

This history is part of the unpublished History of Delaware State Parks manuscript. The following text was written and edited by former Delaware State Parks staff members, George Contant and Tim Miller, with additional information provided by Delaware State Parks Cultural Resources Manager, Tom Summers.

Jason Beach at Trap Pond

Jason Beach at Trap Pond was named for Dr. William C. Jason, the longtime president of the State College for Colored Students (renamed Delaware State College in 1947 and now known as Delaware State University.) Dr. Jason “was born October 21, 1859 at Trappe, Maryland.”¹ After stints as a printer’s apprentice and a barber, Jason went into the ministry. He received a Bachelor’s degree in Divinity from Drew Theological Seminary in 1891 and “was accepted in the Delaware Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church.”² The Conference was composed of African-American congregations.³

Jason became President of Delaware State College in 1896. At the time the institute “consisted of the old mansion of the Loockerman plantation and stable that had formerly been the slave quarters.”⁴ He started raising funds to convert the slave quarters into a chapel as part of the College Settlement Project. Jason’s tenure as the College’s President would last nearly three decades.

Jason resigned his presidency in 1923 to return to the ministry. During 27 years as President he helped to develop Delaware State College from a school with few attendees to an education institute with 200 students and eleven buildings. Jason returned to the school in 1936 to serve as the school’s chaplain. He carried out his duties until ill health caused his resignation in 1941. He died soon afterwards.⁵

Trap Pond State Park

The land around Trap Pond State Park was acquired by the federal government in the mid 1930s as part of FDR's New Deal programs. The Resettlement Administration, the agency responsible for the land acquisitions, bought sub-marginal farmland and, through the efforts of Civilian Conservation Camps (CCC), worked to develop the land into Recreational Demonstration Areas (RDAs).⁶

The CCC camp in Delaware, located at Trap Pond, was the only one not run by the National Park Service; instead it was run by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.⁷

Segregation in the Civilian Conservation Corps

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Emergency Conservation Work Act into law on March 31, 1933, millions of young men were put to work over the next nine years. The program, under the supervision of Robert Fechner, included service provided by “250,000 African Americans who were enrolled in nearly 150 all-black CCC companies.”⁸

African-American membership in the CCC “was set at ten percent of the overall membership – roughly proportional to the percentage of African Americans in the national population.”⁹ Black members of the CCC often faced hostilities from local communities and from white leaders at their own camps.

One of the interesting features of the CCC was that President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not prescribe “any regulations to where enrollees in Civilian Conservation Corps companies should be sent. That is purely an administrative responsibility of this office [Director of

Emergency Conservation Work].”¹⁰ This approach led to difficulties when it came to assigning African American CCC companies to certain spots.

A letter from June 4, 1936 from CCC Director Fechner to Senator Robert J. Bulkley of Ohio, in response to a letter from Nimrod B. Allen, Secretary of the Columbus Urban League stated:

“I have carefully read this letter and I regret that apparently Mr. Allen is badly misinformed about our general policy of enrollments in the Civilian Conservation Corps, and particularly about the situation in Ohio...

Whether we like it or not, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are communities and States that do not want and will not accept a Negro Civilian Conservation Corps company. This is particularly true in localities that have negligible Negro population. There were so many vigorous complaints and protests that I felt it was necessary to direct Corps Area Commanders to find a location within their State of origin for all Negro Civilian Conservation Corps companies. This applies to the entire company. Even this did not solve the situation because there was great difficulty in finding a community that was willing to accept a Negro company of its own citizens. In your own State we had a good example. In the Fourth Period of Emergency Conservation Work, a Civilian Conservation Corps camp had been assigned to a work project near one of your smaller cities. We went ahead and built and equipped the camp. When a company was selected to occupy the camp it was found that only company available was one composed of Ohio Negro enrollees. When the citizens of the community learned that a Negro company was to be sent to the camp, they absolutely refused to permit the company to occupy the camp and we were forced to completely abandon the project. I therefore adopted the policy of having our representatives consult with the Governor of the State before attempting to assign a Negro Company to any locality.

