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PREFACE

Growing up in central Connecticut during the sixties and seventies, I relished the trips to the beach that were the highlight of our muggy summers. Outings to the Connecticut or Rhode Island shore promised cool water, gentle breezes, and a variety of entertainments. This was especially true when, as teenagers armed with someone's family station wagon, my friends and I made Sunday trips to one of the few state park beaches available nearby. The scene that greeted us, however, might be unfamiliar if you grew up in a less-populated coastal area. A sea of bodies, lying or sitting upon a seemingly unbroken quilt of beach blankets, stretched from one end of the state park to the other. A long string of people stood at the water's edge, while the heads of a multitude of swimmers and waders bobbed in the meager wave action of Long Island Sound. There was a ritualistic air about these outings; I recall the familiar smells of suntan oil and cigar smoke, the sounds of shrieking kids and Red Sox games on portable radios, the feel of gritty sand on hot, damp skin. But the sheer number of people who flocked there created a population density that necessitated a ban on many typical beach activities. There were no Frisbees, no volleyball games, and no boogie boards. Beach recreation was reduced to its simplest formula: sunbathing, swimming, sand castles, and socializing over food and drink.

If we strolled along the water's edge, trying to escape the boundaries (both literal and figurative) of the public beach, we encountered a wooden fence that marked the beginning of private property. The fence blocking our path extended across the sand and into the surf, down to a point below the low-tide marker. If we had climbed over that first fence and continued walking, we would encounter another one at the next property line, and so on, for miles and miles along the Connecticut and Rhode Island shores. Those few crowded state parks offered the only public beach access in our area.

Once every summer, from high school through college, my friends and I took a weekend trek to the Cape Cod peninsula, which offered more beaches, bigger waves, and greater adventure. Despite the larger selection of beaches to choose from, we always returned to Cape Cod National Seashore after discovering the place on our first trip. Those beaches were different: the sand stretched for miles, uninterrupted by fences, jetties, or beach houses. When we crossed the dunes to get down onto the beach and looked landward, the backdrop was free of the glaring windshields and tacky souvenir stands that marked the crowded beaches closer to home. Although my recollections may be clouded by the years that have elapsed, I remember sensing something about the national seashore beaches—intangible qualities of openness, breathing space, elbow room—something we knew we could not capture anywhere else.

Thirty years later, the chance to work on this project for the National Park Service has explained why those Cape Cod National Seashore beaches seemed so appealing. They offered a slice of beauty, wildness, and freedom from restrictions amid the vast stretches of private property and crowded public beaches along the eastern seaboard. It was why the NPS designed and Congress set aside the national seashores. As I researched and wrote this history, the summer outings of my youth helped me understand the urgency that leaders in the campaign to create Point Reyes National Seashore must have felt, as development began to threaten those spectacular shores.

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Primary source materials used in this history also came from other locations, including the National Archives and Records Administration–Pacific West Region branch in San Bruno, the National Archives–II in College Park, Maryland, the NPS History Collection Archives in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the archives of the NPS Pacific West–Great Basin Support Office in Oakland, California, the Anne T. Kent California Room of the Marin County Library in San Rafael, California, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. I am very grateful to their staffs for their time and attention. Thanks should also go to Tom, Rod, Scott, and Tim for joining me on those national seashore “research” trips of years ago.

Textual documents by no means represent all of the sources tapped for this project; because much of the park's administrative history took place in the recent past, the author conducted more than thirty oral history interviews, almost all of them in-person. Thanks to all those who shared their time, their thoughts, and in some cases, their homes, during those interviews. The tapes are now part of an oral history collection in the Point Reyes Archives. Three of the interviews, with Stewart Udall, William Duddleson, and Harold Gilliam, were transcribed and are included in an addendum volume to the administrative history, also available in the park archives. I also want to acknowledge Mr. Duddleson for giving generously of his time in reviewing and offering helpful recommendations on a draft of the manuscript.

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Paul Sadin
Seattle, 2007

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

During the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the Point Reyes Peninsula, forty miles farther north along the San Andreas Fault, shook loose from its temporary moorings to the California coastline and lurched to the northwest by some twenty feet. The powerful quake that terrorized the city also tore through the land and jarred the rural inhabitants of Point Reyes. It was another abrupt step in the peninsula's slow creep from southern to northern California, yielding a piece of land quite divergent from the California mainland to which it is now affixed. Although pressure along the San Andreas Fault continued to build for the remainder of the century, there were no other geologic events of a magnitude that could so drastically alter the land's surface. By contrast, human events since 1906 have significantly altered the peninsula's landscape. In the century following the earthquake, economic, cultural, and political forces gradually reshaped Point Reyes. Possibly the biggest tremor took place in 1962, when Congress created, and President John F. Kennedy signed into law, the Point Reyes National Seashore. At that juncture, the political geography of the land, as a new unit of the National Park Service (NPS), was about to change dramatically. This volume, *Managing a Land in Motion: An Administrative History of Point Reyes National Seashore*, traces, explains, and analyzes the ideas and events that produced the national seashore and transpired in the forty years that followed.

Point Reyes Peninsula: Land and People

Congress created Point Reyes National Seashore in September 1962, making it the third of the fourteen national seashores and lakeshores eventually added to the park system. The seashore's exterior boundaries encompass more than 71,000 acres, or roughly four-fifths of the Point Reyes Peninsula. Park headquarters at Bear Valley, the former site of Bear Valley Ranch and the main point of visitor entry, is a one-to-two hour drive from the San Francisco–Oakland metropolitan area. Proximity to this large urban population, combined with the unique qualities and aesthetic beauty of the peninsula, have resulted in an average visitation of more than two million per year. Although the peninsula itself is in motion, this story, in its function as an NPS administrative history, necessarily tracks the movement of people and ideas, particularly those people in Congress, the National Park Service, conservation organizations, regional government, local businesses, and nearby communities that had a hand in shaping the way visitors, park officials, and residents came to view and use that land.

Point Reyes Peninsula is a geologic anomaly produced by the strike-slip movements along the San Andreas Fault. Passengers on southbound flights heading into the San Francisco or Oakland airports get a view of Point Reyes, when not obscured by fog, which gives evidence to the peninsula's displaced character. From that overhead perspective, Point Reyes looks to be a loose appendage sutured onto the main body of Marin County. The mountains and swales of the peninsula often look greener than those to the east across Tomales Bay, adding to the peninsula's dislocated appearance, and indicating that the tumultuous passage to its present location shaped the land's surface in several important ways.

Running approximately eight hundred miles in length, the San Andreas Fault demarks the place where two tectonic plates, the Pacific Plate and the North American Plate, come together. The northward migrating Pacific Plate, on which Point Reyes sits, stays locked to the North American Plate for decades or centuries, creating tremendous strain along the line of the fault. Eventually, that strain is released at by a fracture at a weak point in

the fault line, allowing the Pacific Plate to “slip” northward along the edge of the continent. This process, repeated over and over during the course of the last fifteen to twenty million years, has shifted the Point Reyes Peninsula to its current position, at roughly the north-south midpoint of the state of California. Geologic forces thus gave rise to many of the peninsula’s unique qualities. Point Reyes straddles the diffuse boundary between the Oregonian and Californian bioregions. As is often the case with “verge” environments, these overlapping ecoregions create a diverse biological palette. In addition, the composition of the peninsula’s bedrock is unrelated to the West Marin rock it presses against, producing distinctive hydrologic patterns and soil chemistry.



Earth torn open along San Andreas Fault during 1906 earthquake.

Record No. 8370, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives.

The peninsula’s distinctive geology and geography promoted extensive biological diversity. Point Reyes contains four (or more) separate physiographic provinces. Moving across the peninsula from east to west, there are grasslands, forested ridges, chaparral, and coastal zones, each with their own ecological characteristics and niches. The coastal zone, for instance, includes estuarine, dune, tidal, and marine ecosystems. Moreover, because the peninsula’s outer reach, the Point Reyes headlands, extends seaward roughly ten miles beyond the westward edge of the Marin mainland, it intersects the migration routes of numerous marine and avian species. The combination of

ocean reach and numerous ecological zones help make Point Reyes home to or a wayside for 460 bird species, 876 plant species, and a variety of different terrestrial and marine mammals. This biological abundance increases the popularity of Point Reyes as a destination for sightseers, scientists, and many types of recreationists, from bird- and whale-watchers, to backpackers and bicyclists, to mushroom hunters and clam diggers. The level of diversity prompted UNESCO’s Man and the Biosphere program to single out Point Reyes and its surroundings as an international biosphere reserve.

A range of historical and cultural legacies at Point Reyes also contributes to its significance and popularity as an NPS site. Coast Miwok Indians once made the peninsula and adjacent lands their home and larder. The abundance of wildlife supported a large Coast Miwok population, until exotic diseases brought by European explorers and missionaries decimated the Indian tribes of the area. Coast Miwok inhabitants of Point Reyes became displaced from their aboriginal homeland on the peninsula under the rule of the priests and governors of the Spanish missions at San Rafael.¹ But the national seashore still holds countless burial sites, shell middens, and other archaeological evidence of the earlier Coast Miwok presence at Point Reyes. A century after the religious zeal and diseases of the missionaries dispatched the Coast Miwok, market rather than subsistence agricultural patterns took hold at Point Reyes. Cattle grazing and individual dairy farms appeared on the peninsula, followed by larger-scale commercial dairy ranches that eventually became the predominant land use of Point Reyes. A railroad

link to Point Reyes gave logging companies, and then Bay Area tourists, access to the area. New commercial centers and residential communities sprung up at Olema, Point Reyes Station, and Inverness. Some of the people who came to live in these towns and to love the peninsula later became instrumental voices in the campaign to create the national seashore. Others became its most ardent opponents.



Map showing primary travel routes to Point Reyes National Seashore from nearby cities in Marin County and the San Francisco Bay Area.

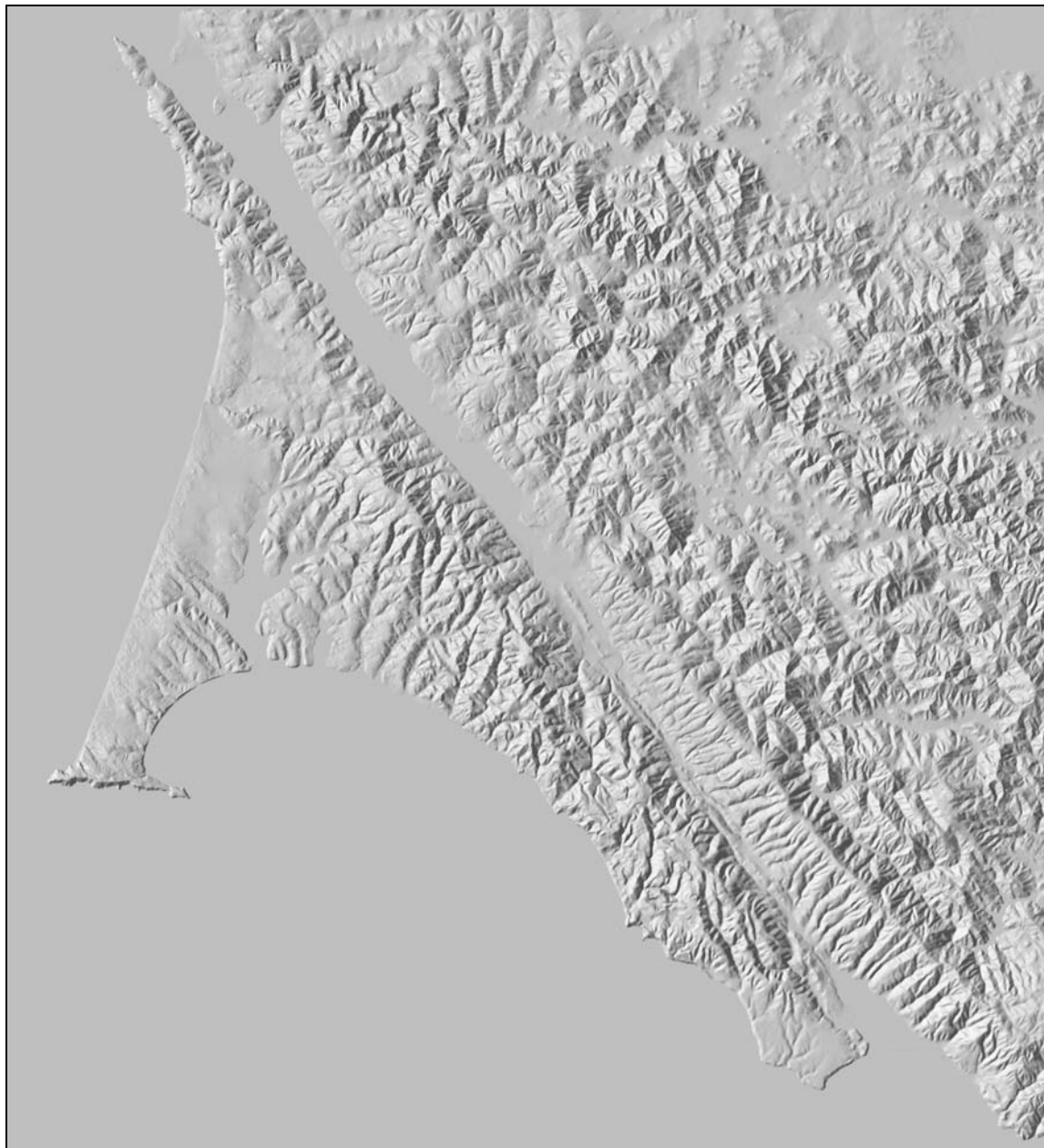
Several themes wind their way through this administrative history. Foremost, the history of administering, managing, and visiting Point Reyes National Seashore has been a story of people defining and redefining an idea, a physical landscape, and a geographic place over time. In the course of writing and revising the history, two subthemes also emerged. First, Point Reyes has gradually become less of a social and political “island in time” as the administrators and staff of the national seashore built connections with other NPS sites, outside organizations, and the local communities that surround it. In 1962, Sierra Club Books published Harold Gilliam’s *Island in Time*, a lavishly illustrated and eloquently written volume that brought significant attention to Point Reyes, and became an important medium in the campaign to create the national seashore. Gilliam’s “Island in

Time” moniker for Point Reyes has continued to resonate as valid and accurate for residents, national seashore staff, and other writers. The phrase effectively captures the relative isolation of the seashore's flora, fauna, and geology, and, in that sense, is as relevant today as it was when Gilliam penned it forty years ago. But while the "Island in Time" moniker fit its early Euroamerican history, when the remote location of the Point Reyes Peninsula isolated it from mainland California for centuries, the story of the creation and development of the national seashore has been marked by the park's geographical, political, and social connections to a variety of communities, which redefined Point Reyes according to their connections to it. Point Reyes National Seashore history became less about isolation, and more about connection.

The Changing Nature of “Nature”

Second, while the public and the Park Service engaged in redefining such issues as natural resource management, recreational access, and the NPS designations of natural area versus recreational area, the very nature of these concepts and terms evolved. In particular, the very notion of “nature” as a separate, self-evident, identifiable place became, as the decades passed, increasingly problematic for historians and park managers. In fact, the initial development and administration of Point Reyes National Seashore [PRNS] evolved hand-in-hand with the growth of the American environmental movement and the shifting conception of nature during the 1960s and 1970s. Because the development and redefining of PRNS during the last half of the twentieth century frequently centered on the area’s natural beauty and natural resources, addressing those issues became more complicated due to the changing nature of “nature” itself. When the NPS and local conservationists launched the campaign to create a national seashore at Point Reyes during the late 1950s, they uniformly praised the peninsula’s “natural” features and attributes. Their conception of the natural was apparently self-evident and unambiguous to them. Most significant, the nature they alluded to did not include the imprint of human society, although it did recognize the presence of people as transient elements of that scene. By contrast, by the 1990s, resource managers, ecologists, and historians viewed humans as a widely recognized element of any landscape they once inhabited or visited.

Nature went through a transformation during the entire course of PRNS history; it went from an unambiguous, concrete reality that most people thought needed little defining, to a half-century later, a term so ambiguous and laden with bias that some scholars and scientists believed it had lost its usefulness altogether. If human activity is fully part of nature, what, then, is left on the planet that is not natural? During the 1990s, the academic exercise of “deconstructing nature” became the stock-in-trade of many environmental historians. Even biology, says feminist theorist Donna J. Haraway, is not “a culture-free universal discourse,” because the field of biology has “considerable cultural, economic, and technical power to establish what will *count* as nature throughout the planet Earth.”² Haraway, in fact, began employing the term “naturecultures” to encompass the ways human perceptions and the physical world intermix in scientific study.³ For those of us who admire an “out there” nature of rocks, plants, and animals, at the very least we must acknowledge that, as environmental historian Richard White puts it, “the boundaries between this world of nature and the world of artifice, the world of things we have made, are no longer very clear.”⁴ Although NPS administrators and resource managers at Point Reyes did not have to delve to this extent into the philosophical underpinnings of the term, their views and the concurrent public notions of “nature” significantly affected park planning, management strategy, and administrative actions throughout PRNS history.



Satellite image of Point Reyes, revealing the peninsula's dislocation from the mainland California coast that gives Point Reyes National Seashore its distinctive geological and biological characteristics.

Organization This history is organized into three parts. Chapter 1 summarizes the peninsula's prehistory and history prior to the creation of the national seashore, highlighting the events and processes most relevant to the NPS presence at Point Reyes. Chapters 2 through 4 make up part 2; they provide a chronological narrative that covers the time from the earliest national seashore proposals in the 1930s up until 1972, when the Department of the Interior officially established Point Reyes National Seashore. Chapters 5 through 9 constitute the third part of the history; they are topical and thematic in structure, each covering different areas of the national seashore's administrative history. Chapter 5 describes general management and planning, personnel and interagency issues, maintenance, and construction. Chapter 6 details the extensive and varied history of

recreational activity at Point Reyes, the park's efforts to accommodate and protect visitors, and law enforcement operations. Chapter 7 summarizes the vast extent of the peninsula's natural resources, and describes how the NPS and PRNS administrators have attempted, successfully and unsuccessfully, to define and manage those resources. Chapter 8 covers the park's interpretive and educational programs, while chapter 9 describes the cultural resources of the peninsula and the park's relatively recent attempts to adequately manage them.

ENDNOTES: INTRODUCTION

¹ With the creation of the Kule Loklo Coast Miwok village replica in Bear Valley in 1975, some Coast Miwok tribe members began to returning to Point Reyes to commemorate their geographic and spiritual origins.

² Emphasis added. Donna J. Haraway, "Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture: It's All in the Family: Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 323.

³ Lisa H. Weasel, "Feminist Intersections in Science: Race, Gender and Sexuality through the Microscope," *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 19 (Winter 2004): 183–93. Weasel's essay discusses Donna Haraway's *How Like a Leaf* (New York: Routledge Press, 2000).

⁴ Richard White, "'Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 173.

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (PREHISTORIC –1930s)

You'd better know how people feel about Drake when you're making out your guest list for a dinner. . . . *Piedmont "matron"*

Humans have inhabited what is now known as Point Reyes National Seashore and its environs for millennia. From the early presence of Coast Miwok people, through the Spanish missionaries, Mexican land grantees, dairy farmers, and cattle ranchers, to the contemporary influx from the San Francisco Bay Area and federal ingress of the National Park Service, people in the region have left their mark on the local landscape. Each of these groups, in succession, defined and redefined the peninsula's environment of beaches, estuaries, forests, and grasslands, each time determining new meanings for and uses of the land. In turn, the particular way each new population chose to organize their presence on the peninsula, to some degree, reshaped the Point Reyes environment. Some groups left more distinctive and lasting signatures on the land than did others, but all became part of the Point Reyes story. In simple terms, this chapter outlines who lived at Point Reyes and how those people survived and thrived on the land. It is a historical overview of a place and its people, and also of the evolution of the human idea of that place.

COAST MIWOK INDIAN COMMUNITIES ON POINT REYES PENINSULA

Although the native people who populated Point Reyes before European settlement left no written record, extant material culture remains and oral traditions provide evidence about daily life of the peninsular Coast Miwok. As well, Europeans who briefly visited the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries penned descriptions of their first contacts with these people, offering glimpses of what coastal life may have looked like before European settlement in the region began in earnest. The earliest of these records come from noted English seafarer Captain Francis Drake and the crew of his *Golden Hind*, who in 1579 spent six weeks somewhere on the western coast of what is now the United States (possibly at Drakes Beach), and Portuguese ship captain Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, under whose command the Spanish galleon *San Agustín* became in 1595 the first ship wrecked off the Point Reyes shore. According to these one-sided reports, the Coast Miwok, who lived in what are now Marin and the southern part of Sonoma counties, were initially friendly to their European visitors. Both Drake and Cermeño related similar accounts of a lone Indian man paddling out to greet the ship; both also noted that once the whites disembarked, native men and women alike offered gifts and practical assistance to the strangers.¹

Point Reyes provided the Coast Miwok abundant resources for food and shelter. To maximize access to these plentiful stores, they divided their time between two main areas of settlement. The seashore offered fish, crabs, abalone, limpets, mussels, kelp, and other edible marine life. Additionally, the beach provided Coast Miwok with their main source of currency, clamshells, from which they fashioned circular disks with holes in the middle that were then strung together and traded throughout Northern California.² Inland enclaves located in and around the Olema Valley provided milder weather and protection

from stormy coastal weather. Surrounding forests teemed with small game such as deer, rabbits, and birds, and various biomes nurtured the many endemic herbs, seeds, bulbs, and roots that comprised a significant part of the Coast Miwok diet. An important source of nutrients was the area's plentiful supply of acorns, from which the natives first leached tannins and then pounded flour to be stored in family granaries for future use.³

Abundant food and the mild climate of Point Reyes allowed Coast Miwok enough leisure time and comfort to develop sturdy infrastructure and complex social and cultural practices. Larger settlements contained various buildings with different uses, such as a sweathouse, single-sex secret society lodge/dance house, sun shelter, and grinding lodge, in addition to the typical conical dwelling made of interlocking willow or driftwood poles and covered with grass. A large assembly hall served as gathering place for the entire village, and people collected there to gamble, dance, exchange food, and drum on the five- to ten-foot-long hollowed-out log stretched across a pit.⁴

Oral histories taken in the 1930s from two of three remaining Coast Miwok descendants describe a community that possessed a well developed monetary system and wherein there was a strong regard for property—not in land, but in the form of certain food-producing trees or hunting, fishing, and clam-digging claims. Men and women divided leadership duties, with a male chief at the top of the hierarchy and at least two women in positions of power under him. Men and women both functioned as healing “doctors,” others were known as poisoners, whose services could be had for a predetermined price in shell currency. Aside from poisoning and some intertribal rivalries, the Coast Miwok were apparently a peaceful people and evidence of organized warfare among them cannot be found.⁵ Women used leisure time to devise elaborate hair designs, in which they used shells, bones, and feather as ornaments.⁶ Furthermore, the Coast Miwok observed numerous elaborate birth, death, menstruation, childbirth, and rite-of-passage rituals.

Archaeologists have estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 Coast Miwok lived in the region prior to extended European contact. By 1851, 10 percent of this original number remained; in the early 1930s, just three Coast Miwok could be documented. The population today of people who lay claim to Miwok ancestry and have been organized into the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria Tribe has climbed close to 500, but remains a fragment of what it once was.⁷

EUROAMERICAN CONTACT AND SETTLEMENT

Many scholars and amateur historians contend that Captain Francis Drake and his crew aboard the *Golden Hind* were the first Europeans to encounter the Coast Miwok of Point Reyes. Whether Drake and his men entered the waters of Drakes Bay, careened their small ship in Drakes Estero in order to repair and outfit it for the trans-Pacific journey ahead, or ever set foot on Point Reyes peninsula in June 1579, however, remains open to debate. Historians and scientists have used explorers' written accounts of native dress, customs, and their apparent perception of Drake and his crew as the living dead to determine that the Indians Drake encountered were likely Coast Miwok, thus narrowing the stretch of coastline on which they could have alighted to that of Marin and Sonoma counties.⁸ The “stinking fogges” of which the *Golden Hind's* chaplain complained in his journal certainly bring to mind the frequent summer fog at the Point.⁹ Others have argued for or against alternative locations, such as a site based on descriptions of islands, thought to be the Farallones, that the *Golden Hind* briefly visited to acquire further provisions

before its long voyage ahead.¹⁰ Only limited evidence has surfaced, however, and thus, over the past century, much debate and speculation revolved around three items: a map, a brass plate, and a collection of Chinese porcelain shards.

**Portus Nova
Albionis**

The cartographic image of “Portus Nova Albionis” is a small inset on the global map Dutch cartographer Jodocus Hondius drew of Drake’s global voyage. Drawn more than a decade after Drake landed in California and designated the western coast of America “Nova Albion,” Hondius’s map depicted Drake’s landing spot as a horseshoe-shaped cove with a peninsula on one side and an island beyond. Researchers have matched the Hondius rendition along with maps drawn much later, with contemporary maps.¹¹ Proponents of competing Drake landing sites have proposed San Francisco Bay and Bolinas Lagoon to the south, Bodega Bay to the north, and assorted other inlets up and down the west coast.¹² Despite such speculation, many scholars of maritime history favor the sheltered cove, now known as Drakes Cove, just inside the entrance to Drakes Estero at Point Reyes.

A missing piece of evidence that researchers agree would help answer the question is the plate Drake reported he erected at the landing spot, claiming Nova Albion in Elizabeth’s name.¹³ In early summer 1936, a young shop clerk named Beryle Shinn found a brass plate in Marin County that many believed, for at least the next four decades, to be a relic from the landing site. Shinn took the plate in February 1937 to University of California history professor Herbert E. Bolton, who had for years been telling his students to be on the lookout for just such a find. To Bolton, the plate culminated a lifetime of searching for evidence of Drake’s landing in California. He quickly accepted the relic as authentic and, in doing so, unwittingly perpetuated a hoax for the next four decades.¹⁴

Bolton and California Historical Society president Allen L. Chickering rushed headlong to trumpet the find without substantiating the plate’s authenticity, stating with great certainty, based on a comparison of the plate’s inscriptions with Drake’s original record, that it was indeed authentic.¹⁵ Less than one week after Bolton’s triumphant presentation, William Caldeira, a chauffeur, came forward to claim that he had found the plate in 1933 at Point Reyes’ Drakes Bay, and later discarded it near the site where Shinn found it. Caldeira’s report seemed to substantiate arguments that Drakes Bay was indeed the location of Drake’s “lost harbor.” Although rumors also circulated about the plate being a hoax, the debate appeared to have been settled.¹⁶

The debate reopened in 1974, when Harvard professor Samuel Eliot Morison, a renowned scholar of exploration history, reviewed early evidence and called the plate a hoax. In response to Morison’s incendiary claim, new metallurgical tests and documentary comparisons were done in the late 1970s and again in 1991. Both rounds of re-investigation declared the plate to be a forgery. Recently, historians have identified the California historical club, E Clampus Vitus, which was known for playing jokes on its members, as the perpetrators of the hoax. Several club members conspired to manufacture and hide the mock plate in order to spoof Bolton, one of the organization’s prominent members. The perpetrators later tried, through publications and conversations laced with veiled warnings, hints, and clues, to notify those who had fallen for the hoax that they should investigate the matter further, but to no avail.¹⁷ Although a few of the original pranksters told their story to those who would listen, no one followed up the leads and they took their secret to the grave.

Although an authentic plate may never surface, researchers' conclusions (compared to Bolton's assertions) about the Drakes Cove site have given a significant amount of historical cachet to Point Reyes and Point Reyes National Seashore. That the brass plate hoax could be perpetuated with little question for as long as it was or that in 1972 a dubious hostess was reputed to have seated dinner guests according to their feelings about the debate over the Drake landing site attests to the deeply held significance of the matter in the region.¹⁸ More importantly for this administrative history, when California legislators proposed the national seashore site and as their colleagues debated the area's national significance, Congress gave credence to Point Reyes' claim to have been the Drake landing site.¹⁹ Meanwhile, the *Golden Hind's* sojourn lives on at Point Reyes in the many peninsula place names bearing his name.

Shipwrecks

Whether or not Drake set foot on the peninsula, Point Reyes' treacherous coastline and unpredictable weather led numerous other seafarers to make landfall there, as the area collected the remains of over seventy shipwrecks between 1849 and 1940.²⁰ The first known shipwreck at Point Reyes occurred in 1595, when Portuguese captain Sebastian Cermeño and his crew reached the California coast in the ill-fated *San Agustín*. Spanish officials in Mexico had commissioned Cermeño with a dual purpose. He was first to load the ship with goods from Asia (as part of the Acapulco-Manila trade route) and then to explore the California coast, looking for safe harbors in which other Manila galleons



Archeologist James Delgado supervises the excavation of the "S.S. Pomo" on a Point Reyes beach, March 1983.

Record No. 19330. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives.

could shelter during the return journey to Mexico. When it reached Point Reyes during the stormy month of November, the ship was in poor shape. Battered by its recent Pacific crossing and weighed down with a reported 130 tons of Asian goods, the *San Agustín* took on water, forcing its near-mutinous crew to continually man the pumps. Seeking a sheltered spot, Cermeño and his men were able to use a launch to enter Limantour Estero, where they set up camp and began exploring the area with the crudely fashioned but shallow-bottomed launch.

The *San Agustín* itself was left anchored and sparsely manned in Drakes Bay. When a strong southeasterly gale arose, the crew was unable to keep the *San Agustín* from running aground, where the surf quickly pounded the already rickety vessel into pieces and took the lives of several sailors and a priest.²¹ The remaining crew sailed, and when necessary, rowed home to Mexico in their longboat.²²

If Drake and his *Golden Hind* crew did not make landfall at Point Reyes, it may be that the *San Agustín* crew's stay on the peninsula was the first extended European visit to the area. Just a few years later, Spanish explorer Sebastian Vizcaino sighted the peninsula on January 6, 1603, mapped the area, and named it "la Punta de los Reyes," after the Roman

Catholic feast day celebrating the three wise men.²³ The name has been with the peninsula and its surrounds ever since.

**Spanish
Mission
Period**

For the better part of the two centuries following the wreck of the *San Agustín* and Vizcaino's naming of the area a decade later, coastal California natives located near the mouth of the San Francisco Bay had little or no direct contact with Europeans. As was the case with many North American tribes, European diseases transmitted via Indian trade routes likely intruded upon the Coast Miwok well before settlement took place within their territory. Occasional sailors traded goods for Miwok baskets,²⁴ but white incursion into the area was sluggish until the late eighteenth century. In 1769, however, Gaspar de Portolá's Spanish overland expedition reached the San Francisco Bay, opening up the frontier to Spanish frontiersmen and Franciscan missionaries, who erected Mission San Francisco de Asís (commonly known as Mission Dolores) in 1776 near what would become the small, but growing, pueblo of Yerba Buena (later San Francisco). The only other significant European presence in the area was a bit to the north of the Coast Miwok's main settlements; a Russian fur colony operated at Fort Ross between 1812 and 1841, taking advantage of the plentiful sea otters to be found there.²⁵

When Spanish priests founded Mission Dolores in 1776, the land south of the San Francisco Bay narrows (now referred to as the Golden Gate) was home to the Ohlone people.²⁶ To the modern mind, the area in which they lived, now the city of San Francisco, and Marin County, home of the Coast Miwok, appear very close to one another. In the eighteenth century, however, the Coast Miwok and Costanoan people apparently had little contact. Perhaps this was because the San Francisco Bay's formidable waters separated them, or it might owe to the apparently light concentration of Costanoans at the northernmost reach of their region and/or their orientation southward toward the larger group, which stretched as far south as the Salinas Valley.²⁷ Whatever the case, the coming of Mission Dolores in 1776 portended eventual removal of the Coast Miwok from Point Reyes. In 1793, an expedition led by Spanish explorer Lieutenant Don Felipe de Goycochea marched into Olema Valley, the heart of Coast Miwok territory, ensuring the demise of the Coast Miwok way of life.²⁸

By 1793, the friendly, relaxed manner with which the Coast Miwok originally greeted Drake and Cermeño had turned to suspicion and mounting fear.²⁹ Although they had no way of anticipating the true outcome of this contact, the Coast Miwoks, startled by De Goycochea's arrival, fled into the forest. Only the lieutenant's use of an interpreter and apparently nonthreatening intentions ultimately coaxed them out into the open. Impressed by both the abundant wealth of natural resources and a goodly number of native souls to bring to Christianity—he estimated there to be around 150 living in the village—De Goycochea recommended the Catholic Church erect a mission at the site.³⁰ The Church ignored his recommendation at the time, giving the Coast Miwok a brief reprieve; but, in 1817, Mission San Rafael was established, opening the doors wide to white settlement of the region and closing the door on the Coast Miwok's dominance of the area.³¹

Under the direction of Father Junipero Serra and with the support of the Spanish viceroys of New Spain and colonial military forces, Franciscan friars founded 154 missions in what are now Mexico and the states of California, Arizona, and New Mexico. Three of these missions were in the immediate vicinity of the Coast Miwok people of Marin and Sonoma counties: San Francisco de Asís, San Rafael Arcángel, and San Francisco Solano. Mission Dolores, as the San Francisco de Asís mission is commonly called, was an early addition to the mission infrastructure; San Rafael and Sonoma (the location of

San Francisco Solano) came much later in the missionizing process, 1817 and 1823, respectively. Conversion (and subsequent baptism in the Roman Catholic Church) was the friars' main goal, but "civilization" of the Indians—material and cultural "improvement" of the "savage" way of life—was also of primary significance. The civilizing impulse of the missions would indeed transform the native lifestyle almost beyond recognition in the short period of time that Indians interacted with Spanish missionaries.³²

The missions' twin goals of conversion and civilization resulted in removal of Indians from their cultural and historical lands to the mission site, where they were expected to renounce their cultural heritage and life ways. For reasons not quite clear, the northern California missions were especially hard on neophytes. Costanoans, for example, were forced to live in sex-segregated buildings.³³ Much to the dismay and detriment of native people, but unsurprising given the Catholic religion of the friars and material needs of the ostensibly self-sufficient missions, sexual contact was prohibited, conversion was forced, and daily labor was expected. The labor Indians were pressed to do was not always onerous, but the unremitting daily workload certainly conflicted with their traditional approach to labor, which was intermittent and conducted on an as-needed basis. Mission doctrine as a whole called for tempered responses to perceived Indian misbehavior and padres attempted to consider cultural and social background in their religious teachings. Nonetheless, complaints of abuse on the mission belie the paternalistic model, speaking more clearly to the regimentation and often-harsh discipline that prevailed.³⁴

Mission conditions for native Californians were bleak. A combination of the stress and trauma of dislocation and rampant diseases took huge tolls on Indian populations, both decreasing birth rates and increasing deaths. While epidemics waxed and waned throughout the mission period and mortality rates had begun to level off by the end of the period, a measles outbreak in 1806, for example, killed fully one-third of the juvenile Indian population.³⁵ Of those Indians who survived disease, fugitivism was a serious issue on the missions. Because missions' proximity to and close relationship with military outposts precluded violent resistance by natives, they resorted instead to desertion. Missions did not take such departures lightly, sending out recapture parties and leveling harsh punishments on those who were returned. Such blandishments failed to stem the tide of runaways—in the last three decades of the mission period, fully 10 percent of the mission population was listed as being fugitive at any one time.³⁶

Founded toward the end of the mission period as an outpost or *asistencia* for Mission Dolores, San Rafael ended its missionizing period just seventeen years later in 1834. During that short period, however, according to Gilliam, Spanish recruitment of the Coast Miwok was "extraordinarily successful," with villagers leaving their settlements on the peninsula en masse and quickly taking up agriculture under the Franciscan padres.³⁷ According to later reports, the Coast Miwoks who first inhabited the mission moved there after several miserable years at Mission Dolores, where they had been impressed into duty when it was first established. By comparison, the conditions at and location of San Rafael was far preferable to the San Francisco mission.³⁸

Mexican Independence in 1821 and the formation of the Mexican republic in 1824 signaled the demise of the mission system. Padres were replaced with laypeople and the missions lost their religious mandate. At the outset, this shift might seem to have been a boon for the native people who had been forced to live on or interact regularly with the missions. However, in reality, secularization carried with it a mixed blessing. Missions no

longer exploited Indian labor, but Indians were also no longer supported as part of the larger mission complex. The new overseers of missions and pueblos no longer considered the neophytes and converts to be their responsibility; instead, the Indians became full citizens of the communities, with all the rights and duties such inclusion entailed. Mission-born Indians mostly stayed near the missions, others moved to nearby pueblos and ranchos where they attempted to gain employment but were often reduced to begging for food and shelter. In some parts of California, natives returned to what small settlements remained in their traditional lands, but for the most part such communities had disappeared.³⁹

Whether the Coast Miwok became, in author Harold Gilliam's words, "helpless" without mission guidance at the close of its seventeen-year presence is debatable. What is unquestioned, however, is that arrival of the missions decimated not only Native Americans' traditional way of life but also their numbers. Furthermore, mission life encouraged dependence on the friars for subsistence, spiritual guidance, and community. The missions' subsequent departure thus removed Native Americans' material safety net, sending them penniless back to a world that no longer resembled the one they had left. As with other native Californian groups, the Coast Miwok of Point Reyes' never returned to their traditional ways of living once they had engaged with the Spanish people and culture that took control of their land.⁴⁰

**Mexican
Land
Grants,
1842–1846**

The period of independent Mexican rule at Point Reyes was short, but set the stage for future land-use patterns on the peninsula, most notably the dairy industry, whose precursors were the longhorn cattle that missionaries, then Mexican ranchers, grazed on Point Reyes land. The period also laid the groundwork for a series of legal disputes over land that would shape the peninsula for the next two centuries.

In the early 1800s, the missions owned large tracts of land in California. Mission San Rafael, for example, encompassed the entirety of what is now Marin County, well over 300,000 acres. In response to calls for secularization that were part of the independence movement of the early century, the new Mexican republic began developing what is known as the land-grant system pursuant to the 1824 and 1828 Mexican Colonization Laws.⁴¹ Under these laws, petitioners requested land grants from the government using crude maps called *diseños* to outline the lands they wanted title to and then awaited, often for years, the official decision of the Mexican bureaucracy. The fuzzy boundaries Mexican land grants created, however, had significant consequences for landowners once the American government took over in 1846. The first Marin County *rancho* was granted to John Reed, a naturalized Mexican citizen of Irish birth. Prior to American rule, seven more would be granted in the boundaries of what is now Point Reyes National Seashore.⁴² The most pivotal of these were Rancho Tomales y Baulines and Ranchos Punta de los Reyes and Punta de los Reyes Sobrante.

