

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

HARBORING IDENTITY: COMMUNITY-
INFORMED DESIGN FOR BELONGING IN
WESTPORT AND CURTIS BAY

Danielle Kathryn Abe, Master of Architecture &
Master of Community Planning, 2023

Thesis Directed By:

Professor Kenneth Filler, School of Architecture

This thesis is a community-informed exploration of South Baltimore's Westport and Curtis Bay neighborhoods. It is about listening, empathizing, and starting the design process with these communities and then exploring forms and spaces that can serve current community anchors and community needs while acknowledging complicated histories. In the U.S., the pattern of redlining and disinvestment of resources from communities of color is sometimes followed by re-investment that leads to physical and/or cultural displacement of long-time residents. The Baltimore Harbor is experiencing pressure of potentially speculative gentrifying re-investment that would serve future hypothetical residents instead of existing ones. The design intent is to empower residents to stay, strengthen, and feel a sense of belonging in their home neighborhoods.

HARBORING IDENTITY: COMMUNITY-INFORMED DESIGN FOR BELONGING
IN WESTPORT AND CURTIS BAY

by

Danielle Kathryn Abe

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Architecture
2023

Advisory Committee:
Professor Kenneth Filler, Chair
Professor Brian Kelly, Committee Member
Professor Ariel Bierbaum

© Copyright by
Danielle Kathryn Abe
2023

Preface: South Baltimore as a Living Demonstration of a Port City

Belonging

In 2005, Baltimore resident and author Robert C. Keith noted in his book, *Baltimore Harbor: A Pictorial History*, that Baltimore has strength through its “proud citizenry” and “deep family roots at all levels, from artisan to banker,” but also that “the port community has voiced concern about the creeping gentrification of the waterfront, as developers clamor to exploit the precious views.”¹ The author’s perception of the waterfront gentrification seventeen years ago has exceeded the term “creeping” with the pace of redevelopment along the inner harbor and now Port Covington. Keith also notes that Baltimore’s “strength comes in part from industrial diversity,”² and that it is one of the few port cities left where “you can still go out and see the ships; they are close at hand, and their comings and goings provide a living demonstration that we are still a sea-dependent nation.”³

If Robert Keith perceived his home city as one of proud, deeply-rooted citizenry, more questions appear regarding this perception. Are the citizens proud of the past and/or the present? What about the past or present? What aspects of the past can still foster a sense of pride and collective identity? In Baltimore’s early history, most of the families who lived near the South Baltimore waterfront had household members who worked at the waterfront industries, but the relationships between the

¹ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

² Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

³ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

neighborhoods and the industries have become more and more strained over time, so the perception of historical industry might provoke a more complex set of feelings. The concept of perception of identity can get abstract, but this thesis will consider the perceptions of the neighborhoods' identities by the residents themselves, but also the perceptions of them by non-residents, as there can be many overlaps of senses of identity and belonging in cities.

Early History and Industry

Leading up to the second half of the eighteenth century, the Patapsco River off the Chesapeake Bay was primarily home to tobacco farmers, and sooner after, enslaved peoples, during the tobacco boom in the Chesapeake area in the 17th century.⁴ The practice of tobacco farming depleted the soil and began a longstanding yet toxic trend of polluting the Patapsco River and thus also the Chesapeake, with eroded sediment from the formerly rich soil washing into the water and settling at the bottom of the water bodies.

The Baltimore Harbor in particular has held a unique economic place in the history of the country's commerce due to its access to the Atlantic Ocean, its close proximity to farmland in Maryland and Pennsylvania, its location on the fall line, and its closer position to major Midwest cities like Chicago, Cincinnati, & St. Louis than New York. Baltimore's ocean access allowed the harbor to export goods from the Midwest "as a funnel through which much of that region's commerce passes on the way to and from the Atlantic Ocean and the world beyond".⁵ Not only serving

⁴ Keith, Robert C. *Baltimore Harbor : A Pictorial History*. 3rd ed. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

⁵ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

pathways between the Midwest and the Atlantic to the East, the harbor also served as a gateway between the North and the South, particularly benefiting the South. It did so by “financing its ventures, exporting its cotton, and sending it wholesale and retail goods from the North and abroad”.⁶ Baltimore’s location on the fall line means that there are more geographic opportunities to support mills with water power. The eventual use of steam-powered ships meant that “vessels out of Baltimore could crisscross Chesapeake Bay on regular schedules, strengthening the city’s domination of the region,” making the city “Queen of the bay”.⁷

One of the first known exports out of Baltimore was in 1750 when “Irish-born physician, John Stevenson, arranged for the shipment from Baltimore of a cargo of flour, as an experiment,” and one revolutionary war later in 1796, Baltimore was dominating commerce in the Chesapeake Bay.⁸ Soon after in 1813, the first Baltimore steamboat was built, eventually propelling the harbor to become the “steamboat hub of Chesapeake Bay”.⁹ Building off of the blossoming transportation industry boom, 1827 brought the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was “the nation’s first public carrier railroad”¹⁰ (see Figure 1).

⁶ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁷ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁸ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁹ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

¹⁰ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

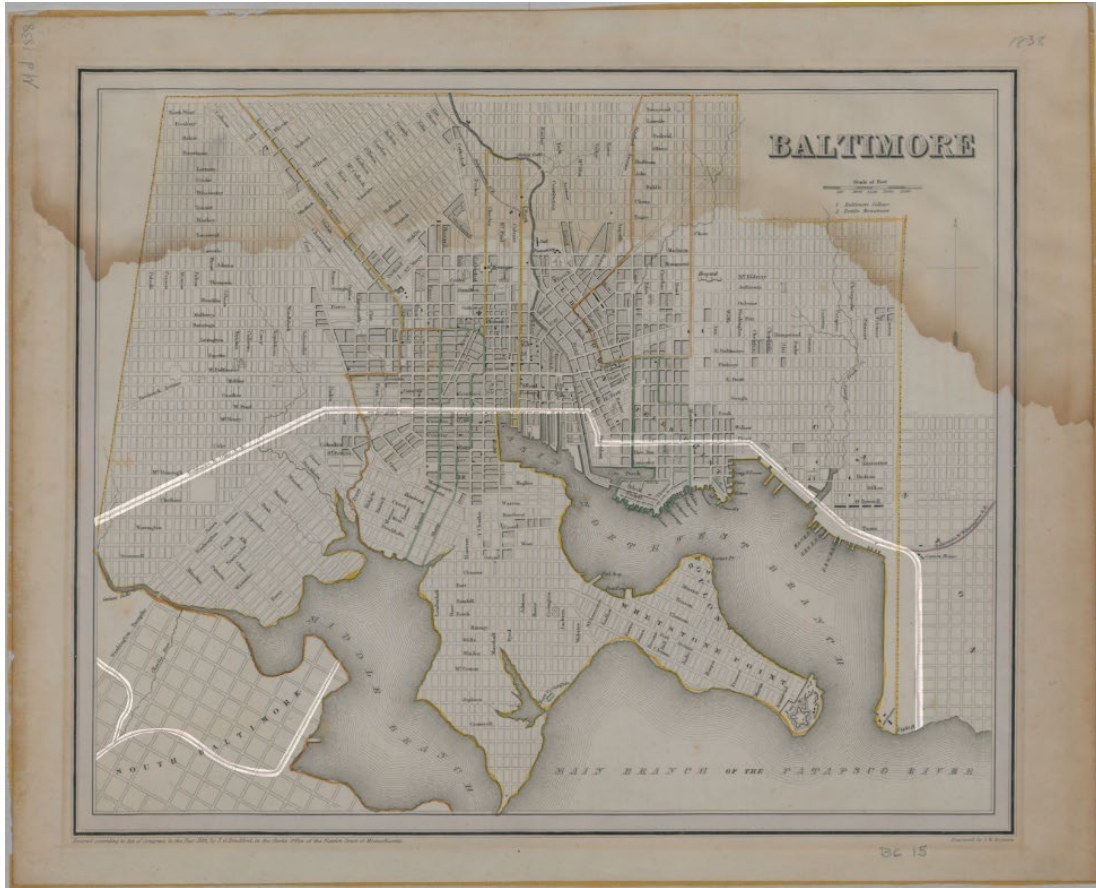


Figure 1: 1838 Map of Baltimore edited by author to highlight the B&O Railroad¹¹

The Baltimore harbor has transitioned through production of a wide range of industries over time, spanning vegetable and seafood canning, oil refinery, fertilizer production from bird guano and chemicals, flour milling, and steel production from iron.¹² Fertilizer production began to rise in the city in 1832 when bird guano imports began arriving, and the chemical fertilizer industry took off from there. Canning ramped up in the city after the 1840s when an innovative cannery was established, launching Baltimore into a position as “the world’s greatest food-canning center, a

¹¹ Klokant Technologies GmbH (<https://www.klokantech.com/>), “Old Maps Online,” accessed December 13, 2022.

¹² Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

position it held until the middle of the twentieth century”.¹³ Eventual use of electric refrigerators and frozen foods led to decreased need for canning. For a large part of Baltimore’s history, “the Davison and Mathieson chemical plants on Curtis Bay were the world’s largest producers of sulphuric acid, a primary material in the chemical industry,”¹⁴ an industry that greatly contributed to water and air pollution in Curtis Bay.



Figure 2: 1936 Sanborn Map showing Davison Chemical Co. in Curtis Bay (Sanborn Map¹⁵, modification by author)

¹³ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

¹⁴ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

¹⁵ *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Baltimore, Baltimore County, Maryland* (Sanborn Map Company, 1936).

Segregation and Redlining

As mentioned previously, 1910's national importance is based in Baltimore because of the first residential segregation ordinance that was passed. The details leading up to this ordinance speaks to the racist values held by people and the city government. W. Ashbie Hawkins, who was a Black attorney, purchased a rowhouse in a neighborhood in West Baltimore that entirely consisted of white people. Despite no official residential segregation rules as of yet, the white residents organized and pushed for an ordinance that would keep Hawkins and other Black residents out of their neighborhood. The ordinance "designated every block in the city as white or black and banned Baltimoreans from moving to a street that did not match their race," and this became a template for segregation efforts around the country.¹⁶ Despite the technical failure of the ordinance to survive in 1917, the language of equating black Baltimoreans with "infestation" had become embedded in the racist vocabularies of white residents and policymakers.

¹⁶ "What 'Infests' Baltimore? The Segregation History Buried in Trump's Tweets," *Bloomberg.Com*, July 29, 2019.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Police Will Look Into The Charge Of Disorder On The Part Of Negroes, But They Cannot Make Them Work.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: If we have a Society for the Suppression of Vice in this city it seems to me it is high time it was taking action against the hundreds of dissolute, lazy and dissipated colored people who **infest** the back alleys with their wickedness, and, while refusing to accept honest work, manage somehow to get their living without work or physical effort. Of the thousands who **infest** these alleys but a small percentage are married, while hundreds are living together much

the same as animals. It is almost impossible to get one of these negroes to do any housework or other labor, but all day long they are seen going with cans and kettles for beer to the neighboring saloons and carrying the carousing far into the night. * * * To say that the police do not know of these horrible conditions is to deny that they have human intelligence. The breaking up of this disgraceful condition of affairs would also tend to break up the nightly orgies in these alleys, which are a constant annoyance to the respectable people living in the vicinity. It seems hard that poor white people have to labor for their daily bread while these negroes are permitted to live in vice, crime and idleness. Something should be done at once to remedy this evil.

CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

Figure 3: 1911 Baltimore Sun Letter to the Editor Displaying Racist Vocabulary¹⁷

¹⁷ "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: The Police Will Look Into The Charge Of Disorder On The Part Of Negroes, But They Cannot Make Them Work," *The Sun* (1837-), December 4, 1911.

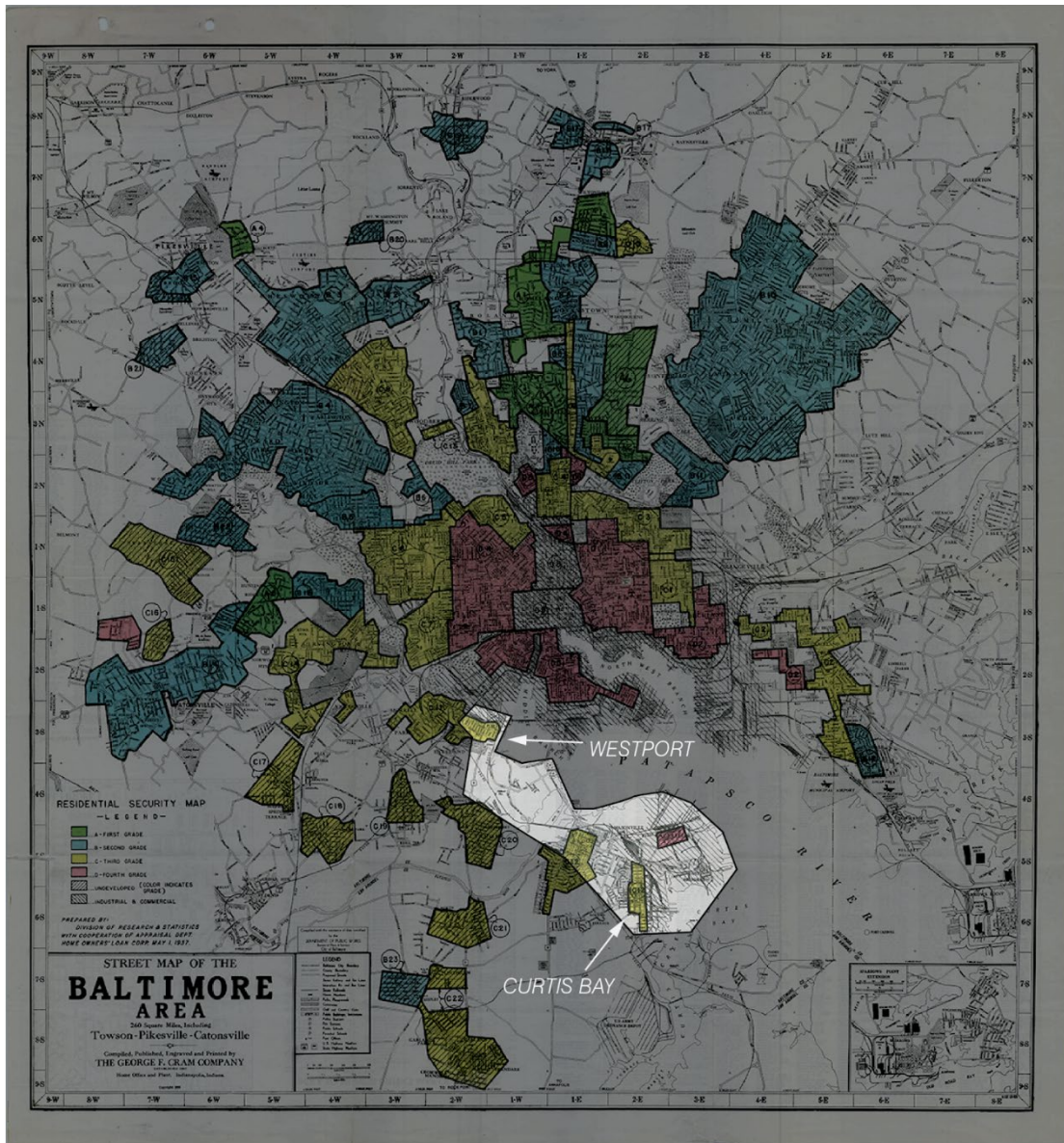


Figure 4: HOLC Redlining Map of Baltimore from 1937 with South Baltimore highlighted and labels for Westport and Curtis Bay (“Baltimore HOLC Map”¹⁸, modifications by author)

In 1937 when the HOLC redlining map of Baltimore was created, Central and South Baltimore were rated as C and D grade (See Figure 4), with C representing what was deemed declining neighborhoods and D representing dangerous or risky neighborhoods. Majority Black neighborhoods were consistently rated with a D,

¹⁸ “Baltimore HOLC Map,” Montgomery Planning, accessed November 10, 2022.

representing both existing segregation in Baltimore and the personal biases of the map-makers. Neighborhoods in South Baltimore such as Westport and Curtis Bay were rated with a C because of the high immigrant populations, proximity to dangerous industrial uses, and the presence of any Black residents (See Figure 5), all of which concentrated there because of segregation. This was not a matter of income compatibility with industry, but one of people of color being seen as a compatible use to industry. The risks here were not unknown. They were calculated, ignored, and allowed to worsen. In the documents that break down the ratings, the word “infiltration” is used as a prompt so that the person documenting can be more specific about which types of groups are supposedly “infiltrating” an area and contributing to its decline.

Once a neighborhood received a low rating, the degree of disinvestment exponentially increased, barring residents from receiving loans for any projects and cutting neighborhoods off from access to fire protection services. This extreme disinvestment led planners and policymakers to feel more comfortable labeling areas as “blighted” or as “slums”. Even areas nearby to neighborhoods deemed “slums” were rated poorly “because of the likelihood African Americans might move in”.¹⁹ Any differences or distinctions of “class, architectural variety, or vibrancy in mixed-race or majority-black areas” were collapsed into a single low rating.²⁰

¹⁹ “What ‘Infests’ Baltimore?”

²⁰ “What ‘Infests’ Baltimore?”

NS FORM-8
6-1-37

AREA DESCRIPTION
(For Instructions see Reverse Side)

1. NAME OF CITY Baltimore SECURITY GRADE C AREA NO. 11

2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. Hilltop to hill

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. None

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. Heavy traffic through section.

5. INHABITANTS:

a. Type Mixture, laboring class; b. Estimated annual family income \$ 1,200

c. Foreign-born Mixture; 10%; d. Negro Yes; 6%;
(Nationality) (Yes or No)

e. Infiltration of Poorer classes; f. Relief families Heavy;

g. Population is increasing Very slowly; decreasing _____; static.

NS FORM-8
6-1-37

AREA DESCRIPTION
(For Instructions see Reverse Side)

1. NAME OF CITY Baltimore SECURITY GRADE C AREA NO. 12

2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. Hilltop

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. Proximity to industrial plants.

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES.

5. INHABITANTS:

a. Type Industrial employees; b. Estimated annual family income \$ 1,200

c. Foreign-born Mixture; 11%; d. Negro Yes; 2%;
(Nationality) (Yes or No)

e. Infiltration of foreigners and; f. Relief families many;
negroes

g. Population is increasing fairly fast; decreasing _____; static.

Figure 5: HOLC Area descriptions of Westport and Curtis Bay ("Mapping Inequality"²¹, modifications by author)

In 1940, a report was published as part of a pilot program in Baltimore in which "local realtors and neighborhood groups teamed with lenders and government agencies to stop this "blight".²² With language associating Baltimoreans' incomes with their morality, the report suggests that not only did some people not have the

²¹ "Mapping Inequality." Accessed December 8, 2022.

²² "What 'Infests' Baltimore?"

means to maintain their homes and spaces, but that they did not care about them. It was specifically noted that “blighted” areas would inevitably become “the breeding ground for dependence, degradation, and crime.”²³

Environmental Injustice

The decades of industrial booms in Baltimore, while doing wonders for the overall city’s economy via tax revenue and job creation, contributed to significantly negative environmental impacts on the Patapsco. Bacterial mutants were discovered in the water due to mud at the bottom of the river being so contaminated from chemical spills and dumping, and there was so much heavy metal in the water that local food chains were at risk.²⁴

The noticeable environmental degradation (See Figure 6 and Figure 7) combined with the physical and reputational degradation that resulted from segregation and disinvestment, but wider economic factors contributed to further decline in the city as well. New York began to eclipse Baltimore in cargo after World War II, and as automobile traffic grew exponentially, the city did not always adequately adjust its infrastructure to accommodate cars. Rail facilities and piers were not made easily accessible by truck even as trucks became more common in transporting goods. The overall stream of imports and exports became less efficient and thus less economically fruitful for any companies trading through Baltimore. In addition to being inaccessible by truck, piers serving the railroads were not being maintained and started decaying. Quarantining of ships arriving from abroad into the

²³ “What ‘Infests’ Baltimore?”

²⁴ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

1960s became a major disruption to South Baltimore's shipping chains.²⁵ In the late 1980s, CSX started controlling and operating the former B&O rail lines that ran throughout Baltimore.²⁶ With CSX headquartered in Jacksonville, Florida²⁷, the rail lines in Baltimore were no longer benefiting Baltimore itself as much as the massive east coast rail system.

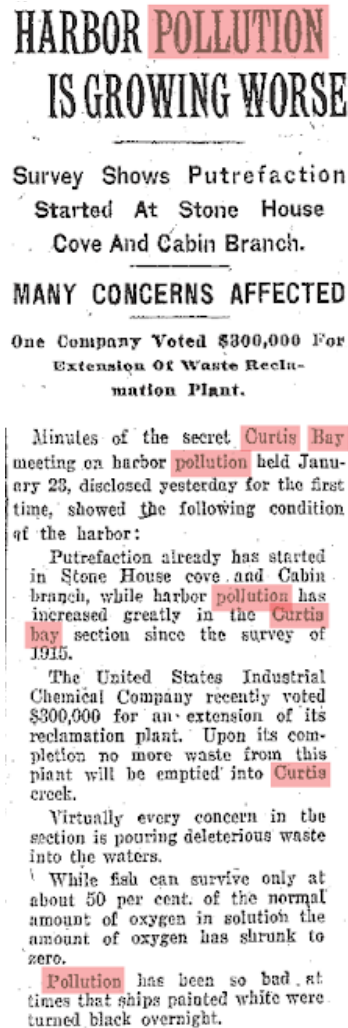


Figure 6: 1923 Baltimore Sun headline about harbor pollution²⁸

²⁵ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

²⁶ "History," *B&O Railroad Museum* (blog), accessed December 7, 2022.

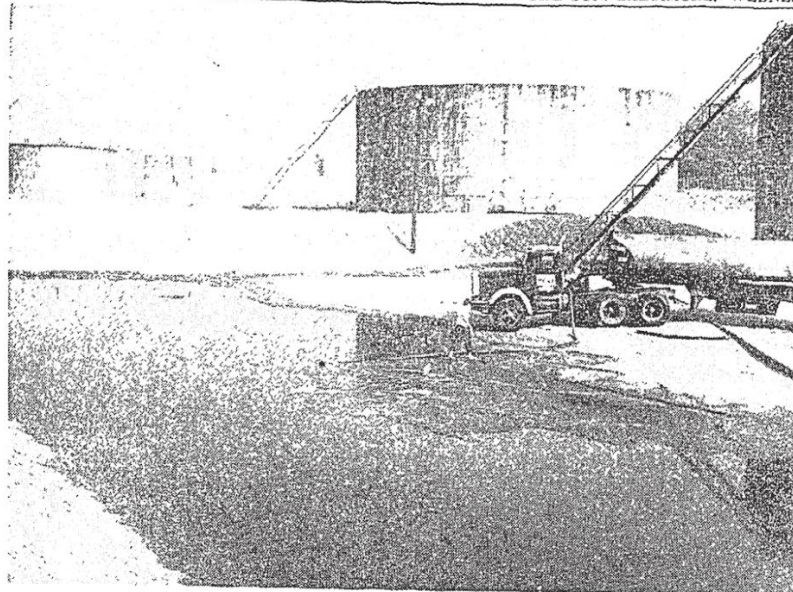
²⁷ "CSX.Com - Company Overview," accessed December 7, 2022.

²⁸ "HARBOR POLLUTION IS GROWING WORSE: Survey Shows Putrefaction Started At Stone House Cove And Cabin Branch MANY CONCERNS AFFECTED One Company Voted \$300,000 For Extension Of Waste Reclamation Plant," *The Sun* (1837-), February 8, 1923.

70,000 Gallons Of Oil Spill In Curtis Bay

The Sun (1837-1989); Sep 24, 1969; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun
pg. C7

THE SUN, BALTIMORE, WEDNES



A truck pumps up the miniature lake of oil formed from 70,000 gallons spilled at Hess company

Suncoaster photo—Joseph A. DiPaola

70,000 Gallons Of Oil Spill In Curtis Bay

About 70,000 gallons of heating oil gushed out of a faulty valve at the Hess Oil company storage dump in Curtis Bay yesterday. There was a small amount of pollution of the harbor a mile away.

About 50 firemen with 12

pieces of equipment stood by in case the small lake of spilled oil erupted into flames.

The accident occurred about 1:10 P.M. when a valve broke, apparently under pressure.

The oil spilled out of a 100-foot-high storage tank which has

a capacity of 2.5 million gallons. Workmen were able to turn off the flow within minutes, however.

By 8 P.M. a Coast Guard spokesman said there had been "no appreciable" pollution of the harbor. "Probably about 200

gallons" got into the harbor," he said. "The situation is in hand."

Hess company workmen aided by two Coast Guard boats worked for almost seven hours to clean up the oil. The boats swept the water with special styrofoam booms that soak up oil.

Fire and Coast Guard officials expressed concern the oil would seep into nearby Cabin Creek and be carried to the harbor.

The Hess oil dump at the end of Pennington avenue is about a mile from the harbor.

A Coast Guard spokesman said oil booms were placed across Cabin Creek at two locations. About 30 gallons of oil was carried to the harbor by a water drainage pipe.

The leaking storage tank was one of four encircled by mounds of sand which helped to retard seepage toward the creek about 100 yards away.

Besides pumping out the lake of spilled oil, workmen also piled up sand along the shoreline, the Coast Guard spokesman said.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 7: 1969 Baltimore Sun headline about an oil spill in Curtis Bay²⁹

As society continued to be dominated by cars and trucks into the 21st century, automobile terminals started opening up in South Baltimore. What was the Maryland

²⁹ "70,000 Gallons Of Oil Spill In Curtis Bay," *The Sun* (1837-), September 24, 1969.

Shipbuilding and Drydock site and the Bethlehem shipyard for the majority of Baltimore's industrial era is now covered in auto terminals owned by AMPORTS, BMW, and the MPA (currently leased by Mercedes-Benz).³⁰ A drive on the Baltimore Tunnel Thruway (I-895) includes unmistakable views to the north of these auto terminals just outside the tunnel. At the same time the auto industry started to go full-throttle in the early 2000s, coal was the most dominant export with 3 million tons, and iron ore was the dominant import with 3.7 million tons.³¹ With so much auto and coal infrastructure filling South Baltimore land and no tree coverage over any of the massive auto terminals, a heavy portion of the land has additional heat and air pollution levels, which only add to the environmental burden carried by South Baltimore residents.