We do not attempt to compel any community to accept a Negro company in a Civilian Conservation Corps camp against its will, but occasionally their refusal has meant that the Camp would not be established.”¹¹

An example of the hostility from a white leader involved an African American youth, Eddie Simons, who was dishonorably discharged from the CCC after refusing fan flies from a white officer, Lieutenant J.A. Elmore, a member of the 16th Infantry. In regards to being asked to perform the duty, “Simons told the officer he did not think fanning flies was part of his duty.

Lt. Elmore thereupon dishonorably discharged the lad and denied him his last month's pay although admitting that Simons' record was good."¹²

Simons' plight was taken up by the NAACP, which sent a letter to Fechner. After an investigation, Simons was "given an honorable discharge "free from any charge of insubordination" and that "he be paid all cash allowances and allotments due."¹³

Even though some of the early camps were integrated, segregation was quickly restored.

"In the early years of the CCC some camps were integrated, but prompted by local complaints and the views of the U.S. Army and CCC administrators, integrated CCC camps were disbanded in July, 1935, when CCC Director Robert Fechner issued a directive ordering the "complete segregation of colored and white enrollees." While the law establishing the CCC contained a clause outlawing discrimination based upon race; the CCC held that "segregation is not discrimination." Although the CCC's Jim Crow policy prompted complaints from black and white civil rights activists, segregation remained the rule throughout the life of the CCC."¹⁴

CCC program Director Robert Fechner corresponded with Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., President of the NAACP about the segregation in the camps by noting that while the enabling legislation for the CCC did include a clause barring discrimination on account of race, "this segregation is not discrimination and cannot be so construed."¹⁵ Fechner stated that he arrived at his decision when:

"At the very beginning of this work, I consulted with many separate individuals and groups who were interested in the work, and the decision to segregate white enrollees, negro enrollees, and war veterans, was generally approved...

While segregation has been the general policy, it has not been inflexible, and we have a number of companies containing a small number of negro enrollees. I am satisfied that the negro enrollees themselves prefer to be in companies composed exclusively of their own race."¹⁶

There was a clash of ideologies in the running of the CCC between the Corps Director Robert Fechner and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. In September 1935 they exchanged letters in an argument over the appointing of black supervisors to African American CCC camps. Ickes, in a letter of September 26, 1935 states:

“My Dear Mr. Fechner:

I have your letter of September 24 in which you express doubt as to the advisability of appointing Negro supervisory personnel in Negro CCC camps. For my part, I am quite certain that Negroes can function in supervisory capacities just as efficiently as can white men and I do not think that they should be discriminated against merely on account of their color. I can see no menace to the program that you are so efficiently carrying out in giving just and proper recognition to members of the Negro race.

Sincerely yours,
Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior”¹⁷

The letter received by Fechner was followed up with one from the President urging Fechner to follow through on Ickes’s plan to put black supervisors in African American camps. However FDR backtracks a bit on the matter, though it is unclear why he does.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Fechner-

In the CCC Camps, where boys are colored, in the Park Service work, please try to put in colored foremen, not of course in technical work but in ordinary manual work.

FDR¹⁸

This is not to say that African Americans did not serve in prominent positions in the CCC; several served with distinction. Two commanding officers, a Captain and a Lieutenant served at Gettysburg and Fishers Landing, New York, respectively. Also at Gettysburg, the

camp superintendent was African American, with a PhD in History from Columbia also served.¹⁹

Segregation of Facilities in National Parks

An example of segregation at public facilities in the National Park system can be found in the case of the concessions operated by the Virginia Sky-Line Company along Skyline Drive. The Virginia Sky-Line Company proposed concessions that took the place of smaller operations run by a group of local businessmen known as the Virginia Hosts. The proposal made in October 1936 “was accepted by the government in bids opened on January 15, 1937.”²⁰

The attitude for the accommodations for the park can be summed up in a statement made by Deputy Director of the National Park Service, Arno B. Cammerer, in a memo of November 30, 1932 which stated “provision for colored guests”²¹ in regards to the development of concessions for the park. As Engle notes, “three years before Shenandoah was officially established, the groundwork for an official policy of “separate, but equal” accommodations was being established.”²²