In 1835, Rafael Garcia received what he named "Rancho las Baulines." He soon vacated the property to his brother-in-law Gregorio Briones and moved north to what would be his home for almost thirty years, Rancho Tomales y Baulines, which Garcia named for its location between Bolinas Ridge and Tomales Bay just east of Olema Creek.⁴³ Garcia built the ranch into a bustling enterprise staffed by mission Indians (likely Coast Miwok he brought to the peninsula with him from San Rafael, where he had earlier been stationed) that included extensive livestock grazing and which served as a stopover for travelers and destination for hunters. In the 1830s, it was reported that Garcia's holdings

included 3,000 head of cattle, 400 horses, and numerous sheep and swine.⁴⁴ Garcia lived on the property until his death in 1866.⁴⁵

The other significant ranch at Point Reyes followed a different route than Tomales y Baulines. Rancho Punta de los Reyes was first occupied in 1836 by James Richard Berry, another naturalized Mexican of Irish descent who had served in the Mexican army and then moved to land in the Olema Valley just north of Garcia's ranch to take up cattle ranching.⁴⁶ In 1838, Berry sold (without authorization) a parcel of land to Joseph E. Snook, who, after a legal battle to secure title to the land, turned it over to Antonio Maria Osio. Osio, not satisfied with the small tract then applied to the Mexican government for an additional 11,000 leagues (approximately 49,000 acres) on the peninsula, which he was granted in 1843. This additional parcel gave the *rancho* its name, Punta de los Reyes *Sobrante* (literally, surplus). Osio and his family lived on Point Reyes until the American takeover began; in 1852, after they had resettled in Baja California, Osio sold the land to Andrew Randall, who moved his family to the peninsula soon thereafter.⁴⁷

A geologist with medical training, Randall had served as customs inspector and postmaster at Monterey and went on to serve in California's first legislature and found the California Academy of Science. By 1854, Randall owned large tracts of land in the newly minted state in addition to what appeared to be his highly successful ranch on Point Reyes. Records reveal that at that time there were more than 5,500 animals grazing on Randall's ranch. His prosperity, however, was to be short-lived; as it turned out, Randall had overextended himself and was deeply in debt. The Point Reyes ranch was foreclosed upon and then, in July 1856, an enraged creditor gunned Randall down in a San Francisco hotel. Elizabeth Randall, his pregnant widow, with four other children to support, found herself responsible for Andrew's \$237,000 debt and with a serious legal battle brewing over her land.⁴⁸ As one historian has described it, Randall's credit woes not only killed him but also created a legal situation out of which was to come "a series of events that helped to write California legal history."⁴⁹ On a smaller scale, it also formed the basis of future land-use and ownership patterns at Point Reyes.

Land Disputes

The first land dispute on the peninsula had occurred in 1844, when Osio filed suit against Berry, who, in response to Garcia's northward expansion to Rancho Tomales y Baulines (and likely beyond), was grazing his stock on part of Osio's land.⁵⁰ Complex legal wrangling followed in the 1850s, when California statehood and the creation of Marin County revealed deep confusion (based in laxity in early boundary delineations and the fact that most landowners had not occupied the land) over who exactly owned what on the peninsula.⁵¹ The sheer volume and complexity of lawsuits over land that followed Osio's initial claim in the 1850s makes it impossible to cover them here in any detail. Litigation that occurred in the wake of Randall's foreclosure and disputes over Garcia's land that began with the Osio/Berry dispute, however, provides good examples of the tenor and outcome of the cases.

For reasons that remain somewhat unclear, Garcia (and Point Reyes landholder Briones) suffered serious economic downturns during the 1850s. Property records reveal that Briones, who owned more than 13,000 acres in 1850, had sold or ceded the entirety of his land by 1860. Garcia, similarly, had lost the vast majority of his movable goods and livestock by that time, although he retained title to his ranch lands. In 1854, it was recorded that the 3,000 cattle Garcia was reputed to own in the 1830s had dwindled to no more than 350 (only 150 of which were "tame"), and only 20 of his 400 horses remained. Between 1852 and 1865, Garcia was constantly embroiled in lawsuits over his land.⁵²

Likely the result of escalating legal costs, Garcia began selling property in 1856 for a fraction of what it was worth. Although he won many of the early battles and by 1858 held free title to all his Point Reyes land, subsequent sales of parcels greatly reduced the size of his real estate by the time he died. In 1866, he left less than half of his original holdings to his wife and heirs.⁵³

Around the same time Garcia began selling off his land, a series of events brought the Ranchos Punta de los Reyes and Punta de los Reyes Sobrante to the attention of the Shafter, Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt law firm of San Francisco. Robert McMillan, a lien holder on Randall's foreclosed property, had hired the firm to represent him against Marin County sheriff G. N. Vischer, who had duped McMillan and four others (who had collectively retained another lawyer) in the foreclosure proceedings and pocketed \$2,000 of their money. At the time, senior partner Oscar Lovell Shafter was a renowned California title lawyer and McMillan was a wealthy man. The combination proved unbeatable. After two years of litigation, McMillan, with Shafter's expertise behind him, won a California Supreme Court decision that conveyed most of the disputed property to McMillan, and, by extension, the Shafter brothers. Having given to the law firm a two-thirds interest in the land nearly a year and a half earlier, the firm paid McMillan \$50,000 for the property once he won his case in 1858. In quick succession, the Shafter brothers also purchased Point Reyes property from Elizabeth Randall (at one-tenth the price Andrew Randall had originally paid) and then McMillan's remaining one-third interest.

Thus, by 1858, after successfully fighting off a handful of additional claims to the property and then evicting the remaining people living on the land, the Shafter firm under brothers Oscar and James McMillan Shafter controlled almost the entire Point Reyes peninsula. In total, the Shafter holdings comprised well over 75,000 acres, or one-third of what is now Marin County.⁵⁴ They now possessed what they had been looking for: a large land tract on which to begin a dairying enterprise.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

Franciscan missionaries and Mexican land grantees introduced cattle ranching to the Point Reyes peninsula in the early 1800s. Mexican and early American rancheros added to the livestock population, first expanding their beef cattle herds and then branching out into dairying. In the last half of the nineteenth century, under the litigious maneuverings of the Shafter brothers, who consolidated vast acreage on the peninsula, Point Reyes became home to the largest dairy operation in California. To this day, dairying remains an important industry at Point Reyes. Most important to the context of the development and implementation of the Point Reyes National Seashore, though, is how the dairy industry impacted land distribution and use on the peninsula as well as created perceptions of the land as a pastoral idyll.

The influx of people to San Francisco that resulted from the Gold Rush and California's subsequent statehood created a demand for fresh dairy products. Whereas miners in the Sierra foothills had access to the milk, butter, and cheese small dairies in the San Joaquin Valley produced, Bay Area residents initially relied instead on South American or East Coast butter and cheese, which was of distinctly poor quality mostly due to the methods used to preserve and transport it.⁵⁵ By 1854, however, small dairies near San Francisco had begun to produce local butter and cheese, most notably in Sonoma County, which was the region's largest supplier of such goods until Marin County surpassed it in 1862.⁵⁶

Two families in particular can be credited with developing the dairy industry at Point Reyes: the Steeles and the Shafters.

POINT REYES BUTTER

An 1880 writer described the quality of the local butter after a captivating visit to a Point Reyes dairy: “It is thus that this elegant golden delicacy is prepared for our table, and among all the choice products of the glorious State of California none stands out in bolder relief, non [*sic*] strikes the visitor to our coast more forcibly, none affords more real pleasure to the consumer than the wonderfully excellent butter which finds its way to the city markets from Marin county. In quality, color and sweetness it is not excelled by the famous butter producing sections of Goshen in New York, or the Western Reserve of Ohio. Nor is it equaled in any other part of the United States. What a field for contemplative thought: The verdant fields of grass, toyed with by the winds, bathed in a flood of sunshine and shrouded in folds of lacelike and fleecy mists fresh from the ocean with herds of kind feeding upon them; driven at eventime into the corral and, while thoughtfully ruminating, yielding the gallons and gallons of rich, pure, sweet milk; again we see it in great cans of yellow cream, fit for the use of a king; and then the golden butter, and such a delicious butter; Ready for the market and for the table of the epicure. The grass growing in the fields on Monday is the butter on the city tables the following Sunday!”

— D.S. (Dewey) Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula: A History of the Dairy and Beef Ranches Within Point Reyes National Seashore, 1834–1992.”

The Steeles On July 4, 1857, brothers Edgar, George, and Isaac Steele, originally from Ohio, along with their cousin Rensselaer Steele, who hailed from upstate New York, leased from Thomas G. Richards land on Point Reyes Peninsula, the ownership of which was still unresolved as part of litigation surrounding Randall’s ranch. The Steele family was already successfully producing cheese and butter at their Two Rock farm in Sonoma County, but had decided to scout out another opportunity. They became sold on Point Reyes. A business partner told the Steeles about Point Reyes, which he called a veritable “cow heaven,” and Edgar Steele went on to note that on the peninsula there existed “an abundance of rich grass and clover, with many springs of cold water, and the prevalent fogs gave encouragement of maintaining fresh feed.”⁵⁷ Steele noted that naysayers dismissed the possibility of Point Reyes grasses pasturing the needed number of dairy cows to support a successful dairy industry. However, the Steele family soon proved them wrong, establishing a bustling dairy enterprise on the land with three separate dairies, each of which supported four or five workers in addition to Steele family members.⁵⁸

By 1861, an observer reported with astonishment that one of the Steele dairies, Muddy Hollow, was daily producing 640 pounds of cheese and 75 pounds of butter, all of high quality.⁵⁹ That year, the schooners by which they shipped products to San Francisco made the round trip approximately every ten days, delivering dairy products to the city and returning to the peninsula with such items as fresh vegetables, liquor, clothing, and, in 1866, a Steinway piano.⁶⁰ Despite obvious success at Point Reyes, the Steeles were dissatisfied with the lease agreement they had with the new owners, Oscar and James Shafter, who had taken control of the land in 1858. In 1866, the Steele family moved south to ranches in San Mateo and San Luis Obispo, where they parlayed the wealth and experience accumulated on Point Reyes into the penultimate position (after the Shafters) in the California dairy industry.⁶¹

Although they ran the largest operation in the late 1850s, the Steeles were not the only successful dairying folks on the Point Reyes peninsula. Josiah H. Swain, the Laird family, Carlisle S. Abbott, Rufus T. Buell, and others leased property on the point, producing butter and cheese. For a time, the Lairds' operation rivaled the Steeles'. Indeed, at the 1859 State Fair, Lairds' cheese won first-place over Steeles'. Following the Steeles' lead, most of these dairy families moved elsewhere in California after the Shafters took over Point Reyes Peninsula. Similarly, most of them also went on to great successes throughout the state in the dairy industry.⁶²

The Shafters The Steeles and others led the way in the dairy industry at Point Reyes, but the Shafters can be credited with creating on the peninsula the largest and most successful operation in California over the next seventy years. The law firm technically owned the land until 1865, when Solomon Heydenfeldt and Trenor Park sold their interests in the land to the Shafters and Charles Webb Howard, Oscar's son-in-law by marriage to his daughter Emma.⁶³ In 1869, partly in response to Oscar Shafter's ill health, the three partners partitioned the land into six sections, with each gaining control over two parcels. In addition to his own lands, Howard contracted with his ailing father-in-law to oversee the elder Shafter's property.⁶⁴ Aside from a tract at the northern end of their holdings, which the firm sold early on in 1858 to a friend (and, like the Shafters, Vermonter) Solomon Pierce, no land was sold outside the family until 1919.⁶⁵

Over the next decade, the Shafters and Howard worked hard developing the operation. Their plan was to create a network of tenant-operated dairies and beginning in 1858, they leased property to the Steeles and the other aforementioned ranchers, as well as many others over the next two decades. The brothers negotiated lease arrangements and conducted other aspects of the business, while Howard managed construction and oversaw operation of the dairies, nearly doubling their number in a few short years. The family devised a system by which leased ranches on the property were named after letters of the alphabet, starting with "A" at the southwesterly tip of the point and then first arcing northeast then back to the southeast.⁶⁶ The "alphabet ranches" corresponded primarily to dairy operations. Named ranches (Wildcat, Glen, Lake and South End) south of Bear Valley ran beef cattle once the numerous sheep that had been grazing there when the Shafters first arrived in the late 1850s and early 1860s had been removed in response to predation and plummeting wool prices.⁶⁷ As early as 1866, the Shafters and Howard considered establishing a large, experimental cheese factory on Point Reyes. To that end, Howard traveled east, visiting factories and even buying equipment. Although cheese making would eventually gain prominence as a pioneer industry in the area, the idea was scrapped for the time being when the Shafters decided instead to concentrate on butter, for which they had come to believe their land was better suited.⁶⁸ Oscar Shafter began suffering from mental illness in 1867 and died six years later, leaving Howard in charge of his estate.⁶⁹ By the late 1860s, James had apparently semi-retired to an estate he built near Olema, which he named "The Oaks."⁷⁰



NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Photograph of “I” Ranch (McClure Dairy), one of the original Oscar Shafter ranches on the upper peninsula, taken in the 1950s. Hay barn (left foreground) dates to 1880s, farm house (center) built in 1925. McClure photograph.

Tenant Ranches

Thereafter, the surviving Shafter and Howard continued to devote all of their energy to upgrading operations, including the development of a utilitarian system of tenant ranches at Point Reyes.⁷¹ In 1870, the tenant ranch system included twenty dairies operating on Shafter-Howard land, with between 150 to 170 top-grade cows on each ranch, and the industry was still expanding. The tenant system differed from single-owner operations in their efficiency and uniformity. The types of structures and the pattern of built environment followed a standardized model, varying little from ranch to ranch. In a draft “National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Point Reyes Ranches Rural Historic District,” the author described these ranches as “purely functional in nature,” to the extent that they seemed “analogous to an industrial landscape.”⁷² In exchange for their labor and their maintenance of the ranch in good condition, tenants, usually with three-year leases, gained the use of the ranch buildings and land, which they could use to raise their own hogs. The lease agreement limited ranch sales to only two products: butter and hogs.⁷³ But the opportunity to work a piece of land and raise one’s own animals attracted tenants from a broad cross-section of California society. During the 1870s, Point Reyes tenant ranchers were of American, Swedish, Swiss, German, Irish, and Portuguese descent.⁷⁴

Shafter and Howard had achieved widespread fame as overseers of the largest dairy operation in the state.⁷⁵ As early as 1866, a Vermont newspaper reported that Marin County dairies were giving those on the East Coast (which had, up until then, been a large supplier to California) a run for their money. The article implied that Vermont dairies might soon be in trouble, as it was expected that California would quickly be entirely self-reliant.⁷⁶ Not only was Marin supplying the greatest quantity and highest quality of butter in California by 1870, Marin County’s production of more than two

million pounds of butter easily bettered the output of any single western state.⁷⁷ That level of butter production, however, still paled in comparison to the yields of such eastern dairy states as Pennsylvania (60 million pounds) and New York (107 million pounds). Nonetheless, Marin County and particularly Point Reyes butter operations had grown into a dominant role in the California market. And the so-called gilt-edged Point Reyes butter commanded a higher price than butter produced even just on the other side of Tomales Bay.⁷⁸ The Point Reyes butter empire was on the rise.

At least ten different schooners traveled regularly between San Francisco and Point Reyes between 1870 and the 1920s. In 1870, for example, the steamer *Monterey* made the trip weekly with stops at Drakes Bay and Tomales; the gasoline-powered *Point Reyes* operated during the 1910s until the end of the Point Reyes butter schooner days in the early 1920s.⁷⁹ Just as would be the case a century later when proponents of the national seashore were campaigning to create a park at Point Reyes, dairying on the peninsula was successful because of both its remote seaward location and its proximity to San Francisco. The peninsula’s isolated grasslands and moist climate provided perfect fodder for dairy cows on large, unbroken land tracts; yet the bays and coves of the peninsula and short distance via the sea to San Francisco’s wharves provided an ideal combination of sheltered harbors and a route by which schooners could transport perishables like butter and cheese. This combination of near and far was the key to more than a half-century of milk-based prosperity on Shafter-Howard land.



Record No. 58400. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

The schooner “Point Reyes,” ca. 1920s

Despite their outwardly phenomenal successes in land acquisition and the dairy industry, and their prominent social and political connections in the state, neither James Shafter nor Charles Howard apparently managed their finances with much capability. Shafter died in 1892 with enormous debts, which his daughter tried unsuccessfully for years to pay off. In 1929, to defray the debts, unpaid taxes, and mortgage payments left by her father, Julia Shafter Hamilton was ultimately forced to sell Home Ranch to Leland S. Murphy. Hamilton felt taken advantage of and was initially bitter about selling the property to Murphy; she even accused him of wanting to “ruin” her ranch.

Nonetheless, Murphy, who was surprised that Hamilton accepted what he considered to be the “ridiculous offer” he had made on the property, worked hard to continue the tradition, initiating farming experiments—cattle, hogs, artichokes, and peas—and a hunt club on the property in addition to maintaining dairy cows there.⁸⁰ Murphy owned the property until the Park Service purchased the land in 1968.⁸¹ Similarly, when Howard died in 1907, his land and dairy assets were almost all he had left to his name. When his wife Emma died a decade

later, her four children quarreled over what to do with the property. Each ultimately sold their share to John Rapp in 1919, the first major land sale on the peninsula since the Shafters first gained control sixty years earlier in 1858. The remaining Shafter heirs followed suit, selling their inheritance properties over the next two decades. By, 1939, all of the land originally owned on Point Reyes by members of the Shafter-Howard family belonged to other owners, many of them ex-tenants on the land.⁸² Dairying continued on much of the land, with the ranchers incorporating new technologies and following new dairy regulations in their operations.⁸³ Although the southern ranches succumbed to subdivision after the estates began to sell, in the northern areas of the peninsula, the property boundaries of the former alphabet ranches for the most part remained intact.⁸⁴ Although the Shafters and Howard no longer dominated the land, they left an indelible imprint on the peninsula. When the National Park Service surveyed the peninsula in the early 1960s, fifteen dairy ranches and ten cattle ranches still operated on Point Reyes.⁸⁵

Despite the legacy of dairying on the peninsula that persists today, Point Reyes' heyday in the industry was over by 1920. The tenant system was abandoned in stages between 1919 and 1939.⁸⁶ A number of factors contributed to this decline. Growing concern over food safety linked contaminated dairy products with such illness as tuberculosis and the cost of implementing new sanitary methods the government began to require was costly and time-consuming. Alfalfa, which gained prominence as a superior feed product for cows, was not suited to the cool, damp coastal region, thriving instead in the hot, dry valleys. Trucking, too, took its toll on the Point Reyes dairy industry. Whereas schooners and trains had been effective in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century, refrigerated trucks traveling paved highways quickly became a much more efficient and flexible means by which to convey perishable dairy products to the market. By 1922, Marin County did not even make one top-ten list of butterfat producers in the State of California.⁸⁷ Dairy production in the county continued throughout the establishment and history of the national seashore, but on a much, much smaller scale than in its heyday.

Timber and fishing also played essential roles in the area's economy, especially in its relationship to more urban areas of the state. Historian Robert S. Lange documented for the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) the F. E. Booth Company Pier, constructed in 1919, which was determined to be "the oldest and least altered of the four commercial fishing piers erected at Point Reyes." Although the pier was at that time slated for demolition and the era of shipping goods by sea had long since passed, the pier represented nonetheless an important feature of local industrial history.⁸⁸

EARLY MARIN COUNTY AND POINT REYES PENINSULA TOURISM

Despite its isolation from the growing urban ring around the San Francisco Bay, small communities evolved on Point Reyes over the nineteenth century to support first the timber industry and then the dairy operations on the peninsula. Alongside growing local industries, a small tourist trade eventually became established. Marin County was on its way to becoming a premier destination not only for businessmen and ranchers, but also for Bay Area pleasure travelers. Olema, one of the original white settlements on the peninsula also had a long history as a favored village site for the Coast Miwok people. At first the seat of Rafael Garcia's rancho, Olema grew in importance as a stop on the overland stagecoach route. In 1857, Benjamin Winslow erected the Olema House, which served as a store, saloon, and hotel.⁸⁹ Olema's importance diminished, however, once it was bypassed in favor of the newly platted town of Point Reyes by the newly

incorporated narrow gauge North Pacific Coast Railroad, which wound its way north from the new ferry landing at Sausalito to Tomales (its last stop in Marin County), with its terminus at Cazadero in Sonoma County.⁹⁰ Bolinas, located at the far southern end of the peninsula and which had for years served as a timber port, also became a destination spot.

The new Sausalito ferry provided a convenient means by which Bay Area residents could access Marin County before construction of the Golden Gate Bridge; similarly, the North Pacific Coast Railroad simplified the overland journey to Point Reyes. Soon thereafter, San Franciscans began using the ferry and train to take day outings to the county. Local media publicized the growing trend: in 1878, the *San Francisco Argonaut* reported, “There is not any portion of our State more picturesque and romantic than the county of Marin.”⁹¹ By the late 1800s, travelers were making the journey via the railroad, often alighting at Tocaloma, located just east of Olema, and making their way to Tomales Bay, Point Reyes, or Bear Valley, which Howard had made available to the public as a park.⁹² Of all the destinations, Bear Valley was, and remains today, a jumping-off point for Point Reyes visitors. The valley was home to beautiful vistas, and boasted a lush, walkable path to the ocean that attracted picnickers and sportsmen alike.⁹³

Hunting Clubs

Hunting and sport fishing also became desirable outdoor activities at Point Reyes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prominent San Francisco lawyer (and Shafter cousin) John Orr leased Howard Cottage in 1887 as a hunting lodge and summer cabin. Hunting clubs soon followed. Members of the elite Pacific Union Club of San Francisco founded a country club on 1,000 acres they leased in Bear Valley in 1890.



Record No. 52610. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives.

Interior view of the Bear Valley Country Club in Bear Valley, date unknown. The largest of the trophy heads belongs to an animal (moose) not found, historically or currently, at Point Reyes.

They also leased from the Shafter and Howard the right to hunt on 76,000 acres adjoining the club grounds. The country club was elegantly appointed, with a Victorian clubhouse, stables, and barn, as well as accommodations for thirty-five hunters and their vehicles, horses, and dogs. The club employed three game wardens who patrolled for poachers and monitored the exotic game animals that were introduced to the area; seven coastal lakes on club property were stocked with trout, salmon, and bass. Although it was a mostly male preserve, during the off-season, women were invited to attend social events and outings.⁹⁴

During the 1890s, a handful of sporting clubs peppered the Marin County countryside. So many hunters used the area over the next decade that the native deer population was severely decimated. In 1907, the county supervisors responded, imposing a two-deer limit per-person and prohibiting the use of hunting dogs.⁹⁵ Although the country clubs continued to operate once the limits were imposed, the two prominent Point Reyes

establishments—Bear Valley County Club and Point Reyes Sportsmen’s Club—folded during the Depression Era.⁹⁶

Other small communities in Marin County or on the peninsula itself either were created as or over time became tourist destinations. In 1889, James Shafter set aside 640 wooded acres on the west side of Tomales Bay. Shafter may have been motivated by a desire to preserve the peninsula’s scenery as Harold Gilliam emphasized in his 1972 *Island in Time*. More likely, he subdivided the land in order to offset railroad losses. Whatever the reasons, or combination thereof, the town of Inverness—named after the Scottish town from whence his family had come—was built on the site as a resort village for campers and fishermen and summer spot for Bay Area socialites.⁹⁷ Inverness was reckoned a prime spot for sailing, fishing, and swimming beaches on Tomales Bay, and has indeed served as a summer retreat for a handful of San Franciscans and other Bay Area residents since it was first established. However, the thriving resort area Shafter envisioned never blossomed. When he died, leaving his heirs the burden of his many outstanding debts, his daughter and executrix Julia Shafter Hamilton desperately and unsuccessfully tried to subdivide and sell off some of the Inverness acreage.⁹⁸

Many historians have pointed to the impact the coming of the automobile had not only on the physical landscape of America but on social relations and the cultural landscape as well.⁹⁹ Twentieth-century Point Reyes was no exception. When the Sausalito ferry first brought cars to Marin County in the early twentieth century, residents had mixed feelings. In 1903, anxious citizens organized an anti-auto campaign, which, although it failed, spurred strict speed and access restrictions in the county. Cars were thus initially thwarted on Point Reyes Peninsula and visitors continued to come by rail, many of them taking the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway.¹⁰⁰ Automobiles would not be kept away for long, though. In an apocryphal story, presaging the coming dominance of cars and demise of trains, a car solidly trounced a train locomotive in a race to the top of Mount Tamalpais in 1916.¹⁰¹ The car’s speed and flexibility were its best assets, shortening the trip from the ferry dock to the peninsula to under two hours and allowing travelers to stop and look around at will. Backers of the proposed Golden Gate Bridge further crowed that the bridge would shorten that time by an hour, making a Point Reyes outing possible in even just an afternoon.¹⁰²

By 1920, car travel to the peninsula was growing steadily, especially to Bolinas and Stinson Beach, beyond the southern end of what is now Point Reyes National Seashore. By that time, Bolinas and Stinson Beach boasted hotels—one with an anticipatory 120-space automobile parking lot—grocery stores, restaurants, and rental cottages for people who preferred more luxurious accommodations. Others simply parked their cars where they could and camped on the sand dunes or in woods near the beach.¹⁰³ The decade before the Great Depression witnessed a dramatic increase in car traffic to Marin County. Between 1922 and 1925 alone, the number of cars that visited Muir Woods, for example, more than doubled from 12,000 to 27,000.¹⁰⁴ Although well-graded roads crisscrossed the peninsula by the end of the nineteenth century, increased car traffic in the first two decades of the twentieth century spurred the development of surfaced roads on the peninsula. The first paved roads on the peninsula were poured in the late 1920s, starting with the lighthouse road and Sir Francis Drake Highway, which runs east-west between what are now highways 101 and 1, ending at Olema. The car/train race up Mount Tamalpais proved to be prophetic, for the railroad closed in 1930. Indeed, by the 1950s, a good number of roads on the peninsula were paved and cars had become as ubiquitous in Marin County as they were nationwide. The days of stagecoaches, horse and carriage,

schooners, and railroads may be long past, but remains of the pre-automobile age still exist. Many of the original footpaths and dirt roads on Point Reyes now serve as trails through the national seashore.¹⁰⁵

NAVIGATION AND COMMUNICATION ON POINT REYES

Capricious currents, seasonal fog, terrible winds, submerged rocks, and heavy surf, as well as its geographic location jutting far out into the Pacific Ocean, have made Point Reyes a natural hazard for sailors since 1595, when Cermeño's ill-fated *San Agustín* met with disaster in the pounding waves off Drakes Beach.¹⁰⁶ Over the next three centuries, numerous ships foundered and sank off its shores. The peninsula's proximity just thirty-five miles northwest of the growing seaports in San Francisco Bay and its protrusion along the increasingly well traveled commercial route off the California coastline, made navigation around the point essential. Point Reyes' isolation from those destinations in a period lacking any form of radio ship-to-shore communication meant that running aground there was a solitary event that often ended in death and destruction. It was clear that some form of navigation aid was essential to safe maritime travel.

Point Reyes Lighthouse

Plans for a lighthouse at Point Reyes began immediately upon American acquisition of California from Mexico. President Zachary Taylor authorized a survey of the coastline, which recommended sixteen sites. Although Point Reyes was ranked second on the list, the site was overlooked in favor of eight others. In 1854, however, responding to what had become an obviously crucial need for a lighthouse on the point, Congress appropriated the necessary funds to build a station on the peninsula and the site soon appeared on maps of the area.¹⁰⁷ Construction was scheduled to begin in 1855, but an important detail had been overlooked. The United States government had no title to the land and another fifteen years would pass before they could secure it. In the meantime, an estimated three-quarters of a million dollars in maritime losses occurred.¹⁰⁸

In 1856, a by-now familiar story was playing out on the peninsula. The planned site on which the Point Reyes light was to be built was currently under dispute as part of the Randall foreclosure debacle. Just as the Steeles had leased land from Thomas G. Richards, a party to the as-yet-unsettled suit, the Lighthouse Board also negotiated with Richards for sale of the desired lighthouse site. However, while the details of the transaction were being ironed out, the Shafers gained control of the land, negating the deal with Richards. Thus, in 1858, the U.S government entered into a protracted battle with the Shafter family to gain title to the property at the westernmost tip of the point, land that had originally been part of Rancho Punta de los Reyes Sobrante.¹⁰⁹ Shrewd land speculators, the Shafers offered the parcel to the government at an "exorbitant" price, which it refused at first to pay. By January 1869, however, an agreement had been reached, and construction of the lighthouse got underway.¹¹⁰ In August 1870, John C. Bull became the first lighthouse keeper on the point. Soon thereafter, notice was posted to mariners that the light, flashing white on a five-second interval, would begin operation on December 1, 1870. The fog signal went into operation the following summer.¹¹¹

Over almost the next half century, the lighthouse station at Point Reyes was beset by problems. Whereas the first-order Fresnel lens worked flawlessly from the beginning, the fog signal caused continual headaches for the Coast Guard. The steam signal depended on rainfall to fill its tanks, and the cistern from which the steam signal drew water was in constant danger of running dry, causing spotty operation in the first few years of use.

Further complaints surrounded the inconsistency with which the horn could be heard from different points offshore, especially to the north of the light, where most shipwrecks had occurred. Some captains reported that even just one mile off the point they were unable to hear the signal.¹¹² The Point Reyes light and signal were universally recognized to be among the most important on the coastline and yet problems continued to beset the station. Unforgiving natural forces on the point beleaguered the buildings and low rainfall made keeping the cistern full an ongoing concern. Furthermore, ships continued to wreck at Point Reyes even after the light and signal were implemented, spurring increasingly negative publicity. In response to perpetual problems with the lighthouse and foghorn, work began in earnest in the 1880s to improve the station.¹¹³ In 1890, two twelve-inch whistles were installed, and the station received good reports over the next decade. Nonetheless, by the early twentieth century, with continued water shortages and battering winds and then the structural damage the 1906 earthquake caused, the lighthouse was again in trouble. Mariners persisted in their complaints that the fog signal's notorious unreliability endangered their crew and cargos, and the government continued to work on improving the station's performance. It was not until 1915, almost fifty years after it was originally constructed, that the installation of a powerful new fog signal indicated acceptance of the lighthouse as a success.¹¹⁴

Although the erection of the lighthouse at Point Reyes and the foghorn, however spotty its record, made the coastline safer for sailors, the waters off the peninsula remained dangerous and shipwrecks continued to occur on its beaches and reefs. A lifesaving station was necessary to rescue mariners who, despite the precautions, foundered at Point Reyes and other such coastal locations. In response to this ongoing peril to lives and commerce, in 1878 Congress authorized the formation of the U.S. Life-Saving Service. Perhaps the most important job the highly disciplined lifesaving station crews performed was their perpetual patrolling of beaches, staying alert to distress signals from ships and sending up flares to warn vessels that were too close to shore or in dangerous waters. When wrecks could not be prevented, the lifesaving crews used various means by which to rescue passengers and, if possible, salvage cargo. The station provided dry, clean clothes to survivors, lodging, and meals until arrangements were made to convey the passengers and crew to their destinations.¹¹⁵

Final authorization was given for a Point Reyes lifesaving station in 1886.¹¹⁶ Once again, though, the Shafter clan held up transfer of land for the project. Charles Howard "played fast and loose" with the buyer's agent and caused a "great deal of trouble and vexatious delays" in acquiring the 3 ½-acre site north of the lighthouse on which the Point Reyes lifesaving station was to be erected.¹¹⁷ Howard caused further delay by refusing to allow transport of materials across his land but eventually construction began. By July 1890, operations at the station commenced.¹¹⁸

Hardship and tragedy plagued the station's early years. Treacherous surf, which made regular drills and rescue operations inordinately risky, and an extremely remote location on Great Beach no doubt contributed to the death of four crewmen and demoralization of others. Desertion and drunkenness were rife. The lifesaving station underwent changes over the next seventy-five years, but continued to save lives and property by warning ships of the dangers off Point Reyes' coast. The Life-Saving Service became part of the U.S. Coast Guard in 1915. In 1927, the lifesaving operations were moved to Chimney Rock, located at the opposite tip of the point from the lighthouse. That year the Coast Guard built, on the Drakes Bay side of the headlands, a new lifeboat station and marine railway that enabled crews to launch larger rescue boats directly into the surf. The Point

Reyes Lifeboat Station remained in operation for forty years, until the Coast Guard deactivated it in 1968; in 1969, the NPS took over the station property.¹¹⁹ The station is now the only intact lifeboat facility of its type remaining on the west coast. Accordingly, in 1990 the lifeboat station was designated a National Historic Landmark, the only structure with this status in the national seashore.

Marconi and RCA Wireless Stations Point Reyes' location and isolation, which proved so dangerous for the maritime trade, was a boon to other industries that located there in the twentieth century. Perhaps the most noted of these are the wireless communications transmitting/receiving stations that Guglielmo Marconi and then the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) erected on the peninsula. Remnants of these operations remain a visible part of the landscape at Point Reyes today.

On December 12, 1901, Marconi was the first to transmit a transatlantic wireless signal. Although that first signal was both weak and brief, Marconi's primary triumph that day was in proving that the curvature of the earth need not prevent a wireless signal from traveling great distances as had previously been thought. This revelation opened the entire globe to wireless transmission; as Marconi stated after the event, "wireless telegraphy is possible everywhere."¹²⁰ The new technology soon proved its worth, aiding in several high profile rescues at sea, including the collision of the luxury liner *Republic* and Italian steamer *Florida* off Nantucket in 1909 and the infamous *Titanic* tragedy in 1912.¹²¹ In 1909, Marconi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Physics (which he shared with Karl Ferdinand Braun) for his groundbreaking contributions to wireless technology. As historian Dewey Livingston summarizes: Marconi's "wireless systems saved hundreds of lives, brought important news to governments and people, helped the military forces of countries across the globe, and brought radio messages into homes; Marconi had started a revolution like the world had never seen."¹²²

Searching for a prime West Coast location for its expanding business, Marconi and his engineers settled on Point Reyes in 1912. The peninsula provided not only a "clean" (in other words, free of interference) location for receiving and transmitting, but also proximity to the company's western headquarters in San Francisco. By 1914, the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America had constructed a transmitter at Bolinas and receiver at Marshall.¹²³ The Marconi station at Point Reyes and its counterpart at Kahuku, Hawaii, opened on September 24, 1914, with a ceremonial message shared between dignitaries of San Francisco and Hawaii.¹²⁴ Marconi's powerful wireless telegraph station, known as "KET," provided essential point-to-point communications until 1919, when the U.S. Navy forced Marconi to relinquish control over the company under a wartime law that outlawed foreign ownership (Marconi was British-owned) of radio companies in the United States.¹²⁵ RCA was formed soon thereafter out of a merger of General Electric and Marconi Wireless, supported by a consortium that also included AT&T, Westinghouse, and the United Fruit Company.¹²⁶

RCA grew rapidly after the war and during the 1920s, controlling the high-power circuits and marine service at Marshall and Bolinas from its San Francisco office, while developing its home entertainment apparatus, vacuum tubes, and radio receivers, among other pursuits.¹²⁷ In 1920, RCA inherited from the Navy and reopened at Marshall station KPH, first run by the American DeForest Wireless Company and located in San Francisco's Palace Hotel (thus the call letters PH), then acquired by United Wireless and moved to Russian Hill and then Hillcrest in Daly City after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.¹²⁸ The 1920s and early 1930s were a time of significant expansion of RCA's

West Coast operations. RCA created subsidiary RCA Communications (RCAC) in 1929 to focus on this aspect of the company's many wings and deeded its Marshall property to the new branch the next year. In 1930, David Sarnoff took over the helm at RCA, bringing his sharp business sense and boundless energy to the company, which blossomed and prospered under his direction over the next three decades. At the same time, RCAC made plans to expand its transmitters at Bolinas and build a new receiving station along Sir Francis Drake on the west side of the peninsula near "G" Ranch.¹²⁹ The distinctive Art Deco stations and related buildings were online by 1931. Station KPH continued to transmit from the Bolinas transmitter (in the old Marconi powerhouse, renamed Building 1 after the new facility was constructed) and continued its ship-to-shore receiving operations at the Marshall station.¹³⁰

Although the Great Depression slowed RCA's business somewhat, by the mid-1930s RCA communicated from its Marin County stations with stations in forty-seven foreign countries, from where messages could then be relayed to just about anywhere on the earth. Services included landline transmission via Western Union, radio programs such as "Hawaii Calls" which featured music and talk from the Pacific islands, and a "photogram" service that enabled transmission of photographs, maps, handwritten material, signatures, and fingerprints.¹³¹

RCA's Point Reyes facilities' prominence increased during the 1940s, especially during World War II. Early December 7, 1941, station KPH, with longtime employee Frank Geisel monitoring the equipment, was the first to receive intercepted radio calls about the impending attack on Pearl Harbor from Japanese transmitters and reports from nearby SS *Lurline* of a submarine threat. News of the bombing followed, confirming Geisel's, and soon the nation's, worst fears and Geisel relayed the information to ships at sea and RCA headquarters. Sarnoff, a strong patriot, immediately offered RCA's services to President Franklin D. Roosevelt via a telegraph message that read: "All our facilities are ready and at your instant service. We await your orders."¹³² Roosevelt quickly took Sarnoff at his word. Because of the perception of Point Reyes as vulnerable to attack, the army took over RCAC properties on the peninsula as headquarters for military operations; furthermore, station KET (KPH was put out of service) played a prominent role in fostering wartime communications, monitoring Japanese transmissions, and providing daily information to the FBI.¹³³

After the war, KPH resumed operations under the direction of Frank Geisel, who worked hard to reestablish the station's prominence. By the mid-1950s, KPH was back to speed and employed anywhere from ten to twenty employees at a time. Many of these employees saw this era as the station's golden years.¹³⁴ KPH played important roles in information gathering during the Cold War (a covert role for which RCA would come under sharp criticism in the 1970s) and also during the Vietnam War as a contract radio station for hundreds of ships at sea. KPH staffing increased during the 1960s to handle war-related communications, which consisted mostly of communications with freighters hauling supplies and ammunition to Vietnam, and peaked in the early 1970s.¹³⁵

Despite its prominent role throughout at least fifty years of global communications, RCA's hold on the industry began to falter during the 1970s as wireless technology advanced and changed. The company, now known as RCA Globcom, switched from point-to-point technology to satellite in the mid-1970s, and by 1977 had sold all of its Bolinas property and most of its Point Reyes property to the Trust for Public Land (TPL

then leased the Bolinas property to Commonweal and resold its Point Reyes land to the NPS, which leased it back to RCA).¹³⁶

Although the company limped along after David Sarnoff's death in 1971, RCA's fortunes declined dramatically, failing to compete in the satellite business (RCA [later GE] Americom, which closed its doors in 1991) and falling from one of the country's most successful and well-managed corporations to one of the worst. In 1985, RCA sold out to its original parent company and later nemesis GE, which had ironically paid only 3.5 million dollars for controlling stock in Marconi Wireless in 1919. GE's ownership of the marine stations was brief and after twenty-three months of neglect at KPH, GE sold RCA Globcom to MCI International, Inc., in May 1988, to be operated by MCI's wholly owned subsidiary, Western Union International.¹³⁷ MCI's announcement in the mid-1990s that it was merging with international communications giant British Telecom signaled the imminent doom of KPH, which sent its last transmission and officially closed its doors on June 29, 1997.¹³⁸

Today, the communication facilities are closed; the NPS purchased the MCI site in 1999. But the Marconi and RCA stations, which made their mark in the radio communications industry, also left their stamp on the Point Reyes landscape. The "maze of poles and wires," which Harold Gilliam described at the RCA and AT&T receiving sites in 1962 still stand at some of sites today, reminders of the once-isolated peninsula's connections to far-flung lands.¹³⁹

Conclusion

Prior to creation of the Point Reyes National Seashore, the area had been home to a number of different people, cultures, and industries. Successive and overlapping human residence and the cultural conflicts and compromises it fostered along with the imposition of geographical boundaries, new species, and the development of a thriving dairy industry forever altered the face of the land. Historical developments on Point Reyes left a relatively open, sizeable parcel of coastline that enabled the establishment of the national seashore during the late twentieth century. And yet, what seemed at the outset to be a relatively easy task, turned out to reflect more the battles surrounding distribution of Randall's property or the government's fight to erect a lighthouse than a simple matter of consolidating a few parcels of land. Indeed, very literal and more tenuous boundaries had been indelibly imprinted on the peninsula as the process of defining and redefining the peninsula—as a native home, mission outpost, system of ranches, and tourist destination—continued over centuries of human use of the land.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

¹ Anna Coxé Toogood, "Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore," 2 vols., Historic Resource Study, Historic Preservation Branch, Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1980, 1:2–3.