³⁰ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

³¹ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Ronald G. “Shot” Abe, who taught me to always keep learning, to always love learning, and to always save time for fun.

Acknowledgements

First, I'd like to thank my family, Mom, Dad, Paul, and Aunt Tessie, for the encouragement and confidence in my ability to accomplish anything. Without role models for ambition, creativity, positivity, and thoughtfulness, I wouldn't have imagined tackling something like this. My closest friends, for being my relief, my fun, and my rocks to lean on. My Granddad and Retta, for being another home and a source of understanding in a truly unique and unmatched way. And Ron and Ollie, the kitties, for helping me slow down when I needed it most.

Ken Filler – My thesis and I would truly not be the same without your energy, enthusiasm, your genuine care towards this, and your talent for teaching and inspiring others. I can't imagine reaching this point with anyone else. Brian Kelly – Your calm confidence in me during every meeting meant more than you might understand. I can't count how many times I found myself thinking after a meeting with you, "He makes it seem so obvious that I'm in a good place and that I belong here, so I guess those must be true!" Ariel Bierbaum – A large portion of how I've come to approach my place in the world is inspired by your thoughtfully curated courses and the questions you push your students to ask themselves. I feel so honored to simply have been educated by you. I thank my architecture professors over the years, for inspiring and teaching me in so many ways. My planning professors, for sparking passions in me that I will never and can never lose. And thank you to my cohort, for talking and thinking through so much of this thesis with me, for making me feel like my input can be valuable, and for giving me a sense of belonging.

Table of Contents

Preface: South Baltimore as a Living Demonstration of a Port City	ii
Dedication	xvi
Acknowledgements	xvii
Table of Contents	xviii
List of Figures	xx
Chapter 1: Segregation to Gentrification: Historical Context.....	1
Segregation	1
Redlining & Environmental Racism	4
Defining Gentrification	7
Gentrification Factors and Impacts	9
Benefits versus Harms of Gentrification.....	11
Chapter 2: Site Analysis: Empathy through Listening	13
Narrowing the Site Options	13
Proximity to Environmental Risks.....	15
Relationship With/ Proximity to Water	23
Connections with Adjacent Neighborhoods	27
Neighborhood History & Identity	31
Current External Pressures.....	41
Current Local Activism & Efforts	44
Chapter 4: Process Precedents	52
Example: LA Más	52
Example: Dudley Neighborhood in Boston.....	54
Urban Forestry	55
Cooling.....	56
Chapter 5: Empathy Through Action.....	61
Restorative Green Justice.....	61
Collectivity.....	62
Chapter 6: Design Approach.....	64
Scope.....	64
Process	67
The Anchors.....	68
Westport Food Co-op.....	68
Curtis Bay Rec Welcome Hall.....	71
The Projections of Change.....	75
Westport Waterfront Network	76
Church Street Commons	80
The Historical Reconnections	83
Historic Westport Park.....	83
Curtis Point	85
Conclusion	87
Bibliography	88

This Table of Contents is automatically generated by MS Word, linked to the Heading formats used within the Chapter text.

List of Figures

Figure 1: 1838 Map of Baltimore edited by author to highlight the B&O Railroad	v
Figure 2: 1936 Sanborn Map showing Davison Chemical Co. in Curtis Bay (Sanborn Map, modification by author)	vi
Figure 3: 1911 Baltimore Sun Letter to the Editor Displaying Racist Vocabulary ...	viii
Figure 4: HOLC Redlining Map of Baltimore from 1937 with South Baltimore highlighted and labels for Westport and Curtis Bay (“Baltimore HOLC Map”, modifications by author)	ix
Figure 5: HOLC Area descriptions of Westport and Curtis Bay (“Mapping Inequality”, modifications by author)	xi
Figure 6: 1923 Baltimore Sun headline about harbor pollution	xiii
Figure 7: 1969 Baltimore Sun headline about an oil spill in Curtis Bay	xiv
Figure 8: “Veterans Administration subsidized the Sunkist Gardens development in Southeast LA in 1950, for white veterans only”	3
Figure 9: Residential Sub-Areas, Federal Housing Administration (1937).....	5
Figure 10: HOLC Redlining Map of Miami (Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America).....	6
Figure 11: Diagram about revitalization and gentrification.....	8
Figure 12: Overlaps between historical and current disinvestment in four South Baltimore neighborhoods. (Google Earth, modification by author)	14
Figure 13: South Baltimore Site Connections (created by author)	15
Figure 14: Location of Wheelabrator incinerator north of Westport (Google Maps, modifications by author)	16
Figure 15: View of Wheelabrator Incinerator from I-95 (Google Maps Street View)	16
Figure 16: Pictures from the South Baltimore Community Land Trust’s Facebook Post about a recent protest in Curtis Bay	18
Figure 17: Industrial and brownfield sites in proximity to Curtis Bay (Google Maps, modifications by author)	19
Figure 18: Map of companies and land uses around Curtis Bay and Hawkins Point.	20
Figure 19: Baltimore Sun headlines about hazardous events happening in or near Curtis Bay (ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun, modifications by author)	21
Figure 20: Image of the Alum Chine explosion in 1913	22
Figure 21: Wenburn St & Kloman St railroad crossing next to the Westport waterfront property (Google Earth, modifications by author)	25
Figure 22: Advertisement for Flood’s Park Theatre in Curtis Bay	26
Figure 23: South Baltimore 7 Coalition Agreement Communities (Google Earth, modifications by author)	27
Figure 24: South Baltimore Gateway Neighborhoods (Google Earth, modifications by author based on South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan)	30

Figure 25: Areas between Brooklyn and Curtis Bay constructed with government funding during WWII (Google Earth, modifications by author)	31
Figure 26: Inclusion of Westport and Curtis Bay into Baltimore City boundaries after 1918 annexation (Sanborn Maps,, modifications by author)	32
Figure 27: Westport area census data over time, ,	33
Figure 28: Mid-20th century construction of Route 295, which split the Westport neighborhood (OldMapsOnline, modifications by author)	35
Figure 29: Aerial view of Maryland Baseball Park and Westport Park locations, 1927 (baltimorebaseballhistory.com via Wayback Machine, modifications by author)	36
Figure 30: Photograph of the first turn of Westport Stadium in 1961	37
Figure 31: Enoch Pratt Free Library in Brooklyn, near Curtis Bay (Google Earth, modifications by author)	39
Figure 32: Location of Curtis Creek Bridge between Curtis Bay and Hawkins Point (Google Earth, modifications by author)	40
Figure 33: Location of Port Covington in relation to Westport and Curtis Bay (Google Earth, modifications by author)	42
Figure 34: Rendering of the Port Covington Chapter 1 plans	43
Figure 35: The site plan of Floura Teeter’s redesign of Florence Cummings Park....	46
Figure 36: Diagram of recent and ongoing projects in Westport & Mount Winans (Google Earth, hand drawing and digital modifications by author)	47
Figure 37: Temporary placemaking in a vacant lot in Curtis Bay (Google Maps Street View).....	48
Figure 38: Digital flyer shared on multiple local Facebook pages	50
Figure 39: Recent and ongoing community projects in Curtis Bay (Google Earth, hand drawings and digital modifications by author).....	51
Figure 40: Futuro de Frogtown Community Checklist.....	53
Figure 41: Key Takeaways from the “Cool Streets Guidelines”	57
Figure 42: Baseline vs. Proposed Materials from the “Cool Streets Guidelines”	58
Figure 43: Streetscape Design Analysis Key Takeaways from the “Cool Street Guidelines”	59
Figure 44: Proposed Site Plans with Interventions Across the Top (created by author)	65
Figure 45: Scope and Categories (created by author).....	66
Figure 46: Collages of Information from History & Present-Day Research (collaged by author).....	66
Figure 47: Patterns of Need that Emerged from Research (created by author)	67
Figure 48: Spatial Forms Emerging from Patterns of Need (created by author)	67
Figure 50: Site of Proposed Food Co-op (Google Maps Street View, modifications by author)	69
Figure 51: Collage and Sketches of Co-op Design Inspiration (Collage & sketches by author)	69
Figure 52: Section Perspective of Proposed Westport Food Co-op	70
Figure 53: Collage of Existing Curtis Bay Rec Center (Google Maps, modifications by author)	72
Figure 54: Dispersal of Rec Welcome Hall Proposed Program (created by author) ..	73
Figure 55: Proposed Rec Welcome Hall Street Edge Diagram (created by author)...	73

Figure 56: Section Perspective of Proposed Rec Welcome Hall (created by author)	74
Figure 57: Proposed Area Plan for Curtis Bay Community Square (created by author)	74
Figure 58: Proposed Rec Welcome Hall Floor Plan (created by author)	75
Figure 59: Westport Waterfront Formerly Industrial Use and Middle Branch Trail Connection Proposal (Google Maps, modifications by author)	76
Figure 60: Perspective of Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)	77
Figure 61: Place-Taking Diagram for the Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)	78
Figure 62: Arrival Diagram for Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)	79
Figure 63: Programming Diagram for Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)	80
Figure 64: Collage of Photos from Curtis Bay Explosion and Protests (Collaged by author)	81
Figure 65: Perspective of Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)	82
Figure 66: "Framing Injustice" Diagram for Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)	83
Figure 67: "Flexible Public Realm" Diagram for Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)	83
Figure 68: Collage about Baltimore Black Sox and Historic Westport Baseball Fields (collaged by author)	84
Figure 69: East-facing Section Perspective of Proposed Restored Historic Westport Park (created by author)	85
Figure 70: Site Plan of Proposed Restored Historic Historic Westport Park (created by author)	85
Figure 71: Collage about Flood's Park Site (collaged by author)	86
Figure 72: Section Perspective of Proposed Curtis Point (created by author)	86
Figure 73: Plan Diagram of the Tree Buffers around Proposed Curtis Point (created by author)	87

Chapter 1: Segregation to Gentrification: Historical Context

Segregation

In the early twentieth century, there were several forces driving and increasing segregation. One of these forces was the first residential segregation ordinance in the country, which happened to be implemented in Baltimore in 1910. While this ordinance was overturned over a technicality not long after being passed, it inspired efforts in Baltimore and the entire country to create laws that enforced segregation, whether overtly or surreptitiously.

Racially restrictive covenants were another force driving segregation in the early twentieth century. This practice involved white homeowners including covenants with the deed of the house requiring that the house never be sold to African Americans. This eventually came to expand to the scale of neighborhoods, with entire neighborhood associations creating racial requirements for anyone who wants to move in. This sometimes meant that even if individual homeowners wished to sell property to African Americans, their neighborhood would not allow it. Even when these covenants were deemed unenforceable by law in 1917³², their existence often went unchallenged.

³² “What ‘Infests’ Baltimore? The Segregation History Buried in Trump’s Tweets,” Bloomberg.Com, July 29, 2019.

The real estate market also played a strong role in increasing segregation through a process called blockbusting. Rothstein (2018)³³ describes this practice in the following passage from *The Color of Law*:

“Practiced across the country as it had been in East Palo Alto, blockbusting was a scheme in which speculators bought properties in borderline black-white areas; rented or sold them to African American families at above-market prices; persuaded white families residing in these areas that their neighborhoods were turning into African American slums and that values would soon fall precipitously; and then purchased the panicked whites’ homes for less than their worth.”

A primary method of blockbusting was the fear mongering of black families moving in. Speculators would pay Black people to show up in neighborhoods that white people lived in and act in ways that scared the white residents into thinking their neighborhood was losing value and that they needed to sell their houses extremely soon no matter the price. Once the speculators acquired properties from white owners at low values due to the speed of the sale, they sold it for a premium to black families. Another practice that the real estate market was allowed to do until the

³³ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York ; Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W.W. Norton & Company, 2018).

late 1960's was openly not lending to Black people.



Figure 8: “Veterans Administration subsidized the Sunkist Gardens development in Southeast LA in 1950, for white veterans only”³⁴

Some neighborhoods were already integrated around the same time that the 1910 zoning ordinance was passed, and there was not yet a sense of devaluing of property, but a perception was manufactured by the government that associated race with risk, which heavily benefited and was encouraged by the real estate market. By pushing the association with race and risk, the government was able to more easily zone industrial and commercial uses near Black and integrated neighborhoods and then deem nearby houses as “risky”. In this progressive era, the perception of “contagions” and “slums” as something that could “infest” an area became embedded in language, and time has shown that tying race tightly to property value makes the connection self-fulfill.

³⁴ Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.

Redlining & Environmental Racism

In the 1930s, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) created and used some of the first redlining maps ranking neighborhoods on the concept of “investment risk” for mortgage loans, labeling Black and integrated neighborhoods as inherently “risky”. This unwillingness to economically invest in these areas led to significantly more difficulty for those seeking mortgages. The FHA made their own version of these maps, and banks used them for determining risk for any loans, resulting in large purchases such as home or infrastructure improvements becoming drastically more difficult for residents in redlined areas.

There were no longer incentives to maintain houses because residents understood that this “risky” label meant they would never be able to sell their homes for what it should have been worth after the time and money devoted to it. The labeling of these areas as low-quality is what lowered the quality; the red lines made them “red”. While this was happening, the majority white areas that were “greenlined”, which were deemed “safe”, were given active investment, thus providing a massive economic benefit just for living in white neighborhoods.

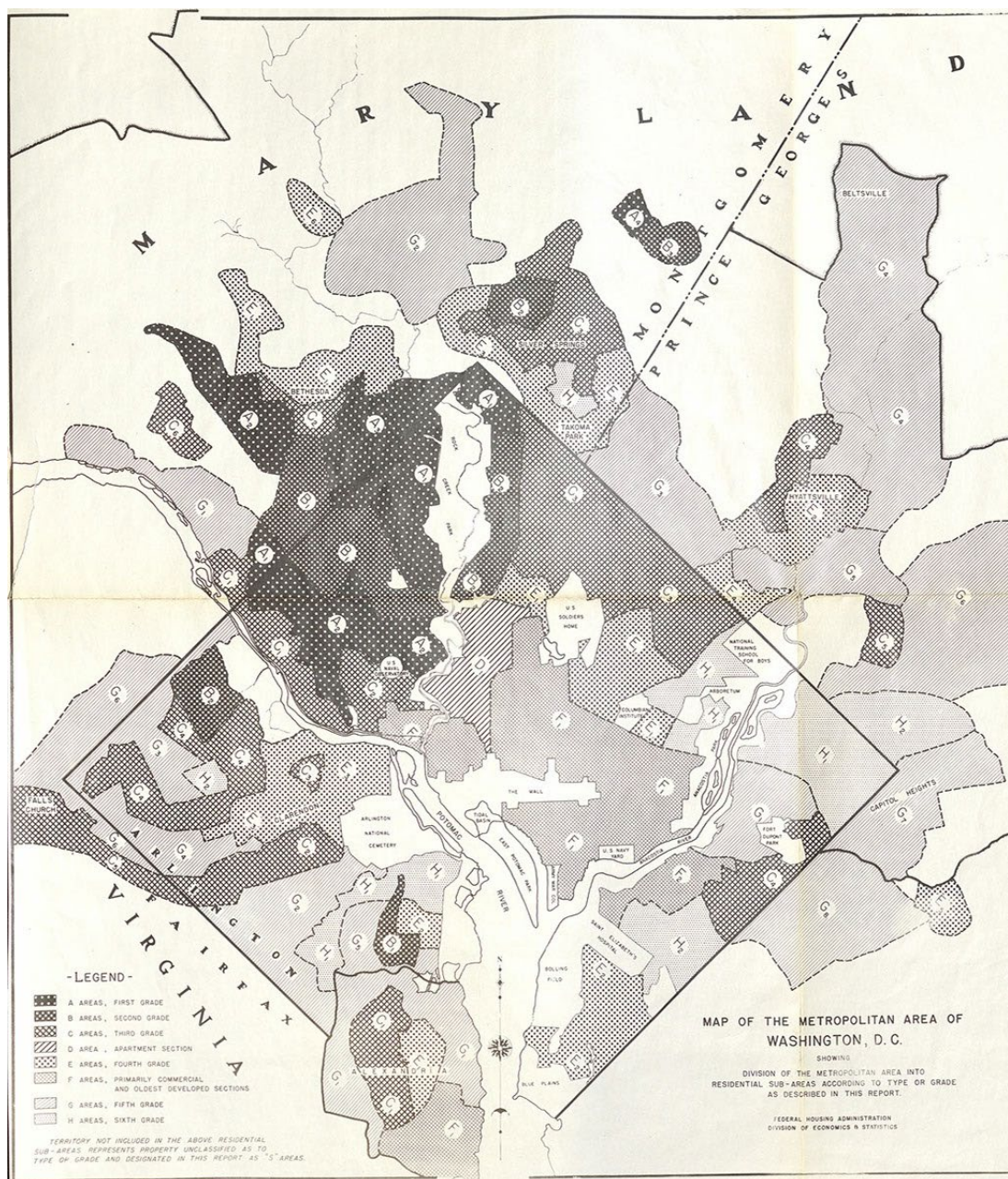


Figure 9: Residential Sub-Areas, Federal Housing Administration (1937)³⁵

³⁵ "Resident Sub-Areas," accessed December 8, 2022.

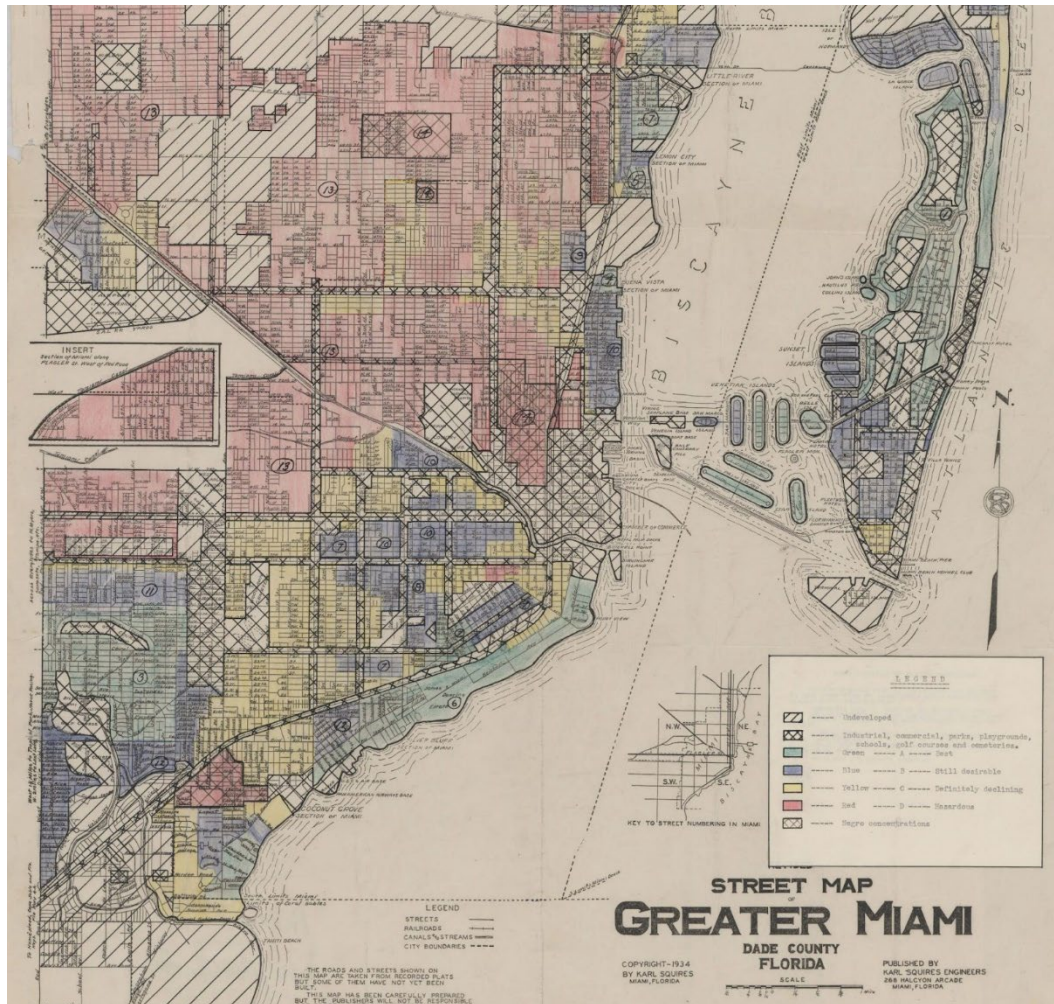


Figure 10: HOLC Redlining Map of Miami (Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America)³⁶

There has been an enduring detrimental impact on redlined communities to this day; formerly redlined neighborhoods, after being disinvested and stripped of the ability to gain or pass down wealth, are often still lacking investment and resources.

While the Fair Housing Act in 1968 deemed formal redlining unconstitutional, only formal *future* discrimination was prohibited. There was no attempt at “undoing the foundationally racist landscape on which homeownership in America was

³⁶ “Mapping Inequality,” accessed December 8, 2022.

built”³⁷. Specifically relating to environmental racism, “most industrial pollution does not involve new sitings, but is the product of already existing facilities, land uses, and zoning,”³⁸ so while avoiding future harm is certainly important, addressing the enduring economic and health effects of redlining is crucial.

Defining Gentrification

Gentrification can be considered the process by which economic investment in low-income urban areas makes these areas more attractive to higher-income people, raising property values and displacing existing residents. In some cases, these areas “have been historically disinvested by public and private sectors”.³⁹ The reinvestment, though, comes with a push to “produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies the space”.⁴⁰

Gentrification is distinguished from other forms of neighborhood change, such as revitalization, through the presence of displacement. Revitalization involves improvements and upgrades, and often constitutes bottom-up change that allows the neighborhood to stay affordable.⁴¹ Neighborhoods can be revitalized without displacement, but gentrification specifically involves changes that displace the existing residents.

³⁷ “Black Americans And The Racist Architecture Of Homeownership : Code Switch : NPR,” accessed October 13, 2022.

³⁸ Laura Pulido, “Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California,” in *Environment* (Routledge, 2008).

³⁹ *What We Don’t Understand about Gentrification* | Stacey Sutton | TEDxNewYork.

⁴⁰ Jeremy Bryson, “Brownfields Gentrification: Redevelopment Planning and Environmental Justice in Spokane, Washington,” *Environmental Justice* 5, no. 1 (February 2012): 26–31.

⁴¹ *What We Don’t Understand about Gentrification* | Stacey Sutton | TEDxNewYork.

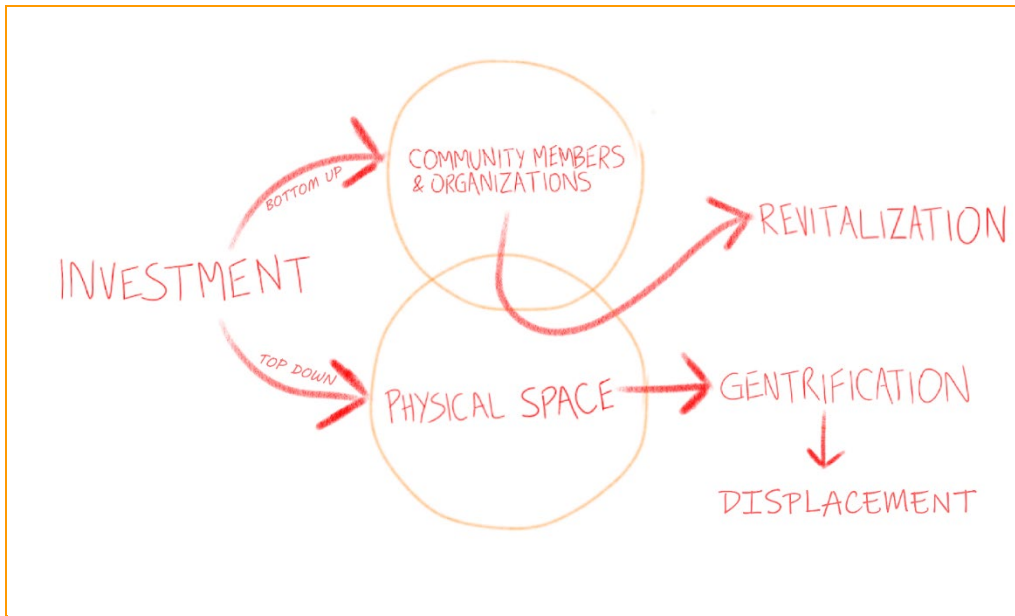


Figure 11: Diagram about revitalization and gentrification

This displacement can be both direct - for example, sudden rent increases forcing long-time residents out of the neighborhood entirely - and indirect or exclusionary. These indirect changes are less easily measured, but together lead to a sense of isolation among existing residents who find the neighborhood no longer reflects their idea of community identity. They often include the opening of restaurants and services that existing residents cannot afford, signaling that the changes are for the benefit of non-resident outsiders. This feeling of exclusion leads to displacement itself as, over time, even people in rent-protected units leave a neighborhood that now feels entirely unfamiliar.⁴² The challenge this presents to communities trying to create positive change is the tension between evolving and remaining consistent in ways that maintain a sense of collective identity. A question appears about where the line is

⁴² *What We Don't Understand about Gentrification* | Stacey Sutton | TEDxNewYork.

between needed growth, enough growth too much growth, and about what kinds of change influence a sense of belonging

Gentrification Factors and Impacts

One of the main factors that contribute to gentrification is the designation by the government and of more economically and politically powerful people that certain neighborhoods need “revitalization”. When municipal governments, private developers, or other people in positions of power designate certain neighborhoods for “revitalization,” gentrification is very likely to follow. While the idea of neighborhoods benefiting from upgrades of some kind is innocent on its face, the opinions of those in power on exactly what changes are needed can prioritize the tastes, needs, and preferences of non-residents or future residents rather than those of the existing residents who inevitably bear the impact of the changes. When changes are made to draw in new residents and customers rather than to improve the lives of those already living in the neighborhood, gentrification is practically inevitable. Developers and city officials are then able to use culture “to frame urban space to attract new residential tenants, to entice high-end shoppers, or court tourists and visitors from around the globe”.⁴³ Another factor that contributes to gentrification is the planning and zoning of these neighborhoods up until the point of reinvestment. During the years that they are considered not worth investing in, there are neither resources nor political willpower committed to change the planning and zoning away from polarized uses and toward mixed use. These resources are suddenly available

⁴³ Sharon Zukin, ““Whose Culture? Whose City?,”” in *The Cultural Geography Reader* (Routledge, 2008).

when the neighborhood is deemed capable of being turned into something that might attract high-income people. Suddenly the money is available to fix infrastructure and city officials care about zoning the area for mixed uses.