The development of the facilities by the Virginia Sky-Line Company consisted of “a new lodge at Dickey Ridge, two large public buildings at Skyland, a gas station, visitor cabins and a lodge at Big Meadows, and a campground, smaller lodge, and cabins at Lewis Mountain – “a development for colored people.”²³

The separate facilities for African American visitors coincided with the written policies of the NPS circa 1936 which stated:

“The program of development of facilities...for the accommodation and convenience of the visiting public contemplates...separate facilities for white

and colored people to the extent only as is necessary to conform with the generally accepted customs long established in Virginia...To render the most satisfactory service to white and colored visitors it is generally recognized that separate rest rooms, cabin colonies, and picnic ground facilities should be provided.”²⁴

The first Superintendent at the Shenandoah site was J. Ralph Lassiter, who had previously worked as the Chief Engineer for Park Development, adhered to the “separate, but equal” policy of the NPS. He noted that the park’s master plan included a “”proposed colored picnic grounds at Lewis Mountain.””²⁵

Pressure on Lassiter from the main office in Washington, D.C. brought about a change in the development of facilities at Lewis Mountain. Whereas before facilities for visitors were built by the CCC and were managed by the NPS, in this case the concessionaire was the one to “develop the picnic area, campground, cabins, and restaurant at Lewes Mountain.”²⁶

At Lewes Mountain “”there [was] a growing demand for picnic areas for colored people...Two busloads are going up tomorrow and they have to be fitted into camping places for white people. This is not a good condition.””²⁷

As the facilities were developed for the park, the U.S. Department of the Interior’s Solicitor General advised Secretary Harold L. Ickes that “”segregation of the races as now practiced [was an] infringement of constitutional principles.””²⁸

Despite Superintendent Lassiter defending the development of the separate facilities at Lewis Mountain, it was decided that a picnic area of Shenandoah park be integrated. The Pinnacles picnic area became the site for the park’s effort at integration in 1939. Even though the integration of Pinnacles picnic ground was a first for that park, Secretary Ickes decided “that state laws and local segregationist policies would be “generally” followed.”²⁹

The facilities at Lewis Mountain opened over the course of the summer seasons for 1939 and 1940, even though they received no support from the Virginia Sky-Line Company. The Company felt that the facilities would operate at a loss and cause white facilities to take up the financial burden.

National Park Service Deputy Director Cammerer circulated a memo supporting the position of the Virginia Sky-Line Company. The memo stated:

“I myself have felt right along that there was not sufficient demand for negroes for this particular type of accommodations to make it pay, but I understand that the Secretary [of the Interior] has insisted on the installation and that this is why they are progressing. Next year if it does not pay, we can take up the question of closing it or making it available for white occupancy. I think...[staff] had better advertise this, sending copies to Howard University.”³⁰

The memo resulted in a demotion for Cammerer as he was transferred to Richmond to become the Regional Director. He was replaced as Deputy Director by Newton Drury in June 1940.³¹

Shenandoah Park Superintendent Lassiter had a heart attack in late 1939 and did not return to work until the middle of 1940. During his absence the park received orders from Washington detailing that “no mention will be made of segregation on the map or in the park literature.”³²

However Lassiter, a Virginia native, did not seem to understand the importance of the directive. In August 1940 he wrote a letter to the NPS Director stating:

“I think the best policy to pursue is definite segregation, either by separate areas or by setting aside a portion of each area for Negroes. Of course, neither of these suggestions will meet with the approval of that group of Negroes...who...must have their millennium [sic] at once...”³³

A month after writing the letter, Lassiter went to Washington, D.C., to explain why the rangers at Shenandoah “continued to give out maps and brochures identifying Lewis Mountain

as the camp-ground and lodge “for colored visitors.”³⁴ Lassiter, like Cammerer, was demoted and transferred to Santa Fe as the area’s Regional Engineer along with the loss of 10 percent of his salary due to a reduction in his grade.³⁵

U.S. entry into the Second World War caused visitation to Shenandoah to decrease and the concession facilities were closed. They reopened in September 1945 amid changes in how the National Park Service operated its facilities. “In December, a general bulletin to all National Park Service concessionaires was issued by Washington calling attention to Federal Register, December 8, 1945, page 14866, mandating full desegregation of all facilities in national parks.”³⁶