² National Park Service, "History of the Coast Miwok at Point Reyes," Point Reyes National Seashore official website, National Park Service. http://www.nps.gov/pore/history_miwok.htm (accessed March 10, 2005); Toogood, "Civil History," 1:3–4; and Michael J. Moratto, *California Archaeology* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1984), 272.

³ Toogood, "Civil History," 3–4; and Harold Gilliam, *Island in Time* (New York: The Sierra Club/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), 39.

⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 4; and Isabel Kelly, “Coast Miwok,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 8, *California*, ed. Robert G. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 417.

⁵ Isabel Kelly, “Coast Miwok,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 419. Americans, especially in the last three decades, have somewhat romanticized the idea of the “natural” and “peaceful native.” Harold Gilliam claimed that “in at least one respect their civilization surpassed our own: there was no pattern of organized warfare.” Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 39.

⁶ Gilliam describes these hairdos but does not cite his source. Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 40.

⁷ The 1851 and 1920 figures are taken from the compiled table provided in Isabel Kelly, “Coast Miwok,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 414. Contemporary numbers are provided on the National Park Service website for Point Reyes National Seashore.

http://www.nps.gov/pore/history_miwok.htm (accessed March 10, 2005). The Point Reyes website refers to the band as the “Federated Coast Miwok,” but the tribe now goes by the Graton Rancheria moniker. For more information on the tribe and its nationally recognized fight to be recognized by the federal government, see “Federated Tribe of Graton Rancheria,” <http://www.gratonrancheria.com/>; and “California Miwok Indians Fight To Reclaim Official Tribal Status,” <http://archives.cnn.com/2000/US/07/12/miwok.reservation> (both accessed June 8, 2005).

⁸ The Coast Miwok believed that the dead lived beyond the ocean’s western horizon. Thus white men coming from that direction seemed to have come from beyond the grave. For a detailed albeit dated description of the many theories and different pieces of evidence in the debate, see Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 14–25.

⁹ National Park Service, “History of the Early Exploration of Point Reyes,” Point Reyes National Seashore official website, National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/pore/history_explorers.htm.

¹⁰ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 19–22.

¹¹ Raymond Aker and Edward Von der Porten, *Discovering Francis Drake’s California Harbor* (Palo Alto, California: Drake Navigators Guild, 2000), 35–50. A good outline, albeit out-dated, of the theories and evidence can be found in Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 14–19. Other maps have been used to try to determine the location of the “lost harbor.” For example, a preparatory sketch of the harbor at New Albion with sounding marks that Robert Dudley, son of a financial backer of Drake’s journey, drew for his 1647 world atlas.

¹² For instance, one amateur historian has recently placed the landing much further north at Whale Cove, Oregon, in part based on another historian’s assertion that Drake and Queen Elizabeth I conspired after the voyage to deceive the Spanish into believing that the Northwest passage Drake claimed was farther south than he thought. Arthur Davies, “Drake and California,” *Pacific Discovery* 34 (November–December 1981): 14–24, and Davies, “The Golden Hind and the Tello on the Coasts of California,” *Geographical Journal* 148 (July 1982): 219–24; and Little Whale Cove, “Drake,” <http://www.whalecove.com/drake2.html> (accessed March 11, 2005).

¹³ For a detailed discussion of the fake plate, see Edward Von der Porten, Raymond Aker, Robert W. Allen, and James M. Spitze, “Who Made Drake’s Plate of Brass? Hint: It Wasn’t Francis Drake,” *California History* 81, no. 2 (Spring–Fall 2002): 116–33.

¹⁴ “Who Made Drake’s Plate of Brass?” esp. 121–23.

¹⁵ “Who Made Drake’s Plate of Brass?” quotation on 121.

¹⁶ “Who Made Drake’s Plate of Brass?” 121.

¹⁷ “Who Made Drake’s Plate of Brass?” 123–28.

¹⁸ Harold Gilliam quoted “a Piedmont matron” as saying, “‘You’d better know how people feel about Drake when you’re making out your guest list for a dinner.’” Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 14.

¹⁹ “Point Reyes: Picturesque Peninsula in the Pacific,” *Newsweek* 131, no. 20 (May 18, 1998), 13.

²⁰ PRNS, “Shipwrecks on the Point Reyes Peninsula, 1849–1940,” map, <http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/shipwreck> (accessed March 7, 2006).

²¹ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 33.

²² PRNS, “History of the Early Exploration of Point Reyes,” http://www.nps.gov/pore/history_explorers.htm (accessed March 14, 2005).

- ²³ PRNS, “History of the Early Exploration of Point Reyes.”
- ²⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:5.
- ²⁵ California Department of Parks and Recreation, “Fort Ross SHP,” http://www.parks.ca.gov/default.asp?page_id=449 (accessed March 17, 2005).
- ²⁶ The Ohlone people are also known by the name the Spanish gave to them, Costanoan.
- ²⁷ The actual number of Costanoans in the region is not known. A 1774 expedition found none north of Lake Merced to the Golden Gate area; but in 1776, a substantial village was found approximately a mile and a half southwest of the present location of Mission Dolores. Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:11. See also United States Army Corps of Engineers San Francisco District, “Maritime Archaeology Study in Support of the San Francisco Bay Rocks Removal Project,” <http://www.spn.usace.army.mil/archaeology/rockremoval/4.0historicbkrd.htm> (accessed June 8, 2005).
- ²⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:5–6.
- ²⁹ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:6.
- ³⁰ Don Felipe de Goycochea quoted (in translation) in Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:6.
- ³¹ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:6–7.
- ³² This summary is taken mostly from Sherburne F. Cook and Cesare Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 472–78.
- ³³ Cook and Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 475.
- ³⁴ Cook and Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 474–76.
- ³⁵ Cook and Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 477.
- ³⁶ Cook and Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 478.
- ³⁷ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 40.
- ³⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:13–14.
- ³⁹ Cook and Marino, “Roman Catholic Missions in California and the Southwest,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 478.
- ⁴⁰ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 40.
- ⁴¹ The story of the *ranchos* is too detailed and complex to cover here. For close coverage and analysis, see Dewey S. Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula: A History of the Dairy and Beef Ranches within Point Reyes National Seashore, 1834–1992,” Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, Point Reyes National Seashore, 1993, 1–11; and Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:28–75. Most of this discussion is summarized from these two comprehensive sources.
- ⁴² Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:33.
- ⁴³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:33–38.
- ⁴⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:38; and Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 67.
- ⁴⁵ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 5.
- ⁴⁶ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:40.
- ⁴⁷ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:42–43.
- ⁴⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:69–72; and Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 7–9.
- ⁴⁹ Jack Mason quoted in Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 9.
- ⁵⁰ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:44; and Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 4.
- ⁵¹ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 5.
- ⁵² Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:64–69; and Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 6.
- ⁵³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:69.
- ⁵⁴ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 9–11.

- ⁵⁵ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 11–12.
- ⁵⁶ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 12; and Toogood, "Civil History," 1:96–97.
- ⁵⁷ The quote is relayed as both "cow heaven" and "cow haven," depending on the source. See, respectively, Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 14; and Toogood, "Civil History," 1:135. The Steele quotation is from the former.
- ⁵⁸ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 16.
- ⁵⁹ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 17.
- ⁶⁰ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 16.
- ⁶¹ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 19–20; and Toogood, "Civil History," 1:136–38.
- ⁶² Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 20–23.
- ⁶³ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 31; and Toogood, "Civil History," 1:140.
- ⁶⁴ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 33–35.
- ⁶⁵ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 30; and Toogood, "Civil History," 1:145.
- ⁶⁶ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 31.
- ⁶⁷ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 33, 31.
- ⁶⁸ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 33, 61–62.
- ⁶⁹ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:140–41.
- ⁷⁰ The property is now part of the Vedanta Society estate.
- ⁷¹ Veerkamp, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Point Reyes Ranches Rural Historic District," draft, n.d., File NR-Ranches, Box 14, PORE 8062 Historian's Records, Point Reyes National Seashore Archives (hereafter cited as PRA), 4; Toogood, "Civil History," 1:142–43.
- ⁷² Veerkamp, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Point Reyes Ranches Rural Historic District," 7.
- ⁷³ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:153–54.
- ⁷⁴ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:154.
- ⁷⁵ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 35–37.
- ⁷⁶ Quoted in Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 36.
- ⁷⁷ Department of the Interior, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth*, compiled by the Superintendent of the Census (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872), 106, 594. In 1870, Marin County's 2,107,755 lbs. of butter production outdistanced Oregon's total statewide production of 1,876,189 lbs.
- ⁷⁸ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 37, 62–64. Contemporaries of the Shafters complained that this reputation was unwarranted. Livingston has speculated that it might have been more a result of Shafters connections in San Francisco and savvy marketing that fostered the prominence of Point Reyes butter, even to the point of other dairies' counterfeiting the "PR" stamp or filling Point Reyes butter boxes with "common" products. *Ibid.*, 64. See also Toogood, "Civil History," 1:158.
- ⁷⁹ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 51–52.
- ⁸⁰ Leland S. Murphy, interview by Diana Skiles, June 15, 1977, Guerneville, California, transcript, Point Reyes National Seashore Archives (hereafter PRA).
- ⁸¹ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:167–68.
- ⁸² Toogood, "Civil History," 1:144–45.
- ⁸³ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 65–68.
- ⁸⁴ Livingston, "Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula," 68–72.
- ⁸⁵ NPS, *Report on the Economic Feasibility of the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore, 1961* (San Francisco: NPS Region Four Office, 1961), NPS Denver Service Center Library, Denver, Colorado, 2.
- ⁸⁶ Veerkamp, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Point Reyes Ranches Rural Historic District," 4.
- ⁸⁷ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:195–96.

⁸⁸ Robert S. Lange, “F. E. Booth Company Pier, Point Reyes National Seashore, Marin County, California,” HABS Report, CAL. 21-BOLI, 1-, HABS No. CA-2073, September 1980.

⁸⁹ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 47.

⁹⁰ Marin County Free Library, “Riding the Railroad in Marin County, circa 1900,” <http://www.co.marin.ca.us/depts/lb/main/crm/photoalbums/ridingrailroadalbum/ridingrailroadmain.html> (accessed March 16, 2005); and Toogood, “Civil History,” 2: 1.

⁹¹ Quoted in Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:3. The *San Francisco Argonaut* was founded in 1877 by Frank Morrison Pixley, whose wife, Amelia Van Reynegom, had inherited a Marin County ranch (which was apparently part of John Reed’s original Mexican land grant—the first granted in Marin County). Although Pixley’s true motivation for promoting the peninsula’s attractions is unknown, his wife’s long-held attachment to the land may have influenced him. In addition to the 1878 article, an 1891 piece described the Van Reynegom/Pixley ranch, Owl’s Wood, in some detail. Catharine Pixley Robson, interview by Carla Ehat and Anne Kent, September 10, 1975, transcript, <http://www.co.marin.ca.us/depts/lb/main/crm/oralhistories/cpixleyrobsonft.html> (accessed March 17, 2005).

⁹² Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:5. Note: Toogood appears to have misspelled Tocaloma, as it is represented on current maps—her text mistakenly represents the town as Tacoloma.

⁹³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:5.

⁹⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:5–6.

⁹⁵ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:6.

⁹⁶ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:7.

⁹⁷ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 47; and West Marin Chamber of Commerce, “Inverness,” <http://www.pointreyes.org/inverness.html> (accessed March 15, 2005). Gilliam may have emphasized Shafter’s latent environmental sympathies because they reflected the tenor of his own times, which witnessed a dramatic resurgence of environmental concern that contributed greatly to the creation of Point Reyes National Seashore.

⁹⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:7.

⁹⁹ See for instance John B. Rae, *The Road and the Car in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1971); John Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); James Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988); Warren J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1979), among others.

¹⁰⁰ For a timeline of the railway that explains name changes during the period, see Mill Valley Public Library, “Mill Valley Digital History Project,” <http://millvalleylibrary.org/history/exhibit.html> (accessed March 18, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:34.

¹⁰² Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:34–35.

¹⁰³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:12–13.

¹⁰⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:35.

¹⁰⁵ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 49–51.

¹⁰⁶ Dewey Livingston and Dave Snow, “The History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” Historic Structures Report, Point Reyes National Seashore, National Park Service, 1990, 5–6.

¹⁰⁷ Livingston and Snow, “History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” 6–7.

¹⁰⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:244; and Livingston and Snow, “History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” 7.

¹⁰⁹ Livingston and Snow, “History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” 8.

¹¹⁰ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:240–45; and Livingston and Snow, “History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” 8–10.

¹¹¹ Livingston and Snow, “History and Architecture of the Point Reyes Light Station,” 13–17; and Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:245–53.

¹¹² Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:256–57.

¹¹³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 1:257, 260.

- ¹¹⁴ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:265.
- ¹¹⁵ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:276, 279, 292–93.
- ¹¹⁶ Toogood, "Civil History," 1:275–82.
- ¹¹⁷ Quoted in Toogood, "Civil History," 1:289.
- ¹¹⁸ Quoted in Toogood, "Civil History," 1:289–90.
- ¹¹⁹ Quoted in Toogood, "Civil History," 1:296–97.
- ¹²⁰ Quoted in Dewey Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific: A History of the Marconi and RCA Radio Stations on the Point Reyes Peninsula," draft manuscript submitted for review, May 5, 1998, chapter 1, page 11, Point Reyes National Seashore Archives.
- ¹²¹ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 1, 12–14.
- ¹²² Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 1, page 1.
- ¹²³ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 3, page 1.
- ¹²⁴ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 3, page 9–10.
- ¹²⁵ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 3, page 19; National Park Service, "History of the Coast Miwok at Point Reyes," Point Reyes National Seashore official website, National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/pore/history_comm.htm (accessed March 17, 2005). See also Maritime Radio Historical Society, "Jack Martini's Journals, Part 2" <http://www.radiomarine.org/journals-2.html> (accessed March 17, 2005) for a more detailed history of the early development and location of the radio station, whose call letters were originally "PH" because it operated out of San Francisco's Palace Hotel.
- ¹²⁶ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 3, pages 24–27 and chapter 4, pages 1–2; and "Jack Martini's Journals, Part 3," <http://www.radiomarine.org/journals-3.html> (accessed March 17, 2005).
- ¹²⁷ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, page 3.
- ¹²⁸ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 2, page 7 and chapter 4, pages 5–6.
- ¹²⁹ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, pages 20–24.
- ¹³⁰ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, page 26.
- ¹³¹ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, page 29.
- ¹³² Quoted in Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, page 32.
- ¹³³ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 4, pages 34–35.
- ¹³⁴ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 5, pages 1–2.
- ¹³⁵ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 6, page 7.
- ¹³⁶ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 6, pages 6–7.
- ¹³⁷ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 7, pages 1–2.
- ¹³⁸ Livingston, "Wireless Giant of the Pacific," chapter 7, pages 7–8.
- ¹³⁹ Gilliam, *Island in Time*, 45.

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER TWO

THE CAMPAIGN TO CREATE A NATIONAL SEASHORE

We need the sea.
We need a place to stand and watch and listen—
to feel the pulse-beat of the world as the surf rolls in.

. . . *David Brower, Island in Time*

A number of separate but eventually convergent processes and events led to the creation of Point Reyes National Seashore (PRNS). It began with the initial formulations of the national seashore concept in the 1930s and the National Park Service survey of Point Reyes as a potential site for a national seashore. During the 1950s, threats of commercial and residential development on the peninsula and a second NPS survey of Point Reyes, prompted conservation groups and politicians to launch the campaign that culminated in the authorization of PRNS in September 1962.

During this span of roughly three decades, two themes emerged to presage issues that future park administrators would have to tackle. First, the changing definition of the seashore itself—the process whereby individuals and organizations have conceptualized and configured the park as a natural, cultural, and political landscape—began during this period and continued throughout the seashore’s history. Second, an increasing number of social, economic, and political connections have tied the formerly isolated peninsula ever closer to the local communities, regional and national governments, and citizen’s organizations involved with it. Just as the land mass of Point Reyes Peninsula continues to gradually edge its way northward along the California coast via the San Andreas fault, during the four decades covered in this history, the Point Reyes area gradually shifted away from its former geographic, cultural, and political isolation toward greater interconnection with the world around it. The story of the origins and campaign to create PRNS is covered here in two parts. The first describes the origins of the national seashore idea, and the original NPS recommendations for designating Point Reyes as one of several potential national seashore sites. The second section describes the work of the conservation movements in Marin County and the San Francisco Bay Area to promote the Point Reyes proposal. These forces intersect in the late 1950s to launch the legislative battle to gain National Seashore designation for Point Reyes. That piece of the park’s history will be covered in the next chapter 3.

ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL SEASHORE CONCEPT (1929–1958)

During the 1930s and the 1950s, NPS officials, acting in response to several national trends, formulated the national seashore idea and laid the groundwork to create this new type of operating unit. The national seashores, as envisioned at the outset, would serve the dual purposes of aesthetic preservation and public recreation at selected sections of America’s beachfronts and lakeshores. The national seashores were not a direct outgrowth of the national outdoor recreation movement and did not arrive on the coattails of the Park Service’s heavyweight “Mission 66” project. The national seashores traced a historical course of their own from the changes in American conservationism during the 1930s through the rise of the environmental movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Changing National Park System The idea of including a seashore area as a site within the national park system went against the traditional notions that had defined the first generation of national parks. These parks—Yellowstone, Yosemite, Sequoia, Mount Rainier, and Crater Lake—were established to set aside and protect grand scenery and natural “curiosities,” such as hot springs, rock formations, giant trees, active glaciers, and ancient volcanoes. These early parks, established prior to 1916, shared common characteristics. Each featured awe-inspiring scenes associated with their rugged, vertical topography. The mountain summits, deep valleys, sheer cliffs, cavernous holes, and exquisitely carved landscapes—what historian Alfred Runte has termed the “monumental” qualities—of these parks were the primary attractions that lured visitors and convinced legislators of their scenic value.¹ The early parks also were characterized as having national significance: they either were unique or were the best example of their kind. In addition, almost all of the pre-1930 parks shared locations in the western states, geographically isolated from the country’s urban centers.²

Aside from monumental features and western locations, all of the early parks shared another commonality: Congress created them from land already within the federal or public domain, and they thus required no funding for land acquisition. This zero-cost formula was often the key element that helped move each park’s founding legislation through the gauntlet of a frequently resistant Congress. In some cases, another public land agency, such as the U.S. Forest Service, held the land; in other cases, steep mountains or deep canyons rendered the land uninhabitable and thus it had remained unclaimed. In instances where private land had been involved, private philanthropy or state funding financed land acquisition for a new park. A few smaller areas, such as Muir Woods National Monument, had been created entirely from lands donated for that purpose.³ Congress did not appropriate funds to obtain the land for these parks.

Eventually, exceptions to the historic pattern emerged. The most noteworthy example was Acadia National Park on the coast of Maine. Initially tabbed Sieur de Monts National Park when established in 1916, Acadia was the first park east of the Mississippi River.⁴ Accordingly, the park was also much closer to a populous area, the urban corridor of the northeastern states. Much of the park’s territory was already in private hands prior to the campaign to create a park there. After Congress passed, and the president authorized, the founding legislation, the private land, including acreage held by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was donated to the U.S. government and handed over to the NPS. Sieur de Monts was also the first park to include a coastal area within its boundaries. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to call Acadia the first seashore park, or even the forerunner of such park units. Although Acadia’s rugged coastal features were valued as scenic resources, the park’s centerpiece attraction was Mount Desert Island—yet another piece of vertical topography. The park was cast in the same mold as the western mountain parks, albeit on a smaller scale.

The National Park Service Organic Act of 1916 brought the national parks and certain other sites under the organizational umbrella of the new agency, and spelled out a common mission statement and set of management objectives for the parks.⁵ The creation of the new agency signaled that the park system would expand, as the agency sought more land and responsibilities to help bolster its place in the public eye, and more importantly, within the federal hierarchy. This push to enlarge NPS jurisdiction resulted in a larger number and also a greater variety of national park sites entering the system.⁶

The addition of other national park sites in the eastern United States—Shenandoah, Great Smoky Mountains, and Mammoth Cave joined the system in 1926—entailed creating units from private, as well as public, land. Congress did not change its stance about appropriating federal funds for land acquisition. Instead, Congress added stipulations that park land be acquired with private or public donations. Rockefeller contributed more than \$5 million to obtain land for Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains. The states of Virginia and North Carolina also donated land they had previously owned or had acquired for this purpose.

The first national monuments were added to the park system in 1906.⁷ Under the terms of that year's Antiquities Act, the president could directly authorize the creation of new national monuments without concurrent congressional action. The initial intent was to set aside land to protect prehistoric ruins and historic structures, archaeological sites, historical landmarks, and other "objects of historic or scientific interest," in order to prevent souvenir hunters, museum collectors, and run-of-the-mill vandals from pillaging them.⁸ National monuments encompassed federal lands that were under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, War Department, and Department of Agriculture. The agency that ran a particular national monument was usually part of the department from which its land was set aside. Thus when President Theodore Roosevelt, using a broad interpretation of the Antiquities Act, established Grand Canyon National Monument in 1908, the job of protecting and managing it fell to the Forest Service, a branch of the Department of Agriculture. Likewise, when a 1910 presidential order created Big Hole Battlefield National Monument in Montana, the site remained the responsibility of the War Department.⁹ While debating the legislation that led to the Antiquities Act, Congress moved—with much the same sentiment and motivation—to establish Mesa Verde National Park. The Mesa Verde Act followed the Antiquities Act of 1906 into law by just three weeks. Mesa Verde set the precedent for establishing national parks with the primary intent to protect cultural features rather than natural ones.

The legislative intent, authorization process, and typically smaller size of the monuments set them apart from the early national parks.¹⁰ But distinctions between national parks and national monuments gradually became fuzzier; establishment by presidential order rather than congressional action remained the chief difference between the two. Even that distinguishing characteristic did not always prove valid: in 1929, Badlands National Monument became the first unit of its type established by an act of Congress rather than a presidential order.¹¹ By the time the NPS underwent reorganization in 1933, the national park system included a significant number of national monuments, and had embraced a variety of other types of operating units as well. The latter included national memorials, national battlefields, national military parks, the national capital parks, national historical parks and sites, and national reserves. Most of the military/battlefield sites were transferred intact from the War Department to the Park Service during summer 1933.

The authorization of Isle Royale (1931) and Everglades (1934) national parks during the 1930s challenged old standards used to determine national park status. Viewed from our twenty-first century conception of natural beauty, these two parks might well be considered places with spectacular scenery. But when Congress founded them, the visual scenery of Isle Royale and the Everglades was considered less compelling than what visitors could see at the other early parks. The two clearly diverged from the vertical-landscape framework that had been the gold standard for inclusion in the park system. Not only did they have a different look but the legislative intents of their authorizations were also quite different. The Isle Royale and Everglades founding acts called for the

preservation of such ephemeral and abstract qualities as nature and, most notably, wilderness. Congressional authorization of Everglades National Park thus established precedents within the national park system that smoothed the way for subsequent creation of national seashore and lakeshore sites. Public and private support for protection of seashore areas, however, began well before Roosevelt signed the Everglades National Park bill.

**Loss of
Shoreline and
Beaches**

As the national park system was evolving during the 1920s, several organizations and individuals in the United States began to express concern about the ongoing loss or destruction of America's shorelines and beaches. At the beginning of the decade, the National Research Council's Committee on Shoreline Investigations portended that automobile travel would quickly open the country's coasts and shorelines to the multitudes and result in their eventual disappearance. The committee called for officials from the coastal states to meet and discuss the problem. One result was the formation of the American Shore and Beach Association (ASBA) in 1926, organized to coordinate the protection and utilization of America's coasts and shores. The ASBA published brochures and a quarterly magazine, *Shore and Beach*, which highlighted the nation's most spectacular coastlines and beaches. One brochure argued that the country's ocean coasts, lakeshores, and riverfronts were "important assets for promoting the health and physical well-being of the people of this nation . . . an opportunity for wholesome and necessary rest and recreation not equally available in any other form."¹²

**American Shore and Beach Preservation Association logo used
on their publicity brochures, RG 79, National Archives.**

A decade later, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes renewed the argument for protecting America's seashores:

When we look up and down the ocean fronts of America, we find that everywhere they are passing behind the fences of private ownership. The people can no longer get to the ocean. . . . I say it is the prerogative and the duty of the Federal and State Governments to step in and acquire, not a swimming beach here and there, but solid blocks of ocean front hundreds of miles in length. Call this ocean front a national park, or a

national seashore, or a state park or anything you please—I say the people have a right to a fair share of it.¹³

The State of California, with its long stretches of unspoiled coastline, commissioned its own study of the problem in the late 1920s. Frederick L. Olmsted, Jr., presented his report on the Point Reyes Peninsula to the state in 1929. Included in the report was the first plan for setting aside the Point Reyes area as a site for public use and enjoyment.

**America's
Outdoor
Recreation
Movement**

Paralleling the growth of the seashore protection movement during the 1930s, the federal government began a concerted effort to promote outdoor recreation. An executive order created the National Resources Board (NRB) in 1934.¹⁴ That year, the NRB produced *A Report on National Planning and Public Works in Relation to Natural Resources and Including Land Use and Water Resources and with Findings and Recommendations*.¹⁵ The NRB's call for the creation of public beaches in that report emphasized the importance of protecting public access to beaches and shores amid concerns about industrialization's impact upon that same public. The board's language in the report revealed vestiges of Progressive Era thinking regarding the value of outdoor recreation in maintaining the health and vigor of the American people.¹⁶ *Recreation Use of Land in the United States*, an addendum to the original report, laid out these "fundamental reasons" for a nationally sponsored recreation movement and the reservation of lands and waters for recreational use: "Some of the fundamental requisites for . . . well-being are an abundance of fresh, pure air and sunlight, pleasurable physical activity—especially out of doors—and periods of rest, relaxation, and repose in environments of natural beauty, free from too close human contacts, and from the harsh noises and the high-speed tempo of this machine age."¹⁷

Two years later, the *Park, Parkway, and Recreation Study Act of 1936* extolled the message of the earlier NRB report and further validated the outdoor recreation movement.¹⁸ The act authorized a thorough study of existing public parks, parkways, and recreation areas in the United States. The government would use data from the study to plan new or revitalized park and recreation programs and facilities that were adequate to meet future needs of the American public. One purpose of the studies was to "identify opportunities for conserving portions of natural or historically important shores for park or recreational use."¹⁹ The study results were published in *The Study of the Park and Recreation Problem in the United States* (1941).²⁰ The creation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) in 1958 helped renew the government's outdoor recreation agenda, and produced the National Recreation Survey and resulting publication, *Outdoor Recreation for America* (1962). Although the outdoor recreation movement did not give birth to the national seashore idea, it affirmed the NPS aim to create national seashore sites.

Using the funding made available to federal relief agencies under the New Deal, the NPS launched its own seashore studies during the Great Depression. Working through its regional offices charged with monitoring Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) work and other projects in the state parks, the Park Service began surveys of remaining undeveloped seashore sites on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts in 1934. It extended the survey process to include the Pacific Coast in 1935. The seashore survey program availed itself of expertise and assistance of the U.S. Coast Guard and other government agencies seeking ways to keep their personnel employed. The surveys recommended fifteen sites

for inclusion in the national park system and revealed approximately thirty other locations that would make valuable additions to park systems of coastal states.²¹

Point Reyes Site Study

Conrad L. Wirth, who would later direct the NPS and oversee the creation of Point Reyes and several other national seashores, led the Point Reyes survey team. At that time he was assistant director of the NPS branch of planning, stationed in San Francisco, with responsibility for surveying potential seashore or recreation area sites along the west coast. The survey team produced *Study of a National Seashore Recreation Area, Pt. Reyes Peninsula* in 1935. Wirth and Emerson Knight, an NPS regional landscape architect, were the principal authors. The study described the objectives, potential uses, and suggested boundaries for a future NPS site there. Although this was one of many coastal sites the survey would include, the Park Service “felt that this region assumes prime importance, not particularly due to its extent, but because of its exceptional qualities, manifold interests, and principally its quickly convenient accessibility to the concentrated population of central California. Its miles of superb beaches alone insure it significance of interstate and national scope.”²² Wirth’s team recommended the peninsula be set aside as a “National Seashore Recreational area,” based upon three important qualities, namely the rich biological resources found there, the recreational opportunities the peninsula’s seashore offered, and the area’s close proximity to San Francisco. The study concluded, in language that mirrors the “preserve and protect” precepts of the NPS Organic Act, that Point Reyes should gain NPS status for “the purposes of conserving these biological resources and to utilize the ocean front, the bays and their shores. Both functions will be possible without interfering with the other.”²³

Boundaries of the proposed national seashore were to encompass the entire peninsula, less small set-asides to allow for future growth around the town of Inverness and other small settlements on the western side of Tomales Bay. Other than these parcels, all of Point Reyes would be included to make a “true comprehensive unit with an arm extending southward along the ocean to within three miles of Bolinas Point and eastward to approximately the ridge margin of agricultural lands along Olema Valley.”²⁴ A unit of that size—approximately 56,000 acres of the peninsula—would include, in addition to the fifty-mile stretch of scenic coastal beachfront, a large portion of the current dairy and range lands. The study narrative gave little attention to the ranches, noting only that the private holdings of the larger ranches “prevented the public from gaining any conception of the physical beauty of the region.”²⁵ NPS officials, the authors acknowledged, might encounter “difficulties” trying to convince ranch owners to sell their property, but concluded that they would overcome any objections when the various parties paused “to think of the great need of this breathing spot generations hence.”²⁶ Granted our luxury of hindsight, the rose-tinted predictions about surmounting the rancher’s resistance to surrendering their land seem now as unreasonable as the report’s estimate that the total purchase price for all 56,000 acres would amount to less than \$2.4 million.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore

Of the fifteen seashore sites recommended for protected status in the Depression Era seashore studies, only Cape Hatteras, on the Outer Banks of North Carolina, became a national seashore at that time. In 1937, Congress created Cape Hatteras National Seashore Area, the first national seashore unit in the park system. Regardless of its status as a new type of park, Congress used its traditional formula for the creation of a park; it made no appropriations to purchase land in the designated area. In fact, the authorizing bill specifically stipulated that the land must be obtained by donation, whether from private individuals, organizations, or the state of North Carolina. Nearly twenty years

passed before the NPS was able to obtain adequate acreage to officially establish the seashore.²⁷

In just a few years after the founding legislation designated Cape Hatteras as a national seashore the mission of the area shifted. Despite the emphasis in 1937 on protection, three years later an amendment to the founding act added “Recreation Area” to the park’s official name. In keeping with the name change, the 1940 amendment also opened Cape Hatteras to hunting. But the original language of the Cape Hatteras Act clearly indicated that the primary mission of the seashore was the protection and preservation of the unique and inspiring natural landscape of the Outer Banks. Any momentum gained with the authorization of Cape Hatteras toward creation of an entire system of national seashores was soon lost with the onset of war in Europe. Nonetheless, several NPS administrators, especially Wirth, kept the national seashore idea alive until it could be resurrected in the postwar period.

**Conrad
Wirth’s
Influence**

For most Park Service personnel and national park historians, Conrad Wirth is best known for his initiation and leadership of Mission 66, the massive, Park Service-wide building and tourism development campaign that spanned much of his directorship (1951–1964). Wirth took an equally central, but lesser-known role, in conceptualizing and promoting the national seashore idea within the NPS. George Palmer, who served as assistant regional director during Wirth’s tenure, recalled that the national seashore idea originated “pretty much in-house, a Connie Wirth contribution.”²⁸ Douglas Doe observed, in an article about the origins of Cape Cod National Seashore, that the conceptual development of national seashores was “closely entwined” with Wirth’s career in the federal government.²⁹ It might be tempting to view the creation of national seashores as simply another aspect of Mission 66 and the tourism development agenda of the 1950s and 1960s. But a closer look at this piece of Park Service history and Wirth’s role in it tells us otherwise.

After receiving his educational training in landscape architecture, Wirth began his government career at the Washington, D.C., offices of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in 1928. Three years later he took a job with the NPS Land Planning Department.³⁰ Wirth’s involvement with the national seashore concept began when, as assistant director of the NPS branch of planning, he led the first NPS survey of the Point Reyes Peninsula in 1935. In his landmark work, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, Richard Sellars sums up Wirth’s career, noting that Wirth clearly emphasized “recreational tourism and public enjoyment of majestic landscapes,” and sought the “preservation of a semblance of wild America” within the national park system.³¹

Wirth believed that the most significant elements of these sites were their natural qualities. This attitude was clearly revealed in his 1954 comments about Cape Hatteras National Seashore, in which he foreshadows the 1963 *Leopold Report*’s “vestiges of primitive America” concept:

We hope to preserve the Cape Hatteras Area in its natural state insofar as possible. The several nearby towns . . . will provide accommodations. Visitors then, will be able to roam the beach, explore the marshes and woods, and, in time, observe plant and wildlife such as conditions were before the coming of the white man to the American continent.³²

In regard to the rationale for creating a national seashore at Point Reyes, Wirth emphasized, first and foremost, the superb biological and scenic values of the Point Reyes Peninsula. In his official statement before the 1960 Congressional Hearing in Kentfield, California, he pointed out that the peninsula was home to an “extraordinary diversity of forest, beaches, grasslands, dune vegetation and marshes,” and to a corresponding diversity of wildlife that ranged from an amazing array of coastal sea birds to the animal species of thick forests and mountains. He stated that the biological richness and spectacular scenery of the peninsula were “the *prime qualities*” the seashore had to offer. Wirth acknowledged that the Point Reyes area also offered a “vast variety of recreation outlets.” If the area were set aside, carefully planned, and administered as a national seashore, he reasoned, thousands of people could enjoy the available recreational opportunities “without disturbing the natural values” he had outlined.³³ In his conception of the “natural” at Point Reyes, Wirth seems to have been looking around, or beyond, the working ranches that covered the majority of the peninsula. He may have perceived them in much the same way as did local resident Bertram K. Dunshee, one of Wirth’s most stalwart supporters in the campaign to create the national seashore. Dunshee authored a brief addendum to the 1957 NPS Point Reyes Seashore Survey, in which he acknowledged the role the private ranches played in preserving the peninsula’s open spaces, and added that one need only “replace the cows with elk and the scene would be that which met the eyes of the adventurers of the sixteenth century.”³⁴ Dunshee, and likely Wirth as well, anticipated that the ranches that had “saved” the day for the creation of a national seashore at Point Reyes would eventually go away once that process was completed.

From Wirth’s perspective, public recreation would be an excellent use of the area, as long as recreational activities did not detract from the peninsula’s biological diversity and scenic beauty. These characteristics, combined with the historic significance of Drake’s landing site on the peninsula, “far outweighed the value of the area for subdivision and unintegrated commercial uses.”³⁵ Wirth’s take did not become the standard NPS framework for gauging the national significance and potential use of a prospective national seashore, but his views provide considerable insight into the original intent of the national seashore idea. Moreover, Wirth’s advocacy for adding national seashores to the park system helped carry the NPS seashore agenda through the war years into the 1950s, when the agency was ready to embark on a new round of seashore surveys.³⁶

NPS Seashore Surveys, 1954–1955 With national seashore–proponent Wirth at the helm of the Park Service and with private funding in hand, the NPS began conducting new seashore surveys of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts, and of the shoreline areas of the Great Lakes, in the mid-1950s. The NPS performed surveys of the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf of Mexico first, in 1954; the agency then commenced surveys of the Pacific Coast, including Point Reyes, and the Great Lakes in 1955. Andrew Mellon’s Old Dominion and Avalon Foundations funded the new survey work.³⁷ Point Reyes was one of several sites selected—along with Cape Cod, Padre Island, Cumberland Island, Oregon Dunes, and Indiana Dunes—as the ideal locations and best candidates for national seashores. The Department of the Interior’s Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments recommended a more highly select group of five sites (the above-mentioned minus Cumberland Island) to be forwarded to gain congressional authorization for national seashore status.³⁸

In June 1955, NPS published its summary of the shoreline studies of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. *Our Vanishing Shoreline* described the rapid deterioration and loss of

America's undeveloped coastlines and seashores during the previous thirty years, a pattern that continued to escalate while the survey work was underway. A summary of the survey data, which in some cases used the 1930s surveys as a baseline, revealed that "only a fraction of our long seacoast is left for public use, and much of this small portion is rapidly disappearing before our eyes."³⁹ *Our Vanishing Shoreline* made the case for preserving and protecting coastal areas because "the seashore is a priceless scenic and scientific resource for which there is no substitute," and which "is lost forever" when subdivided and developed.⁴⁰ The report urged preservation of still-intact seashore areas, in order to begin dealing with such problems as erosion control, recreational access, and the "protection of biological and historical values." As outlined in the report, protected seashore sites should serve three primary purposes: land conservation, wildlife preservation, and recreation.⁴¹

Of six "recommendations for action" the NPS proposed in *Our Vanishing Shoreline*, two related to the acquisition process, two referred to providing for Americans' recreational needs, and two aimed at preserving the ecological and scientific values of potential seashore sites, regardless of their recreational potential. Of the latter recommendations, one called for the acquisition and preservation of "ample quantities of hinterland of marsh and swamp, which provide a valuable habitat for a large and interesting variety of bird and animal life." The other stressed that seashore plant and animal communities of greatest ecological interest "be *acquired and preserved regardless of the desirability of the adjoining beach*; and that consideration be given to such communities now in a modified condition which might return to a more natural condition if permitted to remain undisturbed."⁴²

Although Point Reyes and the other authorized national seashores were lumped into the "Recreation Area" category of the NPS system during the mid-1960s, individual seashore surveys and the language in *Our Vanishing Shoreline* clearly pointed to a different mandate. The Park Service's initial steps to locate, evaluate, and protect such sites focused equally on protecting the aesthetic, scientific, and historical qualities of seashores as on the mere recreational potential of recommended areas.

**Point Reyes
Seashore
Survey**

The NPS *Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, Point Reyes Peninsula, California, Seashore Area*, likewise recommended the area for national seashore status because it offered outstanding biological value, scenic qualities, and recreational opportunities. At the request of conservation leaders in Marin County, who wanted national recognition for the peninsula as soon as possible, the planning team pushed the Point Reyes survey ahead of its scheduled performance date and quickly completed their reconnaissance work and documentation for the project.⁴³ The Region Four (western region) Division of Recreation Resource Planning, of which national seashore enthusiast George Collins was chief, produced the preliminary report on June 30, 1957.