Displacement, direct and indirect, is the most significant impact of gentrification. While direct displacement such as renters being priced out of their homes is usually easier to notice, gentrification can also lead to a variety of less direct political and cultural displacements. Long-standing residents gradually tend to withdraw from public participation in gentrifying neighborhoods; this decrease in civic engagement makes it more difficult for them to form the informal relationships and networks with newcomers that are thought to help them benefit from neighborhood changes.⁴⁴ Residents experience cultural displacement as “the norms, behaviors, and values of the new resident cohort dominate and prevail over the tastes and preferences of long-term residents”.⁴⁵ These changes are often resented by residents in any case, especially when they fail to match the needs and preferences of existing residents, and can in sum lead to cultural and behavioral shifts in the neighborhood that leave long-standing residents feeling like strangers on their own streets.⁴⁶ This detachment and unfamiliarity that forms makes long-term residents more likely to leave the neighborhood. This thesis intends to discover and retain what residents are attached to and familiar with about their neighborhood as well as what factors keep them there or prevent them from leaving. It is important to identify the

⁴⁴ Derek Hyra, “The Back-to-the-City Movement: Neighbourhood Redevelopment and Processes of Political and Cultural Displacement,” *Urban Studies* 52, no. 10 (2015): 1753–73.

⁴⁵ Hyra, “The Back-to-the-City Movement.”

⁴⁶ Hyra, “The Back-to-the-City Movement.”

anchors in the community that are highly tethered to residents' sense of belonging and identity in order to work against gentrification.

Benefits versus Harms of Gentrification

One of the most difficult questions in urban planning is how to secure the benefits of gentrification without actually displacing, directly or indirectly, the existing residents - and how to ensure that the existing residents are those who benefit most from neighborhood change. Without displacement, “gentrification” is essentially responsible neighborhood revitalization. The perception that the cost of displacement is worth the “benefits” could be a result of misrepresented data on the amount of displacement. Typical measures of displacement in gentrification tend to only capture direct displacement and do not include the heavy addition of indirect displacement.⁴⁷ It is also important to note that the idea of “cost” here, while including a monetary component, is more of a social, cultural, and spiritual cost. In the same way that environmentalists often struggle to explain the societal cost of animals going extinct in an economic manner, the potential loss of identity and the mental burden of feeling uprooted by outside forces is more than money can truly explain, making it arguably more important to remember when weighing costs and benefits of gentrification.

There can be benefits to gentrification, but not necessarily for existing residents. There are economic benefits for the developers who are often responsible for the price increases that cause direct displacement. There are economic benefits for the municipal governments that incentivize and subsidize the development that causes

⁴⁷ *What We Don't Understand about Gentrification* | Stacey Sutton | TEDxNewYork.

displacement. There are certainly benefits for new or potential residents who essentially get a neighborhood tailored to their higher socio-economic status. In situations of potential neighborhood change, the question of who should benefit must be answered before the economic benefit to people in power should ever become part of the conversation.

Should the word “benefit” still ring true if it caters entirely away from existing residents’ preferences? Who is left to enjoy the benefits when people have either been priced out of their home or cannot afford the new retail stores? Are the new spaces and amenities better for everyone, or only through the eyes of the new higher-income residents? Zukin (1995)⁴⁸ writes that “as more and more ostensibly “public” spaces become identified (and officially sanctioned) with particular, often commercially generated, themes, we are left to ask “whose culture? whose city?””. Hyra (2015)⁴⁹ writes that in terms of political infrastructure, “the arrival of the middle class can bolster a community’s political infrastructure; however, evidence also suggests that upper- and middle-income people often have different priorities than their low-income neighbours and advocate for amenities which are not a priority for many existing residents”. If the neighborhood is better organized after gentrification, for whom is it organized? The changes of gentrification only provide true benefit to those with enough wealth to stay or move in, and the people who need the benefits most will never get them.

⁴⁸ Zukin, ““Whose Culture?”

⁴⁹ Hyra, “The Back-to-the-City Movement.”

Chapter 2: Site Analysis: Empathy through Listening

Narrowing the Site Options

An early consideration that led to Baltimore City's selection for this thesis was that if this investigation is to be located in a neighborhood experiencing past and/or present disinvestment that puts it at risk for future gentrification, Baltimore has many options. South Baltimore became a major focus after early research found news coverage of local activism efforts against air pollution. The string of neighborhoods originally considered as potential sites included Westport, Cherry Hill, Brooklyn, and Curtis Bay. An initial diagram intended to understand overlaps between historical and current disinvestment in South Baltimore shows areas that were originally redlined, current food desert areas, and current brownfields (as representative of risks to human health and the environment) (see Figure 12).

Each of the four neighborhoods has unique histories and relationships to their various boundaries, to the water, and to surrounding industrial polluters, but the two ends of this "string" (see Figure 13), Westport and Curtis Bay, became the focus. Through an attentive presence on social media and in community meetings, similarities have also been found in the self-identified needs of each neighborhood.

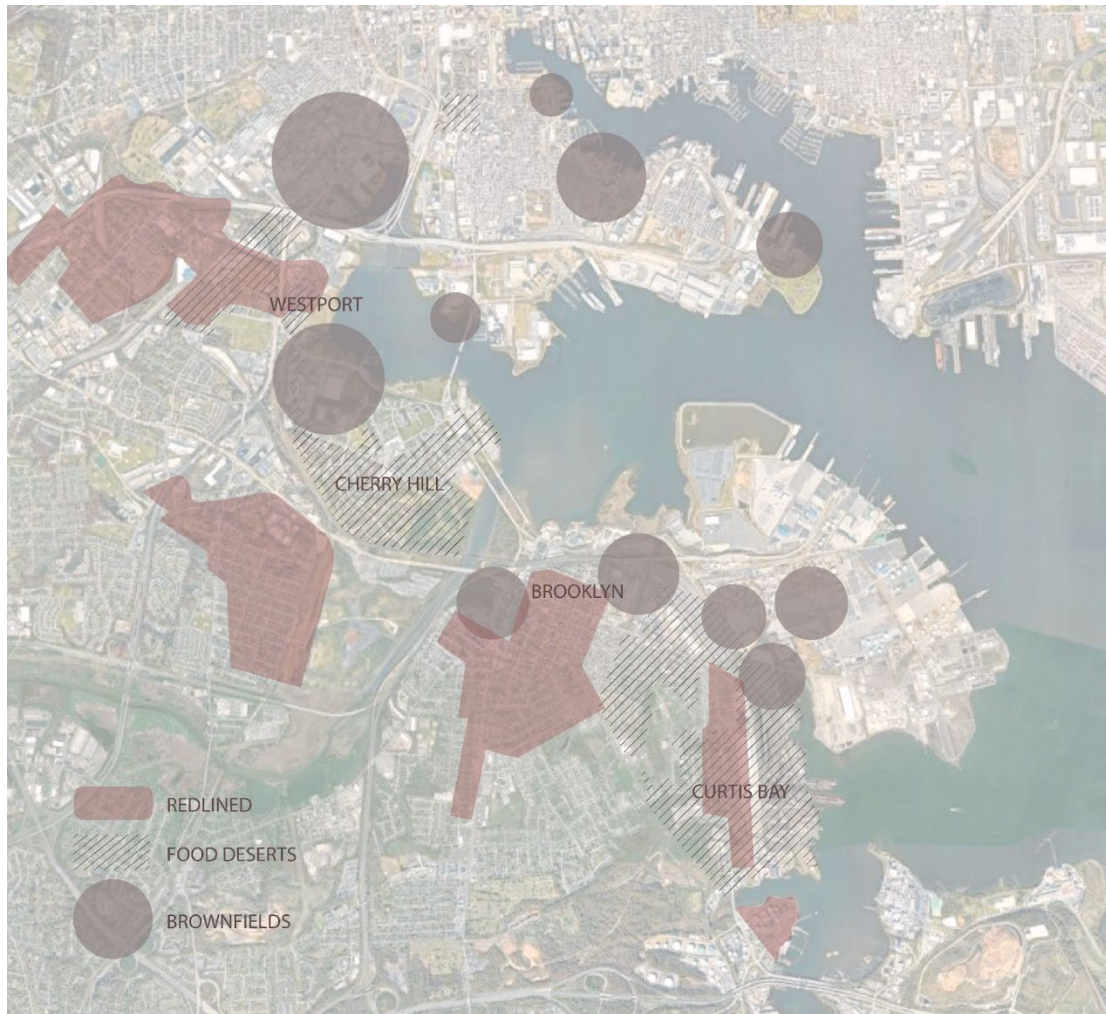


Figure 12: Overlaps between historical and current disinvestment in four South Baltimore neighborhoods. (Google Earth, modification by author)

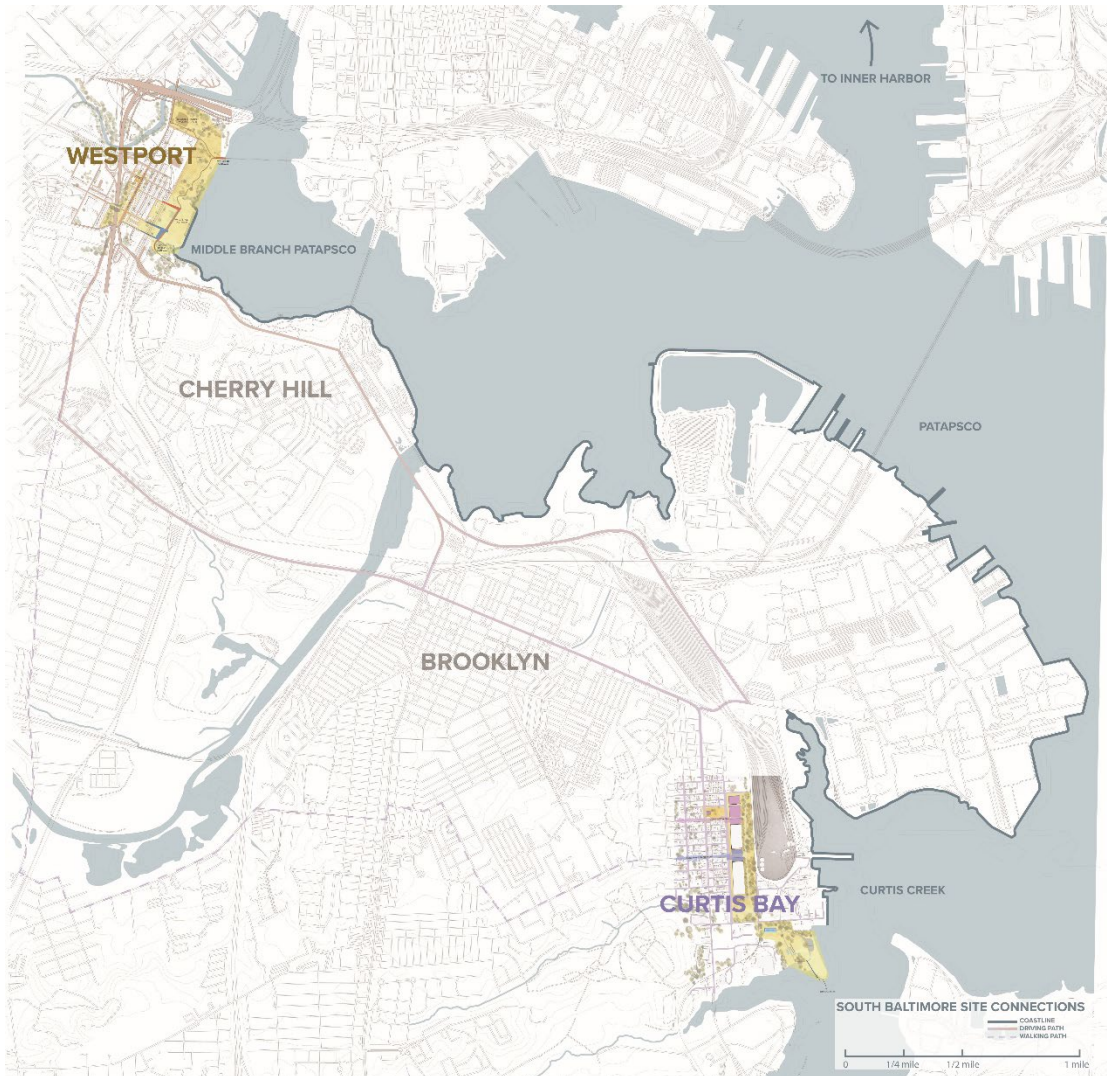


Figure 13: South Baltimore Site Connections (created by author)

Proximity to Environmental Risks

Westport

Westport is uniquely positioned directly south of a prominent Baltimore landmark as well as a major air polluter: the Wheelabrator incinerator. The only separator between Westport and the Wheelabrator are I-95, which by itself is already a massive host to air-polluting cars traveling into, out of, and through Baltimore city. The Wheelabrator's landmark status is most noticeable to vehicular drivers passing

between Westport and the incinerator by the word “BALTIMORE” painted in large letters along the primary smokestack.



Figure 14: Location of Wheelabrator incinerator north of Westport (Google Maps, modifications by author)



Figure 15: View of Wheelabrator Incinerator from I-95 (Google Maps Street View)

Until 2010, the incinerator was not getting properly monitored for its pollution levels, with an EPA requirement of mercury levels within allowable range at all times, but monitoring tests only occurring annually.⁵⁰ In addition, while the Wheelabrator is a waste-to-energy incinerator, there is a common misconception that waste-to-energy is clean and/or renewable, both of which it is not. This particular facility is so polluting that it produces “more mercury, lead and greenhouse gases per hour of energy than each of the state’s four largest coal-fired power plants,” making the badly-monitored mercury levels an even more apparent issue.⁵¹ Even with tighter regulations, the Wheelabrator is still “the city’s single largest standing source of air pollution,” making it a particularly dangerous neighbor for Westport and other South Baltimore communities.⁵²

Curtis Bay

The Curtis Bay neighborhood is blocked from water access by a massive industrial site to its East, primarily occupied by a CSX terminal and coal pier. In 2021, there was a massive coal explosion at the CSX terminal that resulted in essentially every exterior surface in Curtis Bay becoming covered in a layer of coal dust. The explosion also broke windows throughout the community. According to community outreach updates in a Curtis Bay Community Association meeting on November 10, 2022, several residents are in the midst of a lawsuit against CSX that,

⁵⁰ “Environmental Integrity EPA Directs State of Maryland to Tighten Emission Limits and Monitoring for Baltimore Area Incinerator, Contributor to Chesapeake Bay Pollution,” accessed December 4, 2022.

⁵¹ “Waste-to-Energy Dirtier Than Coal-Fired Power Plants, Report Claims,” *CNS Maryland* (blog), October 13, 2011.

⁵² Katelyn Weisbrod, “Baltimore Continues Incinerating Trash, Despite Opposition from Its New Mayor and City Council,” *Inside Climate News* (blog), February 19, 2021.

if won, would allow economic relief to be granted to all residents in Curtis Bay. In the same meeting, community members were urged to show up at the Curtis Bay Rec Center on Nov 30, 2022 to protest the lack of action from the City or CSX to remedy the situation. It was noted that a flyer would be distributed via email. The South Baltimore Community Land Trust posted pictures on Facebook from the protest depicting the crowd walking on the street along the industrial site as well as messages such as “invest in community” and “we won’t be silent anymore” projected against a large building along the site (See).

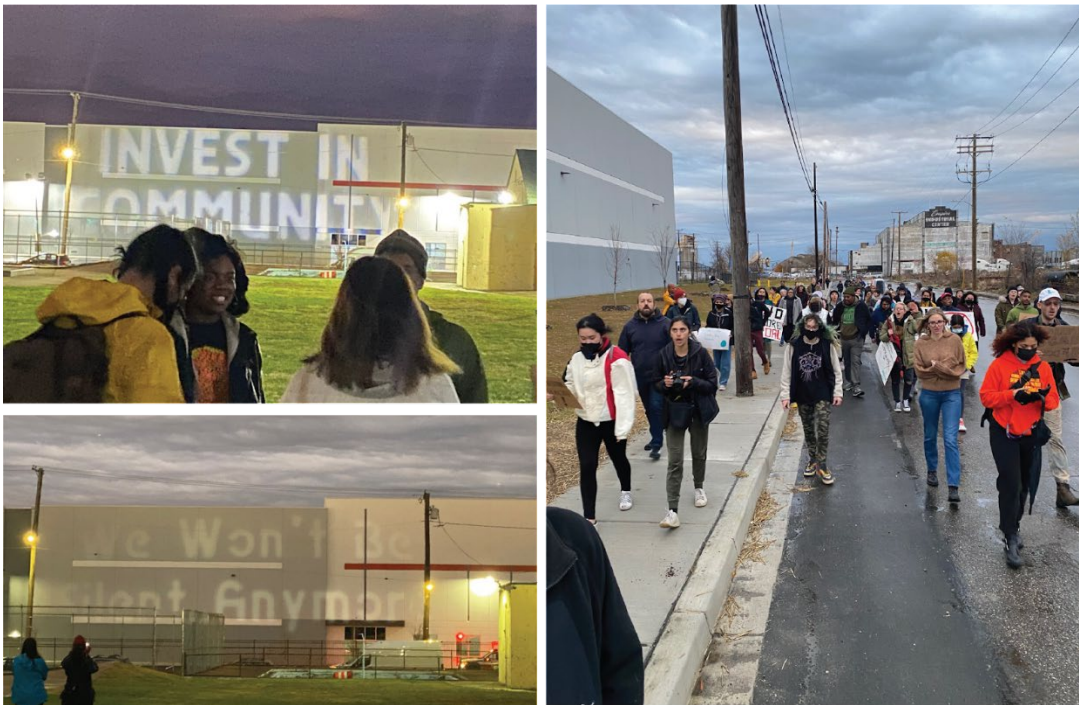


Figure 16: Pictures from the South Baltimore Community Land Trust’s Facebook Post about a recent protest in Curtis Bay⁵³

Curtis Bay is adjacent to Fairfield and Wagner’s Point, which continues to be home to many industrial and specifically oil- and chemical-focused companies. It is

⁵³ South Baltimore Community Land Trust, “Earlier Today Residents and Supporters Gathered in Curtis Bay to Demand Accountability and Call for Investments in Communities That Do Not Sacrifice or Pose Threats to the Lives of Those Nearby.,” *Facebook*, November 30, 2022.

also immediately across Curtis Creek from Hawkins Point, which has Baltimore City’s Quarantine Road Landfill and Curtis Bay Medical Waste Services, which is the nation’s largest medical waste incinerator (See Figure 17). The Quarantine Road Landfill, while operating in Baltimore City, is operated by the State of Maryland, and it has “been the repository for chemical residues from Glidden Paint, Browning Ferris Industries, QC Corporation, and others.”⁵⁴ While the Quarantine Rd landfill currently occupies a portion of Hawkins Point, there used to be a multitude of “trash and toxic waste landfills”⁵⁵ (See Figure 18).

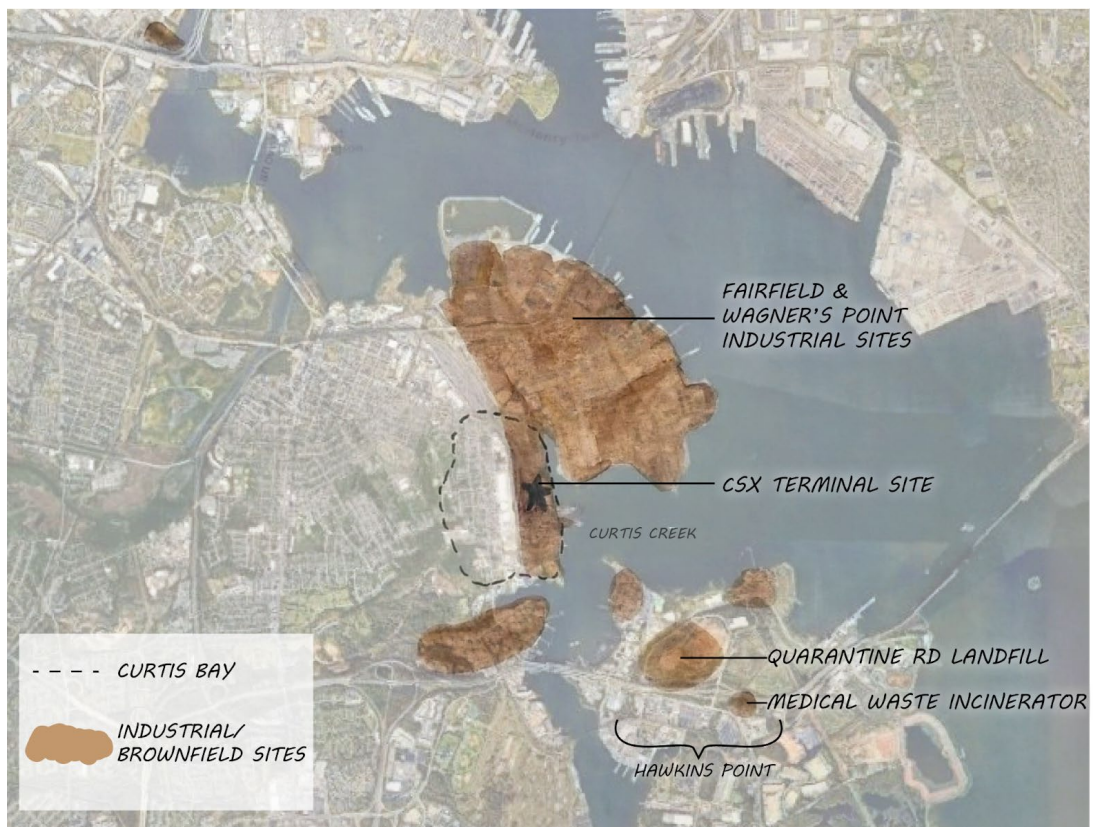


Figure 17: Industrial and brownfield sites in proximity to Curtis Bay (Google Maps, modifications by author)

⁵⁴ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁵⁵ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

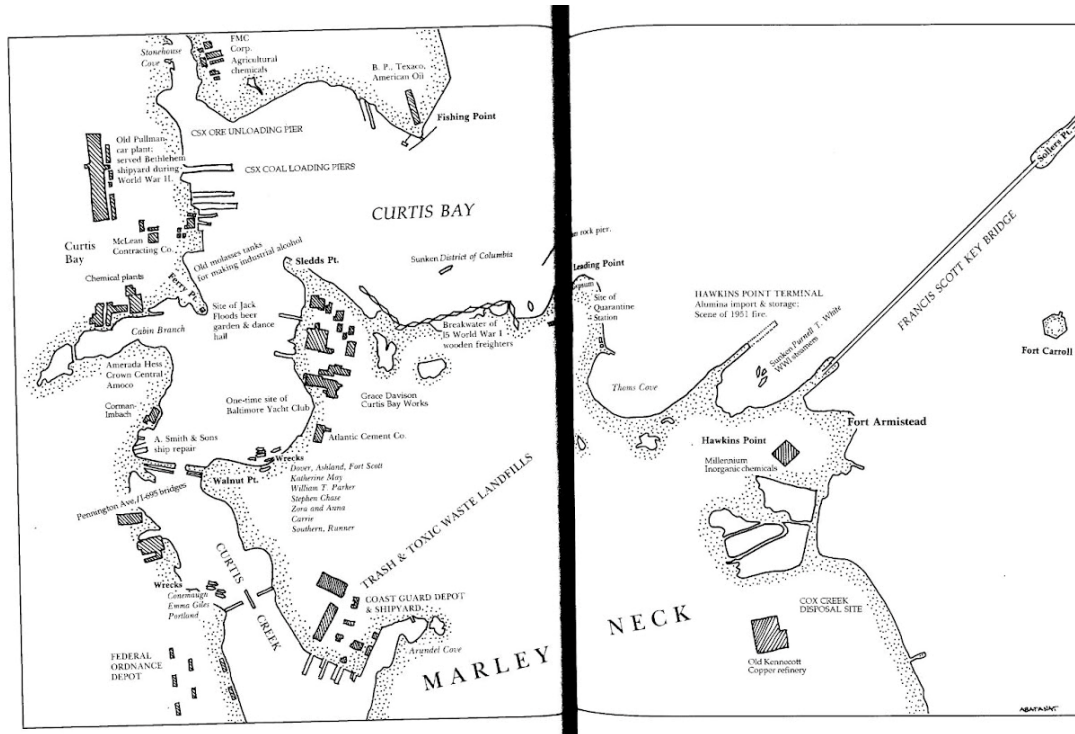


Figure 18: Map of companies and land uses around Curtis Bay and Hawkins Point⁵⁶

Besides the current environmental struggles faced by Curtis Bay due to these surrounding industrial sites, there is a long and documented *history* of dangerous events taking place in these sites at the expense of residents and workers alike. The Community of Curtis Bay Association has assembled an archive of Baltimore Sun headlines and articles relating to hazardous events occurring at or near Curtis Bay. Figure 19 displays examples of these headlines and the types of events that have occurred throughout history.

⁵⁶ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

1913
FIRE SPREADS TERROR
Succession Of Explosions Shakes
Village Of **Wagner's Point**.

LOSS ESTIMATED AT \$80,000
United States Asphalt And Tar
Oil Company's Plants Damaged—
Two Men Hurt.