The reaction of the Virginia Sky-Line Company was not happy with the new regulation. The company’s manager, in a letter to the Shenandoah’s Superintendent stated:

“In March 1939, a few days after the present officers acquired controlling stock [of Virginia Sky-Line Co.]...a conference was held...at which there was present a majority of the [NPS] Director’s Staff...In return for the expenditure of funds necessary to carry out these plans [for facilities development], this company was assured that the facilities at Dickey Ridge, Elkwallow, Skyland, and Big Meadows would be reserved for the exclusive use of White people...and as evidence of the Park Service’s intentions...the Lewis Mountain development has always carried the designation, “for the exclusive use of negroes.”...Instead of improving racial relations, [it] would be a distinct dis-service to the negroes desiring to visit the park.”³⁷

The Company was able to operate its facilities through the summer of 1946 without changing its existing plans for African American visitors due to the machinations of Virginia’s U.S. Senator Harry Byrd.³⁸

The resignation of the Company’s general manager soon after allowed the facilities at Lewis Mountain to be integrated. Facilities throughout the park were fully integrated by the summer of 1950.³⁹

Segregation at Trap Pond State Park

The shoreline on Trap Pond consisted of two separate beaches, LeCate's Point and Whaley's Point. When Trap Pond became a state park in 1951, these two points were known as Trap Pond Beach (Headquarters and Jason Beach, respectively).⁴⁰

A visit by members of the State Park Commission, Public Service Commission, Governor Elbert Carvel, and Secretary of State Harris B. McDowell to inspect the park as chronicled by *The Index*, in its edition of June 24, 1952 contains references to Jason Beach. It was noted that "he [Norman Wingate] pointed out the new Jason Beach which... has been set aside exclusively for colored visitors to the spot."⁴¹

The article from *The Index* also contains a photo on the front page that shows the members of the two commissions and Governor Carvel inspecting the park. In the photo Carvel is pointing in the direction of "New Jason Beach,"⁴² while the second part of the picture is a section of a newly improved beach at the park. This photo features two white women posing for the picture at the white Trap Pond Beach.

The two beaches, one for whites and one for blacks, were noted by several other publications at the time, including the *Journal- Every Evening* and the *Sunday Star Magazine*. It was noted that each beach contained "bathhouse, picnic shelters, toilets, picnic tables, and fireplaces."⁴³

Each area also had separate food concessions as well. A two year food concession granted in 1957 put the value of the one at Trap Pond Beach at \$1,130 dollars while the one at Jason Beach was for only \$150 dollars. As Chase notes, "it is unclear whether just a difference

in the number of visitors expected at each beach accounts for the disparity or whether other factors also had an impact on the pricing differences.”⁴⁴

The hiring of Peter Geldof, Jr. of Rochester, New York in 1954 to essentially oversee all the state parks ushered in a new era for the fledgling state park system as Geldof was constantly in the field supervising the development of the parks. Geldof, in his early years, did a lot of work at Trap Pond, in particular, building the road on the south side of the park leading out to Jason Beach. On noticing the segregation at Trap Pond, he recalled, “[being] from the north that was sort of a shocker.”⁴⁵

In 1960 the State Park Commission floated a \$65,000 dollar bond for improvements to Trap Pond. The bond issue was put on the ballot and passed. The improvements called for in the bond included expansion of the tent area at the park to encompass 100 camp sites. Each site would also have its own picnic table and fireplace. “Since the campsite will be located on an area where a road leads to popular Jason Beach, a new roadway will have to be built...and there will be a new roadway through the picnic grove to avoid traffic hazards.”⁴⁶

The ongoing work financed by the bond generated controversy. The former state representative for Gumboro, Charles P. West, asked the State Attorney General to investigate what he termed “indiscriminate and senseless spending at Trap Pond State Park.”⁴⁷ West further stated that the Jason Beach area had been neglected.