The survey emphasized the significance and variety of the peninsula's unique combination of environments—forests, grasslands, dunes, freshwater marshes, and coastal estuaries—and the abundance of wildlife found in each. The report concluded that the presence of these biological riches "most assuredly would justify every reasonable effort toward protection and preservation permanently as a public duty."⁴⁴ This diversity of environments also added to the pleasing aesthetic qualities noted by the survey team. In fact, the unusual combination of scenic, biological, and recreational resources in one coastal location, all in close proximity to an urban metropolis, created "significance" for the area that was greater than the simple sum of those parts.

In addition to the biological and scenic values, the report praised the peninsula's abundant recreational opportunities. Among the "diversified and extensive" recreation possibilities at Point Reyes, the survey listed "active recreation" pursuits including hiking, boating, riding, swimming, fishing, and golf, along with "passive recreation" such as picnicking, sunbathing, painting, sketching, and other "less strenuous interests."⁴⁵

The report made no recommendations for preserving the agricultural tradition or the active dairy operations on the peninsula. Their contribution to the significance of the area surveyed for NPS status was purely scenic. As in a Vermeer painting, the barns and ranches along the coast had "a value in adding character to the foreshore of the seascape."⁴⁶ The report made a similar assessment of the existing fishing and oyster industries on the peninsula, noting the "one or two old shipwrecks, and fishing boats lying offshore, all having individual distinction and splendid collective scenic quality."⁴⁷ The potential historic value of the peninsula, mainly related to the Drake landing, fell into the report's "additional considerations" but was clearly not a primary consideration in evaluating the area as a national seashore.⁴⁸

After reviewing the survey, in April of 1958 the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments recommended Point Reyes be considered for NPS status as a national seashore.⁴⁹ The advisory board made their recommendation known in a May press release, but the local press did not pick up the story at the time. In June 1958, the NPS mailed copies of the preliminary report on the Point Reyes proposal to the Marin County Board of Supervisors and to select local and conservation organizations, such as the Marin Conservation League.⁵⁰

On June 29, 1958, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a front-page article about the "U.S. Seashore Park" proposal, the first newspaper coverage of the NPS plan for Point Reyes.⁵¹ After the *Chronicle* broke the story, other news outlets quickly picked up and reported the details.⁵² Just two weeks later, editors of the *Marin Independent Journal* remarked that the NPS seashore proposal was much talked about, and noted that, already, "lines [were] being drawn both for and against the project."⁵³ The newspaper and several other organizations, including the California State Park Commission, the Marin County Planning Commission, and the National Parks Advisory Board, called for a more comprehensive study of Point Reyes to determine its suitability for national seashore status.⁵⁴ Several weeks later, on July 16, 1958, U.S. Representative (soon to be Senator) Clair Engle introduced House Resolution 634, which called for congressional funding of a more detailed study of the Point Reyes Peninsula. The campaign to create Point Reyes National Seashore was underway.

CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN THE BAY AREA AND MARIN COUNTY

Although local resistance sprung up as soon as the *Chronicle* released news of the NPS plan, the Point Reyes seashore proposal fell on fertile ground in the wider San Francisco Bay Area, where the PRNS campaign would take root. Conservationists had already been active in San Francisco for more than a half century; by the late 1950s, the movement was well established and staffed with veterans of other land preservation and park authorization campaigns. Their presence enabled park supporters, outdoor club members, and political activists to mobilize quickly and effectively to promote the proposal for Point Reyes National Seashore.

**Bay Area
Conservation
Movement
History**

The conservation movement flourished in the Bay Area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for several reasons. First, early conservationists tended to be prosperous urbanites—and San Francisco and Oakland supported a thriving economy and population. By the turn of the twentieth century, San Francisco had long been established as a commercial center that attracted railroad, shipping, and banking interests. Surrounding cities, including Oakland, combined to form the most populous urban area in the far west. The Bay Area also served as the region's intellectual center, supporting several large, prominent universities that produced many of the professionals who became advocates of conservation and promoters of national parks.⁵⁵ The Bay Area offered a critical mass of supporters as well as a community of articulate, vocal activists necessary for conservation campaigns.

Second, the Bay Area's appealing topography encouraged appreciation of scenery—and its proximity to the coastal mountains and the Sierra Nevada Range fostered interest in the outdoors.⁵⁶ Like many American cities, San Francisco and Oakland witnessed a "back-to-nature" movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as urban residents, fearing they had grown physically and spiritually weak, sought to reconnect with the natural world. Outdoor recreation would allow them to develop physical skills while cultivating self-reliance and hardiness. This trend pointed to the need for natural, open spaces within as well as outside the city, where residents could escape the confines of urban life.⁵⁷

San Francisco's Bohemian Club exemplified the city's genteel interest in the outdoors. Formed in the early 1870s, this organization of journalists and other professionals referred to its convivial meetings as "High Jinks." By the late 1870s, wealthy and influential Bohemian Club members gathered in the redwoods north of the city for the annual "Midsummer Jinks." Members included scientist Joseph Le Conte and writer-naturalist John Muir.⁵⁸ Additional organizations promoting contact with the outdoors soon developed in the Bay Area. The Sierra Club, formed in San Francisco in 1892, also promoted excursions, frequently to Yosemite National Park. By that time, Muir, who served as the Sierra Club's first president, had become widely known as a promoter of national parks—and he was particularly associated with the Bay Area and California. The Sierra Club, which remained based in San Francisco, quickly became one of the nation's leading advocacy organizations for conservation.⁵⁹

A third reason the Bay Area proved fertile ground for conservation sentiment was its strong support of the Progressive political movement that swept the nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Progressives were reformers who condemned monopoly, corruption, waste, and inefficiency, seeking to expand the government's role in protecting social welfare. Protecting the nation's natural resources became a key concern. Unregulated harvesting of fish and wildlife populations and timber had reached such staggering proportions by the late nineteenth century that historians have characterized this era as the "Great Barbecue."⁶⁰

Progressive conservationists countered this practice by advocating the wise use of natural resources through scientific management. Many were civic-minded individuals who sincerely believed in Progressive ideals of democracy and economic justice. Some were primarily concerned with ensuring prosperity for present and future generations, while others focused on preserving opportunities for recreation and aesthetic appreciation of nature.⁶¹ The Bay Area became a focal point for both perspectives, and, at the beginning

of the twentieth century, according to historian Hal K. Rothman, "claimed the title of the urban area most thoroughly devoted to national parks."⁶²

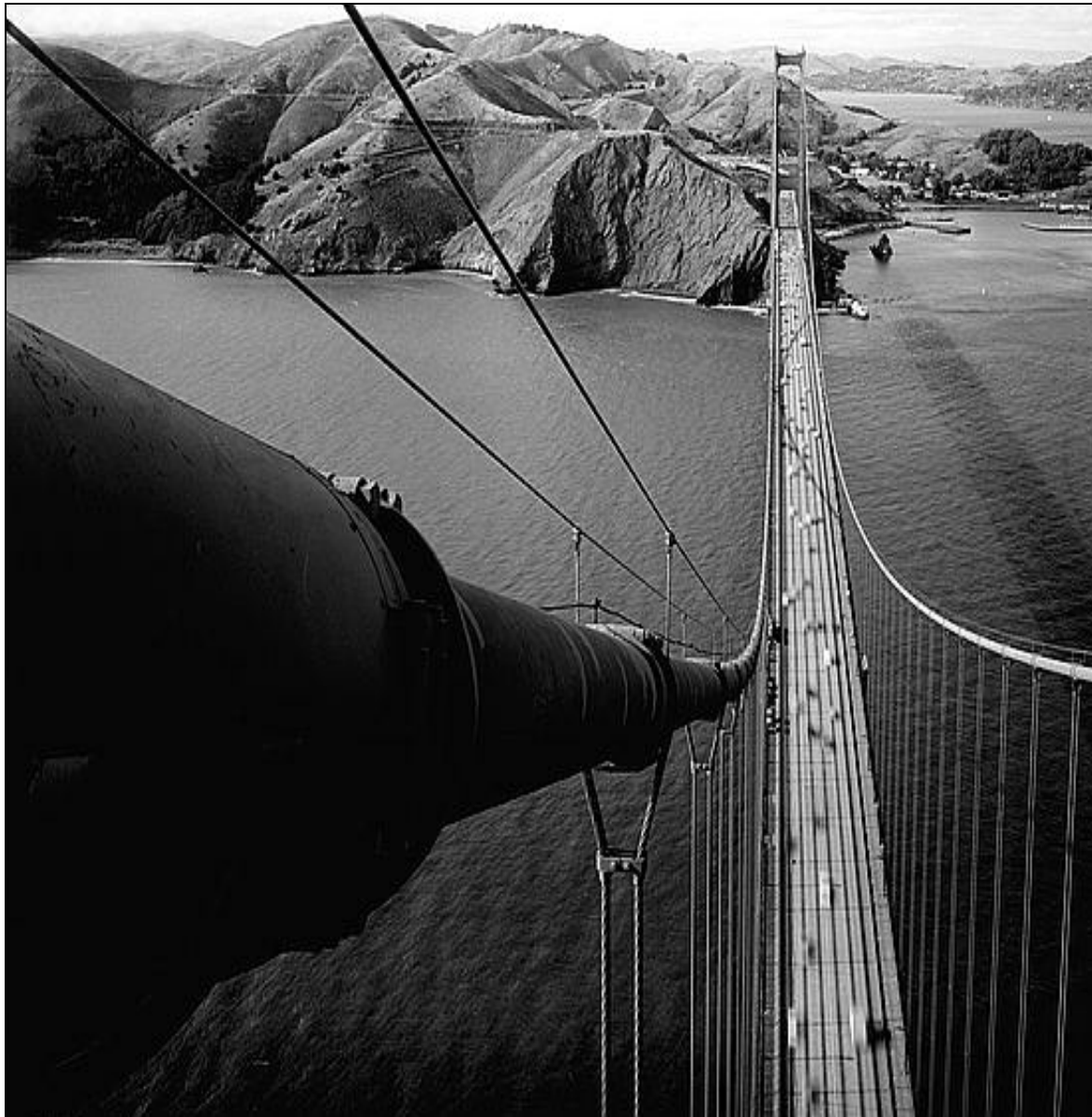
One obstacle to establishing national parks in the vicinity was that most reserves had been drawn from the public domain—and much of the land in the Bay Area was already privately owned in the early twentieth century. William Kent, a Progressive conservationist and businessman with considerable wealth, provided a solution. At a 1903 meeting in Mill Valley, he formed the Mount Tamalpais National Park Association, hoping to establish a national park similar to Yellowstone in the redwoods. The Tamalpais Land and Water Company, which owned the redwood stand, offered to sell it to Kent. These ancient trees had escaped the nineteenth-century logging boom owing to their inaccessibility, provided by a steep ridge and poor sea landing at the cove at the mouth of Redwood Creek. By the early twentieth century, development had already surrounded this lovely grove. "The beauty of the place attracted me," Kent remarked, "and got on my mind." In 1905 he purchased the property.⁶³

The redwoods were threatened the following year, when a devastating earthquake in San Francisco prompted the city's residents to look with interest at the potential lumber and dam site in the forest. Recognizing the vulnerability, Kent offered several hundred acres to the federal government as a national monument. Using the Antiquities Act, President Roosevelt declared it a national monument in 1908, suggesting that the new reserve be called "Kent Woods." Kent, however, successfully promoted the name "Muir Woods," in honor of the famous conservationist. "Seeing my name in the tender and deed of the Tamalpais Sequoias was a surprise of the pleasantest kind," Muir wrote Kent in 1908. "This is the best tree-lover's monument that could possibly be found in all the forests of the world." Muir ended his letter by wishing Kent, "immortal Sequoia life."⁶⁴

A few years later, the friendship between Kent and Muir turned tense. San Francisco, a growing metropolis in need of water, had considered damming Hetch Hetchy Valley in the Sierras even before it became part of Yosemite National Park in 1890—and the need for water became more urgent after the 1906 earthquake. For the next decade, conservationists debated this question, bitterly dividing the movement. Muir, representing the preservationist perspective, viewed Hetch Hetchy in spiritual terms, praising its wilderness virtues and condemning the proposed dam as a violation of a natural temple as well as national park. Kent, who became a congressman in California in 1911, believed the practical need for water overshadowed aesthetic and recreation interests, and, as a Progressive, he preferred a publicly owned supply. Although the preservationists ultimately lost the fight for Hetch Hetchy, they learned how to wage a national campaign and how to rouse public support. These skills proved useful later in promoting the National Park Service, established in 1916 in large part owing to the efforts of Sierra Club and Bay Area activists.⁶⁵

Their momentum continued into the 1920s with a campaign to protect the redwoods in northern California. Kent persisted in his efforts to accord national park status to more of the trees, focusing on the redwood groves and oak woodlands of Mount Tamalpais above Muir Woods National Monument. Just before his death in 1928, Kent donated land that became Mount Tamalpais State Park.⁶⁶ Protecting land on Mount Tamalpais, the dominant landmark of east Marin and a favorite destination for hikers throughout the Bay Area, had also fired the sentiments of the blossoming conservationist movement in Marin County, and in the 1930s, became the first battleground of the fledgling Marin Conservation League.

Marin County Conservation Movement History Land conservation took on a new urgency in Marin County when its geographic isolation from San Francisco ended on May 28, 1937, the day the Golden Gate Bridge opened to the public. The bridge immediately became a tourist icon of the San Francisco Bay area, and, more important in the context of this discussion, signaled that Marin County’s history, and that of Point Reyes, would thereafter be built on connections rather than isolation. Several years before that ribbon-cutting ceremony, however, a few prescient individuals foresaw with trepidation that the completion of the Golden Gate Bridge would bring rapid growth and development to Marin’s pastoral environs and rural communities. They launched a preemptive conservation movement in Marin County.



Historic American Buildings Survey, Image no. CAL, 38-SF, 140-29

“This new bridge has been fifteen years in the planning and is scheduled for completion by 1937, at which time a new era will open for Marin County—an era that will be dominated by the automobile . . . Changes will occur in this tranquil county which few people can envision.”

--Hugh Pomeroy, 1934

In a 1934, city planner Hugh Pomeroy described the need to establish a conservation agenda in the area: “Thus far [Marin County] has remained a sparsely settled playground, beloved of hikers, a godsend to city people anxious to escape quickly and completely into rural and mountain loveliness . . . Now is the time for Marin to begin planning.”⁶⁷

Pomeroy went on to say that four women, “who have the foresight to look ahead to a future when houses will spill over the hills and traffic will strangle the arterials,” were then taking steps to protect their county, “which abounds in hills, streams, vistas, forests, and beaches.”⁶⁸

He was referring to four members of the Marin Art and Garden Club—Caroline Livermore, Sepha Evers, Helen van Pelt, and Portia Forbes, who came together in 1934 to discuss how they could save the open spaces they cherished in Marin from threats they saw on the horizon. The resulting Citizens Survey Committee raised money to survey the county and produced a report and planning maps to guide the preservation of the county’s open space. They responded not only to concerns about future growth and development, but also to a golden opportunity that came knocking at Sepha Evers’ door. Through her husband’s business partner, Evers had learned that a crew of unemployed surveyors and drafters were looking for work and that the state’s Emergency Relief program could finance the crew’s payroll. Evers and her conservation-minded colleagues took advantage of this bit of serendipity to launch the Marin planning study.⁶⁹

For Livermore, this was just the first in a lifetime of forays into the political and social struggle to protect the Marin environment. She launched the Richardson Bay Foundation, a nonprofit group of well-to-do Marin County and San Francisco residents. The foundation aimed to purchase, when and where it could, tidal lands that would have otherwise been opened to dredging. Livermore, along with Elizabeth Terwilliger, David Steinhardt and others, had formed the Marin Audubon Society as an organizational vehicle they could use to further the campaign to purchase and set aside threatened areas of Richardson Bay.⁷⁰ In 1957, the local Audubon group, which later played an important role in the creation of PRNS, purchased Canyon Ranch on the southern tip of Point Reyes Peninsula. In 1958, the Richardson Bay Foundation helped broker a deal that had the county purchase 900 acres of land surrounding Richardson Bay, which the county then leased to the National Audubon Society. The Richardson Bay Wildlife Sanctuary was the result.

Proponents of open space in Marin County were not limited to conservation groups. Individuals, most notably Bertram and Verna Dunshee, also became involved in conserving land on the Point Reyes Peninsula. Bertram believed his wife Verna was “one of the first two or three people to recognize the value of the seashore as a park area.”⁷¹ The couple had moved to Marin County in 1922, and spent much of their time riding and walking up and down the peninsula’s grassy and wooded hills. They gradually became well acquainted with the foremen on many of the ranches, who opened gates to let the Dunshees pass through. Verna became so enamored of the area that she attempted to interest the State of California to create a park out of some of the ranch land. She also helped initiate efforts to turn a former ranch house into a youth hostel. Eventually, the Dunshees brought their idea to the attention of George L. Collins, then director of recreational planning for the NPS Western Division. Bertram related that, on one occasion, he and Verna personally took Collins out to visit Point Reyes, where “he just went bust about it.”⁷² Collins used his pilot’s license to make several subsequent airborne reconnaissance trips over Point Reyes, fueling his own enthusiasm for setting aside the area as a national seashore.

Individual ranchers and other Marin County residents also began to make independent conservation gestures, as they turned over small parcels of peninsula land to Marin County, opening new portals for public use. In 1938, the San Rafael Pirates Club, whose members included rancher Joe Mendoza and Judge Edward Butler, purchased fifty-two acres of lagoon and marshland just inland from Drakes Beach. The ownership group then deeded the land to Marin County to serve as a public beach and park. In 1942, Margaret McClure “sold” 2.9 acres of the family’s Pierce Point beachfront property to the county at the price of one dollar. The county built an access road and parking lot on the site. These small tracts were eventually incorporated into the National Seashore lands during the mid-1960s.⁷³

As real estate developers began to reach across Marin County to the Point Reyes Peninsula in the immediate postwar years, and as investors began purchasing Tomales Bay waterfront properties, members of the local conservation community took more substantial steps to protect portions of the seashore area. Livermore, Bert Dunshee, and the Marin Conservation League purchased 185 acres of Tomales Bay property called Shell Beach in 1945. In 1951, Livermore, then League president, and Verna Dunshee, a member of the League’s Board of Directors, obtained \$150,000 from individual donors, and collaborated with Marin County and the California Division of Beaches and Parks to purchase an additional 840 acres of Tomales Bay property north of Shell Beach.⁷⁴ Both of these parcels became part of Tomales Bay State Park, dedicated in 1951, which has remained under state jurisdiction.⁷⁵

Marin County Growth and Development The growth of Marin County’s population, commerce, and traffic in the postwar period was due to more than the marvelous strands of wire and roadway arching across the Golden Gate. San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and, consequently, East Marin, experienced tremendous development booms during World War II and in the postwar decade that followed. One result of the flush of federal wartime spending in the area was an influx of workers to new shipyards at Marin City, making Sausalito an instant boomtown.⁷⁶ The postwar population of the Bay Area continued to expand at a phenomenal rate, to the extent that its growth, and a similar population surge in the Los Angeles basin, helped California pass New York as the nation’s most populous state in 1962.⁷⁷

On Point Reyes Peninsula itself, however, growth was slow and steady. Local communities, such as the town of Inverness on the west side of Tomales Bay, intermittently sprouted new houses and residents. But ranches had locked up most of the available land, and the ranches themselves offered decreasing job opportunities as mechanization and market changes affected management and labor practices. In addition, the rich dairy industry of Marin County was already fading. Dairy farmers in East Marin were selling off their farms quickly to developers. Although this divestment process was retarded in the more isolated areas and richer grasslands of West Marin, even there, ranchers questioned how long dairying would remain a viable industry in the county.⁷⁸ There was little doubt that the growth of San Francisco and East Marin would eventually intrude into the peninsula’s quiet agricultural setting. The first portents of large-scale intrusion came with the notice that the State Highway Commission had developed plans for a four-lane freeway up the coast to Point Reyes Station.

Development Threats at Point Reyes The anticipated commercial development of Point Reyes Peninsula began in the mid-1950s. Realtor and builder David S. Adams purchased land on the east side of Inverness Ridge, where, in 1955, he began selling lots in a residential housing development dubbed

Paradise Ranch Estates. A promotional brochure described, “429 acres of pine-studded Inverness peninsula property that rivals any of the famous California seaside recreational areas for sheer charm, view and ground contour.”⁷⁹ Congress did not include Paradise Ranch within the external boundaries of the national seashore it authorized in 1962. The area fell within the “zone of expansion” around the town of Inverness, a stipulation legislators had inserted into the founding act to ensure the national seashore would not strangle the natural growth of the area’s existing communities. Nonetheless, Paradise Ranch Estates signaled the beginning of large-scale commercial/residential development on the peninsula.

A bigger threat appeared when Adams and Benjamin P. Bonelli, an attorney and developer from San Rafael, incorporated the Drakes Bay Land Company on February 24, 1960, with the intent to purchase land at several Point Reyes locations, which they would subdivide into residential tracts.⁸⁰ Their first purchase was a 1,000-acre parcel of the Ottinger Ranch on the west side of Inverness Ridge that included waterfront views of both Drakes and Tomales bays. They acquired the deed to the land on March 30, 1960. Later in the year, a lawsuit compelled them to divide the property into two tracts; Adams took one, withdrew from the corporation, and eventually sold his holdings on the peninsula. Bonelli, however, stayed in the game, and what would become Drakes Bay Estates remained one of the largest threats to the natural integrity of Point Reyes up to and beyond the final days of the authorization battle (see chapter 3).⁵⁷

Drakes Beach Estates, Inc., a separate corporation owned by Bonelli and several partners, began subdividing land in 1960 along Drakes Bay and Limantour Estero that would become the centerpiece of Bonelli’s development plans. The corporation released their plans for a large conglomeration of housing tracts called Drakes Bay Estates, and began initial preparation of the sites. They put the first lots up for sale that same year, much to the alarm and dismay of many Marin County and Bay Area residents who sought or sympathized with the creation of a national seashore encompassing that area. Particularly disturbing to the conservation community was the housing development’s intrusion into what they considered one of the most beautiful and secluded pieces of the entire peninsula. The original 1935 NPS study of Point Reyes highlighted the “striking character” of Drakes and Limantour esteros, the type of scenic values to be incorporated within the proposed national seashore.⁸¹

Early national seashore advocates recognized that Drakes Bay Estates threatened the entire area. If the development scheme were successful, it would quickly attract similar development to Point Reyes. Indeed, Bonelli had filed plans in February 1961 for another subdivision called Drakes Bay Pines, on his half of the Ottinger Ranch purchase.⁸² Conservationists worried that the accumulating number of residential developments would rapidly escalate real-estate prices. The increased value of the land and its ensuing elevated tax burden could invite or push still other ranchers to sell all or part of their land to private enterprises. The subsequent boom in land values and house construction would mean the end of the peninsula as most residents and visitors knew it. Each jump in real-estate values, and each parcel converted into commercial or residential use, would make it increasingly difficult for the NPS to acquire the land needed to create a national seashore.



Record No. 34550. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Drakes Bay Estates realty sign, Point Reyes National Seashore, January 1962. Photograph by R. Budlong.

While Adams and Bonelli laid groundwork for Drakes Bay Estates in 1956, another threat to the peninsula environment appeared. The Sweet Timber Company purchased the timber rights of the Tevis and Stewart ranch lands, and began cutting the existing trees in 1958. Bertram Dunshee wrote to Wirth with the “bad news”— Sweet was planning to “clear-cut” all of the timber on the Stewart Ranch, including a mature stand of Douglas fir on Inverness Ridge.⁸³ If the logging was part of Sweet’s strategy to maintain his extractive rights on the peninsula, the tactic backfired: the tree felling further galvanized seashore supporters to push for federal protection of the entire peninsula. When logging continued, Representative Clem Miller and Senator Clair Engle, the California legislators who introduced the initial Point Reyes National Seashore bill, added halting the cutting to their list of reasons why Congress should move quickly to pass the national seashore legislation. Sweet Timber Company logging operations on Inverness Ridge continued until 1963, when the federal government instituted condemnation proceedings to halt cutting, and annexed the timber rights via a declaration of taking.⁸⁴

Record No. 19910. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives.



Bird's eye view of Bonelli's plans for subdividing the Drakes Bay Estates property.

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE CAMPAIGN

Outgrowths of the Conservation Movement

In response to these serious threats of commercial/residential development on the Point Reyes Peninsula, and spurred by the NPS national seashore proposal, dedicated segments of the Marin conservation community began to mobilize. Drawing from their well of already established resources and talent in the Bay Area as well as Marin County, new organizations sprang up to promote and lobby for the establishment of Point Reyes National Seashore. These nascent organizations, particularly the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation and the Point Reyes Task Force of the Sierra Club, joined the preexisting conservation groups to play a significant role in the national seashore movement. A Sierra Club Task Force on Point Reyes, chaired by Sonya Thompson, also played a watchdog role regarding the Pacific Gas and Electric Company's designs on building a power plant—possibly nuclear—at Bodega Head, just north of the Point Reyes Peninsula. One of the established organizations in Marin County, the Inverness Improvement Association, was among the first to support the Point Reyes National Seashore proposal. After the initial news reports in summer 1958 revealed the results and recommendations of the NPS seashore studies, attendees at the association's summer membership meeting passed a motion approving the NPS recommendations.⁸⁵ Barbara Eastman, chair of the association's Parks Committee, took the leadership mantle of this effort and attended the first public meeting held to address, inform, and discuss the issues raised by the NPS proposal.

Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation was a Marin County organization founded by Barbara Eastman, Margaret Azevedo, and others. Though it is quite likely that a group such as this would have come together eventually, the foundation was launched in response to a request from Clem Miller's D.C. office. In a 1991 oral history interview, Azevedo recalled that the foundation was a "paper organization" at first, begun so Miller could demonstrate strong local support for the seashore proposal.⁸⁶ In light of this, the campaign within Marin County to create a Point Reyes National Seashore can hardly be called a "grassroots" movement. Local support and activism existed and contributed to the eventual success of the campaign. But the impetus for the campaign—the driving force that started and maintained the movement toward national seashore status—came from NPS officials in D.C. and San Francisco. The sequence of events that launched the PRNS Foundation underscores the point that the creation of the national seashore did not occur in isolation; the campaign to establish the seashore went forward in step with the national political agenda.

The constellation of conservation groups involved in the Point Reyes National Seashore campaign utilized two tried and true strategies from previous battles for environmental causes. One tactic was the carefully organized "field trip," or sightseeing excursion, to a proposed or endangered area to raise awareness of the landscape's unique features and resources. Another tactic was the use of print resources, particularly the publication of glossy coffee-table books on a particular subject or cause, to help conservation groups inform the public and sway legislators. Conservationists also marshaled new technologies in their campaign, releasing a documentary film that highlighted the beauty, biological richness, and scientific and historical values of the proposed seashore area.

Campaign Field Trips

The field trip strategy generally involved taking members of Congress and their staff, Department of the Interior officials, media representatives, and leaders of sponsoring organizations on an outing that hit the highlights of a particular conservation site. Sierra Club-sponsored rafting trips during the Echo Park controversy were perhaps the most

famous use of this tactic during the 1950s. But field outings to promote park preservation dated to a much earlier period of national park history. Railroad companies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of which were forceful proponents for the new national parks because of the dollars tourism generated for their coffers, sponsored rail trips to and through areas targeted for national park status. Congressmen, federal officials, news reporters, and business leaders were ushered west in the sponsoring rail line's luxurious Pullman cars. After reaching the nearest trail station, guides took sightseers in coaches or by pack train to view majestic scenery and "curiosities" that abounded in the mountains, canyons, and deserts of the American West. Decades later, Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the NPS and a grand promoter in his own right, organized similar productions to bolster support for his new national park policies.⁸⁷

In November 1958, the first organized field outing to Point Reyes took place. A group of park supporters, NPS administrators and scientists, and other "interested parties" spent a day touring the Point Reyes Peninsula. The highlight was a walk along a windblown beach and on the sandy bluffs above it. One particular photo captured the pleasure and enjoyment of the moment in the smiles and laughs of the participants, while also revealing the typical coastal weather through their wind-tossed hair and flapping clothing. NPS biologist Adolf Murie, who was part of the group, was impressed by the beauty of the peninsula and the fervor of his fellow participants:

I was also impressed by the zeal, and idealistic thinking of the members of the little expedition. The uppermost thought was to preserve the quality of naturalness of the area, the opportunity to watch a hundred hair seals sleeping on the beach, as we did from a high, rocky point. All seemed anxious lest the very action for preservation would result in the destruction of the area's charm. . . . there was a feeling of urgency in the group concerning the project, knowing the need to acquire the land before it was subdivided and settled beyond practical reclamation.⁸⁸

Aside from the seals, Murie did not spell out exactly what pieces of the peninsula's "naturalness" the group desired to preserve. Did it include the range lands they had passed through on their drive to the beaches? For some Bay Area conservationists of that period preserving natural landscapes meant first, preventing development. In San Francisco, activists began rising up to stop industry and developers from filling the bay and to halt the advance of a superhighway that would score the heart of the city. They were active witnesses to the suburban grid developments taking place along the shorelines south of the city, and to the rapid residential booms in places like San Jose, where city manager A. P. Hamann sought to build his community into a second Los Angeles.⁸⁹ Compared to those places, Point Reyes—the beaches, the bluffs, and the open rangeland too—appeared free from intrusive human construction, or contrivance. People and rural industry were present, but the open space, the vistas of sky and sea, the fogs and wind, gave the outward appearance that on the peninsula nature held sway over the manmade. The abundance of marine and terrestrial wildlife lent further credence to that perception.



Record No. 31660. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Participants in a promotional field trip to Point Reyes gathered on beach, November 1960. From left to right: Martha Collins, Barbara Eastman, Doris Leonard, Bob Luntney, and Joe Penfold. Photograph by George Collins.

In a 2004 interview, Harold Gilliam explained that today's Bay Area residents and seashore visitors may not grasp the significance that the construction and development boom of the 1950s and early 1960s had in the impulse to save places like Point Reyes:

It's hard for young people now to imagine what it was like at that time because the developers had all the power, and I grew up in Hollywood, when the Hollywood Hills were first being developed. . . . And while I was there, the bulldozers and steam shovels were going at it, chopping off the hills. . . . I was sure when I came to the Bay Area the same thing was going to happen here. I looked across the bay at those open hills and thought wow, how have those hills lasted that long? They won't last much longer. There was no real opposition to urbanization at that time.⁹⁰

Indeed, he remembered specific plans in the works to “amputate” San Bruno Mountain, which sits south of the city, by scouring and leveling the mountaintop for a housing development and trucking away the dirt to use as fill material in the bay. Gilliam noted that they were the kinds of plans which most people would now consider “outrageous,” but at that time were simply considered inevitable. As western historian John Findlay indicated in the opening of *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940*, the “watchword” among the politicians, business leaders, and citizenry of postwar western cities was unrepentant, unbridled “growth.”⁹¹ But as urban and suburban

development continued unabated into the 1960s, the associated social, economic, and environmental costs of growth began to convince more Bay Area urban dwellers that the gouging and paving of their communities could not continue without severe repercussions. Activists, particularly in San Francisco, found a wider audience for their calls to prevent expansion in their city and to protect the undeveloped “natural” areas around it.

Supporters of the national seashore likely had other motivations as well. Environmental historian Samuel P. Hays has suggested that Americans in the 1960s adopted new conceptions of “natural” that derived from the country’s rising standard of living and increased consumerism. He explains that the increased valuation of “natural areas” was not a “throwback to the primitive,” but rather a search for new amenities and aesthetic values reflecting their higher standard of living and inflated sense of self.⁹² Nature, whether sought for recreation, intellectual exploration, or spiritual awakening, had become another consumer commodity, especially relished for its uniqueness and limited supply.

Some local conservationists expressed their intent to preserve the human landscape of the peninsula under the auspices of the NPS. Caroline Livermore, while president of the Marin Conservation League, wrote, “as true conservationists we want to preserve dairying in this area and will do what we can to promote the health of this industry which is so valuable to the economic and material well being of our people and which adds to the pastoral scene adjacent to the proposed recreation project.”⁹³ However, her suggestion of purchasing the entire peninsula and then leasing back the land to the ranchers would not turn out to be a compromise that suited the ranchers.

Island in Time

During the 1950s and early 1960s, conservationists and park promoters honed successful strategies to promote their causes, improving on methods that a prior generation of activists had utilized in the earlier part of the century. Timely distribution of print resources—particularly magazine articles, full-page campaign advertisements in local and national newspapers, and photograph-filled books—heightened public and congressional interest in their cause. John Muir’s articles calling for preservation of western wild lands and the creation of national reserves, published in *Century Magazine* and other periodicals of the time, were an early, successful example of this strategy.⁹⁴ During the 1950s, conservation organizations renewed the strategy of using publications and advertisements in various forms of print media to halt the construction of dams on the Colorado River and promote preservation of Dinosaur and Grand Canyon National Parks. Alfred A. Knopf’s 1955 publication of *This Is Dinosaur: Echo Park Country and Its Magic Rivers*, a full-length book of essays and nature photographs, marked the launch of higher-profile media campaigns aimed at protecting the environment.⁹⁵ The Sierra Club likewise began publishing books filled with superb photography to support their conservation campaigns; *This is the American Earth*, a black-and-white publication in a standard size format by Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall, was the first used in this fashion.⁹⁶

PUBLICIZING POINT REYES

As the letter below demonstrates, National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth attempted to enlist Walt Disney's help in the campaign to protect Point Reyes.

L58-RR

Mr. Walt Disney
Walt Disney Productions
2400 West Alameda Avenue
Burbank, California

Dear Walt:

There are enclosed copies of reports of our seashore surveys, made with donated funds, in an attempt to locate the best remaining opportunities to preserve outstanding segments of the seashore and the shores of the Great Lakes for public enjoyment, as State and National Seashores. There is widespread public interest in the need to acquire and preserve the areas described in our reports, with more than 30 bills to authorize such action now pending in the Congress. It seems doubtful, however, that comprehensive legislations will be enacted during this session of the Congress.

I believe that a motion picture of the type you so successfully produce, showing some of these remaining seashore opportunities, explaining the need for early action to acquire them before the opportunity is lost, would have wide public appeal and might result in conservation achievements of lasting benefit to the people of the United States. Your series on wildlife had a tremendous impact and the results helped the national conservation efforts beyond words.

You are recognized as a leader in conservation as a result of your efforts and this seems like the next logical step.

I urge that you or somebody on your staff give careful considerations of this suggestion. I will be only too happy to have a member of my staff call and discuss this proposal further.

Sincerely yours,

Conrad L. Wirth
Director

Enclosures

Copy to: Recreation Resource Planning
BRThompson:LLW;aet, rewritten 8/15/60

Building upon the momentum and experience of these earlier battles, conservation groups employed these strategies in the effort to create Point Reyes National Seashore. The Sierra Club devoted an entire issue of its monthly *Bulletin*, to the Point Reyes plan, aiming to spark more interest in and gain greater support for the seashore proposal. Entitled “Shoreline Park for the Future,” the issue featured an editorial pitch, a map of the proposed site, photographs, and a Harold Gilliam article that began, “The Point Reyes Peninsula is an island in time.”⁹⁷ The phrase Gilliam coined—“Island in Time”—captured the unique qualities of the peninsula and became a valuable shorthand description conservationists and legislators used during the authorization campaign. Laurel Reynolds and Mindy Willis used the phrase as the title for a documentary film about Point Reyes: “An Island in Time” also aided the final push for the national seashore campaign.⁹⁸

Another Sierra Club publication, Gilliam's 1962 *Island in Time*, made an even greater impact in the struggle to create a national seashore at Point Reyes.⁹⁹ The book came about when Sierra Club Executive Director Dave Brower, having had read many of Gilliam's conservation-minded articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and having contracted with Gilliam to write an article for the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, asked him to do a book on Point Reyes using the "island in time" phrase as the title. The book's objective was to help bring publicity to the authorization campaign and to give people (especially legislators) who could not travel there a glimpse of the peninsula's rugged beauty. Brower, as with most of his preservation work, threw himself wholly into the publication effort. He designed it, recruited Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to write the foreword, and wrote a poetic epigraph of his own without attaching his byline.¹⁰⁰

As Gilliam acknowledged in his preface to the book's second edition, the first edition had been a "campaign book" meant to demonstrate the need for federal protection of the peninsula. Fittingly, the Sierra Club made the book's initial distribution onto the desks of every member of the 87th Congress.¹⁰¹ The book was effective as a campaign device because Gilliam used clear, nontechnical prose to tell the geologic, natural, and human stories of the Point Reyes Peninsula, while Philip Hyde's spectacular photographs complemented the text. When *Island in Time* came out it also set a precedent: while *This is the American Earth* was a black-and-white publication, *Island in Time* was the first Sierra Club conservation-battle book to use color photography. After that, Sierra Club publications of this ilk quickly evolved into the large format, color photograph, coffee-table books for which Sierra Club became known.¹⁰²

Conclusion A combination of Park Service proposals, citizen support, and legislative action helped launch the campaign to create a Point Reyes National Seashore and bring it to realization in 1962. Three features in this process bear repeating. First, the NPS introduced the national seashore idea and transformed it into a nationwide agenda to create new NPS units at America's coasts, lakesides, and beaches. The PRNS proposal was part and parcel of this process; the NPS was the driving force behind it. Second, the campaign bore fruit because it found fertile ground in the established conservation movement in the Bay Area, and specifically in Marin County, where dedicated preservationists and open-space activists foresaw the destructive consequences that commercial and residential development would have at Point Reyes. Third, as the NPS and conservation organizations linked up and pushed towards their mutual goal, a dialogue ensued about the character and meaning of the new national seashore they sought to create. They began the process of defining and then, redefining, the land, resources, and management goals of the developing national seashore.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

¹ Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 3rd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), chaps. 2 and 4.

² After Stephen T. Mather stepped in as Director of the Park Service, he fostered the creation of the National Parks Association to promote and lobby for a set of national park standards that any proposed site should have to meet.

³ Hal K. Rothman, *The Park That Makes Its Own Weather: An Administrative History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area*, online rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2002), <http://www.nps.gov/goga/history/history.htm>, 7.

⁴ Sieur de Monts was subsequently designated Lafayette National Park in 1919, and then Acadia National Park in 1929. Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Division of Publications, 2001), http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/mackintosh1/index.htm (accessed October 6, 2004).

⁵ Congress, *An Act To Establish A National Park Service*, August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535).

⁶ For a discussion of the competitive nature of departmental quarrels within the federal system, see Hal K. Rothman, "A Regular Ding-Dong Fight: Agency Culture and Evolution in the Park Service-Forest Service Dispute, 1916-1937," *Western Historical Quarterly* 26 (May 1989): 141-60.

⁷ The first four national monuments were Devils Tower, Wyoming, which President Roosevelt authorized on September 24, 1906, and El Morro, Montezuma Castle, and Petrified Forest National Monuments, authorized on December 8, 1906. One national monument site—in conception and intent, if not in name—predated the Antiquities Act: President Benjamin Harrison created the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation (Arizona) in 1892. It was redesignated Casa Grande National Monument in 1918.

⁸ Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 1: 6-8.