1943
**WATER SHORT
IN CURTIS BAY
AND FAIRFIELD**

War Plants And Adjacent
Housing Handicapped
By Situation

Small Tanks Conditions
Will Become Worse As
Needs Increase

1980
Curtis Bay plant evacuated
as tanker with ammonia derails

1980
Delaware firm signs agreements
to transfer **toxic** oil to **Curtis Bay**

1983
Curtis Bay group protests **toxic** drain

1987
**Patapsco
dumping
charged**

Curtis Bay firm,
2 aides indicted

1913
**WAGNER'S POINT FIRE
CAUSES \$350,000 LOSS**

Packing Company's Plant Wiped
Out And Other Industries
Suffer.

THROWS 400 OUT OF WORK
American Can Company And Brook-
lyn Box Company Heavily Hit By
The Blaze—Firemen Almost Pow-
erless For Lack Of Water—Glare
Seen All Over The City.

1945
Acid Fumes At **Curtis Bay
Protested By Residents**

1969
**HARBOR POLLUTION
IS GROWING WORSE**

Survey Shows Putrefaction
Started At Stone House
Cove And Cabin Branch.

MANY CONCERNS AFFECTED
One Company Voted \$300,000 For
Disturbance Of Waste Recin-
nation Plant.

1985
Employee injured in leak
at **Fairfield** chemical plant

1982
Landfills not a solution but a new problem to environmentalists

By Tom Housh
The worst misconception we have
given the public is that landfills are
a permanent solution.
—James H. Gaultier,
State Secretary of Natural Resources

1988
Curtis Bay firm admits polluting Patapsco, is fined

By Luther Young
Although it is not a crime,
polluting the Patapsco River with
chemical waste is a crime in the
eyes of the state. The state
attorney general has announced
that the Curtis Bay firm, which
operates a chemical plant in
Curtis Bay, has been fined
\$100,000 for polluting the river.
The firm's attorney, Richard
M. Gaultier, said the firm
agreed to pay the fine and
to stop polluting the river.

1926
**SEEKS REMOVAL
OF EXPLOSIVES
AT **CURTIS BAY****

Mayor Asserts Ammu-
nition At Ordnance Depot
Is Menace.

**REQUESTS MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS TO AID**
Says As Much As 3,000,000
Pounds Of TNT Has
Been Stored There.

1970
Lye Spill Into Curtis Bay
To Be Investigated By State

1979
**700 persons evacuated
as tank car overturns**
Acid, chlorine,
alcohol on train

1981
**Toxic chemical blast
hurts 2 in Curtis Bay**

1982
On Environment
The state Department of the En-
vironment reported no outside en-
vironmental damage to the river or
land. The report was made
after the explosion.
The report also said that the
explosion was caused by a
chemical reaction between
hydrochloric acid and
sulfuric acid.

The explosion occurred late
Monday night at the Curtis plant, which
manufactures a variety of
chemicals. The explosion
caused a fire that burned
for several hours. The fire
damaged several buildings
and caused the release of
toxic chemicals into the air.
Two people were injured
in the explosion. One person
was killed. The explosion
caused the release of
several tons of chemicals
into the air.

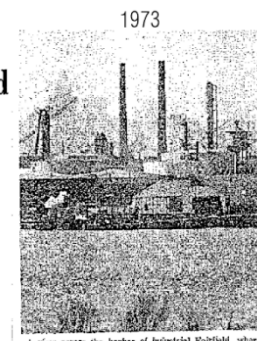
1927
**100 SHELLS ARE EXPLODED
AS BLAZE AT **CURTIS BAY**
DEPOT ROUTS 150 FAMILIES**

Series Of Blasts On Salvage Dump Rocks
Section Within Mile Radius—Two Tons Of
TNT Reported Burned.

**RESIDENTS FLEE IN AUTOS;
FEARS FELT FOR FACTORIES**
Efforts To Have Munitions Removed Will Be Re-
newed In Congress—Grave Danger To City
Demonstrated, Mayor And Bruce Say.

1968
**WAGNER'S POINT
FIRE ROUTS MANY**

Oil Tanks Threatened By
Blaze In Church Hall



Water pollution case
is study in frustration

1984
**Chemical
blast rocks
Fairfield**

14 persons treated
for effects of fumes

Figure 19: Baltimore Sun headlines about hazardous events happening in or near Curtis Bay (ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun, modifications by author)

One early example of one such dangerous event just across Curtis Creek from Curtis Bay was in 1913 when the *Alum Chine*, a Welsh freighter, exploded while 500

tons of dynamite were being loaded to be used for the Panama Canal's construction.⁵⁷

The freighter's explosion "broke windows throughout Baltimore and as far away as Havre de Grace, thirty miles to the northeast, and Chestertown, twenty miles to the east, on the Eastern Shore," and it caused earth tremors to be felt in other cities such as Philadelphia, Dover, and Atlantic City.⁵⁸ Another event from 1951 was an enormous ten-alarm fire in Hawkins Point at an ammunition pier.⁵⁹



Figure 20: Image of the Alum Chine explosion in 1913⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁵⁸ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁵⁹ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁶⁰ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

At the same time as the toxic dumping and industrial uses were occurring in Hawkins Point, there were “twenty-two homeowners in the tiny community” just south of the landfills, and they dealt with hazardous conditions of their local infrastructure due to the dumping.⁶¹ To prevent needing to pay millions of dollars to “provide pure water, sewage, and other amenities in the face of the industrial encroachment,” the Governor in 1982 chose to spend \$1.5 million to buy out the homeowners and get rid of the homes.⁶²

One of the disposal sites in Hawkins Point is the landfill that was intended to “receive bulk trash, as well as ash from a downtown incineration plant” opened by Baltimore City in 1985.⁶³ Today this landfill is labeled as “Baltimore City Department of Public Works S Sanitation Yard”, but a map of Baltimore’s Program Development from 1984 to 1989, likely created as a public-facing document about the city, labels this entire area with a small symbol that means “other public works,”⁶⁴ thus presenting an oversimplified view of how the city treated Hawkins Point.

Relationship With/ Proximity to Water

Westport

Westport’s proximity to the water is restricted in several ways: sloping topography of the hilly neighborhood meets elevated light rail tracks constructed on long walls that have only one official opening towards the water on Wenburn St. The topography itself makes the current neighborhood footprint particularly less

⁶¹ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁶² Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁶³ Keith, *Baltimore Harbor*.

⁶⁴ “Baltimore’s Development Program, 1984-1989 - MD Maps | Digital Collections @ the University of Maryland,” accessed November 10, 2022.

vulnerable to flooding due to rising water levels, and some of the tallest points in the neighborhood have views of the water, but besides driving out of the neighborhood and back in on Kloman St, immediate physical access from the neighborhood to the waterfront elevation is limited to Wenburn St.

If streets and light rail were the only barrier, residents might still find ways to access the waterfront, but several other major barriers still occur. Even once Kloman Street, running parallel to the water, is reached, there is a railroad track with only one available crossing point in Westport: also at the Wenburn St & Kloman St intersection (See Figure 21). Beyond the tracks, the entire waterfront property is privately owned. The property used to be home to a local Glass Factory, and the heavy industrial land use has resulted in hazardous conditions on the site itself if not remediated. The land has switched hands between different developers over the years, with the current owner trying to get a mixed-use development and townhouse neighborhood built. The gentrification dangers of this potential development are well known to Westport's residents, and concerns over public access to the waterfront being in the hands of a private landowner are heightened by the proposal.



Figure 21: Wenburn St & Kroman St railroad crossing next to the Westport waterfront property (Google Earth, modifications by author)

Curtis Bay

There are currently no access points to the water from Curtis Bay. Curtis Bay's largest barrier to the surrounding water is the massive industrial site to its East with the CSX terminal and other chemical companies occupying land along the water. The unique depth of the water itself has made the waterfront here optimal for industrial uses, so zoning has traditionally protected these uses in the name of economic benefit. This dates back to 1874 when a pamphlet was published titled "Curtis Bay, Its Superior Advantages and Admirable Location as The Only Deep Water Harbor Contiguous To the City of Baltimore".⁶⁵

⁶⁵ "Curtis' Bay : Its Superior Advantages and Admirable Location as the Only Existing and Available Deep Water Harbor Contiguous to the City of Baltimore, in Connection with Its Rapidly Increasing Local Manufactures, the Development of Its Coal Traffic, and the Accommodation of Its Western and Southern Railroad Connections," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed December 7, 2022.

As mentioned previously, this prioritization of industry has damaged not only the health of the wildlife, but also the health of Curtis Bay residents. The southeastern tip of Curtis Bay, Ferry Point, while having a short place in history as a notorious beer garden and burlesque park from 1884 to 1916, (See Figure 22) has been a Maritime Industrial zone ever since for the sake of preserving deep water areas for industrial uses only. It is currently unknown what actual use this site has had since 2006 when it was sold⁶⁶, but if it has not been used for industrial purposes in 16 years, perhaps a proposal for re-zoning or re-use of the land for more community-centered purposes could finally create a point of water access for Curtis Bay residents.



Figure 22: Advertisement for Flood's Park Theatre in Curtis Bay⁶⁷

⁶⁶ "CoDeMap," accessed December 10, 2022.

⁶⁷ Rik Forgo, "Flood's Park: Notorious Resort Gave 1890s Baltimore A Place to Drink, Carouse," *Time Passages | Local History* (blog), December 4, 2020.

Connections with Adjacent Neighborhoods

Both Westport and Curtis Bay have their own specific neighborhood associations, but they also are both members of organizations consisting of several nearby neighborhoods as a way of building collective capacity for change and advocacy. Both neighborhoods are in the South Baltimore 7 Coalition, which consists of Westport, Curtis Bay, Brooklyn, Mt. Winans, Lakeland, Cherry Hill, and Port Covington. The Westport Neighborhood Association is the local connection for this coalition, and for Curtis Bay, it is the Community of Curtis Bay Association.

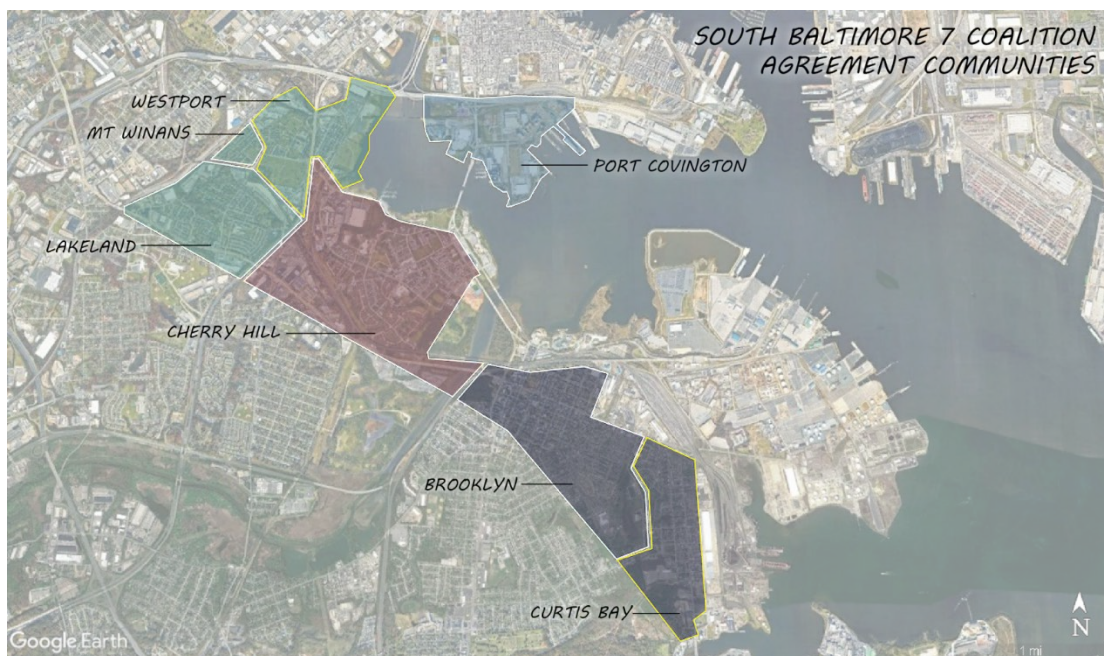


Figure 23: South Baltimore 7 Coalition Agreement Communities (Google Earth, modifications by author)

The SB7 published a strategic plan in 2018 that included “identifying priority projects, technical assistance needs, and funding resources; and developing a draft work plan for the next year.”⁶⁸

⁶⁸ South Baltimore 7 Coalition, “SB7 Organizational Assessment & Strategic Planning Report,” SB7 Coalition, 2018.

The plan identified some of the following priority projects⁶⁹:

- Create an “inter neighborhood bus connector”
- “Attract and build a quality regional grocery store”
- “Promote investment in local small businesses along commercial corridors”
- “Support regional community land trust efforts”
- “Transition all schools to community-based model”
- “Increase participation of growing Latino population in neighborhood association activities”
- “Create adult learning opportunities with a focus on homeownership training”

A major infrastructure recommendation from the report was “creating a system for developing advocacy platforms and coordinating among member organizations to amplify collective needs with local, state and federal agencies.”⁷⁰ This need for advocacy platforms and connections between member organizations hints at potential spatial program considerations for this thesis.

Accompanying the Westport Neighborhood Association in the community is also the Westport Community Economic & Development Corporation (CEDC). The Westport CEDC is the host for the Harbor West Collaborative, which is a partnership between The Lakeland Community Partnership Association, Mt. Winans Community Association, St. Paul Community Association, and the Westport Neighborhood Association. The Harbor West Collaborative describes itself as “a partnership to

⁶⁹ South Baltimore 7 Coalition, “SB7 Organizational Assessment & Strategic Planning Report.”

⁷⁰ South Baltimore 7 Coalition, “SB7 Organizational Assessment & Strategic Planning Report.”

leverage the collective impact” of its members, to improve the regional housing, economic, workforce, health and educational opportunities and outcomes for its residents and businesses.”⁷¹ The Harbor West Collaborative began working together in early 2020 in order to get a better sense of each neighborhood’s previous planning efforts as well as current residents’ perspectives on present and future efforts.⁷² When it comes to community representation in Baltimore City’s Middle Branch Master Plan, which affects most of the previously mentioned South Baltimore neighborhoods, the Westport CEDC serves as the Harbor West Collaborative’s representative.⁷³ The neighborhood of Westport is also a member of the South Baltimore Gateway Partnership, which is a partnership with Baltimore City that consists of more neighborhood partners than the South Baltimore 7 Coalition. Baltimore City published the South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan in 2015, self-described as “a sweeping plan to improve neighborhoods near the casino.”⁷⁴ The SBG Master Plan was written with input from the following South Baltimore neighborhoods: Barre Circle, Carroll Camden, Cherry Hill, Federal Hill, Lakeland, Mount Winans, Otterbein, Pigtown/ Washington Village, Ridgely’s Delight, Riverside, South Baltimore (the neighborhood), Sharp-Leadenhall, Saint Paul and Westport.⁷⁵

⁷¹ “Harbor West Collaborative,” Westport CEDC, accessed November 8.

⁷² “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁷³ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁷⁴ “Our Story,” *South Baltimore Gateway Partnership* (blog), accessed December 12, 2022.

⁷⁵ “Our Story.”



Figure 24: South Baltimore Gateway Neighborhoods (Google Earth, modifications by author based on South Baltimore Gateway Master Plan)

Curtis Bay’s closest and essentially only neighbor is Brooklyn. The two areas were often associated together in early historical documents, and this close connection continues today as they share Farring-Baybrook Park as common recreation space connected to their schools. This connection was strengthened during World War II when the Federal Works Administration and private contractors (working off of funding from government loans and subsidies) did construction on a lot of the land that had previously separated Brooklyn and Curtis Bay.⁷⁶ Some of these developments included: “the Brooklyn Homes and Fairfield Homes projects, various

⁷⁶ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

blocks in northern Curtis Bay, Brooklyn Heights, and along newly constructed Potomac Street which parallels South Hanover Street on the west”⁷⁷ (See Figure 25).

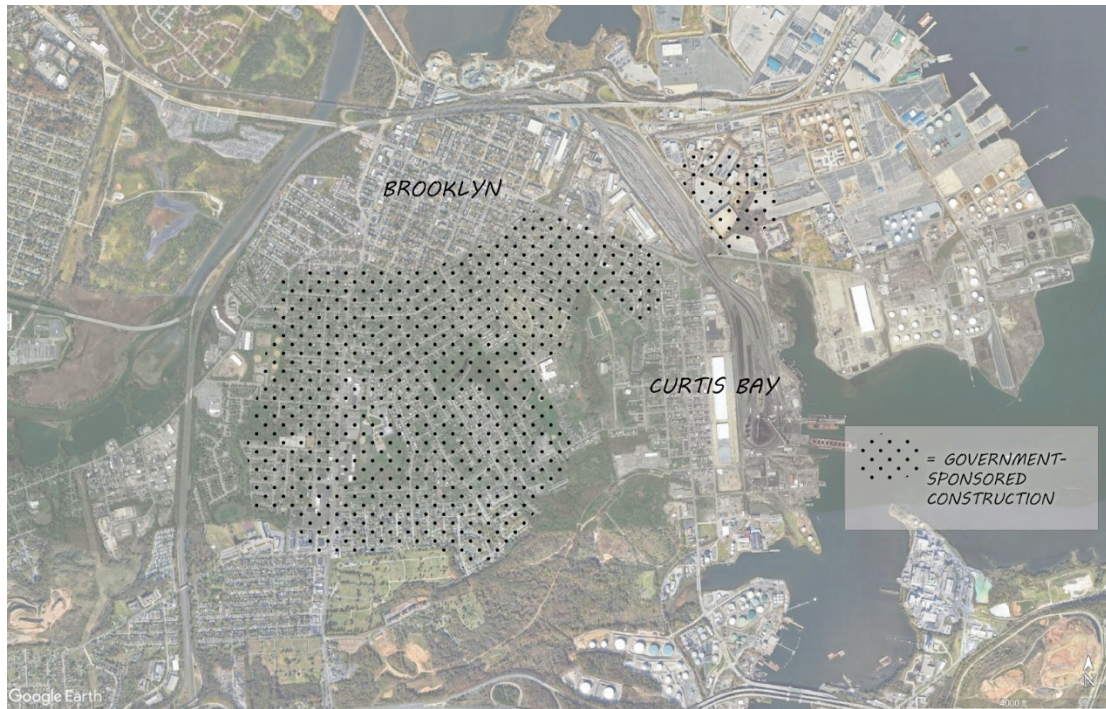


Figure 25: Areas between Brooklyn and Curtis Bay constructed with government funding during WWII (Google Earth, modifications by author)

Neighborhood History & Identity

Westport

Westport was settled in the late 19th century as agricultural land “by the Maryland-born children of German immigrants”.⁷⁸ It likely received its name from being the western-most port in the Middle Branch Patapsco River. Into the 20th century, with the additions of residents from other states and of immigrants, it grew into a neighborhood of working class residents who were employed at the growing waterfront industries such as the Carr-Lowrey Glass Works factory.⁷⁹ Westport was

⁷⁷ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

⁷⁸ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁷⁹ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

annexed into Baltimore City in 1918 along with a large portion of the land surrounding the 1914 city boundaries.⁸⁰ Figure 26 displays the official boundary of the city noticeably expanding between 1914 and 1928 due to the annexation of the surrounding territories.

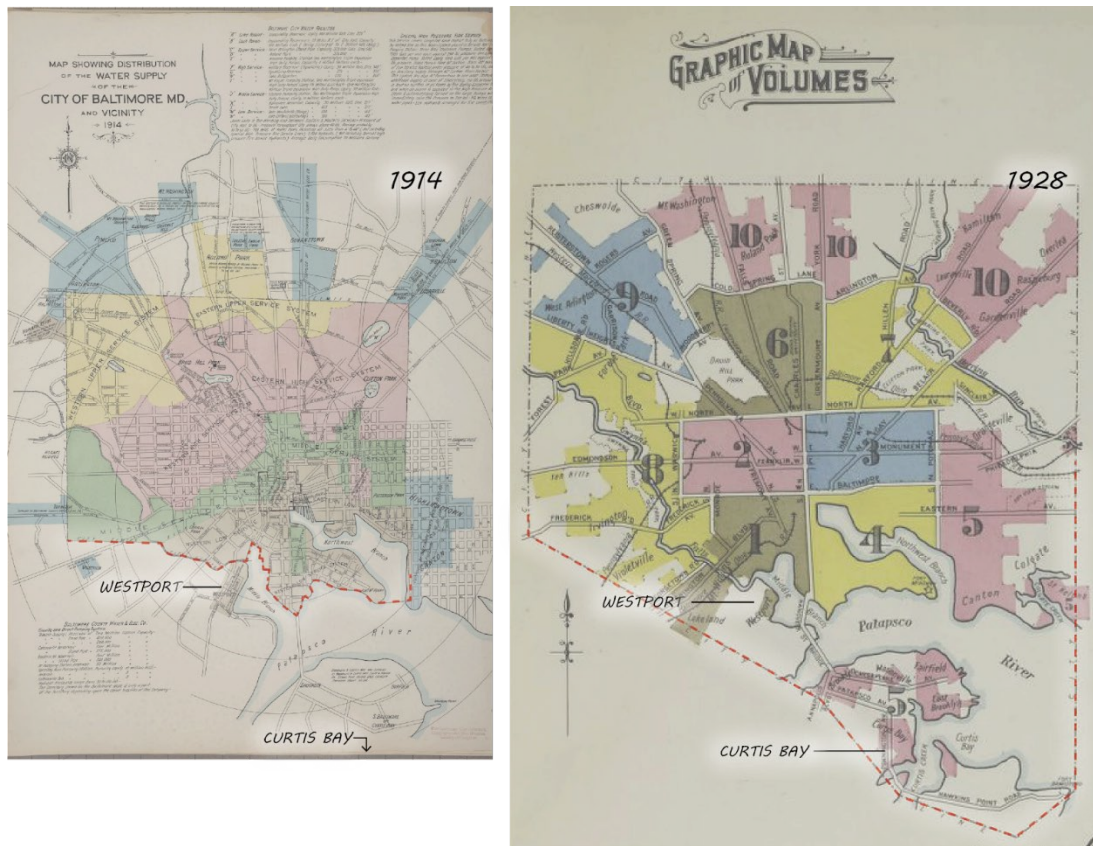


Figure 26: Inclusion of Westport and Curtis Bay into Baltimore City boundaries after 1918 annexation (Sanborn Maps^{81, 82}, modifications by author)

Early census data for Westport cannot be considered entirely accurate, as the census tracts from both 1950 and 1970 include additional land not part of the Westport neighborhood. Due to this, a considerable margin of error should be

⁸⁰ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁸¹ *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Baltimore, Baltimore County, Maryland* (Sanborn Map Company, 1914).

⁸² *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Baltimore, Baltimore County, Maryland* (Sanborn Map Company, 1928).

assumed. Considering that Westport was settled by Maryland-born German immigrants in the late 19th century, the 1950 census noting a majority White population with a 36% Black population indicates a relatively integrated working-class neighborhood for the segregation-era United States.

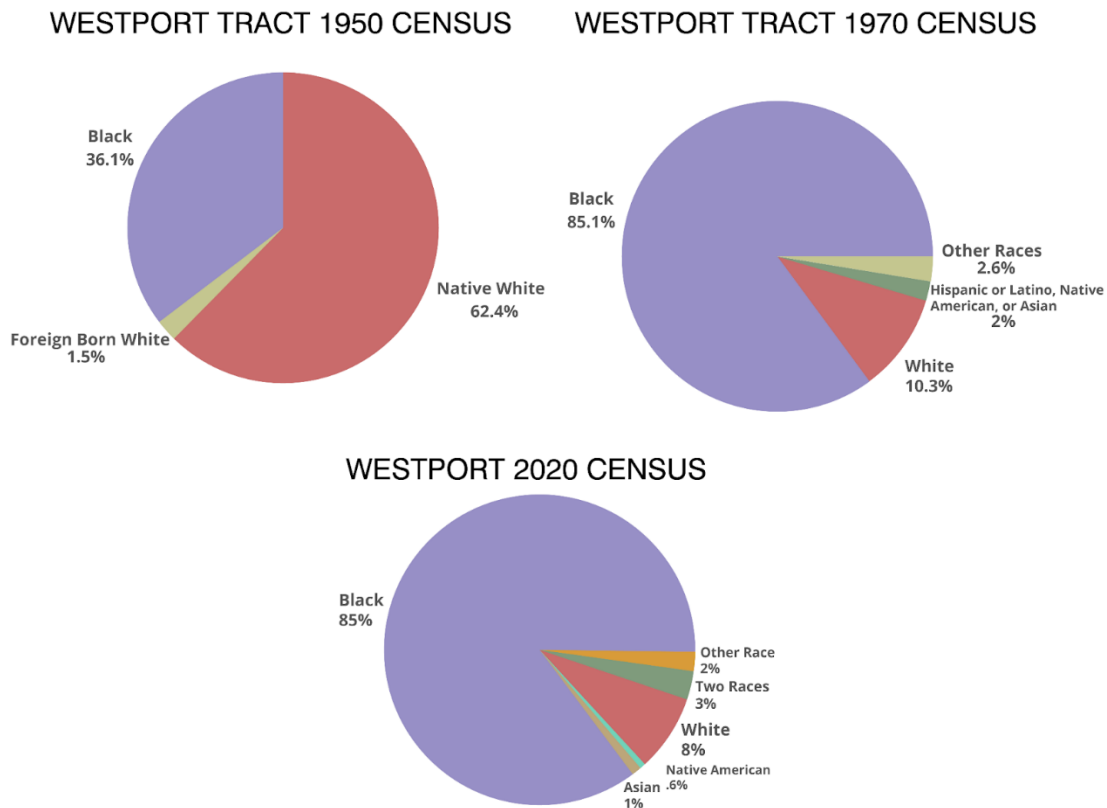


Figure 27: Westport area census data over time^{83, 84, 85}

The disinvestment from redlining though, coupled with the active investment into segregated White neighborhoods allowed White residents in integrated neighborhoods to exploit the privileges and benefits of their whiteness by moving away from the disinvestment.⁸⁶ Another factor that greatly contributed to the

⁸³ United States, *Census of Population: 1950. A Report of the Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States*. (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1952).