C. Edward Duffy, the Chairman of the State Park Commission, responded to West’s allegations, in particular the Jason Beach complaint, in the same article. “As far as West’s charge that we have neglected Jason Beach is concerned...if the people using it are not satisfied there is no rule of the Park Commission which prohibits them from using the facilities

at Trap Pond.”⁴⁸ Duffy further stated, “we plan improvements at Jason’s Beach just as soon as we have the time and money to do so.”⁴⁹

The controversies continued into the next year as the *State Register* reported on the condition at Jason Beach in its September 7, 1962 edition. The paper stated:

“If the “improvements” are based on Trap Pond’s expected growth in population, there are being wasted in at least one area of the park. At Jason’s Beach, where attendance has fallen off sharply this summer, the general complaint is that Trap Pond’s expansion, no improvement of facilities there has been made since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Consequently, patrons of Jason’s Beach have been staying away in droves. Despite the development of new campsite and picnic areas at Trap Pond, Jason’s Beach is still equipped with fireplaces, equipped during FDR days, now crumbling and all but unusable. Some buildings remain in a bad state of repair and the Jason’s Beach lifeguard stand, stood all summer minus even a platform.”⁵⁰

Around the time of implementation of the upgrades to Trap Pond State Park, the Red Cross was granted free entrance to buses transporting students to the park for “Learn to Swim” classes.⁵¹ The lessons offered by the Red Cross started in 1953 and consisted of having children from a particular community come to the park for a week for lessons. When a new week started, children from a different community would then come to the park. This arrangement continued peacefully until an incident in July 1963.

In late July 1963, children from the town of Laurel were scheduled to have swimming lessons at Trap Pond for the entire week. On Monday of that week, three buses of African-American children from Seaford arrived at the park for swimming lessons. They were informed that it was not the turn of the Seaford community that week and that they should leave. The next day, “they returned, but took a dip in the water at the normally white beach instead of taking the lessons at Trap Pond’s normally Negro Jason Beach.”⁵²

The incident caused controversy as swimming lessons were cancelled for Monday and Tuesday and a shutdown of the park was considered to avoid racial trouble. State Park

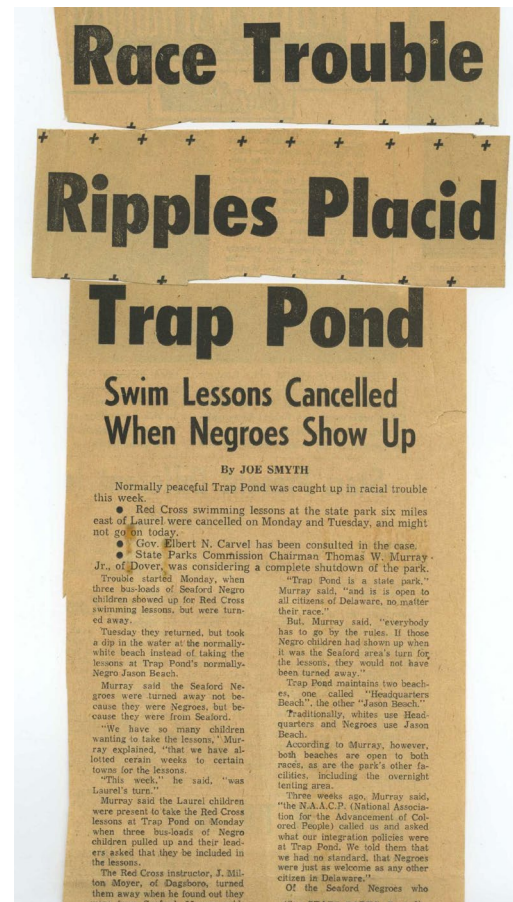
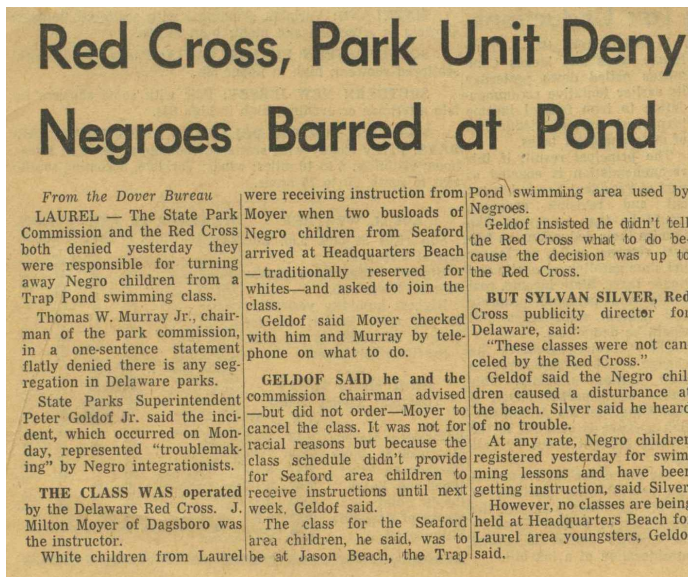
Chairman Thomas W. Murray, Jr., insisted he was following the rules laid out for the swimming classes. He commented “everybody has to go by the rules. If those Negro children had shown up when it was the Seaford area’s turn for the lessons, they would not have been turned away.”⁵³