⁹ Theodore Catton and Ann Hubber, *Commemoration and Preservation: An Administrative History of Big Hole National Battlefield*, prepared for the National Park Service, Columbia Cascades Support Office (Missoula, Mont.: Historical Research Associates, 1999).

¹⁰ Grand Canyon National Monument, at 800,000 acres, was a huge exception to the general rule of smaller national monuments.

¹¹ For the most thorough examination of national monuments policy and history, see Hal K. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

¹² *The American Shore and Beach Preservation Association*, brochure (Washington, D.C.: American Shore and Beach Preservation Association, n.d.), Folder American Shore & Beach Preservation Assoc., Box 3, Office Files of Conrad L. Wirth, Records of the Office of the Director (hereafter Wirth Files), RG 79 Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration-II, College Park, Maryland (hereafter NARA-II).

¹³ Harold L. Ickes, quoted in Congress, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Point Reyes National Seashore, California: Report to Accompany S. 476*, 87th Congress, 2^d sess., 1962, H. Rept. 1628, 1.

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¹⁵ National Resources Board, *A Report on National Planning and Public Works in Relation to Natural Resources and Including Land Use and Water Resources and with Findings and Recommendations* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1934).

¹⁶ Douglas Doe, "The New Deal Origins of the Cape Cod National Seashore," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 26 (Summer 1997): 142. The NRB also released an addendum to the 1934 report, *Recreation Use of Land in the United States*, in 1938.

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- ²¹ Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 192.
- ²² Department of the Interior, National Park Service Branch of Planning, *Study of a National Seashore Recreational Area, Point Reyes Peninsula, California*, prepared by Conrad L. Wirth and Emerson Knight (San Francisco, 1935), PRA, unpaginated, foreword.
- ²³ *Study of a National Seashore Recreational Area*, section 2, n.p.
- ²⁴ *Study of a National Seashore Recreational Area*, General Information, n.p.
- ²⁵ *Study of a National Seashore Recreational Area*, General Information, n.p.
- ²⁶ *Study of a National Seashore Recreational Area*, Land Costs, n.p.
- ²⁷ The Mellon Family Foundation was the primary donor for Cape Hatteras land acquisition. Mackintosh, *National Parks*, 5: 20.
- ²⁸ George Palmer, Interview by Robert F. Gibbs, Francis P. Burling, and Charles H. W. Foster, October 10, 1975, 6–7, quoted in Doe, “New Deal Origins of the Cape Cod National Seashore,” 145. Palmer was the Assistant Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, from 1955 to 1966, and later became Associate Director of the NPS, serving from 1970 to 1973.
- ²⁹ Doe, “New Deal Origins of the Cape Cod National Seashore,” 142.
- ³⁰ Doe, “New Deal Origins of the Cape Cod National Seashore,” 145.
- ³¹ Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 204.
- ³² Conrad L. Wirth, “Draft of Speech to be Delivered before American Shore and Beach Preservation Association,” January 19, 1954, Folder American Shore and Beach Preservation Association, Box 3, Wirth Files, RG 79, NARA-II.
- ³³ Emphasis added. Department of the Interior, “Statement by Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, Before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, On a Proposal to Establish a Point Reyes National Seashore, Kentfield, California, April 14, 1960,” Information Release, Conrad Wirth Folder, Box 1, Administrative History Files, PRA, 2.
- ³⁴ B. K. Dunshee, “A Non-Professional Look at Point Reyes Peninsula,” in NPS, “Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, Point Reyes Peninsula, California, Seashore Area,” Preliminary report, June 30, 1957, prepared by Region Four Division of Recreation Resource Planning, Point Reyes Library, 58.
- ³⁵ “Statement by Conrad L. Wirth,” April 14, 1960.
- ³⁶ Wirth demonstrated that his attention to the national seashore concept had not wavered by attending the annual meetings of the American Shore and Beach Preservation Association during the 1950s, and serving, for a time, on that organization’s Board of Directors. Wirth to Peter J. Gannon, Secretary, American Shore and Beach Preservation Association, February 23, 1954, Folder American Shore and Beach Preservation Association, Box 3, Wirth Files, RG 79, NARA-II.
- ³⁷ Mellon had also donated money to purchase large tracts of land for inclusion in Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Lary M. Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 79–81.
- ³⁸ Clair Engle, Press release, July 23, 1959, Box 4, Clem Miller Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 15.
- ³⁹ National Park Service, *A Report on Our Vanishing Shoreline* (Washington, D.C., publisher unknown, 1955), 7.
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- ⁴⁴ NPS, “Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, Point Reyes Peninsula,” 1.
- ⁴⁵ NPS, “Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, Point Reyes Peninsula,” 25.
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- ⁴⁷ NPS, “Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, Point Reyes Peninsula,” 13.
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- ⁴⁹ National Park Service, "Questions and Answers Concerning the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore," press release (San Francisco: NPS Region Four Office, ca. 1960), Box 2, Accession C-A 362, Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation Records 1959–62, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 4.
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- ⁵¹ "Point Reyes: U.S. Seashore Park Urged," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 29, 1958, A1.
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- ⁵⁹ Michael P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892–1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 17.
- ⁶⁰ V. L. Parrington characterized the late nineteenth century as the "Great Barbecue" for its extensive rate of resource consumption. See Stephen J. Pyne, *America's Fires: Management on Wildlands and Forests* (Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society, 1997), 4; and William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890–1941* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1982), 16.
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- ⁷³ Jack Mason, *Point Reyes: The Solemn Land* (Point Reyes Station, Calif.: DeWolfe, 1970), 157–59.
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- ⁷⁵ Mason, *Point Reyes*, 158–59.
- ⁷⁶ Gerald D. Nash, “World War II and Economic Transformation,” in *Major Problems in the History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner, ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1989), 562–73, 570.
- ⁷⁷ According to Stewart L. Udall, when California Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown heard that the state had become the nation's most populous, he said, “I don't know whether I should laugh or cry.” Stewart L. Udall, interview by Paul Sadin, February 3, 2005, Santa Fe, New Mexico, audiotape and transcript, PRNS Administrative History Oral Histories, PRA.
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- ⁸² Bonelli resubmitted a plan to subdivide 168 acres into 76 lots of Drakes Bay Pines in March 1962. *Drakes Bay Land Company v. The United States*, 576.
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- ⁹⁵ Wallace Stegner, ed., *This Is Dinosaur; Echo Park Country and Its Magic River* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

⁹⁶ Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall, *This Is the American Earth* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1960).

⁹⁷ Sierra Club, "Report on Point Reyes: Shoreline Park for the Future," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 43 (September 1958).

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⁹⁹ Harold Gilliam, *Island in Time* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1962).

¹⁰⁰ Gilliam, interview.

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¹⁰² Gilliam remembered that Ansel Adams was unhappy with the decision to use color photos. Gilliam himself acknowledged that although the pictures were well done, because the technology was still quite new they still had "a picture postcard" quality about them. Gilliam, interview.

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER THREE
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE
ACT, 1958–1962

It is clear Point Reyes will not long remain undeveloped unless it is acquired for public use.

... *Clair Engle*

The legislative history of a national park—or, in this case, a national seashore—helps explain how and why that National Park Service site came into existence. The ideals, objectives, and language of the authorization process form the legislative intent of Point Reyes National Seashore’s establishment that provides park managers, politicians, and the public with a fuller understanding of the seashore’s mandated goals, mission, and meaning. The legislative story of the Point Reyes Act reveals that Congress intended to preserve and protect three different elements, namely, recreational opportunities, natural beauty, and the scientific and historic merits of the Point Reyes Peninsula. Congressional bills, committee reports, and floor debates did not single out one element as the paramount justification for creating the national seashore. Point Reyes was never intended to be a one-dimensional park, even though the NPS soon placed it in the recreation area category of park management. Legislators also paid keen attention to the property rights of these landowners; but, as the following discussion reveals, the ranches and dairies were not elements that the NPS, most seashore supporters, and legislators initially sought to protect within the scope of the national seashore premise.

Events that led up to and resulted in congressional authorization of the national seashore, show that there were two forces at work—eventually working together—to bring about congressional action on Point Reyes National Seashore. The local and regional conservation groups that worked hard to support the seashore legislation helped convince Congress that Marin County residents, in particular, and Californians, in general, wanted an NPS site at Point Reyes. The authorization of PRNS was also part of an overarching NPS strategy to enact legislation that would eventually create twelve different national seashore areas around the country.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD AUTHORIZATION

In July 1958, U.S. Representative from California Clair Engle took the first legislative action in the campaign to create a Point Reyes National Seashore, introducing House Resolution 634 (H. Res. 634). Engle’s resolution called for the Department of the Interior to prepare a report on the proposed Point Reyes National Seashore Recreation Area. In the brief committee report that followed, Engle stated his case for authorizing the national seashore. He described Point Reyes Peninsula as an “unspoiled, undeveloped, and relatively isolated historic area,” which offered Congress a superb opportunity to acquire and protect coastal land for public use.¹ Miller urged his colleagues and Interior Department officials to move swiftly to complete the report, because “it is clear Point Reyes will not long remain undeveloped unless it is acquired for public use.”² He added, as a case in point, that surveying and planning for commercial development were already underway there.

Engle’s resolution was one of a half-dozen such proposals in 1958 to study or authorize new national seashores along America’s coastlines. The campaign to create a national seashore at Point Reyes was one among many legislative tracks radiating from a common hub: the studies and recommendations of the National Park Service. Indeed, when President John F. Kennedy signed the bill creating Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961—the first of the proposed seashores authorized in this period—he voiced the hope that Cape Cod would be but one of “a series of great seashore parks which will be for the use and benefit of all of our people.”³ The NPS director at the time, Conrad L. Wirth, likewise explained that the Cape Cod legislation was “only a small part of a much larger picture.”⁴ Point Reyes would become the next in a line of twelve national seashores and lakeshores established between 1961 and 1972.⁵

**Key Figures
in the
Seashore
Campaign**

Regardless of the countrywide NPS agenda to create new national seashores at its recommended sites, without the leaders and supporters who worked at the local (West Marin) and regional (Bay Area) level, the Point Reyes campaign could never have come to fruition. Their efforts to create Point Reyes National Seashore involved surpassing a number of difficult hurdles that were absent when Congress established the older national parks. Congress simply carved land for those late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century parks and monuments from territory already in the public domain. By contrast, the



California Representative Clem Miller, official portrait, ca. 1960.

Record No. 8670. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

government had to craft Point Reyes National Seashore from a composite landscape of private, county, state, and federal property. To win authorization for a national seashore, legislators and supporters had to accomplish two substantial tasks. First, they had to work out an arrangement with the peninsula’s ranchers and other residents that would encourage and enable them to transfer private property into federal hands. Second, politicians who championed the proposal would have to find the millions of dollars needed to purchase acreage as it became available.

The key individuals who helped propel the seashore bill from its introduction in 1959 to enactment in 1962 included Congressman Clem Miller, Senators Clair Engle and Thomas H. Kuchel, legislative assistants William “Bill” Duddleson and Philip Dickinson, field representative William “Bill” Grader, NPS administrators Conrad Wirth and George L. Collins, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, journalist and author Harold Gilliam, Sierra Club leader Edgar Wayburn,

and such local citizen-activists as Barbara Eastman, Richard and Doris Leonard, and Bertram and Verna Dunshee, to name just a few. Many of these people brought to the seashore campaign personal, as well as political, attachments to Point Reyes. Miller, Eastman, Collins, the Leonards and the Dunshees had all lived or spent considerable amounts of time in West Marin. Others, including Wirth, became enchanted by the beauty and uniqueness of Point Reyes early on, and remained dedicated to the cause thereafter.

Clem Miller represented California's First District, which extended from the San Francisco Bay to the Oregon border. Voters elected him on his second try for the post in 1958. Although born and raised in Delaware, the scenic beauty of the western United States captivated Miller and his wife Katy when they moved there in the late 1940s.⁶ They took up residence in Marin County in 1948, and began exploring Point Reyes soon thereafter. They eventually purchased a summer cottage in Inverness, on the eastern edge of the peninsula. Miller's former assistant, Bill Duddleson, recalled that Miller's idea of a good time was to gather up his daughters, climb into the car, and head out to the beach at Point Reyes.⁷ In a 1961 speech, Miller revealed what had long been his uppermost priority: "the preservation of space, Open Space."⁸ Soon after taking office, Miller identified the creation of a Point Reyes National Seashore as his top objective.⁹

Clair Engle, a lifelong state resident, served as a Representative to Congress from California's Second District from 1943 through 1958. In November 1958, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served from January 1959 until his death in July 1964. Engle, who grew up in Northern California, was well known for his affinity for the outdoors, and for sponsoring or supporting many reclamation and conservation bills, particularly in his home state. Engle joined Miller in cosponsoring the first Point Reyes bill, introducing an identical version of Miller's House bill in the Senate. Duddleson called the working relationship between the two legislators "an absolutely perfect partnership." During the Point Reyes campaign, Engle generally tackled the political dealings with Governor Pat Brown and other key members of the state government, while Miller "handled everything else, including, of course, the local people, local Marin County government and Bay Area people."¹⁰ Miller had quickly become adept at working the committee system in Congress, where he used his winning personality to court members of the House Interior Committee.¹¹

Miller and Engle also wanted the support of Senator Thomas Kuchel.¹² Kuchel served as a Republican Senator from California from 1953 until January 1969. He was an elected member of California politics from 1936 through 1952, serving in the state assembly, the state senate, and as the state controller. He was appointed to the U.S. Senate on January 2, 1953, to fill the vacancy created by Richard M. Nixon's resignation from that post. California voters subsequently elected him to the Senate position that November, and reelected him in 1956 and 1962.¹³ Kuchel grew up in Orange County, attended college and law school in the Los Angeles area, and began his law practice in Anaheim. Accordingly, his primary base of political support was Southern California. Engle and Miller, Democrats who hailed from Northern California, knew they needed Kuchel's Southern California base and Republican constituency on board to push through the Point Reyes legislation as a bipartisan bill with statewide support. Kuchel eventually joined Engle as cosponsor of the subsequent Point Reyes bills, and used his "very likable and personable" demeanor to muster support for the Point Reyes proposal among Republican colleagues in the Senate.¹⁴

Other individuals from the California delegation played important roles in the Point Reyes campaign. They included Harold T. Johnson of California's Second District, and Jeffery Cohelan, who represented the Berkeley area. These legislative champions of the seashore bills employed much of their personal time and political leverage in garnering the support to keep the bills moving along—with frequent phone calls, letter writing, and person-to-person contacts.

The Point Reyes campaign also had its torchbearers in the Department of the Interior. Gilliam wrote that it was George Collins, regional chief of the NPS Recreation Resource Planning Division, who “suggested the idea [for a national seashore] to his friend Miller, and guided the project to success locally.”¹⁵ Margaret Azevedo, a Democratic Party activist in Marin County, attributed to Collins the very “idea” of a Point Reyes National Seashore, and credited him with marshalling government officials and local residents to get behind the NPS proposal for a national seashore in Marin County.¹⁶ When Miller finally succeeded in obtaining \$15,000 in congressional funding for the land use and economic surveys, Collins realized the allotment would not cover all the costs of a proper survey, and apparently paid for some of the work himself.¹⁷

Collins' notions about a potential seashore diverged from most of the other seashore supporters in the Bay Area and Marin County. Befitting his position as NPS chief of recreation resource planning, Collins pushed for recreation-oriented national seashores, e.g. parks with boat marinas, swimming facilities, horseback riding, golf courses, the works. Collins believed that facilities such as golf courses could be developed “without any ethical disturbance whatever of other values or resources.”¹⁸ But there could be no doubting his commitment to the seashore campaign. After Collins retired from government service, he, Doris Leonard, and Dorothy Varian formed Conservation Associates, a nonprofit foundation with the aim of mediating environmental struggles between conservation groups and industry heads.¹⁹ From the outset, one of their main goals was to purchase Point Reyes ranch lands and hold them until Congress could authorize the national seashore.

On the national level, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall helped shepherd PRNS and other national seashores and lakeshores through the authorization process during the 1960s. When President John F. Kennedy appointed Udall to the cabinet post in January 1961, Udall, a three-term Democratic congressman from Arizona, had already established his reputation as an active voice in environmental issues and a supporter of conservation policies, as well as an active legislator on labor and American Indian issues.²⁰ He served on the House Interior Committee throughout his tenure in Congress (1955–1961). As was the case with many other western politicians of his era, his notion of natural resource conservation included water reclamation. Thus Udall worked to pass legislation to create the Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado River.

In a paper presented at the First World Conference on Parks in 1962, Udall wrote about the importance of setting aside undeveloped seashore and coastal areas around the globe. He called for “every sea-touched country . . . to preserve for its people portions of shoreline with the unique opportunities which they hold for human refreshment and restoration of the soul.”²¹ Environmental activist David Brower remembered Udall as the first public official in a position of such stature to “come out strongly against mindless growth, population growth and development.”²² In several instances during the struggle for PRNS authorization, Udall stepped in to deal with significant problems, and helped smooth the way for the establishment of the national seashore.

**Initial
Legislation**

On July 23, 1959, Miller and Engle jointly introduced identical bills, H.R. 8358 and S. 2428, which sought authorization of a “national seashore park” on Point Reyes Peninsula. The proposed seashore would “save and preserve for the inspiration, benefit and use of the people of the United States certain unspoiled shoreline areas . . . which possess scenic, scientific, historic and recreational values of national significance.”²³ The bills emphasized the varied natural environment of Point Reyes that ranged from tidal estuaries to forested mountains, and was home to an equally wide range of animal and plant species that flourished in those environments. That biological diversity and the geologic history of the Point Reyes area held tremendous scientific value and provided a rich source for future research. Miller and Engle also emphasized that Sir Francis Drake’s 1579 landing made the Point Reyes shoreline a significant piece of America’s history, matching the importance of such historical sites as Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

After praising the qualities that made Point Reyes a logical choice for designation as a national seashore, Miller and Engle urged their colleagues to act now, rather than later, to set the land aside. In a joint public statement that accompanied the introduction of the bills, they reminded their constituents that Point Reyes stood directly in the way of “accelerating pressures from one of the Nation’s fastest growing metropolitan areas.” It was not a case, they argued, of choosing between creating a federally managed development on the one hand, and keeping the area in its present “undeveloped and pastoral state,” on the other. Point Reyes was “going to be ‘developed’—one way or another.”²⁴ Miller and Engle asked the public and Congress to establish an NPS site before the peninsula succumbed to the impending private development. If the American public and Congress failed to set aside this remarkable piece of “our yet-remaining native California landscape as ‘breathing space’ for family outdoor recreation,” then, they warned:

We will leave our children a legacy of concrete treadmills leading nowhere except to other congested places like those they will be trying to get away from. Seashores suitable for family recreation are a uniquely limited part of our natural-resource legacy. We have seen too many examples—particularly on the East Coast—of houses, resorts and other businesses crowded together to destroy or bar access to the very attractions most people go to the beach to enjoy and on which highest recreation values depend.²⁵

The Miller/Engle bills called for a seashore area of 28,000 to 35,000 acres of Point Reyes land, but did not propose boundaries or suggest an appropriation figure for land acquisition. Miller and Engle acknowledged that management of the seashore would need to include “certain compatible exceptions” to the usual NPS policies governing existing parks, in order to provide a wider range and greater number of recreational opportunities. They cited, as examples, small-craft boating and sailing, sport fishing, swimming, and, possibly, golf.²⁶ They mentioned ranch land only in relation to possible recreational opportunities. The sponsors suggested that agricultural uses of the land, such as grazing, could be allowed under permit in certain areas of the seashore. They did not, however, offer protection of dairy and cattle ranches as an objective in establishing the national seashore.



NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Sign at Point Reyes advertises a new residential subdivision at Drakes Beach, ca. 1962.

Because they did not yet have the support of the Marin County Board of Supervisors or the ranching community, Miller and Engle temporarily postponed congressional action on their bills. They wanted to wait until the Park Service had completed the land use and economic impact surveys before the respective committees evaluating each bill proceeded. The two Californians made clear that they were in favor of the PRNS proposal, but indicated that they would not press for enactment until they had found an approach that also protected the community and economic interests of Marin County residents. As they would soon find out, they had an uphill battle to convince some local residents that the government would adequately safeguard their privacy and property rights. A key sticking point in these original bills was the government purchase of Point Reyes ranches, via negotiations or condemnation proceedings, to form a 21,000-acre pastoral zone within the national seashore boundaries. The government could then lease the land in that zone back to the existing ranchers, so long as they continued the same

type of industry and land use.²⁷ This particular strategy immediately alienated ranchers and many other local residents.

**Concurrent
Seashore
Legislation**

Although the Miller/Engle bill was the first to propose, specifically, the establishment of a Point Reyes National Seashore, an earlier bill, S. 2010, called for Congress to create three new, as-yet-unnamed, national seashores. The bill gave the Secretary of the Interior the power to select the three sites from those recommended in the NPS seashore surveys. The bill also called on Congress to spend \$15 million to acquire land for these proposed locations. John P. Saylor, Representative from Pennsylvania, also introduced H.R. 7407, a companion bill to S. 2010. At that time, the Secretary of the Interior’s advisory board on parks was recommending that new seashore units come from a select group of five sites: Oregon Dunes, Indiana Dunes (a National Lakeshore), Cape Cod, Padre Island, and Point Reyes.²⁸ Miller and Engle introduced their Point Reyes bill when they did to insure that Point Reyes would be on the “eligible list” of the seashore proposals considered during the congressional hearings on S. 2010 and H.R. 7407 that coming summer.

A group of joint sponsors—Senators Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon, James E. Murray of Montana, Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois—introduced a similar, but more expansive bill, S. 2460, in July 1959. The proposed legislation called for Congress to establish ten new national seashore sites and to appropriate \$50 million for studies and land acquisition at those areas. They called it the “S.O.S” (Save Our Shorelines) Bill, the first of several instances in which that acronym would be used in connection with Point Reyes. The sponsors tabbed the five sites noted above as targets for federal acquisition, along with seashore areas at Cumberland Island (Georgia), Channel Islands (California), Pictured Rocks (Indiana), and Huron Mountains and Sleeping Bear Dunes (Michigan).²⁹ By that time, there were also five individual seashore bills on the House and Senate floors.³⁰ Legislation for Cumberland Island, one of the most highly prized sites described in the Atlantic Coast seashore survey, had since moved onto a back burner of the national seashore campaign.³¹ As discussed in the first section of this chapter, each particular seashore bill—including the Point Reyes proposal—was part of a larger national campaign to make the national seashore concept a permanent part of the national park system.

Neuberger, one of the many sponsors of S. 2010, noted that the bills offered Congress three different avenues to rescue “from oblivion and destruction some of the beauty which exists where the shoreline meets the sea.”³² Neuberger revealed more than a simple desire to create public beaches for boating and swimming. He saw the new shoreline sites as complements to the existing mountain parks of the American West, observing, “There is beauty along the seacoast as well as in the uplands.” He lamented that this marine grandeur had been largely neglected, even though seacoasts could appeal equally to tourists and recreation seekers, as could the mountaintops. Because of their long period of neglect, many fine seashore areas had been “desecrated, exploited, and spoiled.”³³

The combination bills (S. 2010, H.R. 7407, and S. 2460) did not result in the creation of any new NPS units. But they succeeded, as one national park historian has framed it, in “putting the seashore park on the legislative table.”³⁴ Those bills announced the idea that congressional funding for land acquisition would be part of the discussion in future seashore legislation. Moreover, the combination bills further demonstrated how the legislative campaign to create Point Reyes National Seashore was one segment of a national strategy aimed at protecting the nation’s dwindling supply of undeveloped shoreline.

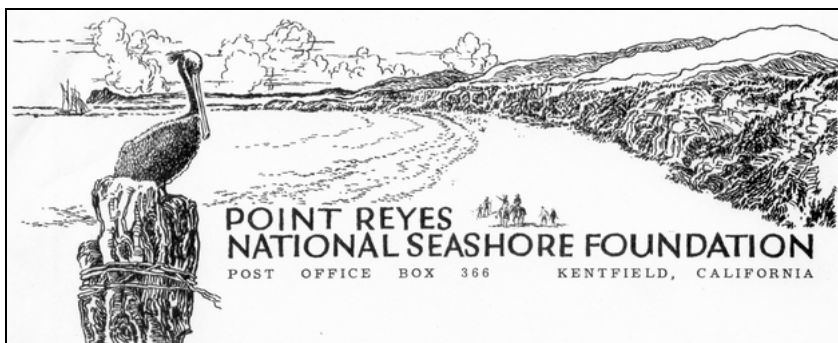
**State and
Local
Political
Strategies**

Early in 1959, Miller recognized that in order to move forward with the Point Reyes campaign he needed to drum up more support from Marin County residents. He had already tabbed Bill Duddleson, his legislative assistant and a former newspaper reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, to spearhead the Point Reyes campaign. With the assistance of Collins in the NPS Western Region Office and Bill Grader, another staff assistant, Miller also set out to orchestrate—one might even say, to instigate—a local (Marin County) support organization from behind the scenes. After one particular talk with Collins, Miller outlined the political strategy he had in mind:

It is necessary that we begin to take some steps in our office to push this matter if the local people are unable to or unwilling to do it. At the same time, I want to retain the concept of local autonomy particularly West Marin local autonomy. We want to give the impression that everything is emanating from there. I am afraid, however, that McCarthy [attorney for the ranchers] sees through this.³⁵

Margaret Azevedo recalled that the initial impetus for organizing the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation was to create leadership and a political face for local public support where it had yet to coalesce. Grader urged local leaders to do something more tangible, because there was “no evidence of support” for the seashore proposal within Marin County.³⁶ Azevedo and activist Barbara Eastman formed the foundation, and recruited local conservation leader Caroline Livermore to become the temporary chairperson. They announced the foundation’s formation on July 13, 1959, and made their first public act a letter to Miller, approving his Point Reyes bill.³⁷ Within two years, Joel Gustafson, associate director of the California Academy of Sciences, had taken on the chair of the PRNS Foundation, which had expanded to over five hundred members.³⁸

Miller also needed the support of the Marin County Board of Supervisors. Upon learning in July 1959 that the board of supervisors planned to oppose his authorizing bill, Miller



Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation letterhead.

PRNS Archives

wrote to Walter Castro, the board’s chair, to explain that his support of a Point Reyes bill was “appropriate and necessary at the present time,” owing to “everything that is happening here [in Congress] relative to the other four proposed national seashore recreation areas.”³⁹

**NPS National
Seashore
Agenda**

NPS officials involved in the seashore surveys and proposals did not take a back seat once the legislative process was underway. They continued to push their national seashore agenda, although, in some cases, they tried to maintain a less conspicuous role, using backdoor communication channels with legislators or campaign organizers. In 1960, for instance, Collins wrote to the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation Board, suggesting that they use surplus money accrued from the “Island in Time” film fund to hire or pay for an expert to study possible land exchanges. At that point, the Park Service

was already negotiating, secretly, with landowners to obtain Point Reyes properties via purchase or exchange.⁴⁰ Collins was particularly interested in land that could be offered to A. W. Sweet in exchange for the land the Sweet Timber Company was logging on Inverness Ridge.⁴¹ The foundation board expedited this process by obtaining a loan from the Sierra Club, and then directed that money to the Park Service. The board planned to repay the loan with money from the film fund, just as Collins had suggested.⁴²

After Congress approved Miller's request to fund the Point Reyes studies, Collins helped shape the work on the NPS land use and economic surveys. He realized that the largest share of the appropriation would have to go into architectural evaluations and surveys of properties targeted for acquisition. To make sure the report addressed other significant issues, Collins recruited Paul Wilson, a College of Marin professor, to lead the survey of the peninsula's scientific and historic resources. Collins told Wilson that the congressional funding would not come close to covering actual costs involved in conducting all aspects of the two surveys.⁴³ But it was a start. Collins, in fact, apparently paid for Wilson's work out of his own wallet.⁴⁴ The Park Service also filled the funding gap by assigning its own technical experts to the survey and obtaining help from dedicated conservationists and local seashore supporters, including Mary Summers, Jim Hammond, Verna Dunshee, and Doris Leonard.⁴⁵ The resulting report supplied evidence that the proposed seashore area was of national, not just regional, significance.

Wirth himself continued to throw his personal enthusiasm for the national seashore into the effort. After a personal visit to Marin County in February 1959, one of the many seashore supporters he met thanked him for his personal involvement with the seashore project. Bertram Dunshee later wrote that Wirth's "infectious enthusiasm" had enabled the seashore supporters to "see the path ahead more clearly" and had "strengthened our determination to do whatever needs to be done to make the project an actuality."⁴⁶

During this time, NPS officials submitted alternate versions of the initial bills. In August 1960, NPS staff prepared and submitted the Department of the Interior's report on the two Point Reyes bills, recommending that the seashore encompass 53,000 acres of the peninsula. Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton presented House Interior Committee chair Wayne N. Aspinall with the NPS draft of a Point Reyes bill that included the new acreage figure, and which mimicked the language of the earlier H.R. 7407, the combination bill that had sought to create three national seashores. Seaton's action underscored two important points prominent in this legislative history. The National Park Service, perhaps more than any grassroots effort in Marin County, was the driving force behind the national seashore idea and the unified NPS agenda linked the separate seashore bills as part of one political continuum.⁴⁷

THE LEGISLATIVE BATTLE INTENSIFIES

Just prior to introducing his legislation that called for a Point Reyes study, Miller received a telegram from the Marin County Board of Supervisors, informing him that the board was opposed to his planned legislation. It was the first of what would become a short but intense barrage of public opposition to the national seashore proposal. The board of supervisors made its stance official in September 1958, when it voted, four to one, to oppose any plan for a national seashore at Point Reyes. The Supervisors took the quick, unplanned vote after hearing from a delegation of Point Reyes ranchers.⁴⁸ They made their decision without holding an open hearing and before they heard from any

proponents of the bill. The one dissenting voter, Vera Schultz, argued that the board should hear both sides of the issue before making any decisions.⁴⁹ Although the board of supervisors' vote placed no legal or governmental restriction on any NPS actions, it was an important piece in the political chess match that would ensue.



Record No. 31660. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Congressional investigation party brought by helicopter to Bear Valley, April 16, 1960. Pictured, from left to right, are Senators Robert Byrd and Frank Moss, Representative Clem Miller, and Superintendent James Marshall. Photograph by Bob Angle.

Public Opposition

Soon after the supervisors' ad hoc vote, other private landholders and residents of West Marin County joined the ranchers in opposition to the NPS plans. The paramount issue for Marin residents who did not live on the peninsula was potential loss of county tax revenue when private property at Point Reyes became public (i.e., nontaxable) land. Adolph Oko, an Inverness resident who went by the moniker "Captain Oko," made himself the most vocal local opponent to the Point Reyes plan. When Gilliam interviewed him for a piece in the *Chronicle*, Oko was a "colorful character," who worked as a local realtor and was president of the Marin County Chamber of Commerce. Whenever he found a public forum for his views or the news media arrived on a scene, Oko "waxed eloquent about . . . the evils of government and how the government would use . . . a



San Francisco Chronicle headline, September 17, 1958.

cookie cutter [approach] to try to come in and make everything identical."⁵⁰ At one public meeting, Captain Oko read aloud the Declaration of Independence to emphasize his opposition to what he called the government's "blanket grab" of private property, which "cast a cloud over the title of every man's land."⁵¹

Company representatives for the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) radio sites also stated their opposition to the

national seashore proposal. The corporate stance was a response to one particular concern: noise from automobiles, specifically auto ignitions, would significantly interfere with their signals. AT&T spokesman R. R. Pool explained that the company moved its radio-telephone equipment to the peninsula in 1930 (shortly after RCA arrived) because the site offered a shorter distance to transmission stations in Asia and provided isolation from man-made noise.⁵² An NPS unit on the peninsula was sure to increase the number of cars traveling there, creating more noise of all types. Their reasoning, however, did not take into account the increased auto traffic that private residential development also would produce at Point Reyes.

**People and
Cattle Don't
Mix**

When the Point Reyes proposal started to gain momentum in the late-1950s, according to local rancher Boyd Stewart, the area's ranchers "didn't catch on in time to oppose it much. . . . They didn't think anything would come of it."⁵³ Once the details of the Point Reyes proposal were released to the public, however, dairy ranchers raised an outcry and pledged to fight the seashore's establishment. They complained that an NPS seashore located in their midst was sure to destroy the dairy industry of Point Reyes and West Marin County and argued that government seizure of their land would be an unconstitutional intrusion on their private property rights. In July 1958, thirty-five ranchers formed the West Marin Property Owners Association.⁵⁴

At the time, sixteen dairy ranches operated on 18,797 acres of the peninsula along with a number of cattle ranches.⁵⁵ Most NPS officials and legislators involved in the Point Reyes proposal believed that allowing ranching to continue was a way to maintain the rural flavor of the peninsula. For many seashore proponents, the grassy fields and pastures of the ranch properties added to the peninsula's aesthetic appeal. Nevertheless, if cattle and dairy ranches remained in private ownership, they would likely obstruct public beach and recreation access. In addition, purchasing the ranches during the land acquisition phase was likely to be very costly, not only in the money it would take to buy the parcels, but also in the political fallout from the government's dealings with resistant property owners. Already, George Nunes, a dairy rancher who was president of the West Marin Property Owners Association, had railed against the anticipated government "seizure" of private land to create the national seashore.⁵⁶

The initial legislative approach to the ranchers and their property was for the government to purchase the 21,000 acres of dairy ranches, then lease those lands back to the ranchers, allowing them to continue living and working on their family farms after they had sold the property to the government. The NPS had used this approach in the founding legislation for Grand Teton National Park in 1950, but, in that particular case, the ranchers were already leasing the land.⁵⁷ The Grand Teton legislation guaranteed ranchers the right to continue leasing the same land for twenty-five years and beyond, for the lifetimes of the each rancher's heirs or successors, as long as they were immediate family members.⁵⁸ An alternative approach, which the Park Service proposed for Point Reyes in 1960, involved allowing dairy ranchers to maintain ownership while the government purchased scenic easements to ensure the land would remain rural open space.⁵⁹

For Point Reyes ranchers, a prime point of contention regarding the proposed seashore was the leaseback arrangement. Most of the ranchers wanted to continue their operations and remain on their land, but they did not want to work and live under a lease agreement. One Point Reyes Station resident, pointing out the constant costs of upkeep for equipment

and structures on any ranch or farm, asked, “Would any rancher in his right mind improve land, buildings and fences that did not belong to him?”⁶⁰

In July 1959, ranchers, residential property owners, state, county, and federal officials came together at a meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association. Most of the day’s speakers voiced opposition to the park proposal, none more vociferously than rancher James Kehoe, who exclaimed: “Well, what the hell! We as a dairy group don’t want to give this land away and we are opposing this bill in a big way.”⁶¹ Other ranchers attempted to be more persuasive by referencing their familial ties to the land. Joe Mendoza offered this account:

We have a large business—a dairy business—out in this area, plus all of our neighboring ranchers out there who also have. We have raised our families out there and our fathers before us. We all have children. We require that property to make a living. We don’t want anybody to come over there and take it away from us. We have lived there all of our lives.⁶²

Public sentiment against the national seashore plan at this and other meetings centered on several issues, including the necessity, safety, cost, and legal propriety of the NPS proposal. A number of ranchers, reflecting on their experience of living on the peninsula, criticized the selection of Point Reyes as a venue for recreational activities. They argued that the weather was too cool and foggy, the terrain too brushy and tangled, and the waters too rough and dangerous to be suitable for a seashore recreation area. Strong currents, cold water, and high waves made swimming, and even wading, dangerous pursuits. They also warned that the combination of thick fog, high brush, and unfamiliar terrain would lead hikers astray, where they could become lost or abruptly find themselves teetering on the cliff edge of a coastal bluff.⁶³ Many ranchers also worried about the inevitable impacts of human contact with livestock. They noted that visitors and their dogs would spook cattle, or that fence gates left open would allow some of the herd to escape. Kehoe was again succinct: “It is impossible. You can’t mix cattle and people.”⁶⁴

Opponents also argued that there was no need for more public-use land in West Marin. Don McIsaac, a West Marin rancher and local representative for the Farm Bureau, sounded a familiar refrain: “in Marin County, there is so much in the park area now, the road district, the Army installation, and I wonder how far this can go and the rest of us live in the county.”⁶⁵ Oko argued that existing parks in West Marin, such as Samuel Taylor State Park were underused, so why pull even more private land out of owner’s hands and off the county tax rolls. He thought it was time to stop government acquisition of Marin lands, before the parks “accumulate and accumulate until some day we are going to vomit with the tax load we are going to carry on our land.”⁶⁶

Media Coverage

Local media’s coverage of the NPS plans, particularly in Marin County, added fuel to the slowly growing protest over the Point Reyes proposal. The West Marin newspaper, the *Baywood Press*, began its coverage of the national seashore campaign with a July 1958 article that highlighted the opposition views of the newly formed property owners association. The article led off with one rancher’s opinion that federal park acquisition would “rip the backbone out of Marin County’s \$12,000,000 a year dairy industry.”⁶⁷ Three years later, the *Marin Independent-Journal* ran a commentary entitled, “Pt. Reyes

Seashore? No!” reflecting that most of the remaining opposition to the authorization campaign sat in Marin County.⁶⁸

In the meantime, a San Francisco radio station aired, “A Shrub by Any Other Name,” an editorial broadcast that opposed the seashore bill and questioned whether Point Reyes was really worth the effort. KCBS Radio general manager Jules Dundes began, “If man cannot turn a sow’s ear into a silk purse, neither can he, by merely passing laws, turn shrubland into desirable parkland.”⁶⁹ He explained that most of the peninsula was



San Francisco Chronicle editorial, March 22, 1961.

covered in shrub and brush, which he considered “undesirable for hiking, camping or picnicking . . . and not attractive enough to be worth preserving.” The editorial also challenged whether the California legislators’ “hue and cry to hurry up and vote for the park” before the land was sold, subdivided, and bulldozed was warranted. Dundes had been out to the area, where he saw only one new house in the proposed development, and claimed that the government was using a “specious argument” in order to obtain large tracts of land from private citizens.⁷⁰ Regional news media also had proponents of the Point Reyes proposal. In a September 1959 editorial, the *San Francisco Chronicle* called local Marin opposition to the NPS proposal at the very least “shortsighted,” if not “costly and tragic.”⁷¹

**Debating
Costs and
Land
Acquisition**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, congressional funding for national park land acquisition was a new phenomenon. There were, however, a few exceptions to this general no-spend policy. Congress granted money to acquire land at Independence National Historic Park and Manassas National Battlefield. More significant, since World War II, Congress had appropriated funds to purchase private in-holdings within established parks.⁷²

In a 1969 interview, Secretary of the Interior Udall explained how from the 1930s through the 1950s the Interior Department operated under an unwritten policy that frowned upon buying land for parks:

The attitude had been very strong and very profound that we were so rich as a big continent, had so many lands still in public ownership that we didn't need to buy land. . . . Yet here were these great seashore areas [Point Reyes and Cape Cod] that were on the verge of being over-developed and spoiled for all time. So it was clear that we had to have a new policy.⁷³

In 1961, Udall himself began talking with congressional colleagues and with Budget Bureau staff about creating a conservation fund that would earmark monies with which to purchase land for new national park units. The budget office was initially “very reluctant about this,” and Udall was unable to gain enough support for the concept to make a difference in the Point Reyes legislative battle.⁷⁴ Although the legislation did not pass in time to use in the Point Reyes authorization, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 would eventually help provide funding to complete all of the major land acquisitions for the national seashore in the following decade.⁷⁵

**New
Legislation
and New
Strategies**

Soon after the first session of the 87th Congress began in January 1961, Miller introduced H.R. 2775, his latest version of a Point Reyes authorization bill. The following day, January 17, Senators Engle and Kuchel introduced S. 476, an identical version of Miller's bill. The Miller/Engle/Kuchel bills upped the total acreage of the proposed Point Reyes National Seashore to the 53,000 recommended by the NPS, adding approximately 20,000 acres to the boundaries proposed in the 1959 bills. Newly armed with the land use and economic feasibility studies completed in 1960, Engle bolstered his arguments for creating the seashore by reiterating the studies' findings that Point Reyes was an area of national significance.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the economic feasibility study indicated that securing NPS status would advance the social and economic interests of the local communities.⁷⁷ In announcing the new bills, the trio of sponsors said that development and recreational activities within the new seashore would include a wider range of activities than currently permitted in traditional national park sites.⁷⁸ These activities might include charter-boat fishing, sailing, and golf. In addition, Engle related, their bill was amended to take into account the interests and stake and “sentiments of the present residents” in the creation of the national seashore. As a result, the exact boundaries of the proposed seashore remained undefined: final determinations would come after future congressional hearings and deliberations with landholders.