⁸⁴ US Census Bureau, “1970 Census of Population and Housing: Census Tracts,” Census.gov, accessed December 11, 2022

⁸⁵ “Data & Demographics,” Department of Planning, January 7, 2016.

⁸⁶ Cheryl I. Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707–91.

demographic make-up of Westport was the addition of subsidized housing, currently called Westport Homes, on the west side of the neighborhood. The Harbor West Collaborative's "Short History of Westport" notes that this housing "changed the former demographic of homogenous, long-term residents."⁸⁷ It is unclear who was considered part of the formerly "homogenous" citizenry, but it is of note that a drastic influx of new low-income residents into an already-disinvested neighborhood can have a large impact.

In the 1950s, Route 295 was constructed (See Figure 28), which split the historic neighborhood, cutting the majority of the neighborhood off from green space as well as from the local elementary school.⁸⁸ The only vehicular crossing of 295 in Westport is at the south end of the neighborhood where Annapolis Rd meets Waterview Ave. Route 295, also known as Baltimore-Washington Parkway, permanently altered the previously "historic pedestrian scale".⁸⁹ Only within the past few years was a pedestrian bridge built in order for children and families from the east side to access the west side of the neighborhood (including the elementary school) by foot.

⁸⁷ "Harbor West Collaborative."

⁸⁸ "Harbor West Collaborative."

⁸⁹ "Harbor West Collaborative."



Figure 28: Mid-20th century construction of Route 295, which split the Westport neighborhood (OldMapsOnline⁹⁰, modifications by author)

The Harbor West Collaborative’s “Short History of Westport” also notes that while the waterfront industries started declining and abandoning their plants starting in the 1970s, “Westport retains a distinct physical identity.”⁹¹ What specific physical characteristics were the authors referring to about Westport? Were they referring to the housing typologies, the sloping, elevated topography, some combination of those features, or something else altogether?

One particularly unique part of Westport’s history is its relationship with baseball, starting with the fact that Baseball Hall of Famer Al Kaline and his family were from Westport.⁹² Westport was also home to several historic baseball fields. Westport Park, which was at the Clare Street and Annapolis Rd intersection, hosted the Baltimore Black Sox for their home games from 1917 to 1920.⁹³ The other historic

⁹⁰ Klokant Technologies GmbH (<https://www.klokantech.com/>), “Old Maps Online,” accessed December 13, 2022.

⁹¹ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁹² “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁹³ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

baseball field was the Maryland Baseball Park, which hosted the Black Sox from 1921 to 1932 and was located right where the Wheelabrator incinerator is today.⁹⁴ Figure 29 highlights the locations of these two fields on either side of Gwynns Falls. The Black Sox were a championship Negro League team, so for Westport to have multiple connections to them is an important part of its identity. There was another ballpark called Westport Stadium, located in what is now the Cherry Hill neighborhood, in which the Baltimore Elite Giants played in 1950.⁹⁵ The Westport Stadium was used for NASCAR events in the 1960s⁹⁶ (See Figure 30).

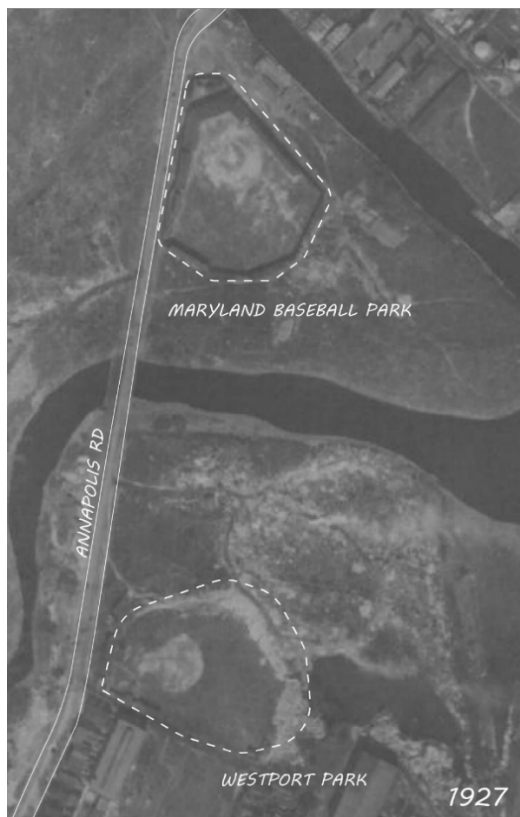


Figure 29: Aerial view of Maryland Baseball Park and Westport Park locations, 1927 (baltimorebaseballhistory.com via Wayback Machine⁹⁷, modifications by author)

⁹⁴ “Baltimore Baseball History - Ball Parks,” December 15, 2018.

⁹⁵ “Harbor West Collaborative.”

⁹⁶ Byron Bennett, “Westport Stadium – Baltimore’s Last Negro League Ballpark,” Deadball Baseball, October 28, 2013.

⁹⁷ “Baltimore Baseball History - Ball Parks.”



Figure 30: Photograph of the first turn of Westport Stadium in 1961⁹⁸

On November 16, 2022, Parks & People, Inc. put out an RFP with the help of the South Baltimore Gateway Partnership for a project called Baltimore Black Sox and the Historic Westport Community Story.⁹⁹ The RFP had been previously released, but upon receiving negative public feedback regarding the lens through which it explained its intention, P&P revised and re-released it to the public. It describes the project's interest as being to revive and honor those who lived in the history of the Black Sox and have had that history "trivialized and forgotten" since then.¹⁰⁰ The description of the project is very narrative- and storytelling-focused, noting, "the Black Sox is a Baltimore story waiting to be retold" and that the authors want to "tell it with honor, dignity, and equity".¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ "Baltimore's Auto Race History Goes Back More Than A Century | Baltimore Or Less," accessed December 13, 2022.

⁹⁹ "Request for Proposal for The Baltimore Black Sox and the Historic Westport Community" (Parks & People, Inc., November 16, 2022).

¹⁰⁰ "Request for Proposal for The Baltimore Black Sox and the Historic Westport Community."

¹⁰¹ "Request for Proposal for The Baltimore Black Sox and the Historic Westport Community."

Curtis Bay

Curtis Bay once was the target of designs for “a large industrial metropolis to be named the ‘City of Pennington’,” but it has instead retained the name “Curtis”, which was a name associated with the land long before any formal legal land records were made. Theories about the name’s origin are that Curtis was either someone who settled some land there without making claims or someone who “operated a farm for an absentee landlord.”¹⁰² Curtis Bay’s neighbor Brooklyn became host in 1892 to a streetcar service called the Baltimore and Curtis Bay Railway, between itself and Baltimore, and the service was soon “extended first to Curtis Bay and then to Jack Flood’s resort on Curtis Creek.”¹⁰³

The Brooklyn-Curtis Bay area was annexed into the city in 1918.¹⁰⁴ While this was technically after the 1910-1917 segregated zoning ordinance in Baltimore, meaning Curtis Bay was not officially subject to the legalities of the ordinance, the influence of the ordinance and what this meant for investment in Baltimore neighborhoods persisted long after and appeared in the Baltimore HOLC redlining map shown previously. Due to the closely connected nature of Brooklyn to Curtis Bay, an Enoch Pratt Free Library built with funds set aside by Andrew Carnegie was located in Brooklyn to serve both neighborhoods.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹⁰³ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹⁰⁴ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹⁰⁵ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.



Figure 31: Enoch Pratt Free Library in Brooklyn, near Curtis Bay (Google Earth, modifications by author)

Another benefit the area received from annexation was expedited construction in 1930 on the steel and concrete Curtis Creek Bridge between Pennington Ave and Hawkins Point Rd.¹⁰⁶ This was a much needed upgrade from the wooden drawbridge that was “built around 1899 by the Cromwells, to replace the large raft that had ferried farmers’ wagons across the Creek.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹⁰⁷ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.



Figure 32: Location of Curtis Creek Bridge between Curtis Bay and Hawkins Point (Google Earth, modifications by author)

Another notable change that occurred as a result of annexation into the city is the changes to street names that were identical to ones already in the official city boundaries. Curtis Bay has a pattern of its streets being named alphabetically after trees starting in the south and moving north. Some of the changes of street names included “Poplar St. to Popland St; Olive St. to Olmstead St.; Elm St. to Elmtree St.; Cedar St. to Ceddox St.; Beach St. to Benhill St.; Fairview Ave. to Fairhaven Ave.; Prospect Ave. to Prudence St.”¹⁰⁸ The original Curtis Bay Recreation center was built in 1955 due to the collaborative efforts of several local organizations, including the

¹⁰⁸ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

Curtis Bay Improvement Association and the Community Service Club.¹⁰⁹ A well-loved feature of the community center was its wading pool and playground, which welcomed “generations of children over many hot summers.”¹¹⁰ Curtis Bay’s organizations made a pattern of advocating for much-needed community infrastructure like recreation and schools over the years. Besides the community center, the organizations are able to claim credit for the Curtis Bay Elementary School, built in 1964, and for the 1971 establishment of what used to be called just Bay-Brook Park (before the Farring name was added).¹¹¹ The Elementary School construction between the neighborhood and the park required “the razing of war time temporary ‘barracks’ housing” that had remained, in order to create the park space with a “recreation center, playing fields, pool, and schools to serve the additional needs of both Brooklyn and Curtis Bay.”¹¹²

Current External Pressures

As mentioned above about the gentrification risk after mass disinvestment from communities, predatory speculation is a major concern in South Baltimore, and this is an ongoing worry in Westport. Owners of vacant housing in Westport are often people who do not live there and are waiting until what they consider to be the “right time” to sell in order to make the largest profit. Even before Under Armor founder Kevin Plank bought the Westport waterfront property and before he sold it to local developer Stonewall Capital, vacant property owners’ suddenly were becoming open

¹⁰⁹ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹¹⁰ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹¹¹ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

¹¹² Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

to the idea of selling the properties under the assumption that higher-income buyers will take interest in the neighborhood if any new development takes place at the waterfront.¹¹³ While the speculators wait for the right time to tell, they are “allowing the housing stock of Westport to rot away.”¹¹⁴

Baltimore’s inner-harbor, having been developed into an unaffordable city center, has produced pressure on the surrounding harbor neighborhoods to further develop and gentrify. There are currently plans under direction of Under Armour’s Kevin Plank to turn Port Covington, just across the Middle Branch Patapsco from Westport, into a master-planned mixed-use development.



Figure 33: Location of Port Covington in relation to Westport and Curtis Bay (Google Earth, modifications by author)

¹¹³ “What Baltimore’s Plan to Redesign 11 Miles of Its Waterfront Means for Existing Communities,” accessed November 9, 2022.

¹¹⁴ “A Victim of Port Covington: The ‘Other Baltimore’ in Westport,” Baltimore Brew, accessed November 9, 2022.

This massive project has already led investors to start eyeing up nearby Waterfront properties under the assumption that purchasing vacant properties and either selling it later on for a much higher price or developing luxury housing will be possible once there is more demand to live near Port Covington. Without adequate protections for nearby neighborhoods against physical and cultural displacement, this could perpetuate predatory speculation on South Baltimore waterfront neighborhoods, making private-market renters in particular the most vulnerable to gentrification pressure. Port Covington is in an agreement with other South Baltimore neighborhoods, but without an existing neighborhood association here, the representation from the Port Covington side comes entirely from private ownership instead of public stewards.



Figure 34: Rendering of the Port Covington Chapter 1 plans¹¹⁵

Another major potential pressure on Westport is the proposed 300-mph maglev magnetic levitating train that is proposed to run between Washington D.C. and downtown Baltimore. The proposed tracks for this project interfere with the current Stonewall development proposal that is in the works. In 2021, the Baltimore

¹¹⁵ “Port Covington | Spark Inspiration. Ignite Potential.,” Port Covington, accessed November 11, 2022.

Washington Rapid Rail (BWRR), which is the company proposing the maglev train, began a legal battle to try to condemn the Westport waterfront property so that the Stonewall development is unable to happen.¹¹⁶ The SB7 had a vote that led to the overall organization expressing support for the maglev project, but Westport's community leaders disagreed with the majority vote, arguing that the project was already getting support from Under Armor's Kevin Plank because he's on the Maglev advisory board and has it in his best interests to bring this train straight to his multi-billion dollar development at Port Covington.¹¹⁷ Westport citizens and leaders see the maglev project as completely against their interests as a community, as the train would put additional barriers between the community and the waterfront, and there would not even be a stop in Westport itself. There were also reports of BWRR "offering community members free laptops and sponsorships of community events as a way to 'bully' those opposed to the maglev," hinting at extra pressure being placed on communities that can use extra support for their events.¹¹⁸

Current Local Activism & Efforts

Westport

Westport, with all of the external pressures placed on the community, has been so swamped with community engagement meetings surrounding the Port Covington development, the Reimagine Middle Branch project by the city, and the waterfront property's development that they have not been having as many

¹¹⁶ "Maglev Builder Seeks to Condemn Westport Property, Threatening Massive Development Plans - Baltimore Business Journal," accessed December 6, 2022.

¹¹⁷ "Westport Community Pushes Back against South Baltimore 7 Maglev Endorsement," Baltimore Business Journal, accessed November 9, 2022.

¹¹⁸ "Westport Community Pushes Back against South Baltimore 7 Maglev Endorsement."

community events as of recently, with the exception of a few projects further inside the neighborhood requiring public feedback. This lack of open public events recently does not mean nothing is happening, but rather it is a sign of progress following the large community efforts. One priority that Westport has is “preserving community control of land”.¹¹⁹ Currently, only about 30% of the residential properties in Westport are homeowner occupied.¹²⁰ The remaining properties are owned by people and companies that are not from within the community. The remaining properties are either rented out or left unmaintained. Westport organizations, though, have been acquiring some vacant properties from the city recently for their community land trust (CLT), which is allowing the community to maintain some control over their own land.¹²¹ There is a proposal for Annapolis Rd intersections to be improved, although it is unclear where that project is within the bureaucratic process. A recent collaboration with Morgan State University students led to a cemetery improvement and stewardship program for Mt. Auburn Cemetery. There is currently weekly food distribution at Westport Academy, which is the elementary school just west of the pedestrian bridge over Route 295. Florence Cummings Park has recently undergone a redesign process through the landscape architecture firm Floura Teeter upon the request of Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks and the South Baltimore Gateway Partnership¹²² (See Figure 35).

¹¹⁹ “What Baltimore’s Plan to Redesign 11 Miles of Its Waterfront Means for Existing Communities.”

¹²⁰ “CoDeMap.”

¹²¹ “Community Land Trust,” Westport CEDC, accessed December 13, 2022.

¹²² “Westport Community Park & Florence Cummins Playground Master Plan,” *Floura Teeter* (blog), accessed December 13, 2022.



Figure 35: The site plan of Floura Teeter's redesign of Florence Cummings Park¹²³

The Baltimore City Department of Public Works recently announced that a small paved dead-end in Westport, just north of Florence Cummings Park, has been scheduled for impervious removal, or lot greening.¹²⁴ The neighboring Mt. Winans community, which shares many of the same community resources as Westport, is host to some new and ongoing projects as well. Paca Street Park, running along the west edge of the neighborhood, is getting redesigned and incorporating public opinions from meetings, according to a photo of a flyer posted on an organization's Facebook page. The Westport CEDC website has publicized an urban agriculture effort spearheaded by Baltimore native, Mike Tyson, on two lots in Mt. Winans that were

¹²³ "Westport Community Park & Florence Cummins Playground Master Plan."

¹²⁴ "Environmental Restoration / Stormwater Project History," Baltimore City Department of Public Works, December 14, 2021.

vacant but recently acquired.¹²⁵ This project, once completed, is intended to work towards relieving the food desert areas of the Harbor West neighborhoods. One of the most recent and ongoing projects is that land was recently acquired for a new community center along the boundaries of Mt. Winans and Westport. Some public engagement meetings have been occurring over the past few years, but it is unclear where this project is in the process, as the land is still empty. The meetings have covered topics such as what fitness uses residents would like and fundamental architectural style preferences of residents. Figure 36 indicates the locations of these recent or active projects going on in Westport.

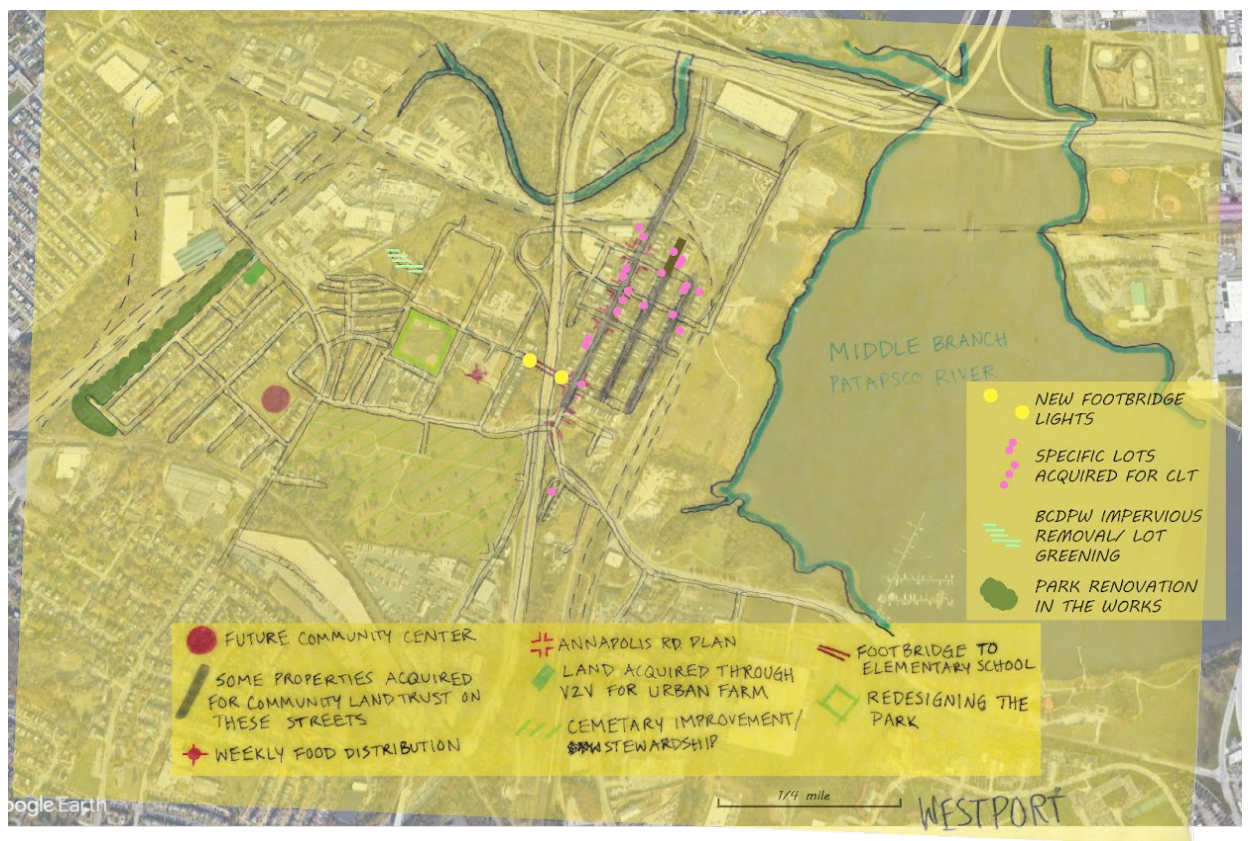


Figure 36: Diagram of recent and ongoing projects in Westport & Mount Winans (Google Earth, hand drawing and digital modifications by author)

¹²⁵ “Urban Farm,” Westport CEDC, accessed December 13, 2022.

Curtis Bay

Curtis Bay has also been working to acquire vacant properties for a community land trust. Their CLT efforts are done through the South Baltimore Community Land Trust, which has a heavy online presence as an advocate for many South Baltimore neighborhoods. Several properties acquired for the CLT have had affordable housing designed by an architecture firm so that as soon as funds become available, construction can begin. In the meantime, one of the vacant properties has been used recently as an impromptu park space, with mulch over walking areas, benches, plantings, and artwork.



Figure 37: Temporary placemaking in a vacant lot in Curtis Bay (Google Maps Street View)

This is an example of temporary placemaking from within Curtis Bay itself. Just south of these properties at the north end of Farring-Baybrook Park, is the Farm Alliance of Baltimore's garden and butterfly farm. The Farm Alliance had an October garlic planting event immediately followed by a fall festival with free sweet potatoes,

a cooking demonstration from a local chef, free snacks and drinks, potato sack races, honey and soap sales through the Filbert Street Garden, and face painting. The Greater Baybrook Alliance, through its facade improvement grants, has done two projects in Curtis Bay, both near the Curtis Bay Rec Center. Curtis Bay has proposed new traffic plans for Pennington Ave and Curtis Ave in order to make the streets two-way instead of one-way. This would support their hopes of getting large trucks off of Pennington Ave and establishing Pennington as Curtis Bay's "main street". As previously mentioned, there have been regular meetings and protests about the coal explosion at the CSX terminal, and these have occurred along Curtis Ave and throughout the industrial sites at the south (See Figure 38).



Figure 38: Digital flyer shared on multiple local Facebook pages¹²⁶

The Filbert Street Garden is one of the community’s anchors, as a food source, a community hub, and a location between the elementary school and the rest of the neighborhood. The Filbert Street Garden is also a conduit through which school programs and local volunteer groups get a foothold in understanding what they can do to help Curtis Bay. One particularly architectural ongoing project is the redesign of the Curtis Bay Rec Center through the city’s resources. While there have been public engagement meetings in order to get feedback on proposed designs for the outdoor spaces at the rec center, the city has struggled to get feedback from actual members of the community. In a recent (Fall 2022) live online engagement meeting that I sat in on

¹²⁶ South Baltimore Community Land Trust, “On Saturday, Dec 17 Join the Curtis Bay Neighborhood to Say NO COAL FOR CHRISTMAS!,” *Facebook*, December 10, 2022.

to listen, none of the guests in the meeting were Curtis Bay residents. Because of this difficulty, the progress of this project is going extremely slow. In addition to this, the city does not take public opinion on the building design itself – just the outdoor space. This is partially for the sake of budget and time, but it opens a hole in the purpose of getting public feedback at all. If public feedback were being taken for the building, would more residents get involved? What has prevented people from participating or made them not want to participate so far? Figure 39 exhibits the locations of these recent and ongoing efforts in Curtis Bay.

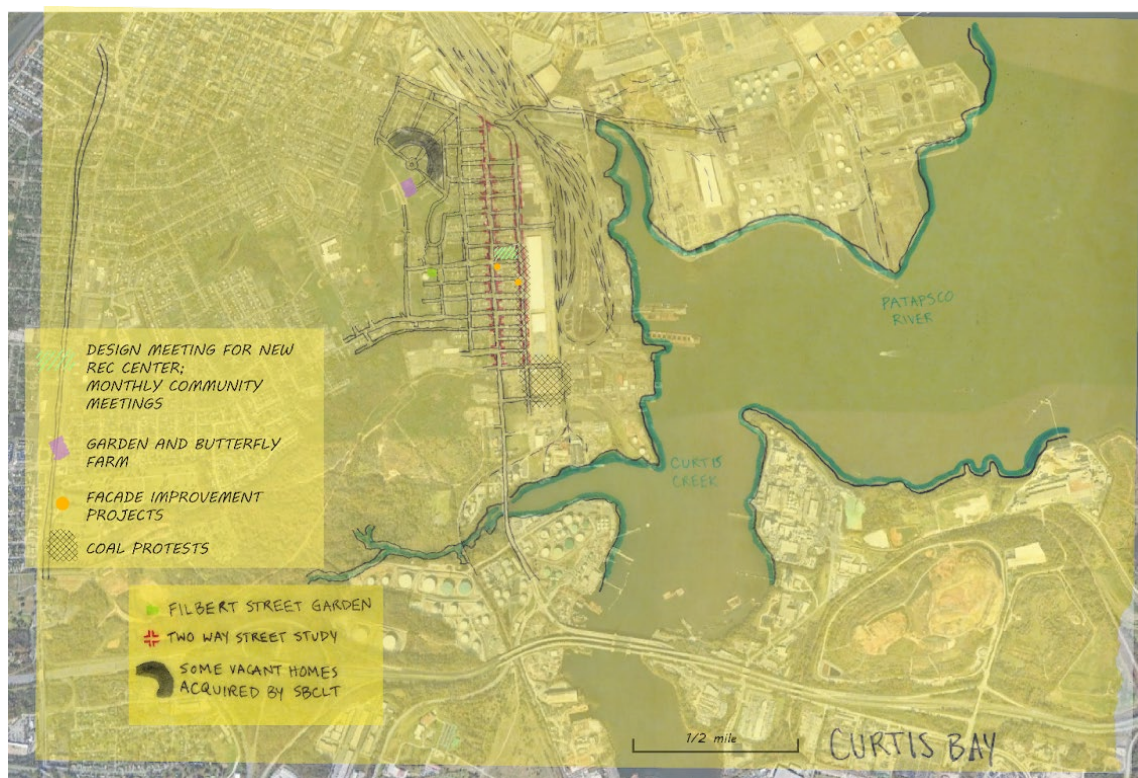


Figure 39: Recent and ongoing community projects in Curtis Bay (Google Earth, hand drawings and digital modifications by author)

Chapter 4: Process Precedents

Example: LA Más

LA Más is a nonprofit that uses design as a process and a tool to make information more accessible and to make systems more inclusive. They collaborate with residents, community organizations, and local government agencies to execute thoughtful, playful and contextually designed projects.¹²⁷ They essentially serve as an intermediary between community members and policymakers because they recognize that policy is so important in executing actionable change in some LA communities, and they want to give that power to the people to make their neighborhood something that empowers them and gives them comfort. LA Más focuses on elevating what already works, proving that smaller community scale urban developments can preserve a neighborhood local identity.

