THIS STUDY

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CONSULTED FOR THIS STUDY

Roy Ashley, Site Manager, Greenbelt Park
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Sam Barnes, Receptionist, National Capital Parks- East
-consulted by Brett Williams

Audrey Calhoun, Superintendent, George Washington Memorial Parkway
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Adrienne Coleman, Assistant Superintendent, Rock Creek Park (at the time of data collection)
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Muriel Crespi, Ph.D., Chief Ethnographer of the National Park Service
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Fred Cunningham, Assistant Superintendent, National Capital Parks-East
-consulted by Melinda Crowley, Benjamin Daugherty, Sherri Lawson, Susie McFadden, and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Gentry Davis, Superintendent, National Capital Parks-East
-consulted by Melinda Crowley, Susie McFadden, and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Lou De Lorme, Assistant Superintendent, George Washington Memorial Parkway
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Clarenda Drake, Chief of Interpretation/IRNVS, National Capital Parks-East
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Frank Faragasso, Ph.D., Historian, National Capital Parks-East
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Deborah Feldman, Park Planner, George Washington Memorial Parkway Unit
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams

Patrick Gregerson, Chief of Planning, National Capital Area Support Office
-participated in briefings regarding this study

John Hale, Assistant Superintendent, National Capital Parks-East
-consulted by Melinda Crowley and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Brenda Henson, Gardening Coordinator, Rock Creek Park
-consulted by Tanya Ramos

Creg Howland, Historian, George Washington Memorial Parkway
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams

Edith James, Secretary, National Capital Parks- East
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Columbus Jones, Gardening Coordinator, Fort Dupont
-consulted by Susie McFadden and Brett Williams

Nat Kuykendall, Quality Leader, Denver Service Center
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Jason Mitchell, Park Ranger, Fort Dupont
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Gina Moriarty, Historian, Rock Creek Park
-consulted by Brett Williams

Valarie Ragland English, Assistant Park Manager, Fort Dupont
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Jeff Reinbold, Anacostia Job Captain
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Katrina Roberts, Park Manager, Fort Dupont
-consulted by Sherri Lawson, Susie McFadden, and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Cynthia Salter-Stith, Park Manager, Kenilworth Park
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Amy Schneckenburger, Project Manager
-participated in briefings regarding this study

William Shields, Superintendent, Rock Creek Park (at the time of data collection)
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Tina Short, Park Ranger for Interpretive Programs
-consulted by Melinda Crowley and Brett Williams

Douglas Stover, Curator
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Stephen Strach, Cultural Resource Specialist
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Stephen Syphax, Natural Resource Specialist
-consulted by Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Bart Truesdell, Chief Ranger, George Washington Memorial Parkway
-consulted by Lisa Kinney, Tanya Ramos, and Brett Williams

Lawrence Van Horn, Ph.D., Contracting Officer's Technical Representative
-consulted by Brett Williams and Tanya Ramos
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Crystal Webster, Program Analyst
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

Michael Wilderman, Fort Circle Parks Job Captain
-consulted by Tanya Ramos and Brett Williams
-participated in briefings regarding this study

APPENDIX G: SUMMARY TABLES OF METHODOLOGY USED TO CONTACT PARK USERS

Methodology Used for All Park Sites Combined

Method	Number of cases of this method
Visits for Direct Observations of Signs of Use	117
Walking Interviews with Community Ethnographers	10
In-person Interviews at Park Sites	74
In-person Interviews outside Park Sites	36
Focus Groups	12 groups (92 Participants)
Telephone Interviews	77
Public Meetings and Events	8

Methodology Used for Anacostia Park

Method	Number of cases
Visits for Direct Observations of Signs of Use	33
Walking Interviews with Community Ethnographers	4
In-person Interviews at Park Sites	24
In-person Interviews outside Park Sites	17
Focus Groups	5 groups (45 participants)
Telephone Interviews	24
Public Meetings and Events	3

Methodology Used for Civil War Defenses of Washington, DC

Method	Number of cases
Visits for Direct Observations of Signs of Use	84
Walking Interviews with Community Ethnographers	6
In-person Interviews at Park Sites	50
In-person Interviews outside Park Sites	19
Focus Groups	7 groups (47 participants)
Telephone Interviews	53
Public Meetings and Events	5