The bill contained four new features that were designed to protect the interests of the ranchers and other Point Reyes residents:

1. Of a total area not to exceed 53,000 acres, the government would designate at least 20,000 acres as a ranching area or “pastoral zone.” Commercial dairy and cattle ranching could then continue under lease agreements with the government.
2. Other residents who owned property with improvements that were begun before September 1, 1959, could, upon the selling that property to the government, retain the “right of use and occupancy” under one of three sets of terms. They could occupy the land for their lifetime, or for the life of their spouse, or until their youngest child reached the age of 30, whichever allowed the occupancy to last the longest.

PRNS Archives

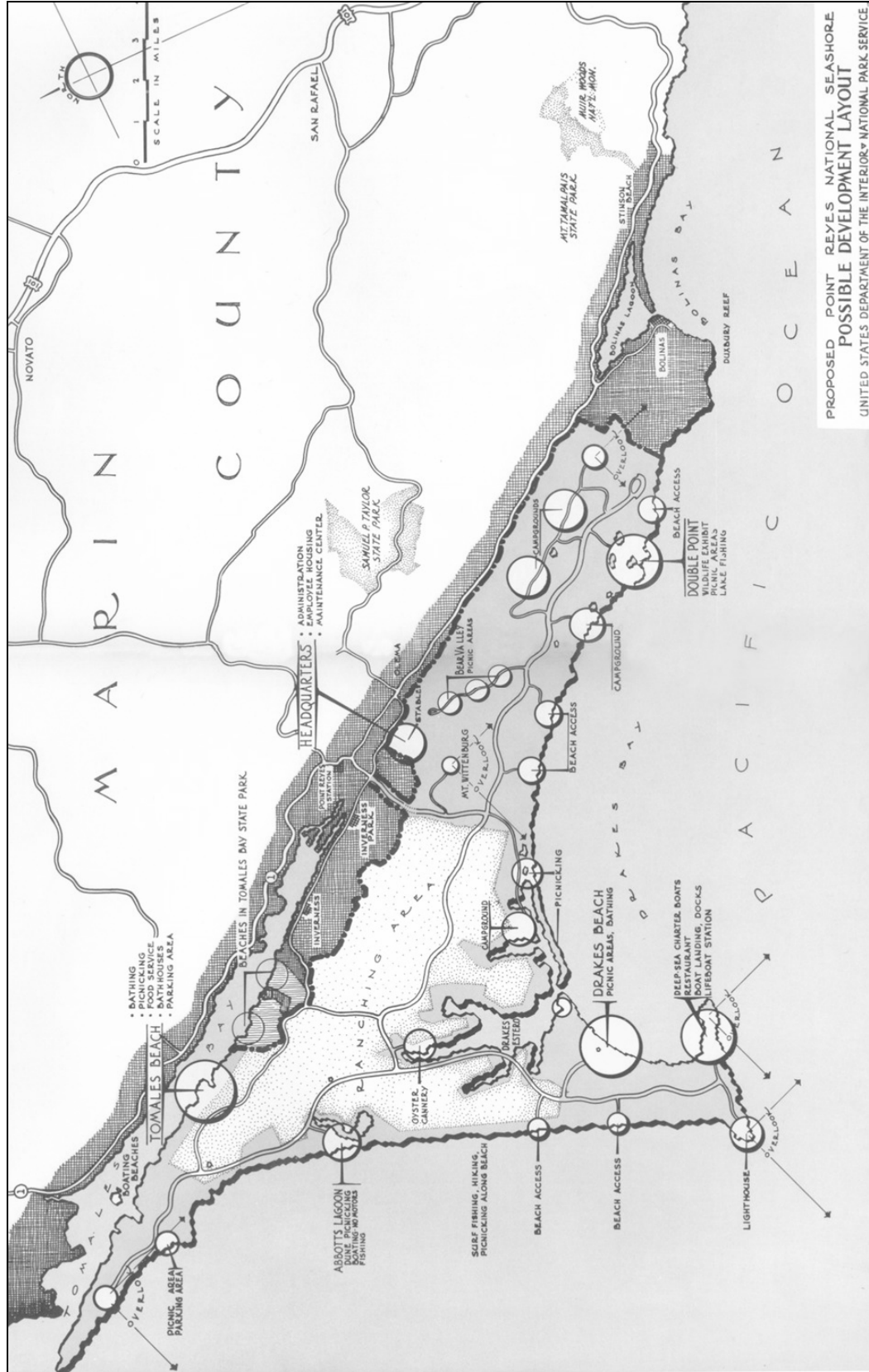


Diagram showing possible development plans for the proposed Point Reyes National Seashore. Source: NPS Land Use Survey: *Point Reyes National Seashore*, 1961.

3. The external boundaries the seashore would be configured to allow for the future expansion of the towns of Inverness and Bolinas.
4. The government could obtain Point Reyes land by offering owners an exchange for property of equal value from the public domain within California, Oregon, Nevada, or Arizona.

**Kennedy's
Conservation
Agenda**

President Kennedy gave a tremendous boost to the Point Reyes campaign when he spelled out his new national conservation plan in a February 1961 special message to Congress. White House aides David Bell and Phillip (Sam) Hughes prepared the initial draft of Kennedy's speech, which aimed to introduce two new conservation policies in the United States: the adoption of national seashores as new units within the national park system, and the creation of a nationwide wilderness measure. The original draft of the speech included Kennedy's recommendation to create Cape Cod National Seashore. Then-Senator Kennedy, and his Massachusetts colleague Senator Leverett Saltonstall, had cosponsored the first Cape Cod bill in 1958, and he dearly wanted to see the legislation pass. Udall recalled that as he and his staff read over a draft of the speech in his office, they saw with it problems, and began suggesting possible alterations. The group worried that it would appear "rather narrow and selfish for the President to recommend Cape Cod, in his own state," but no other areas.⁷⁹ As the discussion continued, according to Udall, they decided, "let's make it national, let's have him recommend two others, one on the Gulf Coast and one on the Pacific Coast."⁸⁰ As a result, speechwriters inserted the Padre Island and Point Reyes national seashore proposals into Kennedy's message to Congress.

Udall wrote that Kennedy's February 1961 message "bore seeds of change" that took root and "galvanized the conservation movement."⁸¹ Kennedy's seeds of change were the two new conservation policies he announced: his call for creation of a national wilderness protection system, and his proposal that Congress appropriate money to acquire seashore areas such as Cape Cod and Point Reyes.⁸²

Point Reyes was, in several ways, the Pacific Coast counterpart to Cape Cod. Both were beautiful scenic areas, with tremendous recreational potential, located close to a major metropolis. Both peninsulas are distinctive landforms that extend far beyond the nearby coastlines into the open ocean, island-like in their geological and geographic separation from the mainland. But neither area was an untrammelled wilderness in the traditional sense, since settlement and agricultural activity first took place more than a hundred years prior at Point Reyes and close to four hundred years prior on Cape Cod. Of course, important differences existed, some of which made Cape Cod an easier sell to Congress and in the local community. Agricultural and fishing industries based on the cape were already well in decline by the late 1950s, while the dairy industry on Point Reyes (though not throughout West Marin County) was still active and economically viable.⁸³ Development pressures at Cape Cod were much more obvious than at Point Reyes, and almost every other patch of shoreline within easy driving distance of the Northeast's urban corridor had already been chopped up into private lots or inundated with (often gaudy) commercial tourist development. The message was clear: the Cape Cod legislation was the last chance to preserve a significant stretch of wild, undeveloped dunes and beaches.

THE THIRD WAVE OF CONSERVATION

In a February 1961 message to Congress, President John F. Kennedy focused the political spotlight onto two new conservation agendas: creation of national seashores, including Point Reyes National Seashore, and adoption of the Wilderness bill. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall saw these as two key elements of the “third wave” of the American conservation movement.

“We called it the Third Wave, and the older I get, the more I believe it was a powerful third wave of the conservation movement. But it also wrapped in the environmental ecological concerns raised by Rachel Carson... There were two giant figures out at the grass roots – David Brower and Rachel Carson were very influential.”

--Stewart L. Udall, interview by Paul Sadin, February 3, 2005, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

That the Cape Cod and Point Reyes bills were part of one nationwide campaign was further demonstrated by the coordinated strategy used to move each of the seashore bills through the House Interior Committee. Udall informed Miller that the Cape Cod National Seashore bill would go through first, because it had full congressional support and, of course, the backing of President Kennedy, who had been the bill’s initial sponsor in 1959.⁸⁴ Udall outlined a plan for the Point Reyes bill to go through the House Interior Committee next, followed, in turn, by the Padre Island legislation.⁸⁵ The legislative process played out in just that order. After Congress passed and the president signed the Cape Cod Act during the first session of the 87th Congress, the Point Reyes and Padre Island bills were considered during the second session. President Kennedy signed the Padre Island National Seashore Act into law just one week after he signed the Point Reyes Act.

COMPROMISES AND COMPLETION

The Hole in the Doughnut

A key juncture in the course of the Point Reyes legislative struggle arrived in late-July 1961, in a series of communications between legislators and Department of the Interior officials. Engle realized that interested parties would need to make difficult compromises in order to keep the bill moving forward. On July 21, he warned Department of the Interior undersecretary John Carver, Jr., that the NPS had to either reduce the cost of the Point Reyes proposal or reduce the amount of proposed acreage.⁸⁶ One week later, Wirth wrote to Udall in response to this new legislative dilemma. He advised the secretary that the department should consider a new strategy: the bill should be amended to include the dairy and cattle ranches within the exterior boundaries of the seashore, but allow the ranchers to retain title to their lands for a designated period of time. Wirth called it the “hole in the doughnut” approach, similar to the strategy that the NPS had worked out in securing land for the creation of Everglades National Park. Wirth explained the precedent in his July 28, 1961 memo to Udall:

We went ahead with the establishment of Everglades leaving a tract of agricultural lands comprising approximately 33,000 acres in the center which was referred to informally as the “hole in the doughnut.” We agreed with the State that this use of the land would be allowed to continue, but made it perfectly clear that we would have to retain authority to acquire the lands if they were later diverted to nonagricultural purposes. We are still living with the situation today.⁸⁷

Wirth argued further that if the strategy was applied to Point Reyes it would help the seashore realize the recommended size of 53,000 acres, and could reduce the initial acquisition cost of the dairy ranches by as much as \$5.5 million. If this approach were applied to other proposed private inholdings (Lake, Stewart, and Bear Valley ranches and Vedanta Society and Church of the Golden Rule lands) as well, the total savings could total as much as \$15.5 million, cutting in half the expected asking price in the seashore bill.⁸⁸

The new strategy would accomplish in one fell swoop several important goals. First, the NPS and the public would get the complete seashore package, creating immediate protection and future preservation for the most threatened areas. Second, it reduced the initial overall cost of the project, making the bill an easier sell to Congress. Third, the terms of the agreements with ranchers would help prevent intrusive commercial development within the boundaries of the new seashore. Though ranchers would maintain ownership, the NPS could exert future control over how that land was used, retaining the rural appearance of the landscape. Furthermore, the plan would minimize, or possibly eliminate, ranchers' antipathy for the leaseback proposals. Finally, the strategy would stabilize the county's property tax base for several decades, a boon to Marin County government and residents.

Accordingly, when the Senate Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs (hereafter Senate Interior Committee) reported the bill on the Senate floor, it proposed amendments that increased the amount of land in the designated pastoral zone to not less than 26,000 acres, in which the "existing open space and pastoral scene shall be preserved."⁸⁹ The government could not acquire the land within the pastoral zone without an owner's consent, unless he or she failed to keep the land in its natural state or shifted the commercial use to something other than ranching or dairying.⁹⁰

Miller, the primary architect of the Point Reyes bill, reported that Wirth's pastoral zone compromise was designed with three objectives in mind. The objectives were to respond to (and hopefully mollify) the objections of Point Reyes ranchers, to lessen the county tax burden created by sudden federal land acquisition, and to reduce the cost—at least the initial cost—of government land acquisition. He did not mention the preservation of a working agricultural landscape or the protection of the scenic values of the pastoral landscape, as goals of this compromise. The legislators and supporters of the Point Reyes bill were more interested in the doughnut (the seashore lands surrounding the ranching area) than the doughnut hole.

During the floor debate that same day, September 7, 1961, Kuchel termed the pastoral zone strategy "an equitable solution in preserving the local economy."⁹¹ Kuchel reiterated that all of the inholdings (the 26,000-acre pastoral zone plus the 2,000 acres encompassing the RCA and AT&T facilities) greatly reduced the acquisition costs of the seashore proposal. The strategy's benefit lay in the smaller price tag and reduced disruption of the local economy. Other legislators couched the pastoral zone amendment in simple and pragmatic terms. Representative H. Allen Smith of California commented during final debate on the bill in 1962 that it would give ranchers control of their land, as long as they did not alter their operations so as to "upset the pastoral scenic effect of this particular area."⁹² Thus, if ranchers made changes in their land use that promoted their dairy or ranch business but detracted from the area's scenic effect, the NPS could challenge those changes and thus open the door to government condemnation of the property.

Nevada senator Alan H. Bible, chair of the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands (a subdivision of the Senate Interior Committee) and another conservation-minded westerner, described the amendment as a means of reducing acquisition costs and “fostering of long established ranching and dairying activities which, in the committee’s judgment, will not interfere with the public enjoyment and use” of Point Reyes’ recreational resources. Texas representative J. T. Rutherford, chair of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation (a subdivision of the House Interior Committee), likewise regarded the language of the pastoral zone amendment as a useful protective measure for the landscape within the authorized seashore. He reasoned that as long as they were maintained as ranches, they would “contribute to the beauty of the area.”⁹³ Rutherford favored supporting continued agricultural use of peninsula ranch lands because they enhanced the aesthetic or scenic value of the place. Bible and Rutherford were among the few senators to speak out for protection of the ranching industry itself as an objective. Even so, Bible prefaced his advocacy for the pastoral zone by noting that it should be maintained only where it would not interfere with the public recreational opportunities.

Legislators paid close attention to property owners’ rights, but the ranches and dairies were not elements that the NPS, park supporters, or legislators sought to protect as part of the larger national seashore idea. The terms *vernacular landscape* or *working landscape* were not yet part of the NPS lexicon in the early 1960s.⁹⁴ The focus on ranchlands as cultural landscapes worthy of attention and protection did not emerge until years later. NPS policies formally identifying cultural landscapes did not appear until 1988.⁹⁵ During debates regarding the authorization of Point Reyes National Seashore, many members of Congress described the ranches either as obstacles to overcome in gaining congressional authorization, or opportunities for obtaining the most territory without incurring an insurmountable price tag.

**Private,
Commercial,
and Federal
Inholdings**

Certain pieces of the land acquisition process and future administrative policies had to be worked out before Congress would carry the final legislation through to enactment. Property arrangements were negotiated with the Vedanta Society, the AT&T and RCA radio transmission facilities, and the U.S. Coast Guard lighthouse and lifesaving stations. One controversial point to be resolved involved a sixteen-acre tract of waterfront property on Tomales Bay known as Duck Cove. Kuchel inserted an amendment to S. 476 that provided the Duck Cove landowners with an exception: the amendment would allow them to hold their property as a permanent seashore inholding. Miller, Engle, and others did not consider it fair or feasible to offer an exemption to one group of landowners, and not to all of the others. The Duck Cove amendment did not make it into the final bill.⁹⁶

Legislators dealt with the AT&T and RCA properties in a similar fashion as they did with the ranch lands. The terms of the agreement were based on an “understanding” between the two companies and the Secretary of the Interior. Commercial fishing and oystering operations, including the Johnson Oyster Farm, were allowed to continue because their operations were seen to be “compatible with the national seashore concept.”⁹⁷ Likewise for the Coast Guard lighthouse and lifesaving stations. Finally, the Park Service reached an agreement on an inholding with another organization, the Vedanta Society, in April 1961. The Vedanta Society, a religious group, was allowed to retain ownership of a retreat area within the proposed boundaries of the seashore.

Marin County Board of Supervisors As the time for legislative enactment on the Point Reyes National Seashore bill drew nearer, Miller wrote to the chair of the Marin County Board of Supervisors on January 9, 1962, asking for their support of the bill, which they had previously opposed. Miller expressed his reluctance to push through legislation that ran contrary to the wishes of the majority of the county’s leadership. He urged the board members to review his summary of recent changes made to the bill that would bring greater relief to the county’s tax base and which also allowed the West Marin dairy industry to remain intact. Miller included copies of key documents with his letter and expressed his hope that the board would “see fit to reconsider its position and support my bill.”⁹⁸ The personal entreaty was successful: within a week of posting the correspondence, Miller received word that the board had reversed its previous position and voted three-to-one in favor of supporting the national seashore bill.⁹⁹

Although Miller’s personal influence was no doubt important, the vote turnaround was primarily due to the election of a new supervisor to the board. Peter Behr, an attorney and Republican politician who had recently served as mayor of Mill Valley, favored the NPS proposal and became one of the seashore’s strongest advocates. He would eventually spearhead the 1969 Save Our Seashore campaign to acquire the remaining acreage to complete PRNS. Notwithstanding Behr’s arrival, the board of supervisors’ new position regarding NPS authorization also represented changing attitudes in the community. Over time, more Point Reyes and Marin County residents dropped or lessened their resistance to the national seashore proposal. Margaret Azevedo recalled that some of the proposal’s staunchest opponents eventually changed their position when they realized that if they chose not to sell their land, authorizing the seashore would still enable them to maintain ownership for their lifetimes.¹⁰⁰

Moving in accord with public opinion, almost all of California’s elected officials stood in favor of the seashore proposal by the time the second round of congressional hearings were held in 1961. One of the few exceptions to the trend was California State Senator John McCarthy, who held up a vote on a joint legislative resolution that urged Congress to pass the Point Reyes bill.

New Development Threats In April 1962, the House Interior Committee reported favorably on S. 476, readying the bill for House consideration.¹⁰¹ The Point Reyes legislation was progressing, but not fast enough for many of its supporters. In May, Kuchel, who may have been grandstanding as he prepared for a reelection battle for his Senate seat, implored the House to move more quickly on S. 476, citing a *San Rafael Independent-Journal* article revealing new development proposals aimed at undermining the integrity of the national seashore.¹⁰²

A year prior, Udall had sought to prevent another, potentially greater, threat to the integrity of the peninsula’s environment. The owners of the Drakes Bay Estates development intended to dredge a channel or channels through Drakes Estero to a small-boat harbor they planned to build on private land. Udall made personal pleas to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and to California governor Edmund G. Brown, in May 1961, requesting they take steps to prevent the dredging. Udall explained to McNamara that the developers were about to apply to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for approval of channel modification within the boundaries of the proposed seashore. Udall emphasized that the dredging would cause significant damage to this prized natural area, and thus would diminish the recreational and aesthetic values offered by the seashore legislation. He told McNamara that the Interior Department would “greatly appreciate any action that you may be in a position to take, through the Chief of Engineers or

otherwise, to deny or defer approval of any application that may be submitted to dredge a channel or channels.”¹⁰³

Udall likewise asked Brown personally to step in to help protect the estuary area from the potentially disastrous dredging plan. In his letter to Brown, Udall pointed out that a portion of the planned dredging would take place in tidelands owned by the State of



Record No. 31950. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

**New house in the Drakes Beach Estates development, January 1962.
Photograph by R. Budlong.**

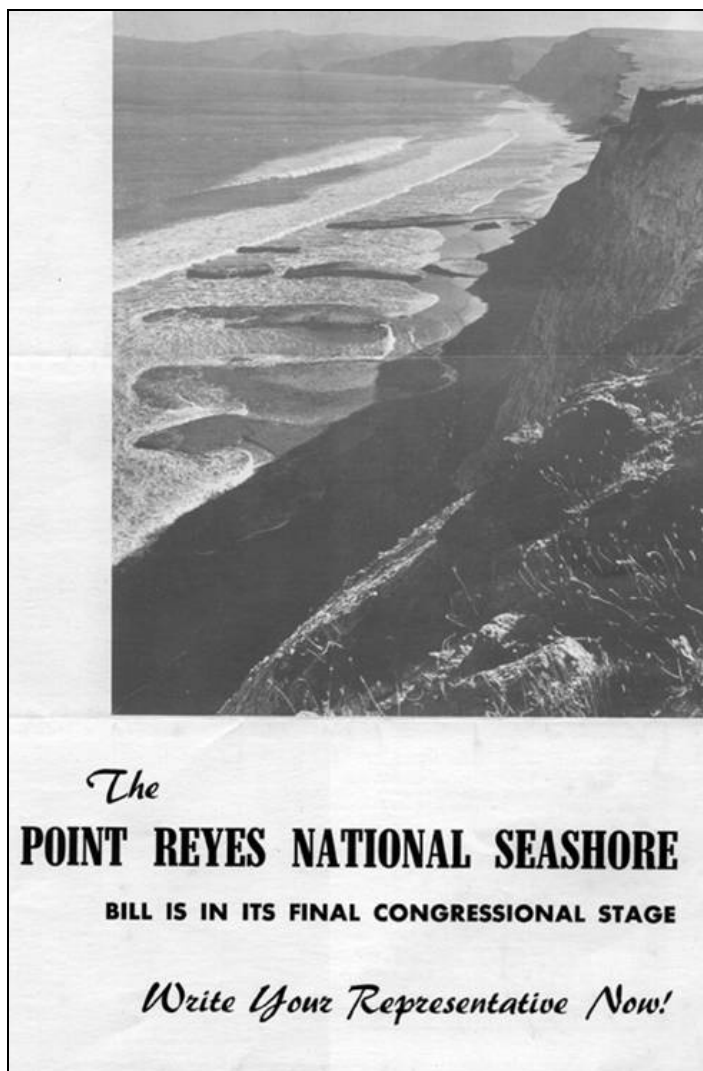
California. The developers would thus have to lease those lands that the channel passed through from the state. Udall reminded Brown of the recent helicopter tour he and Brown made over Point Reyes, and reminded Brown of the “great interest” the governor had shown in the seashore proposal during that ride. Udall asked that Brown take whatever action he could to “deny or defer” leasing state lands to the developers in order to avert damage to the sensitive tidal areas of Drakes Estero.¹⁰⁴

In spring 1962, Miller joined the anti-dredging effort. He too worked political angles to head off what was by then the developers’ last-ditch attempt to renew construction work. By that time, Drakes Bay Estates had followed through with its application to the Corps of Engineers for a dredging

permit. However, the owners did so after the Senate had passed the Point Reyes bill, making the application appear to be an act of desperation on their part. The San Francisco district engineer posted Public Notice No. 62-54 in reference to the dredging plans, alerting Miller to the potential catastrophe.¹⁰⁵ Miller sought help from the State Lands Commissioner Francis J. Hortig, who held jurisdiction over a portion of the tidelands targeted for dredging. He urged the commissioner to engage in whatever procedural steps might slow down the dredging plans, possibly by forcing the developers to undertake a separate application process at the state level. Miller hoped his entreaties would give him enough time to head off the new development scheme.¹⁰⁶

This political maneuvering proved effective in halting the dredging and other construction activities at Drakes Bay Estates. So effective, in fact, that in 1970 the United States Court of Claims ruled in *Drakes Bay Estates v. NPS* that the Department of the Interior and the NPS had engineered an “inverse taking” of the Drakes Bay property.¹⁰⁷ The Washington, D.C., court found that government officials had engaged in actions to scuttle the development, putting the owners in an untenable position. The realtors could not develop the property or obtain a fair price if they tried to sell to an outside party. The court ordered the NPS, who by then owned the land, to pay the former owners the going fair-market value for the property.¹⁰⁸

Congressional Debate and Enactment When, in July and August 1962, members of Congress took up the final floor debate on the PRNS bill, overcoming lingering resistance to the national seashore hinged on several elements, not all of which directly involved Point Reyes. The last voices of dissent raised the following concerns: 1) the overall cost was too high and the method used to fund land acquisition was unproven, 2) Congress would be setting precedents, particularly following on the heels of the Cape Cod Act, in defining new NPS sites and policies, 3) the bill created large inholdings within the national seashore boundaries, and 4) the authorization infringed on the property rights of ranchers and other residents.



Record No. 8053. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Representative John H. Kyl of Iowa argued that the initial appropriation would prove inadequate to cover the costs of acquiring the recommended amount of land. He suggested that the market value of the Point Reyes acreage was three times as much as the \$14 million price tag written into the bill. Kyl was on target: the final cost of land purchases to complete the national seashore eventually totaled \$57 million, four times the amount proposed in S. 476. However, Kyl’s concern went beyond the specific cost of the Point Reyes site. The larger issue, as he addressed it, was initiating a “new concept” in the established practice for park appropriations, and thus creating an ongoing problem for Congress in financing new NPS units.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Kyl contended, the bill would create large inholdings (specifically, the ranch lands), which had proven to be a difficult problem for Park Service officials to address in other contexts and which his present colleagues admitted were a problem inherent in the current draft of S. 476. He argued that before proceeding, the House should work out a different strategy for purchasing land at Point Reyes. Kyl anticipated another problem that was likely to arise after the national seashore was authorized. He

cited, as an example, the situation at Cape Cod, where some landowners had decided to sell but the government did not have money available to buy the property. Because these owners did not have the option to subdivide their land or develop it for other (commercial) uses, Kyl argued, the language of the Cape Cod Act placed them in a spot that, “if it does not violate traditional American property rights, is at least grossly unfair to the property owners in these areas.” Now was the time, Kyl concluded, to prevent a similar situation from taking place at Point Reyes. Clem Miller reminded Kyl that a

procedural impediment existed that prevented them from making “prospective appropriations” to safeguard Point Reyes landowners.¹¹⁰

Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, in his pivotal role as chair of the House Interior Committee, also expressed concern about precedents Congress might set with the Point Reyes bill. His conception of the national seashores and their purpose did not include aesthetic preservation of the natural landscape. He recounted that the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, while considering the three seashore proposals before them during the 87th Congress, recommended that proposed sites should meet three requirements in order to gain national seashore status. First, the prospective areas should be close to large population centers; second, they should provide for the public use and enjoyment of the site in addition to conserving the area’s unique natural resources; and third, they needed to encompass a shoreline or the lands immediately adjacent to one.¹¹¹ Aspinall argued that members of Congress were not paying adequate attention to these priorities. Previous congressional action to protect natural or scenic areas of the United States within the national park system had addressed preservation rather than active use of an area’s natural resources. He believed Point Reyes legislation gave them an opportunity to set a new course, which would respond to the wider recreational interests of the American public.

Despite the problems many members saw in the legislation, there were few outright opponents of the bill. The House passed S. 476 by a voice vote on July 23, 1962, adding only one significant amendment. The House proposed noncommercial residential landowners be given a fifty-year period of holding title after the seashore bill was authorized. This differed from the Senate proposal, which would have allowed residents to maintain ownership for their lifetime or until their last surviving child reached age thirty. The House also deleted the Duck Cove amendment that Kuchel had inserted into the bill during previous Senate debate. These last two pieces of the legislation were ironed out in the final floor debates.¹¹²

On August 31, the Senate voted its agreement on the House amendments, and sent the bill on to the president. On September 13, 1962, President Kennedy signed the Point Reyes National Seashore Authorization Act, in an oval office ceremony attended by Miller, Engle, Udall, and Sierra Club executive director David Brower, among others.¹¹³ Public Law 87-657 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to take appropriate action to establish Point Reyes National Seashore “in order to save and preserve, for purposes of public recreation, benefit, and inspiration, a portion of the diminishing seashore of the United States that remains undeveloped.”¹¹⁴ Passage of the law marked the end of a brief, but intense, struggle to make the PRNS a legal entity. Ahead, however, was the much longer journey of making the national seashore a complete reality.

THE AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION

President John F. Kennedy signing the bill authorizing Point Reyes National Seashore on September 13, 1962. Flanking Kennedy and holding copies of *Island in Time* are California Representative Clem Miller (right) and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall (left). California Senator Clair Engle looks down over Miller's right shoulder, while Sierra Club Executive Director David Brower looks on from far right.



Record No. 8710. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives.

Conclusion The creation of Point Reyes National Seashore was part of the NPS strategy to establish national seashore and lakeshore sites around the country. As Miller, Engle, and Kuchel moved the Point Reyes bill through Congress, bolstered by presidential and cabinet support, it was managed as part of an overall strategy to create as many as ten different national seashores in the early 1960s. Congress, and the NPS officials, conservation groups, and local citizens whose interests they represented, imbued the final bill with intent to preserve and protect three different realms: the natural environment, recreational opportunities, and the scientific and historical merits of the Point Reyes Peninsula. Congress also built protection of many of the ranches into the bill, primarily as a means of cutting costs, respecting the rights of property, and maintaining the rural character of the peninsula landscape inside and outside of the NPS boundaries.

The final word in the S. 476 debate came from Iowa Representative Harold R. Gross. His parting shot at the bill used as ammunition the same fodder that members of Congress had used to oppose national park legislation for the past century: the cost to the federal government. He finished his harangue by pointing out, “the question that confronts all of us is how much deeper is it proposed to dig the grave of debt to finance projects that should be delayed?” The answer, as it turned out, was quite a bit deeper. It would eventually require more than \$33 million in additional appropriations to secure the land for the national seashore. Because of the inadequate budget, the NPS, California legislators, and seashore supporters would have to face, at the end of the decade, another political and legislative battle before it could give final shape to the national seashore.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER 3

¹ House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, “Calling For the Preparation of a Report on the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore Recreational Area, Marin County, Calif.,” 85th Cong., 2^d sess., August 5, 1958, H. Rpt. 2463.

² House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, “Calling For the Preparation of a Report on the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore Recreational Area,” 2.

³ Kennedy quoted in Francis P. Burling, *The Birth of Cape Cod National Seashore*, rev. ed. (n.p.: Eastern National, 2000), 54. Kennedy made these remarks upon signing the Cape Cod National Seashore Bill into law on August 7, 1961.

⁴ Conrad Wirth, “Parks Are for All the People,” article prepared for publication in *Think Magazine*, submitted April 28, 1959, Box 8, Wirth Files, RG 79, NARA-II, 4.

⁵ The eight National Seashores established between 1961 and 1972 were, in order of authorization, Cape Cod, Point Reyes, Padre Island, Fire Island, Assateague Island, Cape Lookout, Gulf Islands, and Cumberland Island.

⁶ Katy Miller Johnson, “Catalyst and Citizen Lobbyist in Washington,” interview by Ann Lage, 1990, in *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969–1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation* (Berkeley, Calif.: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1993), 4–5.

⁷ William Duddleson, interview by Paul Sadin, October 28, 2004, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, audiotape recording, HRA files, PRA.

⁸ Clem Miller, “The Conservationist and Congress,” speech delivered at the 25th Annual Meeting of the National Wildlife Foundation, March 3, 1961, Washington, D.C., Box 2, Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation Records (hereafter cited as NSFR), Bancroft Library, Manuscripts Division, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as BAN).

⁹ Johnson, “Catalyst and Citizen Lobbyist,” 15.

¹⁰ Duddleson, interview, 6.

¹¹ Stewart L. Udall, interview by Paul Sadin, February 3, 2005, Santa Fe, New Mexico, audiotape recording, HRA files, PRA.

¹² Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, Minutes of Board of Directors’ Meeting of January 27, 1960, held in San Francisco, Foundation Minutes Folder, Box 1, PRNSF, PRA.

¹³ “Clair Engle,” in Biographical Directory of the U. S. Congress, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp> (accessed September 30, 2004).

¹⁴ Udall, interview. Udall remarked that Kuchel had an equally important role in creating bipartisan support for the Wilderness Bill in the Senate.

¹⁵ Harold Gilliam, “Three Men Who Made It Happen,” preface to *Island in Time*, 1967 ed., reprinted in special “Save Our Seashore” section of the *San Rafael Pacific Sun*, October 1, 1969, SOS Campaign File, Box 1, PRNSF, PRA, 9.

¹⁶ Margaret Azevedo, “Civic Leader and Save Our Seashore Board Member,” interview by Ann Lage, 1991, in *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969–1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation* (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1993), 170.

- ¹⁷ Hal K. Rothman, *The Park That Creates Its Own Weather: Administrative History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area*, online rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2002), <http://www.nps.gov/goga/history/history.htm>, 1:10.
- ¹⁸ George Collins, Regional Chief Recreation Resources Planning Division, San Francisco, to Joel Gustafson, President, Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, February 25, 1960, Box 1, NSFR, BAN.
- ¹⁹ Michael P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892–1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 279.
- ²⁰ Udall won his election for a fourth term, but did not serve it when Kennedy tabbed him for the cabinet post.
- ²¹ Stewart L. Udall, “Address of the Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall at the First World Conference on Parks at Seattle, Washington, July 4, 1962,” University of Arizona Library, www.library.arizona.edu/branches/spc/homepage/index.html (accessed September 7, 2001), 20–21.
- ²² David R. Brower, “Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet,” interview by Susan Schrepfer, 1980, Regional Oral History Office, Berkeley, California, in Cohen, *History of the Sierra Club*, 272.
- ²³ “The Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore,” Joint statement of Senator Clair Engle and Representative Clem Miller, July 23, 1959, Box 2, NSFR, BAN, 1. This joint statement introduced the partner bills S. 2428 and H.R. 8358 to Congress.
- ²⁴ Engle and Miller, “Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2.
- ²⁵ Engle and Miller, “Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2.
- ²⁶ Engle and Miller, “Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore,” 3.
- ²⁷ Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Hearing on S. 2428, a Bill to Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California and For Other Purposes; Kentfield, California*, 86th Cong., 2^d sess., 1960 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1960), 8.
- ²⁸ “Seashore Plan Gets Administration O.K.,” *Eugene Register-Guard*, May 14, 1959, reprinted in *Congressional Record*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 105, pt. 7: 8558.
- ²⁹ The NPS singled out Cumberland Island as an ideal site for a national seashore early in the survey process, but the complications of negotiating with various members of the Carnegie Family, who owned much of the island, put off the introduction of a separate Cumberland Island bill until 1970. Cumberland Island National Seashore was authorized in 1972. See Lary M. Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 81–110.
- ³⁰ By 1959, legislators had introduced individual bills to create the Cape Cod, Oregon Dunes, and Padre Island national seashores and the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.
- ³¹ When the seashore surveys were first completed, Cumberland Island appeared to be one of the most likely areas to quickly attain national seashore status. Complexities in working with the local landowners, including a number of Carnegie family heirs, commercial resort developers, and the state of Georgia stalled the seashore campaign there. It was finally established in October 1972. See Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore*, chap. 3.
- ³² *Congressional Record*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 105, pt. 7: 13289.
- ³³ *Congressional Record*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 105, pt. 7: 13289.
- ³⁴ Theodore J. Karamanski, *A Nationalized Lakeshore: The Creation and Administration of Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2000), 1, and chap. 2.
- ³⁵ Miller to Bill Grader, March 5, 59, memorandum, Box 4, Clem Miller Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 15.
- ³⁶ Azevedo, interview by Ann Lage, 171.
- ³⁷ “Group Organized to Campaign for Pt. Reyes Park,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1959; “Foundation to Boost Park at Point Reyes,” *Baywood Press*, July 16, 1959, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA.
- ³⁸ Anna Coxe Toogood, “A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2 vols., Historic Resource Study, Historic Preservation Branch, Pacific

Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1980, 2: 197.

³⁹ Miller to Castro, Marin County Board of Supervisors, July 9, 1959, Box 4, Miller Papers.

⁴⁰ Notes of Meeting with Bruce Kelham, et al., at NPS Office on June 8, 1960, Folder Bruce Kelham et al., Mtg. Notes, Box 1, Administrative History Files, PRA.

⁴¹ Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, Minutes of Board Meeting of January 27, 1960, PRNSF, PRA, 2.

⁴² Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation, Minutes of Board of Directors' Meeting, February 17, 1960, Kentfield, California, Foundation Minutes Folder, Box 1, PRNSF, PRA.

⁴³ George Collins to Paul Wilson, College of Marin, June 19, 1959, NPS Correspondence, Box 2, PRNSF, PRA, 1–2.

⁴⁴ Rothman, *The Park that Creates Its Own Weather*, 1:10.

⁴⁵ Collins to Wilson, 3.

⁴⁶ B. K. Dunshee to Conrad Wirth, March 9, 1959, NPS Correspondence, Box 2, PRNSF, PRA.

⁴⁷ Fred Seaton to Wayne Aspinall, August 10, 1960, Box 2, PRNSF Files, PORE Archives. Udall strongly emphasized the view that a continuum of government agendas, legislative efforts, and political forces under-girded the creation of the national seashores, lakeshores, and wild and scenic rivers, as part of a “new wave” of American conservationism. Udall, interview.

⁴⁸ “Pt. Reyes Park Plan: Hasty Marin Vote Protested,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 18, 1958, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History, PORE 8053, PRA.

⁴⁹ “Surprise Marin Action: Pt. Reyes Park Plan Opposed,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 17, 1958, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History, PORE 8053, PRA.

⁵⁰ Harold Gilliam, interview by Paul Sadin, December 1, 2004, San Francisco, California, audiotape transcription, 9. Gilliam reported that Oko had been a captain of commercial vessels; he once sailed a load of Jewish refugees from Poland . . . into Israel.”

⁵¹ A. S. Oko, quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owner’s Association,” July 9, 1959, Olema, California, transcript, Pt. Reyes Park File, Box 4, Clem Miller Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 15.

⁵² Statement by R. R. Pool, RCA, “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owner’s Association,” 39–40.

⁵³ Boyd Stewart, “Point Reyes Rancher and Seashore Supporter,” interview by Ann Lage, 1990 in *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore*, 236.

⁵⁴ David Perlman, “Point Reyes Park Proposed,” *Sierra Club Bulletin* 43 (September 1958), editorial.

⁵⁵ Department of the Interior, *Land Use Survey, Point Reyes National Seashore Proposal*, prepared by NPS Region Four Office (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1961).