A strong example of this was this project in an LA community called Futuro de Frogtown.¹²⁸ This community noticed that investment was growing there, and they were concerned about rising prices, affordability of housing, and the nature of their community as a whole. They wanted to have a say in how it is going to change if it must. The final report of this project was a synthesis of all the insights from the community members, all the ideas that they had, and it was all formulated through workshops into strategies that can be driven by community stakeholders, developers and policymakers. It can be used by a wide range of groups that have a hand in the change happening in the community. This process also successfully informed the

¹²⁷ “Mission,” LA Más, accessed December 13, 2022.

¹²⁸ “Futuro de Frogtown,” LA Más, accessed October 14, 2022.

local zoning code. In the final report, there is a list of concise and actionable strategies that go beyond the zoning code to ensure that policy and planning decisions consider the community as a whole and issues of social justice. There is a community checklist included at the end so that anybody using this project for reference in community change in Frogtown could see if the change they were proposing could measure up against what the community truly wanted. This is a strong example of empowerment without autonomy as well as an example of the concept of anti-subordination. LA Más intentionally and explicitly recognized and addressed that there were inequalities and power differences amongst the community and that there was a need for voices to be heard and action to be taken.

COMMUNITY CHECKLIST

46

The Physical Form for New Developments

- ☐ BUILD TO A HEIGHT THAT IS NO MORE THAN 36 FEET OR THREE FLOORS
- ☐ BREAK UP THE MASSING IN NEW BUILDINGS AND KEEP THE DENSITY LOW
- ☐ STEP BACK BUILDING FACADES ON THE SIDES, ESPECIALLY IF ADJACENT BUILDINGS ARE RESIDENTIAL
- ☐ REUSE OF EXISTING BUILDINGS SHOULD BE A PRIORITY, BUT ONLY IF THEY ARE WORTH PRESERVING
- ☐ CREATE VIEW CORRIDORS AND PUBLIC PATHWAYS TO THE RIVER PATH.

***The Programming of Service for the Community**

- ☐ PRIORITIZE CURRENT RESIDENTS IN NEW RESIDENTIAL PROJECTS
- ☐ SET ASIDE AFFORDABLE UNITS (BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF A FOURTH FLOOR TO NEW RESIDENTIAL PROJECTS)
- ☐ PROVIDE FREE WI-FI IN PUBLIC SPACES
- ☐ ESTABLISH PUBLIC RESTROOMS AT THE SOUTHERN END OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD
- ☐ SUPPORT DISCOUNTED RENT FOR LOCAL BUSINESSES

47

The Existing Community Assets

- ☐ ENCOURAGE NEIGHBORHOOD-SERVING RETAIL THAT IS AFFORDABLE AND CULTURALLY SENSITIVE
- ☐ SUPPORT COMMERCIAL SPACE FOR A FRESH FOODS PROVIDER (NEIGHBORHOOD OR FARMER'S MARKET)
- ☐ ADVOCATE FOR A COMMUNITY ART GALLERY THAT CAN PROVIDE ART CLASSES AND SHOWCASE LOCAL ART
- ☐ HIRE LOCALLY, ESPECIALLY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS.
- ☐ KEEP THE ARTS ALIVE - SUPPORT THE FROGTOWN ARTWALK AND PARTNERS OF DORRIS
- ☐ MAINTAIN OUR GREEN SPACES - SUPPORT THE JARDIN DEL RIO & ELYSIAN VALLEY COMMUNITY GARDENS
- ☐ SUSTAIN OUR YOUTH PROGRAMS - SUPPORT THE MARSH STREET SKATE PARK
- ☐ ENRICH OUR SENIOR SERVICES - SUPPORT THE ELYSIAN VALLEY RECREATION CENTER SENIOR CENTER
- ☐ EXPAND OUR LEARNING CENTERS - SUPPORT THE LIBRARY AT ELYSIAN VALLEY UNITED & DORRIS PLACE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

Conclusion

FUTURO de FROGTOWN

FUTURO de FROGTOWN

A frequently updated community wish list can also be found at the website for the Elysian Valley Neighborhood Watch.

All of these categories require ongoing operational funds.

A review of project approvals by the Environmental & Land Use Committee also provides insights on encouraged development parameters.

Figure 40: Futuro de Frogtown Community Checklist¹²⁹

¹²⁹ “Futuro de Frogtown,” LA Más, accessed October 14, 2022.

Example: Dudley Neighborhood in Boston

In the Dudley neighborhood of Boston, the community groups Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) and Alternatives for Community and Environment tackled brownfield remediation with the goal of using the land to benefit current residents. The project made a “commitment to ‘development without displacement’” and aimed to help the neighborhood become a “lively, sustainable urban village”.¹³⁰ They identified current contamination sources, which turned out to be illegal dumping, and they took action to end the dumping. An important part of maintaining equity was working with city officials to track dumping activity and working with business owners to create practices compatible with a safe urban environment.¹³¹ The remediated land was transformed into “productive spaces such as community gardens and urban farms that provide healthy and affordable food options”.¹³² There were economic benefits to the community far greater than what they would get if developers were given free reign to build on the land. The economic benefits of the gardens came out to “about \$400 dollars per plot, which helps residents to save on the cost of their weekly groceries”.¹³³ This bottom-up approach allowed the remediated land to be used in a way that positively impacted the existing residents greatly.

¹³⁰ Thomas Eramcora and Lucy Bullivant, *Recoded City: Co-Creating Urban Futures* (Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

¹³¹ Isabelle Anguelovski, *Neighborhood as Refuge: Community Reconstruction, Place Remaking, and Environmental Justice in the City*, 1 online resource (xiii, 276 pages) : illustrations, maps vols., Urban and Industrial Environments (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2014).

¹³² Anguelovski, *Neighborhood as Refuge*.

¹³³ Anguelovski, *Neighborhood as Refuge*.

Urban Forestry

While urban forestry is not the focus of this thesis, it remains valuable as a tool of improving health and environmental conditions. It is beneficial to urban environments in many ways, such as improving air quality, reducing runoff, reducing heat, minimizing direct wind, and sequestering carbon. It also benefits neighborhoods through direct and indirect associations with increased social capital (people knowing each other), calmer traffic, better neighborhood perception by residents, and reduced crime. Urban forestry is known to boost neighborhoods economically by increasing property values, increasing energy efficiency, increasing the amount of commercial property, saving money on health expenses, and benefiting road maintenance due to shade helping roads last longer. Besides benefiting the environment, neighborhood, and economy, some of the most important benefits of urban forestry are related to human health. Urban forestry can lead to better mental health, noise reduction via vegetative barriers, less respiratory issues and asthma reduction, reduced hospital stays, increased outdoor exercise, ADHD symptom reduction, and reduction of heat-related deaths.

One of the primary challenges for implementing urban forestry is the overhead cost of utilities, but there are several approaches available for increasing the chances for successful urban forestry efforts. One approach is to intentionally identify and quantify the areas that could benefit environmentally, socially, economically, and healthwise. Another approach is to realign government policy to encourage and incentivize urban forestry initiatives. Seeking opportunities for retrofitting streets can be another approach, especially in dense environments.

Urban forestry can play a role in increasing equity in communities that have been historically disinvested. It is no secret that these communities have experienced and continue to experience disproportionate climate change-related health issues due to factors such as extreme heat, ground-level ozone, and particulate matter in the air. PM 2.5 air pollution is linked to heart disease, lung cancer, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), lower respiratory infection, covid deaths, and asthma. The increase in ground-level ozone amplifies all of these negative effects of poor air quality in what is considered the “climate penalty”, which is essentially the physical manifestation of humanity’s impact on the climate. The climate penalty has also appeared through more extreme precipitation events.

Cooling

As climate change becomes more extreme with more extreme heat and precipitation events, keeping cities cool and dealing with water is becoming more crucial. Some factors that affect our ability to deal with these issues are the amount of tree cover, the amount of impervious surfaces, the types of surfaces, the color and material of surfaces, and the wind patterns. Temperatures in the shade are significantly lower, so trees and other forms of shading are a major factor in lessening heat levels. Landscape architecture/planning/urban design firm Rhodeside Harwell developed for Silver Spring, Maryland the “Cool Streets Guidelines”¹³⁴, which are meant to be a useful resource to communities looking to address extreme heat. The guidelines consider universal thermal comfort levels, the thresholds for those comfort

¹³⁴ “Cool Streets Guidelines | Rhodeside Harwell,” September 9, 2022.

levels, and human comfort factors. They work through streetscape assessments as well as assessments of typical materials in terms of the heating effect that they have on the urban environment.



Figure 41: Key Takeaways from the “Cool Streets Guidelines”¹³⁵

¹³⁵ “Cool Streets Guidelines | Rhodeside Harwell.”

The proposed materials are those such as light colored asphalt, brick, concrete, open-grid paving, and ground cover plantings. The main recommendations that were considered the most effective and least costly were to include trees/ground cover, include bioretention ponds or swales, and orient buildings for optimal wind ventilation. Some additional recommendations were to use lighter colored paving and lighter materials in general, remove paving when possible, add shade structures, increase the amount of open-grid pavement, and add more plantings in any capacity.

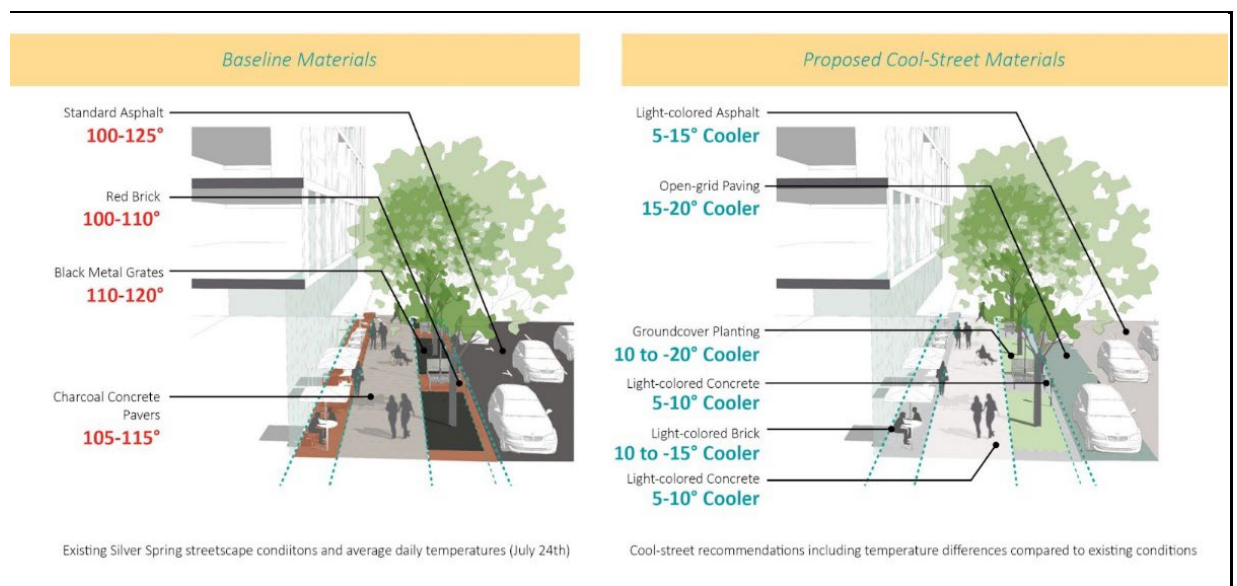


Figure 42: Baseline vs. Proposed Materials from the “Cool Streets Guidelines”¹³⁶

¹³⁶ “Cool Streets Guidelines | Rhodeside Harwell.”

Streetscape Design Analysis: Key Takeaways

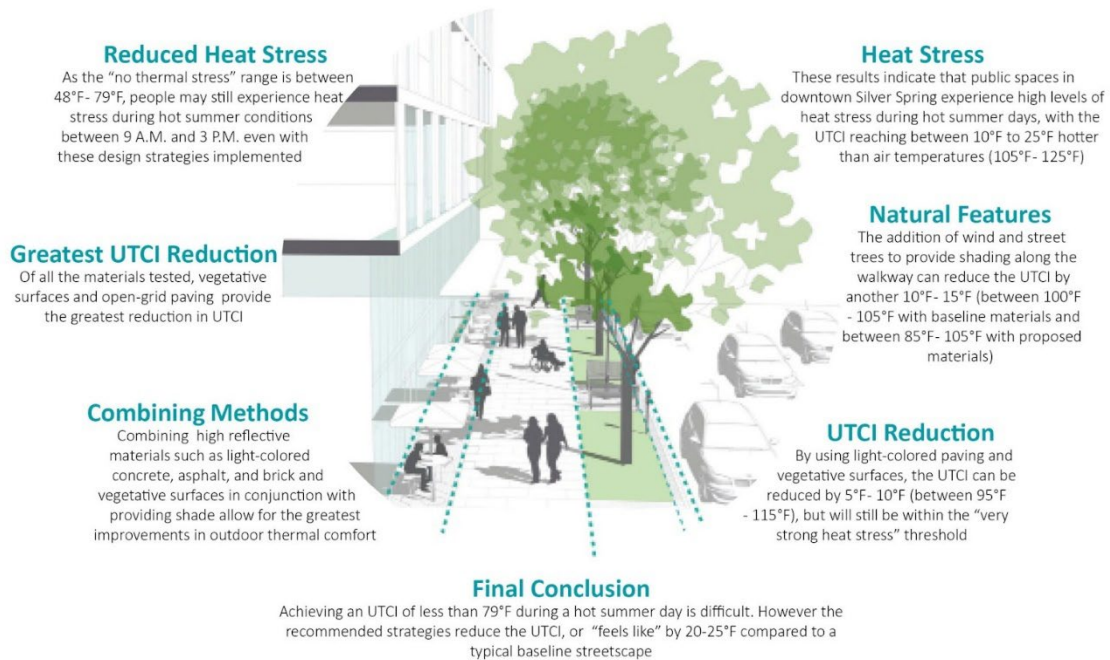


Figure 43: Streetscape Design Analysis Key Takeaways from the “Cool Street Guidelines”¹³⁷

Beyond the streetscape, there are cooling applications for public and private property as well. One application is reflective roofs, which can be made to reflect light off of buildings instead of absorbing the heat with the help of reflective paints, coatings, and sometimes shingles. Another cooling application for properties is green roofs, which act as a heat buffer for buildings and help with stormwater management. One more cooling application that individual properties can use to contribute to cooling the urban environment is providing greenspace. Green spaces are multi-

¹³⁷ “Cool Streets Guidelines | Rhodeside Harwell.”

faceted improvements, as they can help toward integrating native species back into the area, shading public spaces, urban agriculture, and bioretention.

Some of the stakeholders for cooling initiatives such as this in Baltimore might be the state highway association, Maryland's and Baltimore's Departments of Transportation, the Maryland Department of the Environment (MDE), the Maryland Commission on Climate Change, and the Baltimore Office of Sustainability.

Chapter 5: Empathy Through Action

Restorative Green Justice

Restorative justice is an evolving concept. Its original roots are in the criminal justice realm as an approach aimed at keeping people out of the prison system, but it has never had one unified definition. This is because it is centered on those who have had harms committed to them, those who committed the harms, and the specific communities affected. With such a community-centric scale of operation, the meaning of restorative justice can have different meanings to different people or different communities depending on their feelings about the harms committed. A working, fluid definition for restorative justice for the sake of this thesis is that it is fundamentally prevention – introduced after a problem occurred, with the intention of avoiding recurrence.

There are many ways to categorize potential approaches to restorative justice amongst broad research, but one way is with the idea of reactive and proactive approaches.¹³⁸ Reactive approaches aim to address the past, such as repairing harms and restoring relationships. Proactive approaches look ahead in time, such as building relationships and developing community as a method of strengthening for the future. This thesis intends to identify specific historic decisions that led to injustices in these neighborhoods, whether that be through unjust actions or failures to act in protection of the community.

¹³⁸ Ted Wachtel, “Defining Restorative,” *International Institute for Restorative Practices*, 2013.

Isabelle Anguelovski¹³⁹ writes about what she refers to as an “emancipatory spatial imaginary” as a way of addressing the exposure to harm and disinvestment that can often be the result of green projects. Anguelovski makes several proposals for decolonizing the reality of the green city¹⁴⁰:

- “Centering land recognition, redistribution, control, and reparations”
- “developing new land arrangements as necessary to an emancipatory and environmentally just landscape”
- Engaging “with the history of a multilayered geography of dispossession and exclusion
- including “new cultural and symbolic recognitions of networks of resilience and care”

Collectivity

The concept of *collective care* has emerged in neighborhood-scale restorative justice research as particularly important to building and maintaining communities that have faced historical and present injustices. Amongst the current dominance of individualism in the United States, groups without the economic capital to take care of everything alone have found ways to take advantage of their collective skills for taking care of each other and their communities. Some particular skills that the working class have used in their jobs that are applicable to collective care include a capacity to respond to breakdowns by fixing complex technology quickly, a skillfulness with materials such as repairing and re-using, a consideration of

¹³⁹ Anguelovski et al., “Decolonizing the Green City.”

¹⁴⁰ Anguelovski et al., “Decolonizing the Green City.”

preventative maintenance as valuable, and a commitment to the continuity of both technology and the built environment.¹⁴¹ Combining these skills into “collective capacities to respond, repair, and rebuild (where possible) our broken world” works directly in opposition to the individualist, capitalistic forces that are at work.¹⁴² These collective forms of caring for others and providing mutual aid can manifest in ways beyond skills related to a certain job, but also in a social manner. Since our current capitalist society thrives on inequality and on many people not having enough of what they need, sharing food with those without it and providing collective forms of care are “a threat to the partitioning of social space that the terms of order demand”.¹⁴³ Identifying value in and prioritizing these skilled and caring people in communities is what can build that collective capacity to repair, restore, and build, both socially and physically.

¹⁴¹ Chantel Carr, “Repair and Care: Locating the Work of Climate Crisis,” *Dialogues in Human Geography*, June 29, 2022, 20438206221088380.

¹⁴² Carr, “Repair and Care.”

¹⁴³ “The Kings Ain’t Playin’ No One Tonight: Desanctifying Property as an Abolitionist Practice in Sacramento - Mia Karisa Dawson, 2022,” accessed December 10, 2022.

Chapter 6: Design Approach

Scope

The ultimate decision to focus this thesis on two neighborhoods instead of one comes down to unveiling broad commonalities of need. Many of the needs and histories in Westport and Curtis Bay are specific problems to these communities, but there are commonalities and patterns that emerge when multiple neighborhoods are in the mix. These commonalities would likely emerge in other South Baltimore, waterfront-adjacent neighborhoods had they been included as well. This approach of becoming familiar with multiple communities to understand a slightly broader context of need becomes something that could be used to reveal patterns in other historically and/or geographically similar areas. The goal is not to solve a community, but rather to empathize and for residents to feel a sense of belonging, of belonging in the neighborhood and of the neighborhood belonging to them.

This thesis is not one building, but six interventions. It is by nature more complex than one building, but these neighborhoods are also complex. There is value to working at this scale, mapping the hearts of the communities and getting to know what residents see as necessary to their sense of belonging. They are the context experts, and this is the amount of intervention that could be a starting point, from the perspective of the designer having done this research.

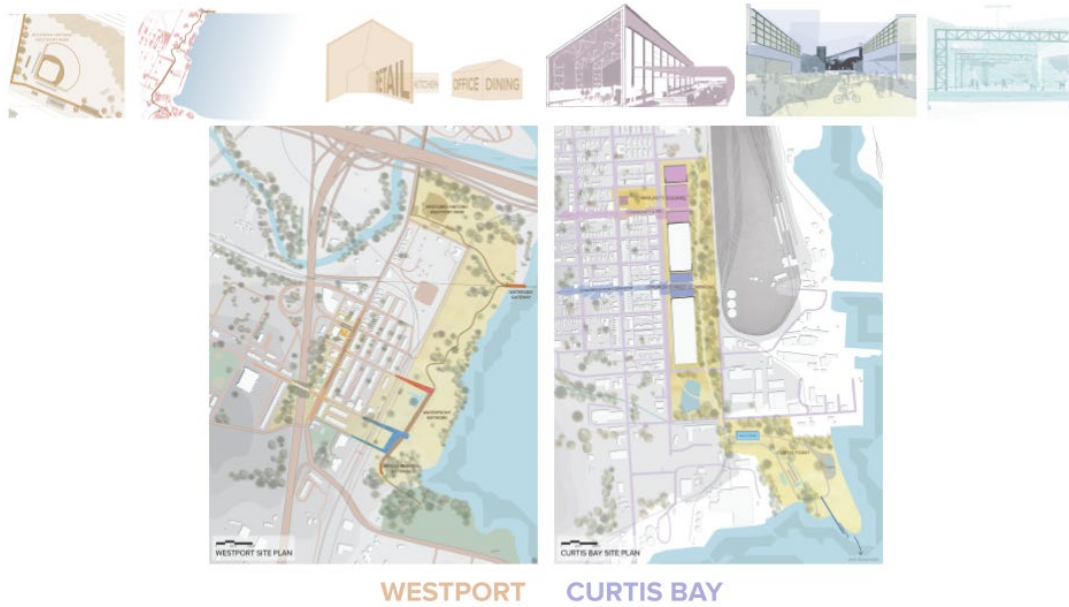


Figure 44: Proposed Site Plans with Interventions Across the Top (created by author)

The six interventions are the following, organized into three thematic categories:

- The Anchors
 - Food Co-op
 - Rec Welcome Hall
- The Projections of Change
 - Waterfront Network
 - Civic Space a.k.a. Church Street Commons
- Historical Reconnections
 - Restored Historic Westport Baseball Park
 - Curtis Point

THE ANCHORS



FOOD CO-OP & EATERY

REC WELCOME HALL

PROJECTIONS OF CHANGE



WATERFRONT NETWORK

CHURCH STREET COMMONS

HISTORICAL RECONNECTIONS



RESTORED HISTORIC WESTPORT PARK

CURTIS POINT

Figure 45: Scope and Categories (created by author)

These interventions are reached by pulling on threads from some of the history, the social media posts, the present-day community meetings, conversations, etc. and allowing those commonalities, those patterns of need, to emerge. From those patterns of need and through precedent studies, a set of spatial responses of forms and strategies can be brought in to serve those needs in unique ways.

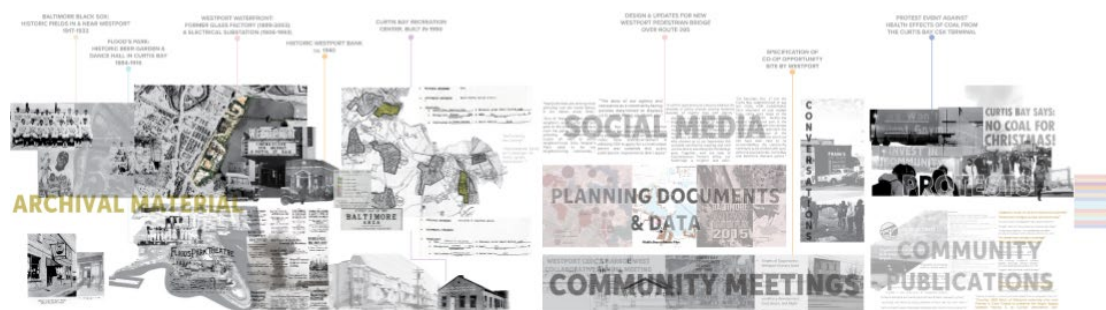


Figure 46: Collages of Information from History & Present-Day Research (collaged by author)

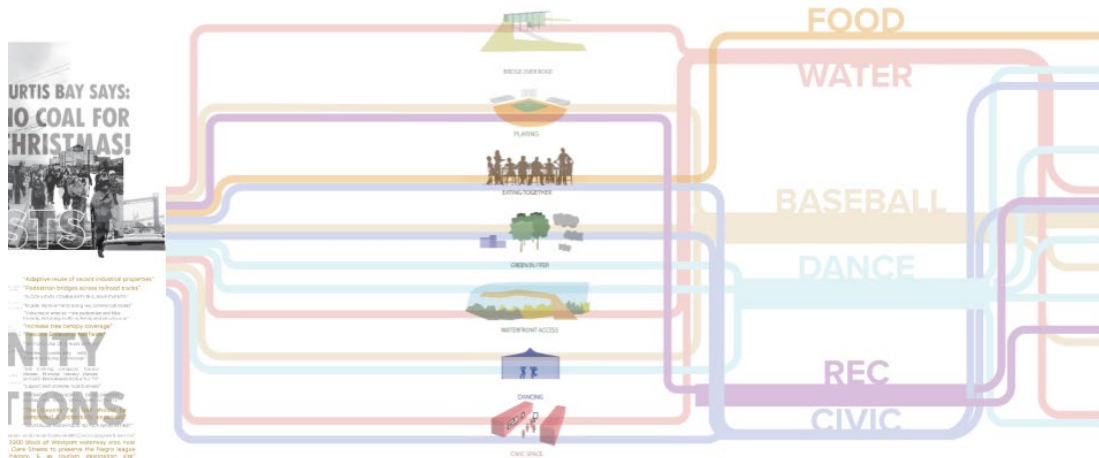


Figure 47: Patterns of Need that Emerged from Research (created by author)

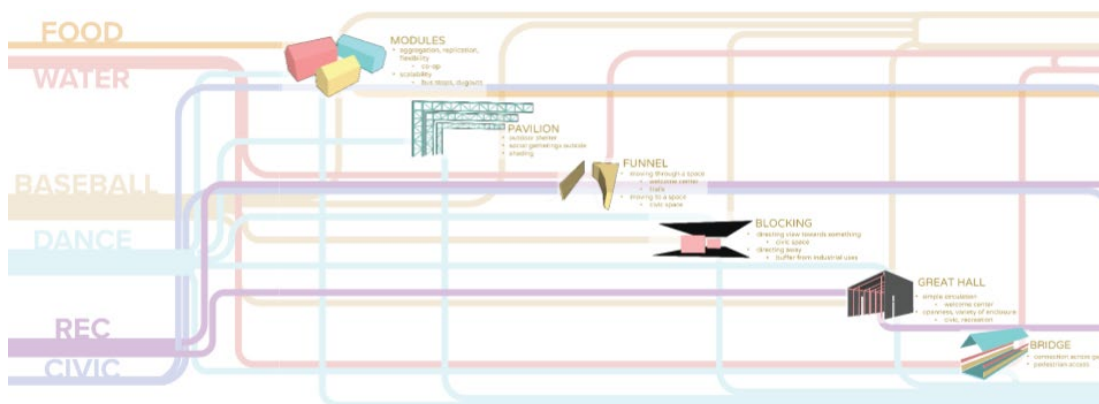


Figure 48: Spatial Forms Emerging from Patterns of Need (created by author)

Process

The spatial forms and strategies that emerged are the following:

- Modules, representing simple flexibility and scalability.
- A Pavilion, representing outdoor gatherings and a sense of shelter while outdoors.
- Funneling, as a strategy of moving people through or towards something
- Blocking/Buffering, representing cushions between occupied areas and more industrial uses nearby.