The Red Cross swimming instructor, J. Milton Moyer, stated that his organization did not discriminate against anyone on the matter of race. “We want to teach children how to swim. We don’t care what their color is.”⁵⁴

Following the cancellation of all Laurel swimming classes for the week, Moyer went to Jason Beach, on that Wednesday, and offered to give lessons to “anybody from the Seaford area who wants to learn how to swim. If any Seaford white people want the lessons with Negro children, they certainly may.”⁵⁵

Area newspapers relayed the events of the incident.

Right: *Delaware State News*, July 31, 1963
 Below: *The Morning News*, August 1, 1963



Three weeks prior to the incident, Murray received a phone call from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) asking about the integration policies at the park. Murray answered the inquiry by saying “we told them that we had no standard, that Negroes were just as welcome as any other citizen in Delaware.”⁵⁶

Chairman Murray emphasized that African Americans had used predominantly white facilities at Trap Pond before. He used the example of four black families staying in the camping area with whites the year before and there being no trouble.⁵⁷

State Parks Superintendent Pete Geldof also emphasized that African Americans had previously used Headquarters Beach, “but never in so large a group as the 60-odd Negro children who rushed into the water.”⁵⁸

After the incident occurred, the State Park Commission released a statement verifying their position on the matter of race in the state parks. The statement read;

“No area under the jurisdiction of the State Park Commission, including Trap Pond, is or will be administered on a segregated basis.

The Park Commission agrees with the State Human Relations Commission that it is obviously the right of every citizen of the state without regard to his race or color to use fully the recreational facilities provided, maintained and administered with state funds and under state auspices.”⁵⁹

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the federal government, specifically, Section 2 of the Act providing “Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation,”⁶⁰ effectively ended having two separate, reserved beaches at Trap Pond. Despite the illegality of segregation in public facilities, changes at Trap Pond were not easy.

Jason’s Beach was used by African-Americans for religious purposes. Geldof remembered, “they held it mostly to baptize people...they did have big days there, but a lot of them were religious days.”⁶¹ (The Records of State Park Commission contain yearly requests to hold religious services at Trap Pond.) According to Geldof the African-Americans who

frequented Jason Beach did not want to go over to the Headquarters Beach where the whites bathed. “They didn’t really want to come over because the white beach was a lot more crowded.”⁶²

Jason’s Beach was special for African-Americans because “it was a nice spot and they really wanted to keep that...they didn’t have people over there cussing and drinking as much and so forth.”⁶³ Despite resentments, the area was integrated.

The area was referred to as Jason Beach at least through 1966, though today it is called Cypress Point. While there may not have been legalized segregation in the Delaware state park system during the 1950s and 1960s, there are numerous press accounts that indicated that the beach area at Trap Pond was indeed segregated.

Conclusion

While there may not have been any specific regulations explicitly ordering the segregation of facilities at Trap Pond, there were no regulations (until after the swimming incident) that stated that the facilities *were not* segregated. In the absence of any official State Park Commission policy clarifying what the stance on the facilities at Trap Pond were, de facto segregation was the reality.

Newspaper accounts from the 1950s and 1960s state that Headquarters Beach and Jason’s Beach were reserved for their respective communities. Such accounts would not mention these conditions unless they existed and were practiced on a daily basis.