⁵⁶ “Coast Chamber Lines Up Against Park Plan,” *Marin Independent-Journal*, Aug. 13, 1958, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA.

⁵⁷ Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park* (1982; reprint, Moose, Wyo.: Grand Teton Natural History Assoc., 2000), 140.

⁵⁸ Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, 140.

⁵⁹ Conrad Wirth, “Statement Before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on a Proposal to Establish a Point Reyes National Seashore,” Kentfield, California, April 14, 1960, Box 2, NSFR, BAN, 4.

⁶⁰ Esther Hankins, quoted in “Pt. Reyes Seashore,” *Marin Independent-Journal*, August 23, 1961.

⁶¹ James Kehoe quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association,” 7.

⁶² Joseph Mendoza quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association,” 29.

⁶³ As it turned out, the ranchers’ dire warnings about the potential dangers of the beach areas were quite accurate. See discussion in chapter 4.

⁶⁴ Kehoe quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association,” 38.

⁶⁵ Don McIsaac quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association,” 37.

⁶⁶ Oko quoted in “Meeting of the West Marin Property Owners Association,” 16.

⁶⁷ “Nunes Heads New Property Owners Association,” *Baywood Press*, July 31, 1958, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA. The newspaper changed its name to the *Pt. Reyes Light* in 1966.

- ⁶⁸ “Pt. Reyes Seashore? No!” *Marin (San Rafael) Independent-Journal*, August 23, 1961, Folder Pt. Reyes Park, Carton 4, Miller Papers.
- ⁶⁹ Jules Dundes, “A Shrub by any Other Name . . .,” transcript of editorial aired on KCBS Radio, San Francisco, July 26, 1961, Box 2, Accession C-A 362, Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation Records 1959–62, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- ⁷⁰ Dundes, “A Shrub by any Other Name,” 2.
- ⁷¹ “Save Pt. Reyes for Recreation,” *San Francisco Sunday Chronicle*, September 9, 1959, editorial, News Clippings 1958–69, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA.
- ⁷² Secretary of Interior to Hubert B. Scudder, U.S. House, September 1958, Correspondence File Herbert Scudder to Conrad Wirth, Box 1, Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA.
- ⁷³ “Stewart L. Udall Oral History Interview II, June 19, 1969,” interview by Joe B. Franz, transcription, Lyndon B. Johnson Library Oral History Collection, www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/oralhistory.hom/Udall.asp, 16.
- ⁷⁴ “Stewart L. Udall Oral History Interview II, June 19, 1969,” 17.
- ⁷⁵ *Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965*, U.S. Code, vol. 16, sec. 4601.
- ⁷⁶ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., January 17, 1961, 107, pt. 1: 873.
- ⁷⁷ Department of the Interior, NPS, *Report on the Economic Feasibility of the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore, 1961* (San Francisco: NPS Region Four Office, 1961), 10–11.
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- ⁷⁹ Udall, interview.
- ⁸⁰ Udall, interview.
- ⁸¹ Stewart L. Udall, “The History-Making Upsurge of Conservation in the 1960s,” unpublished manuscript, February 2003, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Udall generously shared some of his recent writings with Sadin during a break in an oral history interview.
- ⁸² President John F. Kennedy, “Special Message to Congress on Natural Resources,” February 23, 1961, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, reprinted in “The American Presidency Project,” University of California at Santa Barbara, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index> (accessed February 9, 2005).
- ⁸³ Charles H. W. Foster, *The Cape Cod National Seashore: A Landmark Alliance* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1985), 64.
- ⁸⁴ Massachusetts senators Kennedy and Leverett Saltonstall cosponsored S. 2636, to authorize Cape Cod National Seashore, on September 3, 1959. Burling, *Birth of Cape Cod National Seashore*, 20.
- ⁸⁵ Clem Miller to Joel Gustafson, PRNSF, February 20, 1961, Box 1, NSFR, BAN.
- ⁸⁶ Ben Thompson, Chief Division of Resource Planning, to Director Wirth, July 24, 1961, General Correspondence–1961 file, Box 9, Office Files of Conrad Wirth, RG 79, NARA-II.
- ⁸⁷ Wirth to Secretary Udall, July 28, 1961, Parks & Sites Files, CCF 1959–1963, Accession 666A140, RG 48, NARA-II.
- ⁸⁸ Wirth to Udall, July 28, 1961, 2.
- ⁸⁹ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., September 7, 1961, 107, pt. 14: 18460.
- ⁹⁰ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., September 7, 1961, 107, pt. 14: 18460.
- ⁹¹ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., September 7, 1961, 107, pt. 14: 18463.
- ⁹² *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14409.
- ⁹³ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14413.
- ⁹⁴ One of the first publications to guide NPS practices with agricultural landscapes did not appear until 1984. Robert Z. Melnick, with Daniel Spohn and Emma Jane Saxe, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: NPS Park Historic Architecture Division, 1984).
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- ¹⁰⁸ *Drakes Bay Land Company v. the United States*, 587–88.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14410.
- ¹¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14411.
- ¹¹¹ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14411.
- ¹¹² Robert C. McConnell, Assistant to the Secretary for Congressional Liaison, to Secretary Udall, July 24, 1962, Parks and Sites–Point Reyes, Box 333, CCF, RG 48, NARA-II.
- ¹¹³ Carola DeRooy, “Balancing Preservation and Use: The Creation Story of Point Reyes National Seashore, 1935–1972,” *Under the Gables* (Winter 2002–2003): 1. According to Bill Duddleson, Senator Kuchel was invited to the signing but could not attend because of another commitment. Duddleson, correspondence with Gordon White, June 22, 2006.
- ¹¹⁴ *An Act to Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California*, Public Law 657, 87th Cong., 2^d sess. (September 13, 1962); *U.S. Code*, Vol. 16, secs. 459c-459c-7 (1962).

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR

SHAPING THE NATIONAL SEASHORE, 1962–1972

A bright star in the galaxy of conservation achievements of the 1960s.

... *“Lady Bird” Johnson*

We must now join to eliminate the grave danger that the Park will not be completed or . . . its future will continue to totter precariously in the winds of uncertainty.

... *Douglas J. Maloney*

While the ink dried on the 1962 Seashore Act, NPS officials began the formidable job of administering Point Reyes National Seashore. Foremost among the necessary tasks was acquiring land to build an operational park unit where visitors could come to enjoy the peninsula’s tidal pools, sand dunes, grasslands, and forests. As they went about accruing the land base for the national seashore, Department of the Interior and Park Service officials also began hiring staff to oversee seashore operations, building basic infrastructure for employee and visitor use, assembling rudimentary visitor services, and installing visitor and resource protection operations. All these objectives would have to be accomplished through connections with area residents, conservation groups, politicians, and government officials, all of who held different stakes in the seashore’s management practices and outcomes.

Administration of PRNS during its first decade thus involved on-the-ground construction—patching together the land base, building infrastructure, developing visitor services, and installing the ranger staff. The first park managers—in concert with local residents, park visitors, and the ever-growing environmental community—also engaged in a much more ephemeral process to define the very nature of a national seashore at Point Reyes. What kinds of visitor services should they provide? Swimming beaches or hiking trails? Golf courses or grassy meadows? Brochures on sportfishing or on bird-watching?

On the heels of the PRNS authorization act, the NPS created policy that lumped Point Reyes and other new national seashores into the broad category of national recreation areas (NRAs). The NPS issued one set of management guidelines for NRA designees, and a different set of directives for the older, “traditional” national parks, monuments, and historic sites. During the 1960s, the NPS, working from its recreation area mindset, attempted to introduce developments to PRNS that local park supporters, conservation advocates, and, eventually, some PRNS administrators found unacceptable. Conflict and delays in building the seashore’s facilities and management strategies resulted. Protests regarding planned NPS and private developments, along with the continuing struggle to acquire land for the seashore, eventually launched the Save Our Seashore (SOS) campaign, which aimed to ward off various threats to the integrity, and possibly even the existence, of the national seashore.

BUILDING A NEW SEASHORE

Less than one month after President Kennedy signed the Point Reyes bill, Assistant Secretary of the Interior John Carver wrote to George Collins that there was, “real

immediacy in the matter of land acquisition, about which we have had so many discussions and communications.”¹ The NPS, in fact, had initiated the land acquisition process well before Congress passed the PRNS bill. Park Service officials, or representatives of NPS working through conservation organizations, began negotiating with landholders as early as 1960. One objective was to avoid paying inflated land prices for all of the seashore acreage. But uncertainties about the final language in the legislation and disagreements regarding the assessed value of the land left the negotiations in a state of flux until the PRNS bill became law.

Once the Point Reyes authorization was official, the NPS employed various means of seashore land acquisition. The three primary avenues were outright purchase, acquiring title with reservations for ranchers to continue working the land, and exchange for federal lands of equal value elsewhere in California or an adjacent state. The task that lay ahead of them was daunting: in early 1963, there were 116 private parcels of land on the peninsula, as well as 115 lots at Drakes Beach already sold to owners. Of the nineteen parcels the government had appraised (the Drakes Beach lots were assessed as single parcel), NPS officials set their sights on three tracts in particular. They designated Heims, Bear Valley, and Lake ranches as key properties that could form the core land base for the new park.

Acquisition of Heims and Bear Valley Ranches

With the purchase of the Edward H. Heims Ranch, the government achieved the first of its objectives. The NPS acquired 1,115 acres of the former “N” Ranch for \$850,000 on July 24, 1963.² The ranch sat on a small peninsula projecting into the middle of Drakes Estero, bordered by Schooner Bay to the west and Home Bay to the east. Heims had purchased this piece of the former Oscar L. Shafter estate in 1939, and ran a dairy farm and grazed sheep on the site for the next two decades.³ In 1951, he sold five acres on Schooner Bay to Larry Jenson, who began an oyster raising operation on the site (current location of the Drakes Bay Oyster Company). Unlike most other ranchers on the peninsula, by 1962, the then-seventy-seven-year-old Heims and his family wanted to get out of the dairy business, and they saw the proposed national seashore as an opportunity to sell the property.⁴ Conrad L. Wirth called the Heims Ranch a very important acquisition because it was part of the Drakes Estero biological province, and because it might provide a “break in [the ranchers’] apparently solid opposition” to selling their land to the government.⁵

The NPS accomplished the second of its land acquisition goals when it purchased 1,485 acres of the Bear Valley Ranch from Bruce and Grace Kelham on October 1, 1963. As with the Heims parcel, the NPS had commenced negotiations with Bruce Kelham as early as 1960, believing the land to be of utmost importance to the seashore’s land base. Collins met with him on several occasions, with the initial thought that some kind of land exchange might be possible. The Kelhams, however, had no interest in an exchange; they were ready to move off the peninsula once they sold but wanted to ensure that their ranch would remain undisturbed by commercial development.⁶

The Kelhams had purchased the Bear Valley property, part of the “W” Ranch, from Gene Compton in 1949. Under Compton and an earlier owner, John Rapp, Bear Valley had been one of the more productive dairy farms on the peninsula; but the new owners did not intend to continue dairying. They quickly sold off the herd and tore down the dairy barn, and began a large beef cattle operation.⁷ Aside from the dairy barn, they left intact most of the remaining ranch buildings, which dated from the 1880s to 1948. In addition to its eight decades as a dairy, the Bear Valley Ranch was also well known as a jumping off

point for treks to the beach. Bear Valley was a main access point for the long-used road that ran from the town of Olema to the coast. This made it a key acquisition in order to provide public access to the seashore.

The Kelham purchase also incorporated the site of the former Pacific Union (Bear Valley) Country Club, which sat astride Divide Meadow on Inverness Ridge, along the road to the coast. The country club had been in use from the 1890s until the 1940s, and represented one of the historic patterns of tourist and recreational use of the peninsula.⁸ Had the NPS gone forward, within the framework of the recreation area category, with the full-bore development plans for PRNS, the agency might have put the golf course back into operation for public use. Instead, all that exists there today is an open, grassy knoll, reached in a relatively easy, mile-and-a-half hike up the old road from Bear Valley. Thick forest surrounds the area, which includes exotic plants and trees introduced in the early 1900s.⁹

The remaining ranch structures became government property as well, including the house that today serves as the park's administration building and the red barn that houses the park library, archives, and administrative offices of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Cordell Bank National Marine Sanctuary. The NPS wasted no time in making use of the structures: PRNS headquarters and staff housing were set up at Bear Valley Ranch soon after its purchase in 1963. In 1963, the government also purchased parcels of Drakes Beach Estates and Church of the Golden Rule land. The seashore acquired 148 acres of another key property, Limantour Spit, and 1,200 of Bolema Palisades via government taking. At the end of the year, the new national seashore comprised 7,109 acres of the Point Reyes Peninsula.¹⁰

The NPS acquired approximately 11,396 more acres in 1964–1965, including the remaining two parcels of the Bear Valley Ranch. The total cost of the 7,772-acre ranch was \$5.725 million.¹¹ In 1965, PRNS also assumed title to 10,410 acres of tidal lands donated by the State of California. The only other significant acquisition during those two years was a 958-acre portion of Thomas Gallagher's "F" Ranch, which sat across Schooner Bay from the Heims Ranch. The Gallaghers used the property as grazing land for beef cattle, which they continued to run after the sale via an NPS special-use permit.¹² The NPS purchased the remaining 1,714 acres of the "F" Ranch in 1965 and 1967. By the end of 1965, the first stage of land acquisition had ended. The NPS had obtained approximately 18,500 acres of former ranch or residential land and 10,400 acres of tidal fringe to build the new national seashore. But the government had spent almost the entire \$14 million appropriation in acquiring them. More than 30,000 acres of the proposed seashore remained to be purchased (including Lake Ranch), but acquisitions stalled until Congress made more funds available in 1970.

**Land
Acquisition
Phase Two:
Lake Ranch**

The NPS attempted to acquire the third of its three target properties, Lake Ranch, via an exchange process such as that offered early on to the Kelhams for Bear Valley. The ranch's two parcels included 3,050 acres of forests, lakes, grassland, and beachfront at the southern end of Point Reyes. Its nearly two miles of coastal bluffs and beaches were very scenic and an active breeding area for seals. Furthermore, Lake Ranch was one of only a few properties that stretched the width of the peninsula, from the ocean to Olema Valley; failure to acquire it would thus cut the proposed national seashore into north and south sections. The NPS and local conservationists believed the ranch to be one of the most valuable pieces of the entire (proposed) seashore and also recognized that it was

highly desirable private real estate. Acquiring the property thus became crucial to creation of the seashore.

Lake Ranch, which William Tevis purchased in 1940, was one of two ranches in the southern parcel of Shafter's 1939 estate. Tevis incorporated Lake Ranch and some other peninsula properties to form the Tevis Land and Livestock Company, which operated the property as cattle range during the 1940s and 1950s.¹³ Although the Tevis Company owned the property, the NPS had begun negotiating a possible land exchange with A. H. Sweet, who held the timber rights, as early as 1960, with the idea that Sweet would purchase the ranch from Tevis, then sell it back to the NPS. The government could make equal-value exchanges under authority of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. Section 8(b) of the act allowed federal agencies to make land exchanges for surveyed public land of equal value in the same state or in a fifty-mile radius within an adjoining state.¹⁴ The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) generally took the role of realty broker in these exchanges.

In February 1961, Sweet filed an application with the BLM to exchange Lake Ranch parcels for timberland elsewhere in California. BLM and NPS appraisers, however, differed in their estimates of the property by more than one million dollars. A third party, the chief appraiser for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, reviewed both estimates and agreed with the higher NPS valuation of \$2,026,550. A second conflict arose over the value of the public domain timberland that Sweet had selected for the exchange. This time, Sweet hired his own appraisers, who came up with an estimate that again differed dramatically from the BLM figures. The discrepancy could not be resolved before the terms of the proposed agreement expired in August 1963.¹⁵ These events showed how complicated and contentious the land exchange process could become, and cast doubt on the NPS strategy to acquire land via this method. Assistant Secretary of Interior Carver, in fact, had foreseen some of these difficulties, and warned Collins in 1962 not to get his hopes up regarding potential land exchanges at Point Reyes.¹⁶

Although early rounds of negotiation failed to produce results, Sweet went ahead and purchased Lake Ranch from the Tevis Company, and entered an agreement to purchase 546 acres of Boyd Stewart's adjacent property. Sweet also arranged for the Sweet Lumber Company, a partnership in which he held a 14 percent stake, to purchase the timber rights to the two pieces of acquired property.¹⁷ Although Sweet made these purchases anticipating an exchange for public domain lands elsewhere, he was also willing to sell all of his holdings, with the timber rights included, to the government for a total of \$2.5 million. The price represented property values of \$660 an acre for pastureland and \$810 an acre for forestland.¹⁸ The NPS also explored the possibility of finding an intermediary landholder such as The Nature Conservancy to purchase lands most at risk for development, and hold them in trust until the government released sufficient funds to buy those properties. In the meantime, the county could provide a tax exemption to the nonprofit organization.

Collins believed Sweet was genuinely determined "to save this opportunity for the public to acquire the property he now controls" at a more reasonable cost to the government than other options would offer.¹⁹ Nonetheless, Collins also recognized that Sweet had put himself in a situation where, should the government fail to come to a purchase agreement with him soon, his good intentions would be no match for tremendous financial pressure to sell the property elsewhere. At that point, Collins well knew, land speculators would swoop in and buy the property at higher prices. The government would then be left with

the dismal prospect of buying the same property Sweet was offering them, but at highly inflated prices.

In July 1964, Sweet proposed another exchange for Lake Ranch, this time under the terms of the PRNS Authorization Act. NPS realty officers had already approached BLM officials in Oregon regarding properties that might be available for exchange. Sweet filed to exchange his land for selected BLM forest acreage in Northern California and in Southern Oregon. As word of the proposal spread, it generated opposition from the BLM's Oregon state office and some elements of the Northwest timber industry. Further conflict erupted over the value of the proposed lands, the allowable harvest rates, and the propriety of the government's role in such exchanges. Overt arguments and invective-filled correspondence ensued between the BLM director in Washington, D.C., and the local BLM chief in Oregon.²⁰ By mid-fall 1964, it was clear the chances for the NPS to negotiate a successful exchange for Lake Ranch had become nil.

Moreover, problems that beset the Sweet proposal soon roiled the waters for other potential exchanges. The *Portland Oregonian* ran a divisive piece about the government's land acquisition policy for Point Reyes and other NPS sites. As more controversy gathered around the Sweet proposal in Oregon, the likelihood that the NPS could facilitate other exchanges further diminished. Despite numerous applications, only two exchanges were consummated in three years.²¹ Only one of these, a 1964 exchange of 1,407 acres of peninsula land for 6,800 acres in Arizona, added significantly to the size of PRNS.²²

Lost Opportunities

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the \$14 million figure for Point Reyes land purchases was deemed adequate only if three general presumptions held true: 1) the land would be purchased quickly, 2) a sizable amount of land would be obtained through exchanges, and 3) the ranchers would hold onto their land in the “doughnut hole” until future funding became available. By 1966, it was apparent that none of these had worked out as planned. By that time, \$13.8 of the 14 million to purchase land was gone, yet the majority of the planned acreage remained to be acquired. In July, the Department of the Interior requested that Congress raise the ceiling on Point Reyes land acquisition costs from \$14 to 57.5 million.²³

This failure to execute land acquisition strategies lay, in part, at the feet of the congressional construction of the founding Act. However, it should not be construed as evidence of congressional ignorance or naïveté. As evidenced by Kyl's vocal resistance to hidden costs in the original bill, some legislators knew they had not allocated enough to purchase all of the land for the seashore. Clem Miller knew that \$14 million would not be nearly enough. In a 1961 Senate subcommittee hearing on the authorization bill (S. 476), he pointed out the “ridiculous nature” of the early estimates, noting that “\$35 million would not be too great a sum to pay for this invaluable area.”²⁴ As Representative J. T. Rutherford argued during the final rounds of House floor debate on S. 476, should the \$14 million figure turn out to be too small, “We will come back to the House and ask for more. This is substantially the way it should be.”²⁵ In other words, the 87th Congress intentionally left responsibility in the hands of future legislators. They expected, if the three assumptions that the \$14 million estimate rested upon did not work out, that Congress and the Interior Department would have to continue the struggle to raise money to acquire land, as well as establish guidelines, regulations, and management plans, for all of the new seashore units. Which leaves historians and other interested parties to ask: Why did Congress then drop the ball after the seashore was authorized?

There were many reasons the struggle to obtain land and appropriations seemed to lag so much during the following five or six years, a key time for any new unit of the park system. Part of this process was the inevitable inclination to ease up after achieving a long-sought goal. In the case of Congress, attention immediately shifted to the next round of national seashore and national recreation area proposals. However, unlike the scenario that other new parks faced, a series of tragic events robbed the Point Reyes National

Seashore campaign of much of its strength, fortitude, and leadership soon after S. 476 became law. Within two years, the primary champions of Point Reyes legislation in the House, Senate, and White House had all died. Though it is impossible to measure the effect these untimely deaths had upon the development of Point Reyes National Seashore,



First Lady Mrs. Johnson speaking at the Point Reyes National Seashore dedication ceremony, 1966.

Record No. 8820. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

it would likewise be hard to underestimate the impact they had on the new park and its supporters.



Mrs. Johnson on Point Reyes National Seashore establishment day, 1966.

Record No. 12020. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS.

Clem Miller, the prime mover in the legislative effort to create the seashore, died in a private plane crash in October 1962, just three weeks after the Point Reyes Act became law. Among the initial acquisitions at Point Reyes was a small parcel along the coast that became Miller's gravesite, an unusual action on NPS land, but one that honored the legislator who sponsored the first PRNS bill.²⁶ President Kennedy, of course, was assassinated in Dallas in November 1963. This left Clair Engle, Miller's partner in the Point Reyes campaign and sponsor of the seashore legislation in the Senate, to continue the task of advocating and securing funds for the proper development of PRNS. Engle,

however, suffered a partially debilitating stroke in spring 1964. Although he returned to his office and began preparations for a reelection campaign, Engle could not tackle all the Senate work he had performed before his illness. A second stroke in 1964 did additional

damage from which he never recovered; Engle died that summer. Several years passed before another group of California legislators took up the Point Reyes cause.

Nonetheless, the NPS had successfully acquired a portion of the envisioned seashore acreage. In acknowledgement, the NPS held the official dedication ceremony for Point Reyes National Seashore on October 20, 1966. Lady Bird Johnson performed the official dedication duties. In her dedication speech, Johnson called Point Reyes "a bright star in the galaxy of conservation achievements of the 1960s."²⁷ Bright, indeed, but not yet fully achieved.

**Defining the
National
Seashores**

The national seashore was a new type of operating unit within the national park system, and few precedents existed for the operations of PRNS. Congress had authorized Cape Cod National Seashore just one year earlier. Although the NPS would adopt some of Cape Cod's operating strategies for other seashores, the tasks and management objectives initiated there were not always applicable to the situation at Point Reyes. The regional office and the first superintendents had to determine which areas of the peninsula were appropriate for visitor use and facilities development, and which resources were best left undisturbed. The key to their struggle lay in the question of whether PRNS was to be primarily a natural area, a recreational area, or a unique combination of the two.

The NPS hierarchy was quick to weigh in on this question. Just two weeks after PRNS was authorized, Secretary of the Interior Udall sent a letter to the NPS Advisory Board on National Parks, Monuments, and Historic Sites, asking them to come up with a plan that would delineate between the management of the older parks and monuments and the newer NRAs and national seashores. The advisory board formed a special committee to address his directive. The special committee, which included Conrad Wirth and Harold Fabian (chair of the main advisory board), met on December 5, 1962.²⁸

In his opening statement, Stanley A. Cain, chair of the special committee, explained that the body's charge was to respond to Udall's idea of reorganizing the National Park Service "to make very clear the distinction between the traditional functions of the Service and the newer and often very different ones that are primarily recreation related."²⁹ Cain emphasized that the Park Service should make every effort "to keep the concept of the national parks clean and uncluttered if their prime values are to be guarded." He reiterated the point that there were major differences between the qualities and objectives of the traditional (in other words, pre-1961) park sites and those of "new-type" NPS sites such as recreation areas, national seashores, and national parkways. The central difference, according to Cain, lay in the fact that whereas older units were "resources-oriented under a basic policy of preservation of natural and original conditions," the new areas were "activity-oriented."³⁰

The special committee's recommendations encompassed a wide range of strategies. The committee proposed that new NRAs be placed within the NPS, as the Park Service was the agency "most appropriate" to manage these areas. The committee called for a reorganization of the Park Service into two administrative lines, representing the older and newer generation of parks. The recommendations were to be submitted to the advisory board for final approval at its next meeting. Cain concluded the committee's recommendations by noting (bemusedly) that they had the effect of "converting the National Park Service to a National Park and Recreation Service, and might as well be called such."³¹ The advisory board essentially affirmed the core of the special committee's proposals at its annual meeting in March 1963. There likely was little

suspense about the outcome given that the special committee had included Wirth and Fabian.

At first glance, Udall, Wirth, and the advisory board appeared to be reacting to the influx of new seashore and recreational sites in the same way nativist groups historically called for separation and purity whenever a large tide of new immigration hit their shores. Thus, Cain's imperative to the NPS that the national park concept remain "clean and uncluttered." But Udall, Wirth, and other Interior Department administrators had responded mainly to the recent creation of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR). Changes in the federal bureaucracy at that time help explain what prompted the NPS to adopt such a black-or-white strategy for managing its diverse palette of operating units.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the work of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC)—a 1958 manifestation of the outdoor recreation movement—led to the establishment of the BOR. Although the authorizations of Point Reyes and Padre Island national seashores were contemporaneous with the publication of the ORRRC's 1962 report, *Outdoor Recreation in America*, the former were not an outcome of the latter. The NPS seashore studies of the 1950s, which laid the groundwork for the creation of the seashores, were already completed by the time President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the act creating the ORRRC in 1958, and well before the commission launched its National Recreation Survey.³² Nonetheless, *Outdoor Recreation in America* would have a large impact on the management of this new "category" of NPS sites during the 1960s. The ORRRC report called for the creation of a new entity, independent from the existing land management agencies, to oversee recreational resource planning in the United States. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) was the result. The NPS and Wirth suddenly found themselves in a position of having to compete with another federal organization for new recreation areas and limited recreation dollars. This prompted the NPS to widen the scope of its recommendations for new seashore and lakeshore recreation sites.³³

Ronald A. Foresta has pointed out that the BOR's creation was a political "blow" to the Park Service, which believed ORRRC's proposal was a "thinly veiled condemnation of the agency for failing to discharge its recreation responsibilities."³⁴ As a new agency within the Department of the Interior, BOR began to compete with the NPS for potential recreation area sites and for recreation-related appropriations. The ORRRC also proposed, and President Kennedy subsequently created in April 1962, a Recreational Advisory Council that was to coordinate the outdoor recreation policies of all federal agencies.³⁵ For Wirth and his staff, this was an obvious intrusion into an area where the Park Service had long held jurisdiction. But the political heft of the advisory council, which included half of the president's cabinet, meant that its recommendations required the attention, if not the full cooperation, of the NPS.³⁶

In March 1963, the Recreational Advisory Council released "Policy Circular No. 1." In it, the council laid out a new outdoor recreation policy for all agencies, with the key stipulation that all national recreation sites (including NPS national seashores) be accessible at all times for "all-purpose recreational use."³⁷ To make the point even clearer, it asserted that agency management of NRAs should be more responsive to recreational demands than to other such considerations as "preserving unique natural or historical resources."³⁸ The NPS was left with little choice but to heed these stipulations, even if they seemed to violate congressional mandates found in the recent national seashore acts. In response, the advisory board decided to create separate operating units

and management goals for NPS natural and historic areas, on the one hand, and for the broad category of recreation areas, on the other.

Udall made official the new categories in his July 10, 1964, memorandum to new NPS director George B. Hartzog, Jr. Udall outlined the prescribed management policies for the recreational area category: “Outdoor recreation shall be recognized as the dominant or primary resource management objective.” Resource use would emphasize “active participation in outdoor recreation in a pleasing environment.”³⁹ Hartzog, who had stepped into the director post earlier that year, heartily approved of the changes. Soon after his appointment, Hartzog announced the new policy directive that lumped parks into one of three different categories—natural, historic, and recreational—and created separate management guidelines for each. In his *Battling for the National Parks*, Hartzog wrote that the NPS started developing a divergent set of management practices for recreation areas in the 1930s. He was referring to the NPS management of public recreation at the Bureau of Reclamation reservoir sites. At that time, Hartzog pointed out, the NPS did not even list these recreation sites as part of the national park system, making the jurisdictional identification confusing for the public. Accordingly, Hartzog thought the move to create a separate category with different management principals for NRAs was “a brilliant solution to a real dilemma.”⁴⁰

In 1964, the NPS produced three management manuals that corresponded with each new category. One of the manuals, with the cumbersome title of *Compilation of the Administrative Policies for the National Recreation Areas, National Seashores, National Lakeshores, National Parkways, National Scenic Riverways (Recreational Area Category) of the National Park System*, spelled out the official NPS line for managing the new Point Reyes National Seashore.⁴¹ Because of the long titles, NPS staff began to refer to each of the three *Administrative Policies* handbooks by the color of their covers; thus PRNS administrators dealt with management directives from the “blue book,” referring to the cover of *Administrative Policies for the National Recreation Areas*. In addition to the long-winded title of the book, the recreation-area policies would also prove unwieldy for the first generation of PRNS administrators to implement.

Unfortunately, instead of clarifying management planning the *Administrative Policies* guidebook created additional ambiguities. It spelled out what were supposed to be uniform management strategies for all parks in the recreation-area category, but also contained statements that, in the case of Point Reyes, appeared quite contradictory: “The policies laid down by the Congress for the management of any particular recreation area may be found in the legislation establishing that area Of direct relevance, too, is the intent of Congress as disclosed in the hearings and reports on the legislation.”⁴² Even though the new nomenclature put Point Reyes and other national seashores in the “recreational area” category, the PRNS founding legislation made clear that the seashore’s purpose included protection and preservation of the significant natural and historic values found on the peninsula.

In *Our National Park System*, historian Dwight F. Rettie has observed that as NPS personnel gained increased knowledge and understanding regarding “resource interdependencies” and ecological relationships they gradually gave less credence to the three categories and felt less restricted by their management guidelines.⁴³ Doug Nadeau, team leader in planning the 1972 PRNS general management plan (GMP), remembered that the team paid little attention to the dictates of the recreation area category in 1970 as they prepared the new management plan.⁴⁴ Although it did not do away with the manuals,

the General Authorities Act of 1970 began the legal unraveling of the three management categories. In the act, Congress mandated that the various types of NPS units, “though distinct in character, are united through their inter-related purposes and resources into one national park system as cumulative expressions of a single national heritage; that, individually and collectively, these areas derive increased national dignity and recognition of their superlative environmental quality through their inclusion jointly with each other in one national park system preserved and managed for the benefit and inspiration of all the people of the United States.”⁴⁵ Within a decade of their introduction, park officials had little use for the three management manuals.

In 1975, the NPS issued a new policy manual that framed park management based on a more nuanced understanding of the specific resource types and management zones within each park unit, instead of the previous three-sizes-fits-all classification of NPS sites. Director William J. Whalen officially dismantled the three-category distinctions in 1977.⁴⁶ Congress bolstered his decision in the Redwoods Act of 1978, which included an amendment to the General Authorities Act declaring the “regulation of the various areas of the National Park System, . . . shall be consistent with and founded in the purpose established by the [Organic Act] to the common benefit of all the people of the United States.”⁴⁷ Finally, the 1980 NPS *Management Policies* produced a systemwide change in overall policy and management.

But during the 1960s and early 1970s, the NPS recreation area policies made a significant impact at Point Reyes, as well as at the other new seashores, in part because the agency introduced the categories just as the seashore was building its administration and developing its management plans. As NPS historian Stephanie S. Toothman has pointed out, the tripartite administrative categories could “obscure from both NPS personnel and the general public the diversity of resources—natural, cultural, and recreational—that each of these areas contains.”⁴⁸ Moreover, at Point Reyes, the management objectives in the new administrative manuals did not reflect the legislative intent of the PRNS Act. This dichotomy explains some of the management conflicts that took place at PRNS in the 1960s. National and regional NPS officials often spoke from the recreation-area mindset when they announced directives for the national seashore. In implementing those directives, however, Point Reyes administrators gradually began to display a more complex understanding of the seashore’s original mission and objectives. Moreover, the development objectives outlined in the initial NPS master plan for Point Reyes bore the stamp of the recreation area designation.

1964 Master Plan

Master plans had been a standard element of administering national park units since the early 1930s.⁴⁹ Usually, a planning team composed of a regional landscape architect, an NPS regional planner (often an engineer), the park superintendent, and sometimes other officials, surveyed an area and produced the master plan (MP) without public or staff review of the document. The seashore’s first MP, released in 1964, was typical of the generic “package” plans that veteran NPS planners and landscape architects produced during the 1950s and early 1960s.⁵⁰ In this case, the “package team” that prepared and reviewed the plan included PRNS project manager James E. Cole and incoming superintendent Fred W. Binnewies.

Drawing NS-PR 3019, PRNS Archives



1963 PRNS Master Plan sheet showing planned developments for Bear Valley, Limantour Estero, and Drakes Beach. Also note proposed road running along Drakes Bay from Limantour to Double Point.

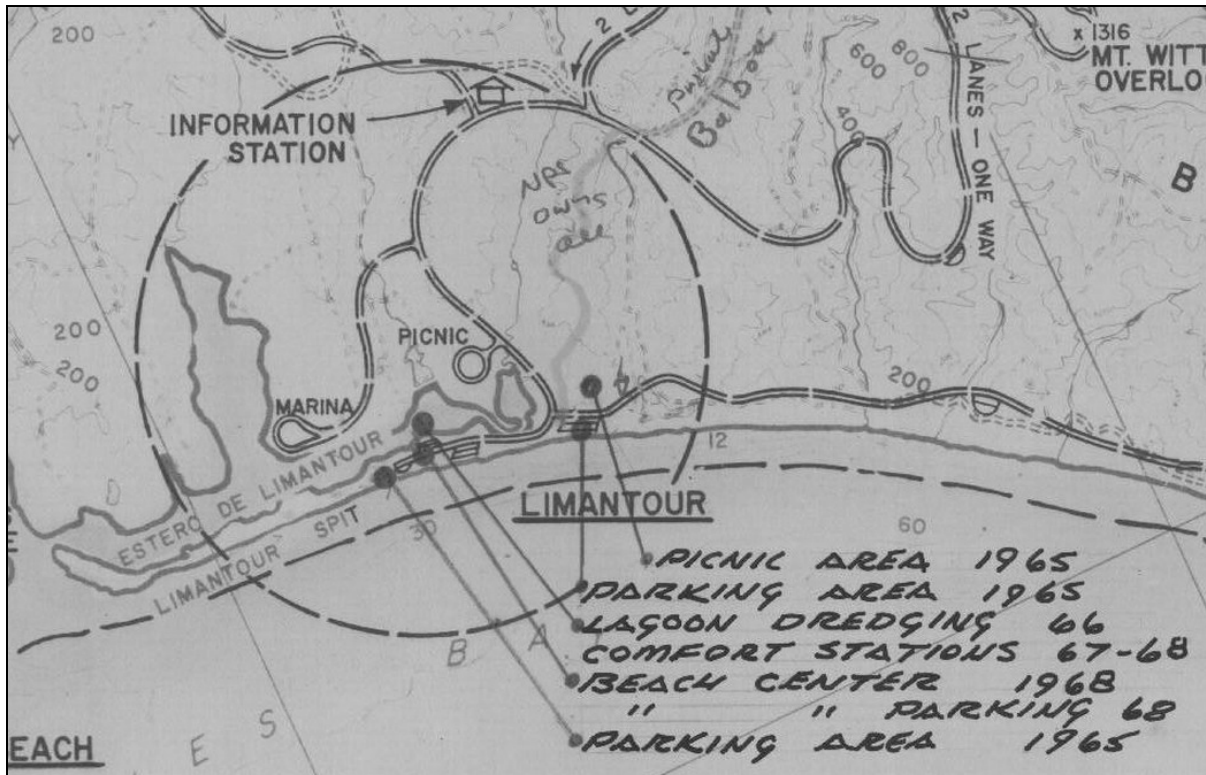
Designs included in the Point Reyes MP also manifested the new NPS recreation area rubric, leading Bill Duddleson to conclude that it was, “essentially a set of development blueprints oriented to conventional recreation activities and the automobile.”⁵¹ The master plan’s “Visitor Use Plan” featured seven central recreational developments, roughly in order of location from north to south, at Tomales Beach, Bear Valley, Limantour Estero, Drakes Beach, Point Reyes Cove, “Highland” (near the site of current Glen Camp), and Double Point.⁵² It also designated McClures Beach and Point Reyes Beach as underdeveloped recreation sites for beach activities. In 1964, a five-year projection of park construction activities, based on the master plan’s development objectives, called for building fifty miles of new roads, and reconstructing or widening twenty-two miles of existing roads on the peninsula.⁵³ The projected budget for the roadwork, which would take place from 1966 to 1968, came to more than \$3 million.

Limantour Estero Development The central piece of the NPS plan for Point Reyes eventually became its most controversial element, revealing the underlying tension between NPS recreation area policies vs. the legislative intent and public conception of the PRNS Act. The plan called for construction of an extensive recreational center for swimming, boating, and other recreation at Limantour Spit. The spit is a two-and-a-half-mile-long finger of sand that lies in an east-west orientation, parallel to the peninsula headlands. Ocean waves from Drakes Bay break upon the southern side of the spit, while the still water of Limantour Estero laps at its northern (inland) shore. Sand dunes, beach grasses, and a few pine trees comprise its visual landscape. In a few places, ocean storm waters had breached the spit, leaving areas of low-lying sand flats, hummocks, and marshes in their wake. A lone roadway to the area served residents of the seven private homes built upon the spit prior to PRNS authorization.

NPS planners sought to make Limantour the primary visitor use site for the national seashore, targeting it for “intensive recreational use.”⁵⁴ As such, the MP for the Limantour Spit and Estero included a large beach/recreation center, boardwalk promenades, concession facilities, multiple parking lots with spaces for 2,400 vehicles, boat dock, fishing pier, and operations facilities. The architectural design for the project called for facilities that reflected “the holiday mood of the recreation functions of the area.”⁵⁵ The plan suggested, on the one hand, that facilities would blend in with the surrounding environment, but, on the other hand, that new structures would “dominate the area” and handle great crowds of people. Depending upon the final scale of the development, the NPS estimated the Limantour recreation facilities could accommodate from 25,000 to 50,000 visitors at a time.⁵⁶

The most expansive, expensive, and controversial piece of the Limantour development involved a plan to dredge a major portion of the estuary, construct a dam at its inlet, and use the dredged material to fill a portion of the marshlands and mudflats for a large parking area—all to create a warm-water swimming and boating area with a 2,300-foot-long sandy beach. Planners anticipated that the beach alone would provide room for a “beach population” of 5,000 people.⁵⁷ The 1966 Point Reyes budget included more than half a million dollars to complete the Limantour dredging and dam construction. From today’s perspective it seems astounding that the first major NPS development at the seashore involved dredging the Limantour Estero, when just two years earlier Clem Miller and Stewart Udall fought, via multiple political channels, to stop a dredging project at Drakes Bay because it posed a threat to the natural qualities of Point Reyes. The Limantour proposal reveals the awkward juxtaposition of NPS recreation area

policies and the congressional intent of the PRNS Act. Indeed, the MP included an alternate, but similarly intrusive, plan drawn up for Drakes Beach.⁵⁸



Drawing NS-PR 3019, PRNS Archives

Blowup of sheet from 1963 PRNS Master Plan, showing location and construction schedule for proposed developments at Limantour Spit.