- A Great Hall, representing an open, welcoming space that can provide different degrees of enclosure.
- And a Bridge, representing it represents pedestrian connection.

These most basic forms appear throughout the perspective drawings, and these forms and strategies represent the variety of spatial needs.

The Anchors

Westport Food Co-op

In Westport, the community organization leaders are socially ingrained with their neighborhoods, and they are more than willing to advocate for residents' needs through politics and activism. As a formerly redlined neighborhood, Westport, is experiencing food apartheid. The term "Food desert" is not quite as appropriate of a description, as it doesn't reflect that this is happening as a result of racist decision-making, not a geographic climate. Westport community leaders have mentioned in meetings that they are interested in acquiring the property currently occupied by a liquor and convenience store and turning that site into a food co-op and eatery.



Figure 49: Site of Proposed Food Co-op (Google Maps Street View, modifications by author)

Since an operation like this might change in scope and scale over time, the module forms allow the program to start small and flexibly. Architectural design inspiration can be found simply across the street at the historic Westport Bank, and the neighborhood’s history of glassmaking provides an opportunity for stained glass windows and skylights to bring light into the spaces. The importance of a place to celebrate community and food in the light of this historic context is not lost on residents, so this certainly qualifies as an “anchor”.

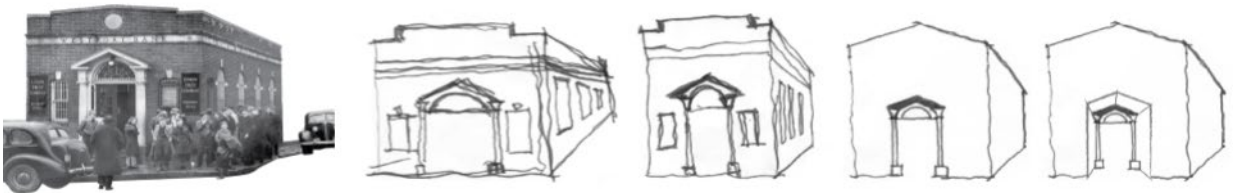


Figure 50: Collage and Sketches of Co-op Design Inspiration (Collage & sketches by author)

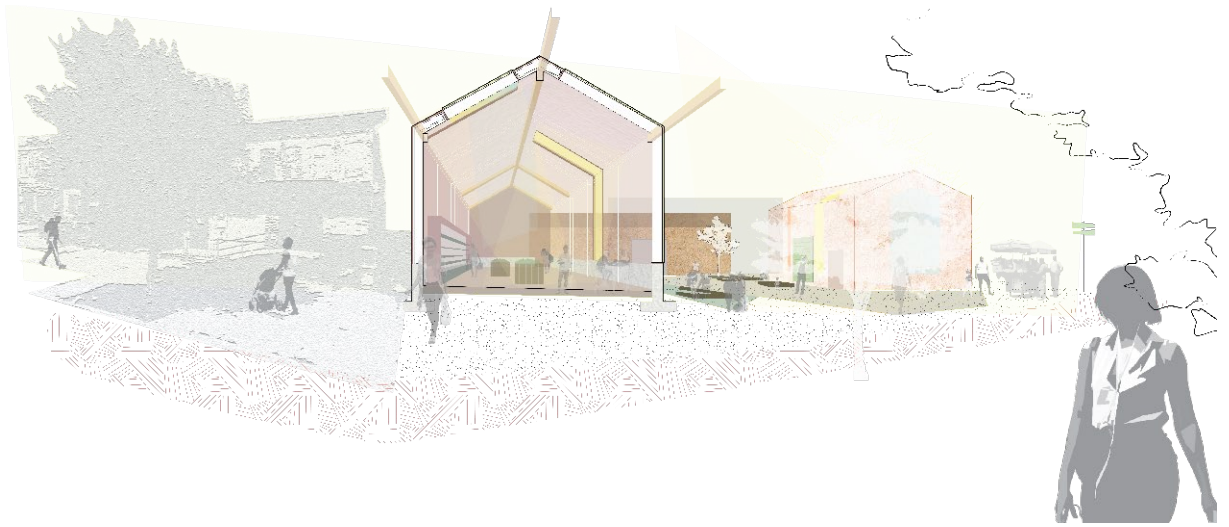


Figure 51: Section Perspective of Proposed Westport Food Co-op



Curtis Bay Rec Welcome Hall

The Curtis Bay community has placed a formal request to the city for a new recreation center, and while the community has had an architecture firm perform a feasibility study, the official bureaucratic process has hit enough roadblocks that it is now unclear as to when this might come to fruition. The existing rec center is the original rec center from the '50s. A singular building tucked away from the primary street grid made the most sense at first, and the city's feasibility study proposed an

equally tucked-away building. However, several Curtis Bay community meetings over the past year have hosted residents asking when Pennington Ave, will finally become their “main street” with more resident activity. This consideration is incorporated into this thesis.



Figure 52: Collage of Existing Curtis Bay Rec Center (Google Maps, modifications by author)¹⁴⁴

This thesis proposes a deconstruction and dispersal of community and recreation functions in a way that is more open and flexible and allows community members to sort of claim more space within their community. A welcome hall right up by the Pennington Ave street edge can bring people in. Across Curtis Ave, the next street over, is a warehouse that was rumored to have been built for Amazon to move in, but they decided not to. This thesis sees that as an opportunity for that dispersal of program, so one “rec center” building does not have the pressure of needing to provide so many formal spaces all in one. Foot paths can funnel residents between the welcome hall and programmed warehouse spaces for workshops,

¹⁴⁴ Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee., *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*.

classrooms, indoor sports, and community health services. Design inspiration for the welcome hall can come from proportions and dimensions of the firehouse which shares the same block.



Figure 53: Dispersal of Rec Welcome Hall Proposed Program (created by author)



Figure 54: Proposed Rec Welcome Hall Street Edge Diagram (created by author)

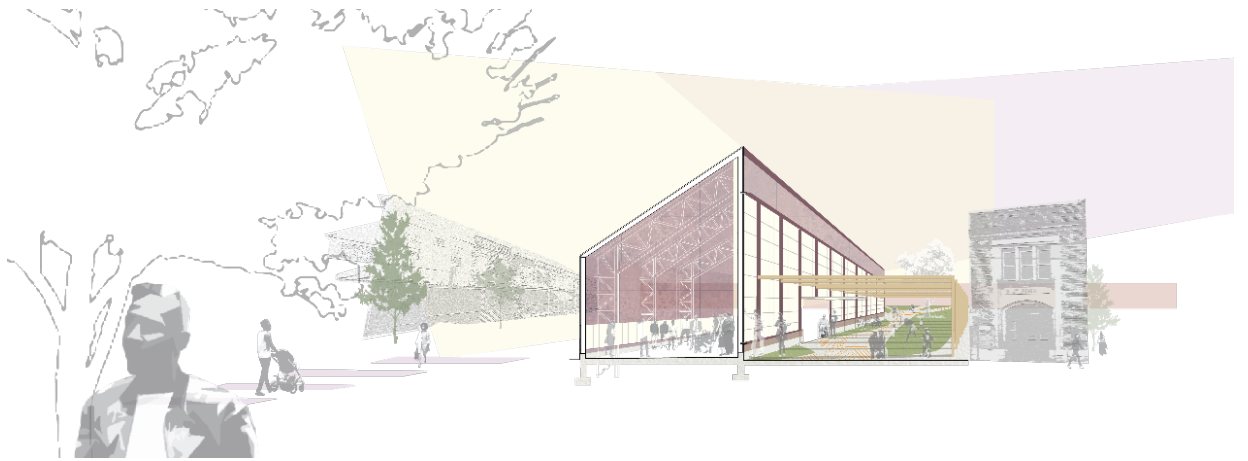


Figure 55: Section Perspective of Proposed Rec Welcome Hall (created by author)



Figure 56: Proposed Area Plan for Curtis Bay Community Square (created by author)

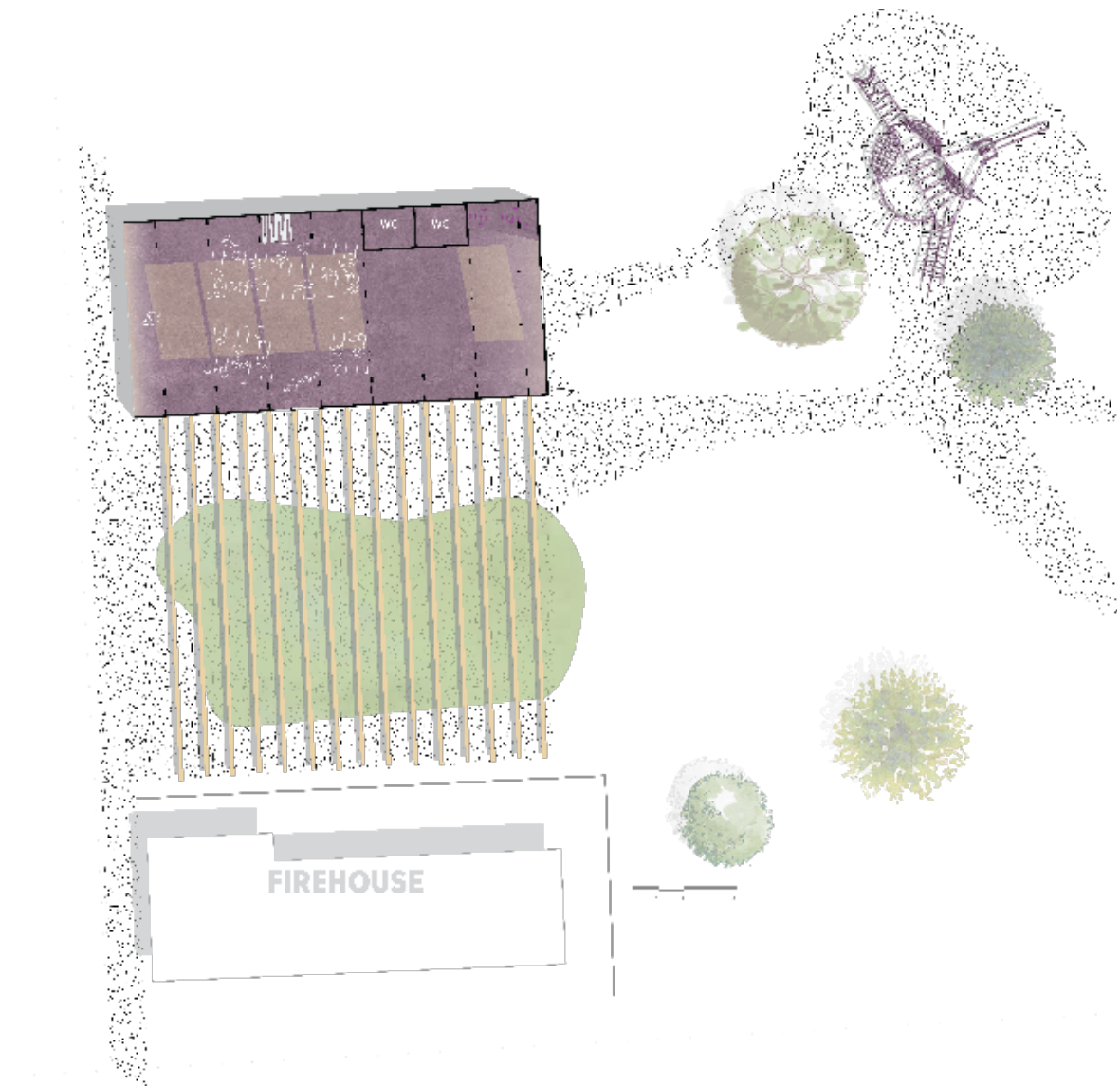


Figure 57: Proposed Rec Welcome Hall Floor Plan (created by author)

The Projections of Change

The Projections of Change are more radical, more slightly political projections of how spaces that exist right now could be reimagined and reclaimed by the community.

Westport Waterfront Network

The Westport waterfront spans the entire length of the gridded neighborhood, but it is largely inaccessible. This formerly industrial site is now envisioned for denser, mixed-use development by many developers, and many community meetings have been visited by architects and developers. The nature of interactions between the developers and community members is nuanced, but the community has clarified that they would prefer for their needs and priorities to be met before a whole new population of people with their own interests and needs move in. One formal plan that the city has adopted, the Middle Branch Master Plan, proposes trail connections along the edge of this waterfront, and this thesis hypothesizes that the trail is hugging the edge because development intentions might occupy most of the land.



Figure 58: Westport Waterfront Formerly Industrial Use and Middle Branch Trail Connection Proposal (Google Maps, modifications by author)

This thesis proposes an act of place-taking: that the waterfront land remain largely untouched except for pedestrian bridges, trail connections that use the lot space, and some spaces for community programming such as event spaces and office spaces for the community organizations. This neighborhood has been less than a

quarter mile from the water for its entire existence. Now that the industrial uses are gone, residents should be able to connect to the water in their own neighborhood. The Middle Branch trail system and Gwynns Falls trails would connect in this network, and a historic swing bridge that is no longer in use would provide additional pedestrian connection across the water to Port Covington. This bridge could house a gateway orienting people to the places and paths that Westport residents would most like to welcome visitors. This use for the waterfront property is not about maximizing development, but reconnection and placing community claim over the land.

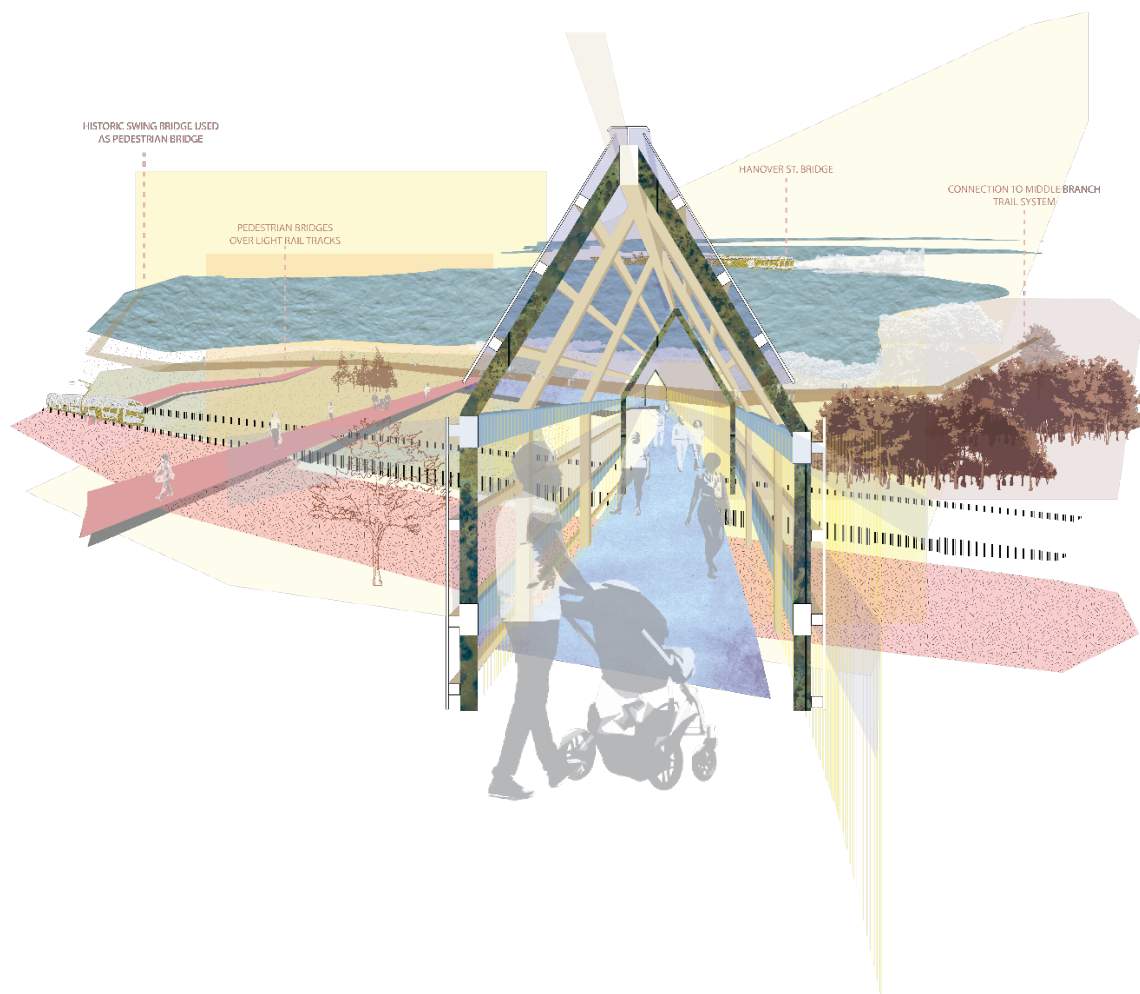


Figure 59: Perspective of Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)



Figure 60: Place-Taking Diagram for the Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)



Figure 61: Arrival Diagram for Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)

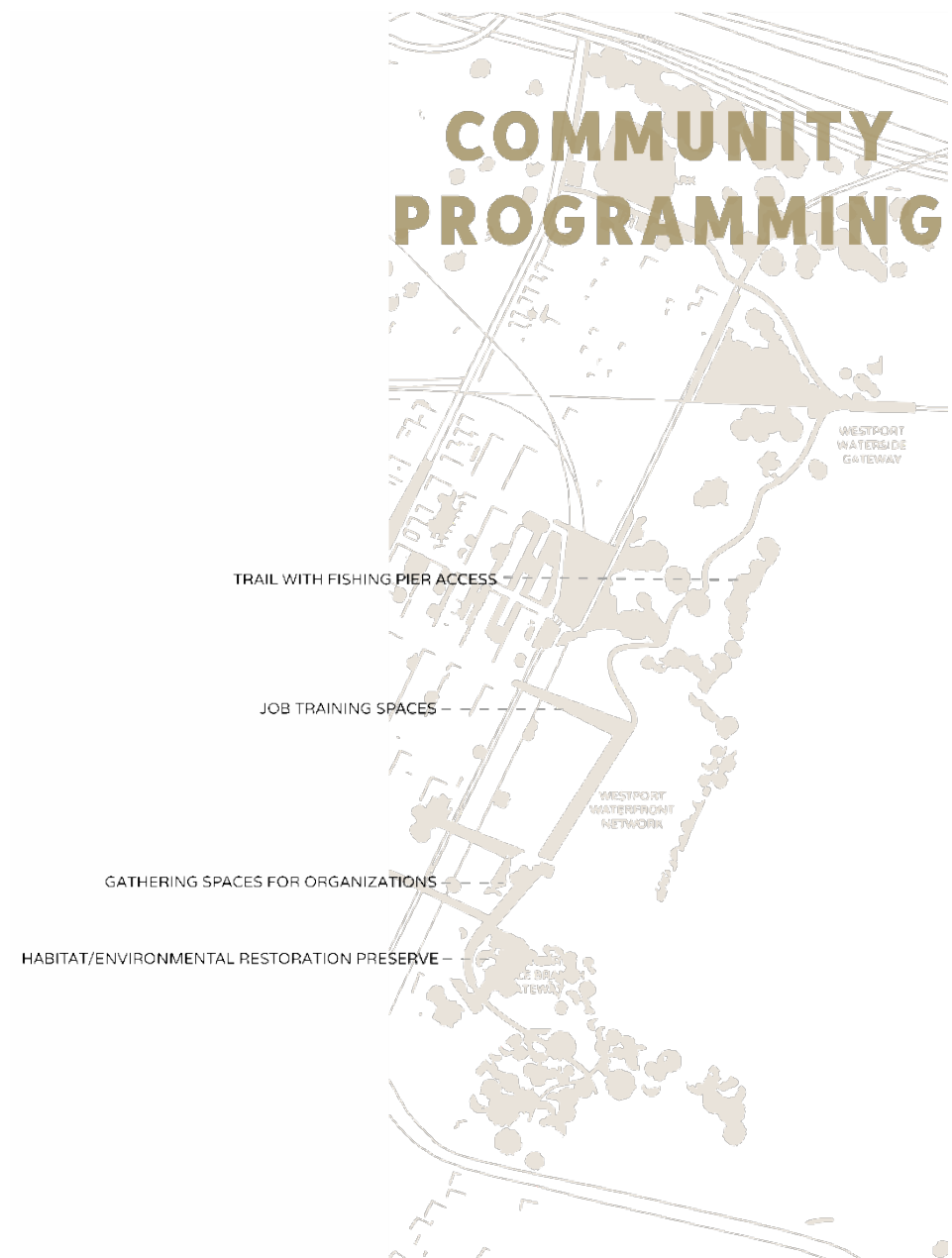


Figure 62: Programming Diagram for Proposed Waterfront Network (created by author)

Church Street Commons

Not only have Curtis Bay residents had to live in such proximity to open-air stored coal, but in 2021 there was an explosion here. Curtis Bay residents and those in surrounding neighborhoods have had several protests, including this past December, when a “No Coal for Christmas Protest” took place in opposition to CSX. It started at

the rec center site, involved walking south along the warehouse, and ended by the industrial area. Messages of “invest in community” and “we won’t be silent anymore” were projected up onto the warehouses. Residents are willing to take over public space in order to take a stand about something they care about.



Figure 63: Collage of Photos from Curtis Bay Explosion and Protests (Collaged by author)^{145, 146}

The “projection of change” in Curtis Bay is called the Church Street Commons. Church Street already has churches on it, so it already has a somewhat congregational theme. The easternmost point of Church Street ends at the warehouses. Specifically though, there is a break between the warehouse buildings at the Church Street and Curtis Ave intersection, and it just so happens that there is a crystal clear view of the coal that broke windows when it exploded and lowers life expectancies as people breathe in the dust. This thesis is not asking people, “come

¹⁴⁵ South Baltimore Community Land Trust, “Earlier Today Residents and Supporters Gathered in Curtis Bay to Demand Accountability and Call for Investments in Communities That Do Not Sacrifice or Pose Threats to the Lives of Those Nearby.”

¹⁴⁶ South Baltimore Community Land Trust, “On Saturday, Dec 17 Join the Curtis Bay Neighborhood to Say NO COAL FOR CHRISTMAS!”

here, come protest here!” because the whole point of protest is to occupy space that is not necessarily designed for it. But people are already protesting here. This is proposing to push down the gates so that the space inside and in between the warehouses becomes public space that can be taken over. A Latin market to serve the growing Latinx community here could occupy indoor and outdoor space. Space for green job training and free air quality monitoring workshops could be the more “everyday” ways of giving the space to the public. A path funneling toward a small stage could allow for public performances however that manifests. Should a protest make its way here, there is a perfectly framed view of the problem.

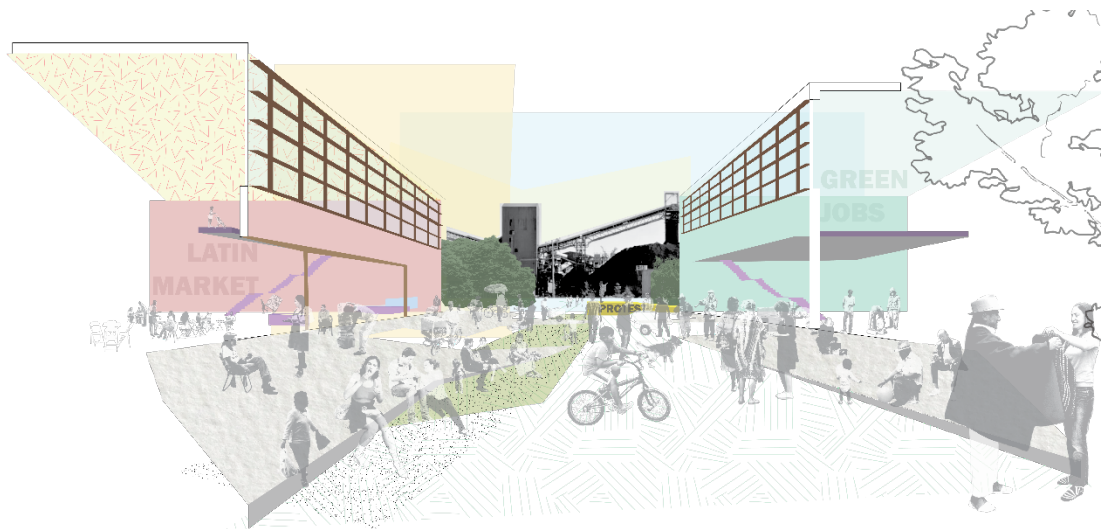


Figure 64: Perspective of Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)

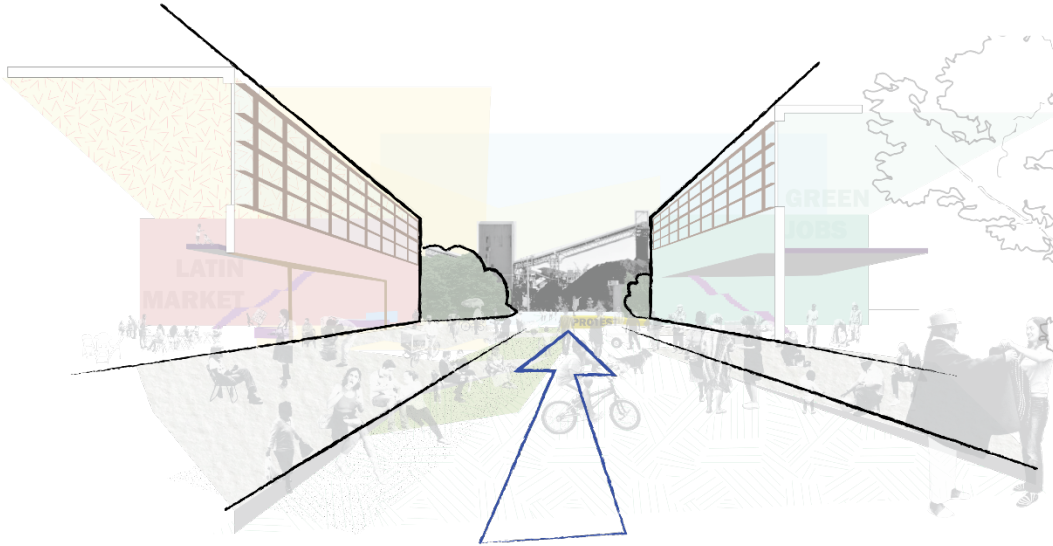


Figure 65: "Framing Injustice" Diagram for Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)



Figure 66: "Flexible Public Realm" Diagram for Proposed Church Street Commons (created by author)

The Historical Reconnections

Historic Westport Park

Westport, in addition to being home to baseball legend Al Kaline, was also home to multiple baseball fields on which the Baltimore Black Sox practiced and played. These are historic sites, one of which, Westport Park, was within the currently

formal bounds of the community. Now, it is a warehouse. Westport community leaders are aware of this history, as they have an archive of any news articles that have ever mentioned Westport. They know this about their neighborhood. It is unfortunate that some of the only publicly available evidence of these fields is a 1927 aerial photograph that happened to capture the fields before they were removed.