As of the Fall of 2005 Jason’s Beach, now known as Cypress Point, contained no indications, other than a small concession stand, that it was once a site reserved for African Americans who visited the park. When the current Superintendent of Trap Pond, John

McMillion, was interviewed for the State Parks History last fall, he indicated that did not know of any plans to provide any kind of marker denoting the history of the spot.

Despite the history of segregation practiced with the Trap Pond beaches, Dr. William Jason was an important figure in the development of Delaware State College as an educational institute of higher learning for African-Americans.

Further research and interviews with people who are familiar with Jason's Beach during the era spanning from the 1930s to the 1960s, will be needed to gain insight into how the local African-American community specifically used Jason's Beach and how it was used in relation to the rest of Trap Pond.

¹ <http://www.desu.edu/library/WCJasonHistory.php>

² Ibid.

³ <http://www.skipjack.net/allen/friendship.html>

⁴ <http://www.desu.edu/library/WCJasonHistory.php>

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ney C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, pgs. 143-144.

⁷ Landrum, p. 135.

⁸ "African Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps," <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/index.htm>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Robert Fechner to Robert J. Buckley, 4 June 1936, <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc05.htm>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² "CCC Youth Refuses To Fan Flies Off Officer; Is Fired," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, January 13, 1934, p. 7; <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc02.htm>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Robert Fechner to Thomas L. Griffith, 21 September 1935, <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc04.htm>

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Harold Ickes to Robert Fechner, 20 September 1935, <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc06.htm>

¹⁸ FDR to Robert Fechner, 27 September 1935, <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc07.htm>

¹⁹ "What the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) is Doing for Colored Youth," *The CCC and Colored Youth*, Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Offices, 1941; <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/aacc03.htm>

²⁰ Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²¹ Arno P. Cammerer memo of November 30, 1932 as quoted by Engle, "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²² "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ National Park Service policy as quoted by Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²⁵ Lassiter as quoted by Engle in "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²⁶ Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

²⁷ National Park Service as quoted by Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>

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- ²⁸ Solicitor of the Department of the Interior as quoted by Reed Engle, “Laboratory of Change,” from <https://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ²⁹ Reed Engle, “Laboratory of Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³⁰ Cammerer as quoted by Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³¹ Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³² National Park Service order as quoted by Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³³ Lassiter as quoted by Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³⁴ Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Virginia Sky-Line Company Manager to Shenandoah Park Superintendent Freeland as quoted by Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³⁸ Reed Engle, “Laboratory for Change,” from <http://www.nps.gov/shen/3b2d1.htm>
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Susan Mulchahey Chase, “History of Delaware State Parks 1951-2001,” November 2000, p. 31.
- ⁴¹ “State Recreation Area Expected to Attract Many,” *The Index*, June 24, 1952.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Chase, p. 32.
- ⁴⁴ Chase, p. 32.
- ⁴⁵ Pete Geldof, oral history interview conducted by Susan Mulchahey Chase, March 22, 2001, p. 8.
- ⁴⁶ “State Parks Agency’s Bonds Get Cash for Trap Pond Job,” Pete Geldof’s papers.
- ⁴⁷ Charles P. West as quoted by Jim Hazel, “West Blasts Park Spending,” *Morning News*, November 16, 1961.
- ⁴⁸ C. Edward Duffy as quoted by Jim Hazel, “West Blasts Park Spending,” *Morning News*, November 16, 1961.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ “What’s Wrong with Trap Pond,?” *State Register*, September 7, 1962.
- ⁵¹ Minutes of The State Park Commission Meeting of February 14, 1961, Binder I, Grassdale Center, Delaware City, Delaware.
- ⁵² Joe Smyth, “Trouble Ripples Placid Trap Pond,” *State News*, July 31, 1963.
- ⁵³ Thomas W. Murray, Jr., as quoted by Smyth.
- ⁵⁴ Moyer as quoted in Joe Smyth, “Trouble Ripples Placid Trap Pond,” *State News*, July 31, 1963.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Murray as quoted, Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ “State Park Anti-Bias Stand Set,” Tom Murray’s papers.
- ⁶⁰ <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97&page=transcript>
- ⁶¹ Pete Geldof, oral history interview conducted by Stephanie Holyfield and Tim Miller, February 21, 2006, p. 8.
- ⁶² Ibid, p. 8.
- ⁶³ Ibid, p. 8.