Figure 67: Collage about Baltimore Black Sox and Historic Westport Baseball Fields (collaged by author)

This thesis proposes to restore the historic baseball field of Westport Park and provide basic park programming via a pavilion, a welcome hall/ small museum about the Black Sox, and other small structures for concessions and restrooms. A path through the park connects the Gwynns Falls Trail to the waterfront network, and trees planted north of the field would be a bit of a tree canopy buffer between the park, and 95 and the incinerator. This is about resurfacing this piece of history that belongs to Westport and has been buried.

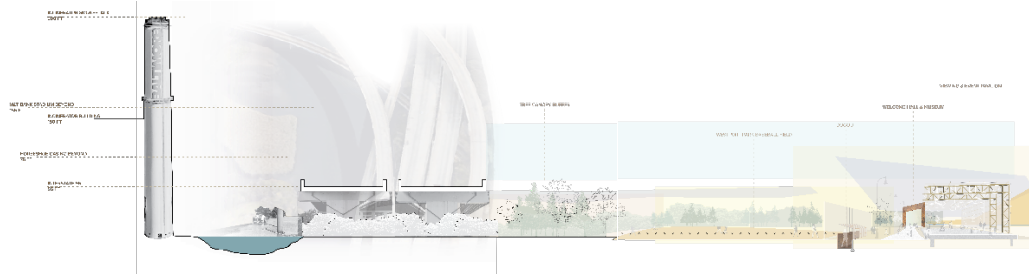


Figure 68: East-facing Section Perspective of Proposed Restored Historic Westport Park (created by author)



Figure 69: Site Plan of Proposed Restored Historic Westport Park (created by author)

Curtis Point

At the southernmost point of Curtis Bay is an industrially zoned lot, but it has not always been zoned that way. In the late 19th and early 20th century, this lot housed Flood's Park, which advertised itself as a beer garden, dance hall, and theater. Curtis Bay does not have this type of programming today, post-redlining.

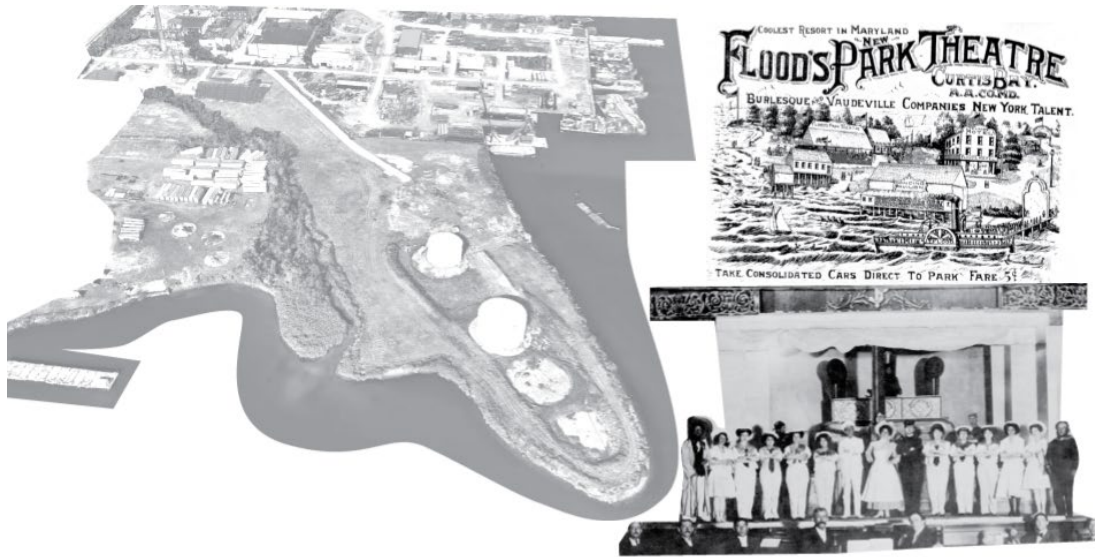


Figure 70: Collage about Flood's Park Site (collaged by author)

This thesis proposes bringing back some of that programming of public dance, with a touch of environmental education, to what this thesis calls Curtis Point. A welcome hall brings visitors in at the entrance to the site and releases them into a loop that includes dance pavilions, an overlook to learn about the ship graveyard in view across the water, and an environmental outpost for education and water quality monitoring. Curtis Bay currently has no access at all to the water that they're so close to, and it is known that this has not always been industrial land. This thesis posits that it should be given back.

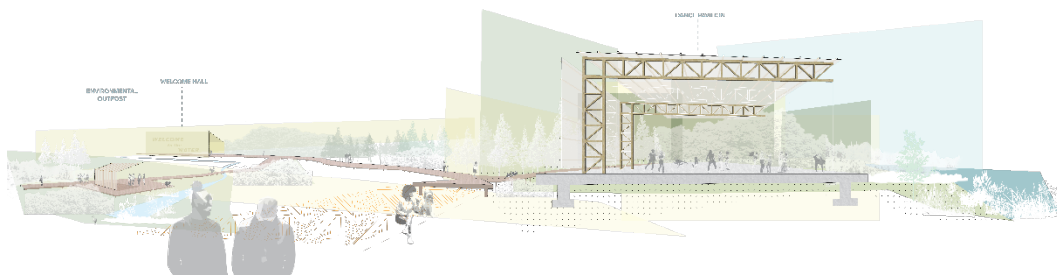


Figure 71: Section Perspective of Proposed Curtis Point (created by author)



Figure 72: Plan Diagram of the Tree Buffers around Proposed Curtis Point (created by author)

Conclusion

The commonalities in the needs, programmatically and spatially, that emerge in this community-informed approach of six interventions across two neighborhoods, allows the designer to start with empathy and learn the needs from the community members, the experts.

Bibliography

- “A Victim of Port Covington: The ‘Other Baltimore’ in Westport.” n.d. Baltimore Brew. Accessed November 9, 2022. <https://www.baltimorebrew.com/2016/06/07/a-victim-of-port-covington-the-other-baltimore-in-westport/>.
- Anguelovski, Isabelle. 2014. *Neighborhood as Refuge: Community Reconstruction, Place Remaking, and Environmental Justice in the City*. 1 online resource (xiii, 276 pages) : illustrations, maps vols. Urban and Industrial Environments. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10843942>.
- Anguelovski, Isabelle, Anna Livia Brand, Malini Ranganathan, and Derek Hyra. 2022. “Decolonizing the Green City: From Environmental Privilege to Emancipatory Green Justice.” *Environmental Justice* 15 (1): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2021.0014>.
- “Baltimore, 1838 | Digital Collections @ the University of Maryland.” n.d. Accessed November 7, 2022. <https://digital.lib.umd.edu/resultsnew/id/umd:82116>.
- “Baltimore Baseball History - Ball Parks.” 2018. December 15, 2018. <http://web.archive.org/web/20181215224748/https://www.baltimorebaseballhistory.com/ball-parks>.
- “Baltimore HOLC Map.” n.d. Montgomery Planning. Accessed November 10, 2022. <https://montgomeryplanning.org/planning/historic/research-and-designation/mapping-segregation-project/baltimore-holc-map/>.
- “Baltimore’s Auto Race History Goes Back More Than A Century | Baltimore Or Less.” n.d. Accessed December 13, 2022. <https://www.baltimoreorless.com/2012/02/baltimores-auto-race-history-goes-back-more-than-a-century/>.

- “Baltimore’s Development Program, 1984-1989 - MD Maps | Digital Collections @ the University of Maryland.” n.d. Accessed November 10, 2022.
<https://digital.lib.umd.edu/mdmap/1984/baltimore39s-development005>.
- Bembry, Jerry. 1985. “Employee Injured in Leak at Fairfield Chemical Plant.” *The Sun (1837-)*, May 30, 1985.
- Bennett, Allegra. 1979. “700 Persons Evacuated as Tank Car Overtums: Acid, Chlorine, Alcohol on Train.” *The Sun (1837-)*, May 10, 1979.
- Bennett, Byron. 2013. “Westport Stadium – Baltimore’s Last Negro League Ballpark.” Deadball Baseball. October 28, 2013. <https://deadballbaseball.com/2013/10/westport-stadium-baltimores-last-negro-league-ballpark/>.
- “Black Americans And The Racist Architecture Of Homeownership : Code Switch : NPR.” n.d. Accessed October 13, 2022.
<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2021/05/08/991535564/black-americans-and-the-racist-architecture-of-homeownership>.
- Bloomberg.Com*. 2019. “What ‘Infests’ Baltimore? The Segregation History Buried in Trump’s Tweets,” July 29, 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-29/a-racist-history-behind-trump-s-baltimore-attack>.
- Bordas Eddy, Marta. 2017. “Universal Accessibility : On the Need of an Empathy-Based Architecture.” *TDX (Tesis Doctorals En Xarxa)*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. <https://upcommons.upc.edu/handle/2117/107717>.
- Brooklyn-Curtis Bay Historical Committee. 1976. *A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*. 1st ed. Baltimore: The Committee.

- Brown, Jim. 2020. "Yes, Victim-Blaming in News Coverage Really Does Influence Public Perceptions." Pedal Love. February 27, 2020. <https://www.pedallove.org/why-storytelling-matters-blog/2020/2/27/new-research-shows-the-impact-of-victim-blaming-in-news-coverage>.
- Bryson, Jeremy. 2012. "Brownfields Gentrification: Redevelopment Planning and Environmental Justice in Spokane, Washington." *Environmental Justice* 5 (1): 26–31. <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2010.0045>.
- Bureau, US Census. n.d. "1970 Census of Population and Housing: Census Tracts." Census.Gov. Accessed December 11, 2022. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1972/dec/phc-1.html>.
- Carr, Chantel. 2022. "Repair and Care: Locating the Work of Climate Crisis." *Dialogues in Human Geography*, June, 20438206221088380. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20438206221088381>.
- "CoDeMap." n.d. Accessed December 10, 2022. <https://cels.baltimorehousing.org/codemapv2ext/>.
- "Community Land Trust." n.d. Westport CEDC. Accessed December 13, 2022. <https://www.westportcedc.org/community-land-trust>.
- "COOL STREETS GUIDELINES." n.d. RHODESIDE HARWELL. Accessed October 11, 2022. <https://rhiplaces.com/cool-streets-guidelines/>.
- "Cool Streets Guidelines | Rhodeside Harwell." 2022. September 9, 2022. <https://rhiplaces.com/cool-streets-guidelines/>.
- "CSX.Com - Company Overview." n.d. Accessed December 7, 2022. <https://www.csx.com/index.cfm/about-us/company-overview/>.

“Curtis’ Bay : Its Superior Advantages and Admirable Location as the Only Existing and Available Deep Water Harbor Contiguous to the City of Baltimore, in Connection with Its Rapidly Increasing Local Manufactures, the Development of Its Coal Traffic, and the Accommodation of Its Western and Southern Railroad Connections.” n.d. Image. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. Accessed December 7, 2022. <https://www.loc.gov/item/02011302/>.

“Data & Demographics.” 2016. Department of Planning. January 7, 2016. <https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/planning-data>.

“Environmental Integrity EPA Directs State of Maryland to Tighten Emission Limits and Monitoring for Baltimore Area Incinerator, Contributor to Chesapeake Bay Pollution.” n.d. Accessed December 4, 2022. <https://environmentalintegrity.org/news/epa-directs-state-of-maryland-to-tighten-emission-limits-and-monitoring-for-baltimore-area-incinerator-contributor-to-chesapeake-bay-pollution/>.

“Environmental Restoration / Stormwater Project History.” 2021. Baltimore City Department of Public Works. December 14, 2021. <https://publicworks.baltimorecity.gov/environmental-restoration-stormwater-project-history>.

Ermacora, Thomas, and Lucy Bullivant. 2016. *Recoded City: Co-Creating Urban Futures*. Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Forgo, Rik. 2020. “Flood’s Park: Notorious Resort Gave 1890s Baltimore A Place to Drink, Carouse.” *Time Passages | Local History* (blog). December 4, 2020.

<https://medium.com/time-passages/floods-park-notorious-resort-gave-1890s-baltimore-a-place-to-drink-carouse-347334b9de86>.

“From Victim-Blaming to Solutions.” n.d. Pedal Love. Accessed December 10, 2022.

<https://www.pedallove.org/from-victim-blaming-to-solutions>.

“Futuro de Frogtown.” n.d. LA Más. Accessed October 14, 2022.

<https://www.mas.la/futuro-frogtown>.

GmbH (<https://www.klokantech.com/>), Klokant Technologies. n.d. “Old Maps Online.”

Accessed December 13, 2022. <https://www.oldmapsonline.org>.

“Harbor West Collaborative.” n.d. Westport CEDC. Accessed November 8, 2022.

<https://www.westportcedc.org/harbor-west-collaborative>.

Harris, Cheryl I. 1993. “Whiteness as Property.” *Harvard Law Review* 106 (8): 1707–91.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787>.

Hayward, Mary Ellen, and Charles Belfoure. 1999. *The Baltimore Rowhouse*. New York:

Princeton Architectural Press. <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/fy033/99014573.html>.

“History.” n.d. *B&O Railroad Museum* (blog). Accessed December 7, 2022.

<https://www.borail.org/about/history/>.

Horton, Tom. 1982. “Landfills Not a Solution but a New Problem to Environmentalists.”

The Sun (1837-), August 1, 1982.

hriatillinois. 2022. “Planning Research Maps and Reconstructs Erased Places and

Concealed Histories – Inquiry.” March 7, 2022.

<https://publish.illinois.edu/inquiryblog/2022/03/07/planning-research-maps-and-reconstructs-erased-places-and-concealed-histories/>.

- Hyra, Derek. 2015. "The Back-to-the-City Movement: Neighbourhood Redevelopment and Processes of Political and Cultural Displacement." *Urban Studies* 52 (10): 1753–73.
- Jacobus, Rick. 2022. "Restorative Housing Policy: Can We Heal the Wounds of Redlining and Urban Renewal?" Shelterforce. May 31, 2022.
<https://shelterforce.org/2022/05/31/restorative-housing-policy-can-we-heal-the-wounds-of-redlining-and-urban-renewal/>.
- Keith, Robert C. 2005. *Baltimore Harbor: A Pictorial History*. 3rd ed. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
<http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy0616/2004011283-b.html>.
- Lipsitz, George. 2007. "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape." *Landscape Journal* 26 (1): 10–23.
- "Maglev Builder Seeks to Condemn Westport Property, Threatening Massive Development Plans - Baltimore Business Journal." n.d. Accessed December 6, 2022.
https://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/news/2021/06/29/maglev-seeks-to-condemn-westport-property.html?ana=e_bal_bn_exclusive_exclusive&fbclid=IwAR3YFQxTA8ofNrWvMO6i-bu0MulazuiipooPNQcworBbJXDzE9tLQugc3IA.
- "Mapping Inequality." n.d. Accessed December 8, 2022.
<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/>.
- McCord, Joel. 1980. "Delaware Firm Signs Agreements to Transfer Toxic Oil to Curtis Bay." *The Sun (1837-)*, January 26, 1980.
- "Mission." n.d. LA Más. Accessed December 14, 2022. <https://www.mas.la/mission>.

- “Our Story.” n.d. *South Baltimore Gateway Partnership* (blog). Accessed December 12, 2022. <https://sbgpartnership.org/about/>.
- Peter Barnes. 2006. *Capitalism 3.0 : A Guide to Reclaiming the Commons*. Vol. 1st ed. A BK Currents Book. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=801007&site=ehost-live>.
- Pietila, Antero, and Inc Rowman and Littlefield. 2018. *The Ghosts of Johns Hopkins: The Life and Legacy That Shaped an American City*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- “Planning and the Art of Storytelling.” n.d. American Planning Association. Accessed December 10, 2022. <https://www.planning.org/planning/2018/jun/artofstorytelling/>.
- “Port Covington | Spark Inspiration. Ignite Potential.” n.d. Port Covington. Accessed November 11, 2022. <https://www.pc.city/>.
- Prewitt, Milford. 1981. “Toxic Chemical Blast Hurts 2 in Curtis Bay.” *The Sun* (1837-), June 20, 1981.
- Pulido, Laura. 2008. “Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California.” In *Environment*. Routledge.
- “Request for Proposal for The Baltimore Black Sox and the Historic Westport Community.” 2022. Parks & People, Inc.
- “Resident Sub-Areas.” n.d. Accessed December 8, 2022.
- <http://mappingsegregationdc.org/resident-sub-areas.html>.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2018. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York ; Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W.W. Norton & Company.

“Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Baltimore, Baltimore County, Maryland.” 1914.

Sanborn Map Company. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03573_008/.

“———.” 1928. Sanborn Map Company. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03573_017/.

“———.” 1936. Sanborn Map Company. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03573_016/.

Seiden, Matthew J. 1973. “Water Pollution Case Is Study in Frustration.” *The Sun* (1837-), April 16, 1973.

Smith, Jane A. 1983. “Curtis Bay Group Protests Toxic Drain.” *The Sun* (1837-), October 7, 1983.

Smith, Van. 2017. “The Eternal Flame: Waste Incinerators Win the Political Debate Again.” *Van Smith* (blog). December 18, 2017. <https://vansmith.me/2017/12/18/the-eternal-flame-waste-incinerators-win-the-political-debate-again/>.

South Baltimore 7 Coalition. 2018. “SB7 Organizational Assessment & Strategic Planning Report.” SB7 Coalition. 2018. <https://sb7coalition.org/strategic-plan>.

South Baltimore Community Land Trust. 2022a. “Earlier Today Residents and Supporters Gathered in Curtis Bay to Demand Accountability and Call for Investments in Communities That Do Not Sacrifice or Pose Threats to the Lives of Those Nearby.” *Facebook*.
<https://www.facebook.com/southbaltimoreCLT/posts/pfbid02oA2Ef38LhqPqtFnpmY48gHkqfYpxosTSH75GyiNwtVB3veFvzDTyPg3sETP8pvXTl>.

“On Saturday, Dec 17 Join the Curtis Bay Neighborhood to Say NO COAL FOR CHRISTMAS!” *Facebook*.
<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=206247078463218&set=a.192979609789965>

“South Baltimore’s Westport Waterfront Mixed-Use Project Could Break Ground within Year as Developer Sells Parcels – Baltimore Sun.” n.d. Accessed November 9, 2022.

<https://www.baltimoresun.com/business/real-estate/bs-bz-westport-development-progresses-20210624-lncmgr5w2rap7ew437mas2biwi-story.html>.

TEDx Talks, dir. 2015. *What We Don’t Understand about Gentrification* | Stacey Sutton | TEDxNewYork. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XqogaDX48nI>.

“The Kings Ain’t Playin’ No One Tonight: Desanctifying Property as an Abolitionist Practice in Sacramento - Mia Karisa Dawson, 2022.” n.d. Accessed December 10, 2022. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/02637758221081144>.

The Sun (1837-). 1911. “LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: The Police Will Look Into The Charge Of Disorder On The Part Of Negroes, But They Cannot Make Them Work,” December 4, 1911.

“FIRE SPREADS TERROR Succession Of Explosions Shakes Village Of Wagner’s Point. LOSS ESTIMATED AT \$60,000 United State. Aephalt And Texaa Oil Company. Riants Damased -- Tfro Men Ilnt.” February 21, 1913.

“WAGNER’S POINT FIRE CAUSES \$350,000 LOSS: Packing Company’s Plant Wiped Out And Other Industries Suffer THROWS 400 OUT OF WORK American Can Company And Brooklyn Box Company Heavily Hit By The Blaze--Firemen Almost Powerless For Lack Of Water--Glare Seen All Over The City,” June 14, 1913.

“HARBOR POLLUTION IS GROWING WORSE: Survey Shows Putrefaction Started At Stone House Cove And Cabin Branch MANY CONCERNS AFFECTED One Company Voted \$300,000 For Extension Of Waste Reclamation Plant,” February 8, 1923.

“SEEKS REMOVAL OF EXPLOSIVES AT CURTIS BAY: Mayor Asserts Ammunition

At Ordnance Depot Is Menace REQUESTS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO AID
Says As Much As 3,000,000 Pounds Of TNT Has Been Stored There,” March 23,
1926.

“100 SHELLS ARE EXPLODED AS BLAZE AT CURTIS BAY DEPOT ROUTS 150

FAMILIES: Series Of Blasts On Salvage Dump Rocks Section Within Mile Radius---
Two Tons Of TNT Reported Burned RESIDENTS FLEE IN AUTOS; FEARS FELT
FOR FACTORIES Efforts To Have Munitions Removed Will Be Renewed In
Congress--Grave Danger To City Demonstrated, Mayor and Bruce Say,” September
24, 1927.

“WATER SHORT IN CURTIS BAY AND FAIRFIELD: War Plants And Adjacent

Housing Handicapped By Situation Small Thinks Conditions Will Become Worse As
Needs Increase,” June 22, 1943.

“WAGNER’S POINT FIRE ROUTS MANY: Oil Tanks Threatened By Blaze In Church
Hall,” December 9, 1968.

“70,000 Gallons Of Oil Spill In Curtis Bay,” September 24, 1969.

“Lye Spill Into Curtis Bay To Be Investigated By State,” July 12, 1970.

“Curtis Bay Plant Evacuated as Tanker with Ammonia Derails,” January 17, 1980.

Twigg, Roger. 1984. “Chemical Blast Rocks Fairfield: 14 Persons Treated for Effects of
Fumes.” *The Sun (1837-)*, September 25, 1984.

United States. 1952. *Census of Population: 1950. A Report of the Seventeenth Decennial*

Census of the United States. Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off.

<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009144933>.

United States. Federal Home Loan Bank Board. 1940. *Waverly, a Study in Neighborhood Conservation*. Washington, Federal home loan bank board.

<http://archive.org/details/waverleystudyinn00unitrich>.

“Urban Farm.” n.d. Westport CEDC. Accessed December 13, 2022.

<https://www.westportcedc.org/urban-farm>.

Wachtel, Ted. 2013. “Defining Restorative.” *International Institute for Restorative Practices*. [chrome-](#)

<extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcgiclfndmkaj/https://www.nassauboces.org/cms/lib/NY01928409/Centricity/Domain/1699/Defining%20Restorative.pdf>.

Walljasper, Jay, Benjamin Fried, and Project for Public Spaces. 2007. *The Great Neighborhood Book: A Do-It-Yourself Guide to Placemaking*. 1 online resource (191 pages) : illustrations, portraits vols. Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers.

[\[bac.gc.ca/101/200/300/new_society_publishers/great_neighborhood/index.html\]\(http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/101/200/300/new_society_publishers/great_neighborhood/index.html\).](http://epe.lac-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

“Waste-to-Energy Dirtier Than Coal-Fired Power Plants, Report Claims.” 2011. *CNS Maryland* (blog). October 13, 2011. <https://cnsmaryland.org/2011/10/13/waste-to-energy-dirtier-than-coal-fired-power-plants-report-claims/>.

Weisbrod, Katelyn. 2021. “Baltimore Continues Incinerating Trash, Despite Opposition from Its New Mayor and City Council.” *Inside Climate News* (blog). February 19, 2021. <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/19022021/baltimore-continues-incinerating-trash-despite-opposition-from-its-new-mayor-and-city-council/>.

“Westport Community Park & Florence Cummins Playground Master Plan.” n.d. *Floura Teeter* (blog). Accessed December 13, 2022.

<https://www.flourateeter.com/portfolio/westport-community-park-florence-cummins-playground-master-plan/>.

“Westport Community Pushes Back against South Baltimore 7 Maglev Endorsement.” n.d.

Baltimore Business Journal. Accessed November 9, 2022.

<https://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/news/2022/09/21/westport-maglev-community-split-south-baltimore.html>.

“What Baltimore’s Plan to Redesign 11 Miles of Its Waterfront Means for Existing

Communities.” n.d. Accessed November 9, 2022. <https://nextcity.org/urbanist-news/what-baltimores-plan-to-redesign-its-waterfront-means-for-communities>.

Williams, Carroll E. 1945. “Acid Fumes At Curtis Bay Protested By Residents.” *The Sun (1837-)*, June 27, 1945.

Young, Luther. 1987. “Patapsco Dumping Charged: Curtis Bay Firm, 2 Aides Indicted.” *The Sun (1837-)*, October 20, 1987, sec. Maryland.

“Curtis Bay Firm Admits Polluting Patapsco, Is Fined.” *The Sun (1837-)*, January 23, 1988, sec. Maryland.

Zukin, Sharon. 2008. ““Whose Culture? Whose City?”” In *The Cultural Geography Reader*. Routledge.