Fortunately for conservation groups and environmental activists who opposed the Limantour development, there were immediate project delays due to public access and land acquisition issues. The NPS first delayed the project in mid-1965, to await the outcome of a condemnation proceeding over land at the far end of the spit, where five privately owned lots and one house stood. The NPS further delayed the project because the private road to the area was not yet open to the public. The road built for Drakes Bay Estates residents was the public's only means of reaching the beach by car. The government sought to purchase a larger ownership share of the right-of-way, but some residents opposed opening the road to public use. Seashore staff, in fact, often found the road chained shut. In one case, a resident went so far as to chain the road closed and post an "armed guard" to prevent further public access.⁵⁹

Although a total of \$517,400 was already in the budget for the Limantour dredging project in 1966, the acquisition and right-of-way problems forced the NPS to push back the dredging operation until 1967.⁶⁰ PRNS administrators shifted some of the Limantour project money to cover a wider range of basic, but much needed, facilities for visitors who were arriving "by the thousands" at Drakes Beach and Point Reyes Beach.⁶¹ The new facilities included a water-supply system and restrooms at the two beaches, as well as an access road, campground, and trailhead parking lot in Bear Valley. PRNS Superintendent Leslie P. Arnberger suggested that the NPS use the additional time to engage a study of the "feasibility and desirability of dredging the lagoon."⁶² The seashore

contracted with the newly established Point Reyes Bird Observatory (PRBO) to prepare the study, the first of much collaboration between PRNS and PRBO.

The Limantour project was again postponed and eventually halted by disparate forces at work in the mid- to late 1960s. Protests by conservationists who cherished the seashore as a pristine natural area, growing political awareness within the conservation community, and changes in federal laws that mandated more stringent protection of the coastal environment all contributed to the delays. In addition, Point Reyes administrators began to recognize that the biological and aesthetic values of the Limantour area might outstrip its potential for recreational use. In fact, between 1965 and 1970, three different superintendents made comments about the Limantour project that revealed a gradual shift toward understanding first the biological, and then the ecological value of the Limantour area. These statements represent changing perspectives within the entire agency during that short time span.

When PRBO released its first Limantour study in summer 1966, it made a significant impact among PRNS administrators and staff, casting doubt on the suitability of such a large-scale development project at the site. Citing the PRBO study, Arnberger told the regional director to question “the wisdom and propriety of dredging a portion of the estero.”⁶³ He noted the study had revealed “the outstanding avian resources of the area and the importance of protecting the habitat if this resource is to be preserved.” Moreover, the study showed the highest concentration of bird activity was in the upper end of the estuary, the very section that would be dredged and altered under the present plan.⁶⁴ Arnberger suggested the regional office prioritize a new planning study for the Limantour Spit.

The regional office adopted Arnberger’s suggestion, and a year later produced a report entitled, “Ecological Evaluation of the Limantour Spit and Estero.” New Superintendent Edward Kurtz commented that the report made it clear that if the NPS dammed the estuary, “the ecological loss would be of major proportions,” an assessment which Kurtz thought overstated the potential for environment damage.⁶⁵ An NPS special program paper that came out in 1967 informed him that it seemed “unwise to destroy estuaries, at least at this time.”⁶⁶ Accordingly, Kurtz recommended the NPS postpone construction work at Limantour for several more years. R. B. Moore, the assistant regional director in San Francisco, agreed with Kurtz’s decision, but was more vociferous in his arguments against the project. Moore reiterated the ecological evaluation’s conclusion that the project would destroy much of natural habitat, and added, “in the case of the black brant, one more area ruined [by human development] as natural habitat could conceivably alter the total brant population by a considerable percentage, their numbers being so small.”⁶⁷

The Limantour development was still under consideration when the park began work on a new master plan in 1970. However, the lens through which planners viewed the development showed that a growing environmental consciousness and new environmental regulations had infiltrated NPS study and planning. A study done in preparation for the GMP inquired, “How can the importance and vulnerability of the ornithological marine communities of Limantour Estero be reconciled with the intensive development the plan proposes for that location?”⁶⁸ Moreover, the study questioned whether “expansion of seashore facilities [should] continue ad infinitum to meet demand?”⁶⁹ In response to public concern about potential disturbance to the beauty and biological integrity of the Limantour area, Superintendent John L. Sansing believed the NPS would eventually remove all roads and houses from the spit, in order to provide

greater protection for the “estuary ecosystem.”⁷⁰ Sansing’s statement represented a different approach to public use of the estuary than the NPS had originally conceived. His use of the term *ecosystem* to define the value of this resource also reflected a different understanding of the natural world at Point Reyes.

In the midst of discussions regarding the new Point Reyes GMP, Robert S. Luntney, NPS resource planning chief, stated the NPS objective should be a plan that encouraged broad public use and recognized “the outstanding natural features and our responsibility to preserve this quality and character of Point Reyes.”⁷¹ The new GMP, in fact, could reflect “a pre-planned balance between preservation and development.”⁷² Luntney saw the new GMP as an opportunity to manage the seashore according to the recreational and natural values of each particular area within its boundaries, rather than a one-size-fits-all category to determine future management of the peninsula. To simplify the planning process, however, he suggested the NPS “visualize” visitor use as falling into two broad categories, which he called active and passive recreation.⁷³ The recreation area framework was no longer the sole source used to guide NPS management and administration strategies for Point Reyes.

Entrance Road Construction The federal government’s recreation area mindset also manifested itself in planning road development of the seashore area. The Bureau of Public Roads, with assistance from the NPS Western Office of Design and Construction, completed an engineering feasibility survey of possible entrance roads for the national seashore in June 1963.⁷⁴ The final report recommended a four-lane, divided highway through Haggerty Gulch to the ocean beaches. Their design required heavy grading work and a 2,000-foot tunnel through Inverness Ridge. The mammoth construction project would cost a projected \$5,715,000.⁷⁵ The price tag and grand scale of the proposed highway matched the expansiveness of the Limantour development. The four-lane road would help speed the anticipated 25,000 thousand beachgoers to the Limantour swimming “pool,” their intended destination. Interior Department officials, who historically have held philosophical differences from their federal colleagues at Public Roads, questioned the engineering, cost, and appropriateness of the highway.

Edward Weinberg, deputy solicitor of the Department of the Interior, pointed out several problems with the road in a 1965 report of his own. He noted the road followed a route shown in the 1961 *Land Use Survey*, laid out without detailed maps or the input of engineers.⁷⁶ Weinberg suggested the 1961 survey on which the Public Roads report had based its plan was never intended to designate a specific road location; it only indicated a “possible corridor” for a future roadway. He also warned that the proposed tunnel was located just a one-half mile from the San Andreas Fault, despite the fact that the Bureau of Public Roads had made no geologic studies to determine the composition of Inverness Ridge or assess the risk of a tunnel collapse in case of an earthquake. The proposed route, he said, would not only be too expensive but would also scar the landscape of Inverness Ridge—one of the areas that legislators and conservationists had battled to include within the seashore boundaries. Weinberg suggested a longer route that was more economical, less damaging, and better suited to construction as a two-lane road.⁷⁷

Despite the concerns, the NPS continued with its road construction plans. In October 1966, Congress authorized for acquisition of the right-of-way in Public Law 89–666.⁷⁸ Seashore administration awarded a construction contract for the roadwork in June 1967; construction of the roadbed began soon afterwards. Crews completed the wide, heavily engineered first section of the road to the top of Inverness Ridge in 1968.⁷⁹ Drastic

funding cuts in 1969 scaled back and then cancelled any immediate plans for extending the new road any farther. For a time, it was called the “road to nowhere,” due to the pavement’s abrupt end at the top of the ridge.⁸⁰ The park eventually linked the new road to the old Limantour Road; the completed entrance road from Bear Valley to Limantour Beach finally opened to the public on June 15, 1972.⁸¹

BEGINNING THE SEASHORE’S MANAGEMENT, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND VISITOR OPERATIONS

While land acquisition and master planning discussions were taking place, the park’s nascent administration began developing staff, services, and a rudimentary infrastructure to run the park and provide basic visitor services. Western Region Director Joseph C. Rumburg, Jr., recounted that the NPS had experienced some early success in acquiring land for the seashore, but that it was soon “overshadowed by the slower pace of our success in obtaining increases in our operating budgets and consequently the manpower and equipment necessary to do the things which need to be done.”⁸²

First Park Managers and Employees

In the first few years following authorization, regional or national offices directed seashore management decisions and longer-term policy. James E. Cole worked out of the San Francisco office as PRNS project manager from September 1962 through June 1963.⁸³ Point Reyes got its first full-fledged resident superintendent in July 1963, when Fred W. Binnewies stepped into the post. Binnewies served for nearly two years and oversaw the first stage of land acquisition on the peninsula, assembled a rudimentary staff, and set up basic ranger operations. Soon after the government purchased the Bear Valley Ranch in October 1963, the NPS began to set up offices, housing, and maintenance facilities in the existing ranch structures. The regional office named Gordon Patterson to be the chief ranger, and added Robert (Bob) Barbee as the first regular park ranger at Point Reyes later that year.

Barbee arrived in December 1964, to join a staff that consisted of Patterson, who he described as a “significant character,” a few administrative personnel, and the real estate specialists from the San Francisco office. In a 2005 interview, Barbee remembered that he was not happy — “my heels were dragging all the way” — to leave his naturalist position at Yosemite National Park for Point Reyes. He learned that the regional office tabbed him for the post because they wanted someone who had experience in both interpretation and visitor protection, and who fit their description of “a ranger who could communicate,” as they later explained it to him.⁸⁴ His Point Reyes position, as it turned out, became a stepping-stone in a career that would lead to several park superintendent positions and eventually bring him into the national spotlight from 1983 to 1994, as superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, and later as the Alaska Region Director.⁸⁵

Leslie P. Arnberger took over as superintendent in June 1965 and served until January 1967. The park’s initial interpretive, protection, and maintenance operations were barely a year old, and still required additional staff and much more attention. In October 1965, Donald Cameron transferred from Yosemite National Park to become the seashore’s first maintenance foreman. Arnberger also began hiring seasonal rangers for interpretive and protection duties.⁸⁶ Barbee remembered that Arnberger was “very concerned” about setting up a proper organizational structure, with clear divisional and district lines. He created the park’s first ranger districts, the Bear Valley and Estero Districts, and hired Leslie McBride as the first supervisory/district ranger in March 1965.⁸⁷

Binnewies and Arnberger were at their posts for less than two years, and did not have time to develop long-term management objectives and policies. The next superintendent, Edward J. Kurtz, stayed on longer than his predecessors (January 29, 1967 to March 21, 1970), and managed PRNS during one of the most important periods in the seashore’s history. Kurtz also held the position of supervisor of northern sites, Bay Area group.



Record No. 28410. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Family at the Bear Valley trailhead preparing for a hike, 1966.

**Initial
Seashore
Operations**

Even though PRNS was not yet a physical actuality in 1963, it was already taking shape in the minds of hikers, nature lovers, and tourists.⁸⁸ Once Bay Area residents and outdoor enthusiasts learned about congressional authorization of PRNS—once they had the concept of the national seashore fixed in their minds—they flocked to the site to experience its rich resources, aesthetic pleasures, and recreational bounties. Barbee recalled what happened, on several occasions, when the *San Francisco Chronicle* or another paper would run a big Sunday supplement section highlighting the peninsula’s beauty and recreational opportunities. The following weekend a thousand or more people would arrive and simply scatter “all over the place.”⁸⁹ Some visitors may have known that the area was not yet operational but perhaps assumed that the seashore’s new legal status invited them to be there. Others may have presumed visitor facilities and the like were already in place. Armed with their expectations, visitors, curious residents, and hikers visited the peninsula in ever-growing numbers, giving rise to the first set of on-the-ground management issues.

As with most young organizations, much of the initial management involved reacting to emergencies, crises, and surprises, rather than following a planned itinerary. During its first half-decade of existence, the predominant concerns at PRNS involved trespassing on ranch lands, visitor safety, and resource damage. Phil Ward replaced Patterson and served as chief ranger during much of this formative period. The superintendents, Ward, and park staff had to address other immediate needs that included visitor information services, management of rapidly increasing recreational use, infrastructure, maintenance,

concession contracts, cooperative agreements with other agencies, and fostering positive relationships with ranchers and local communities.

Visitor Safety During congressional hearings on the PRNS legislation, ranchers and other seashore opponents challenged the suitability of Point Reyes for safe and enjoyable public recreation. Strong currents and high waves made swimming, and even wading, dangerous activities. In addition, the fog and high brush often made it difficult for hikers to ascertain the cliff edge of a coastal bluff. As it turned out, ranchers were wrong about Point Reyes' the recreational appeal, because they did not recognize or understand new trends in Americans' recreational choices. They were, however, correct about some of the potential hazards Point Reyes held in store for visitors.



Record No. 10650. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Original Bear Valley Information Center, 1966.

As a result, early ranger operations frequently included searches for lost hikers, rescues of injured visitors, and, occasionally, recoveries of drowning and other fatal accident victims. An absence of designated trails and directional signage during the first few years of visitor use (1964-66) exacerbated these problems. Barbee remembered that those first summers at Point Reyes involved spending “night after night after night out looking for lost people.”⁹⁰ Some emergencies and some years were worse than others. Two fatalities occurred in spring 1969; one person drowned while swimming at Limantour Beach and another died in a fall from a cliff above McClures Beach.⁹¹ In March 1970, there were three rescues of lost or injured individuals at McClures Beach; the next month, two people drowned at McClures Beach; in June that year, three people were rescued after their boat sank in Drakes Estero; and, in July, park staff and Marin County Sheriffs performed three rescues, including two separate incidents where children were stranded on the cliffs above Drakes Beach.⁹² In just the first three months of 1971, four visitors drowned and one committed suicide at Point Reyes.⁹³ Rangers attended various trainings

to prepare for these exigencies. Several obtained scuba-diving licenses and specialized training to assist in rescues or recoveries of drowning victims. Staff also attended trainings in high-angle rope work, boating operations, CPR, first aid, and fire suppression. Seashore administrators also began negotiating with the Coast Guard for a boat and the use of their lifesaving station for rescue and recovery operations.

Law Enforcement

As the number of seashore visitors grew rapidly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, staff had to deal with increases in criminal activities, traffic problems, and resource damage. Law enforcement personnel attended specialized trainings to tackle these issues. During the late 1960s, for instance, chief ranger Phil Ward’s protection staff attended law enforcement school at Grand Canyon National Park, received their scuba diving certification training at the Scripps Institute, and enrolled in a U.S. Army correspondence course on criminal investigations.⁹⁴ Some problems, such as marijuana growing, were already prevalent prior to NPS presence on the peninsula. Illegal drug use, overall, accounted for one-quarter to one-third of the citations issued in some years.⁹⁵ Point Reyes law enforcement also involved patrolling the few existing roadways, enforcing state fish and game regulations, addressing resource protection issues such as illegal camping, and patrolling for poachers. In 1969, rangers caught and cited eleven poachers, six of whom went to court and received fines. Some law enforcement duties were less onerous than others: staff frequently responded to reports of nude sunbathing on national seashore beaches.⁹⁶

Law enforcement cases increased apace with the seashore’s expanding size and growing visitation. The number of cases during the first three months of 1970 equaled the number for the entire year of 1969. The majority of cases were citations for illegal camping; one ranger cited 127 campers in a six-week period. That spring, PRNS staff cited one hundred people for marijuana use/possession, as well as a large number for nudity and dog violations.⁹⁷ By the end of July, staff had handled more than five hundred law enforcement cases, one-quarter of them drug violations.⁹⁸

Recreational Use

While ranchers had accurately anticipated the hazards visitors might encounter at Point Reyes, they sorely underestimated the peninsula’s potential as a recreation and tourism destination. Likely, these older peninsula residents possessed a more traditional, pre-1960s conception of beach recreation that included swimming, sunbathing, and picnicking under warm, sunny skies. Yet a significant shift was then taking place in the country’s recreational patterns. Americans were devoting more recreation and leisure time to active outdoor pursuits, such as hiking, backpacking, bicycling, canoeing, and car camping. Point Reyes was the ideal destination for these and other types of active recreation. Although car camping was prohibited within the national seashore itself, automobile tourists could set up camp at nearby private, county, or state campgrounds and then explore the peninsula from those bases. Many recreationists may have preferred sunny weather, but they were able to enjoy their activities even when the weather was cool and cloudy. Summer hikers and backpackers coming to Point Reyes from east of the Berkeley hills or from the Central Valley, sought the cooler climate of the peninsula as an escape from the scorching summer weather of inland California.

In addition, participants in what Joseph Sax has termed “contemplative” recreation—activities such as bird-watching, nature study, photography, and simple scenery appreciation—found the trails, beaches, and grasslands of Point Reyes alluring.⁹⁹ Large numbers of outdoor enthusiasts living in the San Francisco Bay Area found Point Reyes a convenient location for their favorite pastimes. A burgeoning appreciation among many

Americans for the beauty and complexity of the natural world, a corollary of the environmental movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, also attracted local residents and out-of-state travelers to a place like Point Reyes. As a result, Point Reyes administrators and staff began devoting more of their time and personnel resources to accommodate and manage recreational use.



Record No. 7650. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

A group of backpackers at Point Reyes, ca. 1970s.

Barbee and George DiMartini, a maintenance worker for one of the acquired ranches who was subsequently hired onto the park maintenance staff, laid out the basic framework of the trail system, primarily using the existing ranch roads. They named the trails and repaired them as necessary. Jerry Patton, NPS landscape architect in the regional office, came out to Point Reyes to help the staff determine suitable locations for three designated backcountry campgrounds. Barbee recalled that they built the Coast, Sky, and Glen camps, which remain in use today, before NEPA regulations, “so we didn’t have to fool around with anything—we decided where they should go, and they went in.”¹⁰⁰ The three camps quickly filled up every weekend from June through September.

The surging numbers of hikers and backpackers in the late 1960s seemed to surprise Arnberger. In 1968, the demand for campsites was so great the staff installed a reservation system for the walk-in sites.¹⁰¹ In July and August 1970, camps were filled every weeknight as well as on weekends, and visitors obtained a camping place only if they obtained reservations several weeks in advance of their trips. By the end of that summer, backcountry use had increased by 35 percent from the previous year. To help meet the ever-increasing demand, the park added a fourth walk-in campground, Wildcat group camp, in 1971, and established primitive boating campgrounds at beaches along the west side of Tomales Bay.¹⁰²

Sunny weekends also brought large crowds to the beaches, causing serious traffic jams and parking problems. Rangers found cars parked on both sides of the narrow beach roads, despite posted “no parking” signs.¹⁰³ Weekend drives to historic Point Reyes Lighthouse also lured ever more tourists, especially in 1966 when the Coast Guard opened the lighthouse itself to visitors. In fact, the popularity of Point Reyes increased to the extent that, in 1970, PRNS visitation topped one million for the first time.¹⁰⁴ To serve these visitors, whether they were enjoying beaches and trails or simply driving along national seashore roads, NPS staff added new tourist facilities, such as bathrooms, parking lots, information services, and road signs. Several of these structures were built using money rerouted from the stalled Limantour Beach recreation development.

Visitor Services

The legislative intent of the seashore’s founding act aimed to keep tourist services such as overnight lodging, restaurants, and grocery stores outside of the park boundaries. Visitors could find these services in Point Reyes Station, Inverness, Bolinas, Olema, and other small towns and communities of West Marin County. This arrangement accomplished two objectives; it limited further development within the national seashore, and it boosted—rather than siphoned from—the local economy. In the mid-1960s, NPS and Point Reyes administrators judged this arrangement sufficient, except at Drakes Beach. People spending the day there found no water, cold drinks, or food other than what they brought themselves.

Accordingly, the NPS first contracted to provide rudimentary food services at Drakes Beach, which consisted of vending machines and a mobile “snack wagon” that sold food and hot or cold drinks. In 1972, the contract was conveyed to JackGlo Inc., to continue with the same type of services. By that time, however, park officials viewed the set-up as inadequate for the number of visitors using the beach. They drew up plans for a new structure that would house a food service, bathrooms, and showers. In Bear Valley, another popular spot for auto-tourists, hikers, and riders, there was no need for food services. Visitors could easily get to Point Reyes Station or Inverness, which were both fewer than five miles away.

Early Interpretive Operations

Since it was the jumping-off point for travel by foot, car, or horse to other areas of the seashore, Bear Valley was the most logical location for a central park information center, and for interpretive activities. An old ranch building in Bear Valley housed the seashore’s first visitor information center during the 1960s. Rangers in the Division of Interpretation and Resource Management (I&RM) staffed the information desk and provided small interpretive talks and demonstrations. Because of the small size of the national seashore staff, the standard division of park personnel into patrol ranger, law enforcement, and interpretive ranger categories did not yet exist. During the course of the 1965 season, chief ranger Patterson, district ranger McBride, and ranger Barbee conducted frequent naturalist talks and walks for school groups and visitors, along with their resource protection, search and rescue, and road patrol responsibilities.¹⁰⁵ In June 1966, Harry Wills transferred to PRNS to become the first official park naturalist, but also assumed the responsibilities of assistant chief ranger, resources management, and visitor services.¹⁰⁶ The seashore also opened a small information center at Drakes Beach. Interpreters began to collect slides, specimens, and other effects for their programs. They also erected wayside interpretive displays in the Bear Valley area, including the “Earthquake Trail.” This short, meandering trail led visitors from the Bear Valley parking lot down to a point where the fault line was recognizable, then looped back to the parking area. Interpretive signs erected at points along the trail explained the geologic history of the San Andreas Fault and its impact on the Point Reyes Peninsula.



Record No. 28760. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

An interpretive ranger talks with a family at the Bear Valley trailhead, June 1968.

Swelling numbers of visitors to Bear Valley soon swamped the original information center. Without the funds to build a brand-new structure along the lines of the Mission 66 visitor centers featured in other parks, administrators compensated by converting another building, a former residence on Limantour Spit, into the new information center. To move the house to Bear Valley, a maintenance crew simply jacked it up, put two I-beams under the base, and towed it up and down the winding Limantour Road to its new location.¹⁰⁷ They then built a set of restrooms adjacent to the structure. The house, approximately 1,500 square feet in size, was larger than the first visitor contact station but was still a stopgap solution. On busy weekends, visitors quickly overcrowded it.

At the prompting of the regional office, Kurtz initiated planning in the late 1960s for the creation of the “Morgan Horse Living Exhibit,” which would quickly become the centerpiece of Point Reyes interpretive operations for the next several decades (discussed in chapter 8).

Maintenance As more structures were put to use as administrative offices, park housing, and ranger activities, the maintenance requirements increased accordingly. Donald Cameron came to Point Reyes on a temporary assignment from Yosemite National Park in October 1965, becoming the seashore’s first maintenance foreman. His first tasks involved converting former ranch structures in Bear Valley into serviceable buildings for NPS use. One was converted into the park’s maintenance building and vehicular storage; the other—a horse barn—was put into use as the fire cache and fire engine shed. Cameron worked for a year or more on his “borrowed” status, and then joined the permanent staff as the park’s maintenance foreman in 1966. His position was subsequently converted to chief of maintenance.



Maintenance crew moves a house from Limantour Spit to its new role as Bear Valley Visitor Center, 1971.

Record No. 19450, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

The maintenance division shared with Marin County the responsibility for upkeep of the Limantour Road, the only park road open to autos. PRNS entered cooperative agreements with several other Marin County departments to help provide the necessary utilities and monitoring. A working agreement with the North Marin Water District supplied drinking water to Bear Valley and other administrative sites. Park administration entered a maintenance agreement with the Marin County Public Works Department for the repair and regular maintenance of the park's utilities during the mid-1960s, and renewed it annually. Seashore staff also worked in collaboration with the Marin County Public

Health Department. Rangers and county health technicians monitored water and sewer systems within the national seashore and tested the water quality of runoff from the peninsula's dairy operations.

BEGINNINGS OF NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Early natural resource management at Point Reyes focused on areas of the seashore where the most overt and intensive damage was occurring. Of most immediate public and administrative concern was the tidal zone. In 1965, the State of California granted to the federal government title to the entire tidal zone and submerged lands within the external boundaries of the national seashore.¹⁰⁸ Chapter 983 of the California Act of July 9, 1965, reserved mineral and prospecting rights (excluding wells or drilling on surface) for the state and the right of California residents to “fish in the waters underlying the lands described.”¹⁰⁹ The reservation included the right to collect, gather, or harvest shellfish.

In the process of opening a much wider stretch of beach and headlands to public access, the NPS had prompted the overuse and commercial exploitation of marine resources, which private property restrictions had, inadvertently, protected. In 1969, Superintendent Kurtz reported that improved beach access allowed people to “surf fish, rock fish, dive for abalone, and go clamming at will.”¹¹⁰ The biggest problem, however, was commercial-scale gathering of ghost shrimp and mud shrimp from the tidal zone. Individuals scoured the tidal areas and then sold shrimp harvests to local bait shops. A park ranger stopped one fisherman who at the time was hauling over one thousand shrimp from a single day's take.

Kurtz observed that public and commercial shrimp digging disturbed “the ecology of the clams and other animals that live in the tidal habitat.” He cited scientific research to emphasize that such harvests had long-term implications for Point Reyes, because the

shrimp had a long lifespan and a slow reproduction rate. Bait fishermen were wreaking damage that year that could have consequences for decades to come.¹¹¹ It is noteworthy that Kurtz used environmental science terms such as *ecology* and *habitat* to explain the damage wrought to the tidal area, language NPS officials had not typically used prior to that time. As Richard West Sellars has pointed out in his landmark *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History*, even in the early 1960s, NPS administrators rarely relied on scientific research to help guide their decisions about natural resource management.¹¹² As was common at many NPS sites, PRNS had no biologist on staff until 1970. Scientific research throughout the NPS was conducted by the Naturalist (or its new name, Interpretation) division, or performed by university professors and their students. Yet Kurtz adopted language—and possibly, ethics—representative of a growing environmental awareness throughout the United States, and in particular, in the environmental hotbeds of Marin County and the Bay Area.

Although federal regulations prohibited digging for bait on NPS lands, these rules were not in wide public circulation.¹¹³ Kurtz suggested the state impose a fish and game regulation limiting or prohibiting the taking of ghost or mud shrimp in West Marin tidal areas, which could be disseminated in the “Fishing Regulations” pamphlets supplied to all obtaining fishing licenses. Kurtz also requested that the state or NPS undertake a study to determine the actual impact on shrimp population and associated marine life.¹¹⁴

In addition to commercial exploitation, by the early 1970s, the ballooning number of seashore visitors was taking a toll on the Point Reyes coastal environment. Senator Alan Cranston pointed out in 1971 that while the park administration was engaged in the lengthy process of developing its general management plan, thousand of visitors were coming to PRNS each day without the protections and services in place that a working GMP could provide. He warned Director Hartzog of possible outcomes:

In a very short time the results can prove disastrous for all wildlife, and specifically for the unique marine invertebrate of the tidal areas. Well-meaning visitors—tourists, uninformed nature lovers, high school science students—can with the best of intentions strip a tide pool of its irreplaceable life forms in no time. The Pacific moon snails, geoduck clams, giant mussels, and giant abalones for which Point Reyes is noted can be “collected” out of existence while we await a resolution of the arguments about where the public roads are to be located.¹¹⁵

The proximity of Point Reyes to San Francisco Bay Area, once a primary rationale for developing the peninsula’s recreational potential, now undergirded the need for greater natural resource protection.¹¹⁶

Cranston urged Hartzog to implement an interim wildlife protection plan, in order to provide more restrictive management guidelines until the NPS finished the next GMP. He also called for the immediate designation of “Research Natural Areas” for those peninsula locations that the draft GMP indicated as in need of protection. Cranston was responding to his environmentally minded constituents in northern California, including a coalition of conservation groups that included the Marin Conservation League, Marin Audubon Society, Tomales Bay Association, Inverness Improvement Association, Sierra Club, and Environmental Action Committee of West Marin, who petitioned for changes. The Environmental Action Committee of West Marin was the newest of these Bay Area groups, operating under the spirited leadership of Jerry Friedman.¹¹⁷ The conservation

groups wanted jurisdiction over the tidal zone handed from the California Department of Fish and Game to the NPS, which they hoped would place stricter limits on commercial takes.¹¹⁸

Fisheries

Kurtz, Cranston, and the Marin County environmental groups made effective arguments that eventually prompted the creation of a cooperative agreement between NPS officials at Point Reyes and the state Department of Fish and Game. The two agencies confirmed their working agreement in a memorandum of understanding signed on September 3, 1969.¹¹⁹ The agreement established that each agency would take responsibility for one of the principal management functions identified in the memorandum. The NPS would oversee protection and management of wildlife habitat, while the state would regulate fish and wildlife harvests. As part of their habitat management function, the NPS could designate areas where, or periods of time when, hunting and fishing were prohibited, “for reasons of public safety, administration, or other public use and enjoyment of the area.” The NPS recreation area rubric again influenced the language of the agreement. The memorandum drew from the 1965 “Wildlife Management Policy—National Recreation Areas,” asserting that public hunting and fishing were “desirable and compatible with fulfilling the mission of the National Recreation Areas.”¹²⁰

The agreement was a first step towards protecting marine crustaceans and other organisms in the tidal zone. It also laid the groundwork for future interagency cooperation on hunting, control of exotic species, regulation of commercial operations, and species reintroduction. Seashore officials also began negotiating with Fish and Game to post a patrol boat in the waters of Point Reyes Cove and other vulnerable areas of the seashore, in order to prevent, or at least, control another immediate threat: abalone poaching.¹²¹ Since the NPS did not yet have a patrol boat of their own at Point Reyes, this was a particularly important item. Seashore staff also began discussions with the Coast Guard regarding the use of one of their boats, and possibly to secure the use of an old USCG storage and launching facility.¹²²

Throughout the history of the national parks, park management viewed fish—and, by extension, most marine organisms—in a different light than they viewed terrestrial or avian species. National parks that prohibited hunting generally allowed and encouraged recreational fishing. Moreover, the NPS supplemented it with extensive fish-planting projects that, until the 1960s and 1970s, included haphazard introduction of exotic species into lakes and streams of the national parks. The NPS did not issue the first set of management guidelines for fisheries until 1936, and even then included only the feeble directive that park managers should “favor” the protection of native fish species over nonnative species. The question of whether sport fishing or harvesting of marine wildlife should be permitted in the national parks was not even a consideration.¹²³ That practice continued without question. As for the new seashore parks, in 1962, Assistant Secretary John Carver wrote that the NPS considered existing oyster production and commercial fishing operations at Point Reyes as “being compatible with the national seashore concept.”¹²⁴

**Johnson
Oyster
Company**

Accordingly, seashore administrators also worked with Fish and Game officials in monitoring and regulating two commercial shellfish operations: the Johnson Oyster Company (also known locally as Johnson’s oyster farm), located on Schooner Bay (an extension of Drakes Estero), and the Frank Spenger Company oyster operation at Sacramento Landing on Tomales Bay. The saltwater bays and estuaries around Point Reyes were historically one of the top oyster-growing areas in the state. Commercial

oystering in California waters required planting the oyster beds in shallow, well-protected marine sites, where the young oysters found protection from winter storms and bat stingrays, one of their main predators. The calm water in these spots also made it easier to manage and access the oyster beds.

The first commercial oyster operations in California began in San Francisco during the Gold Rush years of the 1850s. Maricultural entrepreneurs planted the first oyster beds in the Point Reyes vicinity at Tomales Bay in 1907. By that time, pollution was already degrading oystering grounds in San Francisco Bay, yet San Franciscans' yen for oysters had not abated. During the 1930s, in an attempt to produce larger and faster growing oysters, operators introduced Japanese species to Tomales Bay, Drakes Estero, and Monterey Bay's Elkhorn Slough. Drakes Bay Oyster Company began its enterprise harvesting and shipping oysters to San Francisco in 1935, and in 1938, the company built and began operation of an oyster-shucking plant on Drakes Estero.¹²⁵

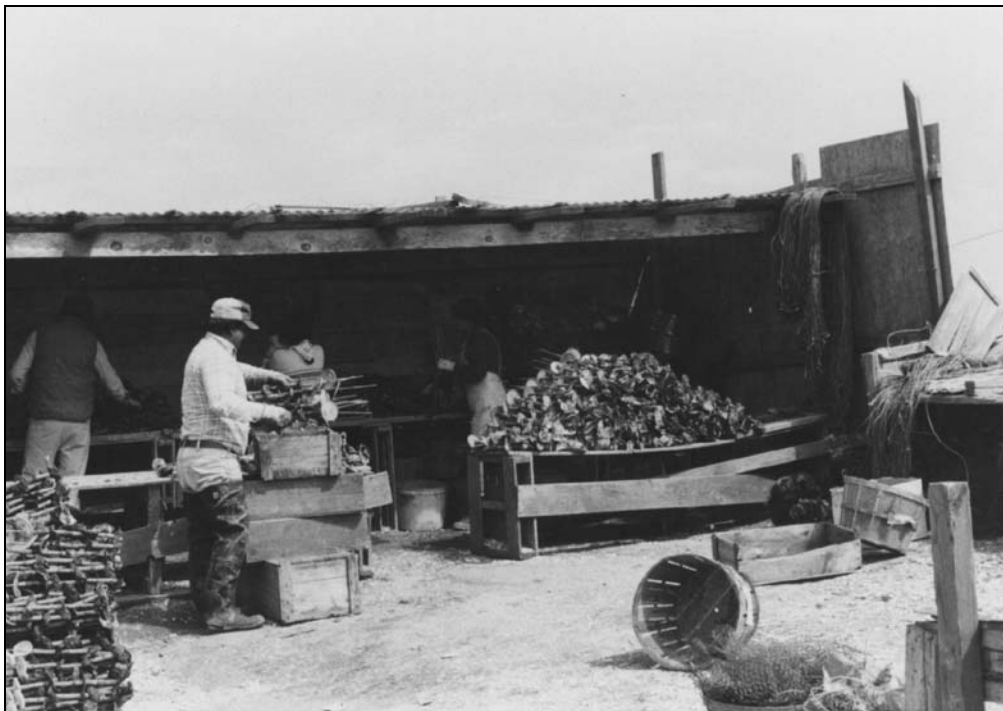
Charles Johnson ran his oyster-raising operation, including a processing plant, from 1961 through 2003. Prior to the transfer of state-held tidelands to the PRNS, the State of California controlled commercial use of the sea bottom by allocating tidal parcels to individual operators. The area where Johnson ran his oyster farm was first allotted to David C. Dreier for "oyster growing purposes" in January 1934. California Fish and Game designated Dreier's parcel as Allotment no. 2 of state water bottom, which contained roughly six thousand acres in Drakes Estero and Limantour Estero. In April 1946, Dreier transferred Allotment no. 2 to Larry Jenson, who also ran an oyster business at a site on Tomales Bay. The allotment was subsequently transferred from Jenson to Van Camp Sea Food Company, Inc. in July 1954, and then from Van Camp to Coast Oyster Company (a subsidiary of Van Camp) in August 1955. At that time the state of California and Coast Oyster Company agreed to reduce the size of the allotment to 1,175 acres, so that the remainder of the of the parcel could be available for clamming and eel grass harvests.

Charles Johnson purchased the title to Allotment no. 2 from Coast Oyster Company on November 18, 1960, and incorporated his aquaculture operation as Johnson Oyster Company the following year. As noted in the previous section, after the transfer of state-held tidelands to the NPS took place in 1965, California Fish and Game officials continued to regulate the oyster cultivation portion of the operation.¹²⁶ In early 1965, Johnson and the Park Service negotiated a trade of state sea bottom allotments. Johnson agreed to abandon the remaining 344 acres of Allotment no. 2 that lay in Limantour Estero. In turn, Johnson acquired an additional seventy acres of sea bottom adjoining his Schooner Bay oyster beds. California Fish and Game designated this piece of Schooner Bay as Allotment no. 72, and issued to Johnson a twenty-five year lease for shellfish cultivation, with the option to renew when it expired in 1990. According to a 1972 appraisal report prepared for the NPS, Johnson believed that, in contrast to the new allotment, the older Allotment no. 2 he obtained from Coast Oyster Company should not expire until 2034, one hundred years from the date of the original assignment to Dreier. But because Allotment no. 2 had been reconfigured in the course of this 1965 exchange, the state determined that it too should expire in 1990.¹²⁷

When Johnson obtained the rights to California Allotment no. 2, he also purchased five acres of adjacent land onshore that would subsequently be included within the boundaries of the national seashore. In the final Senate report to accompany the Point Reyes National Seashore authorization bill (S. 476), the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

determined that commercial oyster production and commercial fishing operations on Drakes Bay should continue following the authorization of the seashore because NPS planners had attested to “the public values” of the seafood operations as part of the site. Park Service regional planners revealed their thinking about the oyster farm in the 1961 *Land Use Study*, which reported that “the culture of oysters is an interesting industry which presents exceptional educational opportunities for introducing students to the field of marine biology.”¹²⁸ Moreover, if a restaurant were added to the site, they believed it could “add another recreational attraction” to the proposed seashore. The Department of the Interior did not, however, proffer to Johnson a “special agreement” for retention of land in private ownership, as it did with two other commercial landowners on the peninsula, the AT&T Company and RCA Communications.¹²⁹

In November 1972, the NPS purchased Johnson’s five-acre parcel for \$79,200; in exchange, Johnson received a reservation of use and occupancy (ROP) that allowed him to continue his enterprise for a thirty-year period.¹³⁰ By that time, the land-based portion of his oyster farm included a processing and bottling plant, shop, warehouse, company office, and residence. Whether the maricultural business was an appropriate use of an NPS unit was not addressed further at that time, but the issue would become a more pressing matter for park administrators twenty years hence.



Record No. 3870. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Employee at work at Johnson Oyster Company, ca. 1972.

Hunting

Hunting of the peninsula’s terrestrial and avian wildlife also became a significant management issue during the seashore’s developmental decade. The Point Reyes Peninsula had a long history of sport hunting, dating back to the owners of Spanish land grants and their guests. The abundant native wildlife of the area provided plenty of fodder for their sport. Several hunting clubs had formed during the 1800s, including the Bear Valley Country Club described in chapter 1, and including a few that were still active when the seashore was created. Among them was a duck-hunting club at Drakes Estero, which counted high ranking political figures among its membership.¹³¹ For many

ranchers, hunting went hand in hand with their ranching lifestyle, in addition to providing supplemental income or food during rough economic times.

Conservation groups that pushed to create the seashore designation valued the abundance and variety of animal life on the peninsula for different reasons. They hoped to see the wildlife undisturbed by hunting, and argued that the noise and potential dangers hunters posed would interfere with the recreational and aesthetic pursuits of park visitors. Although most NPS sites banned hunting after passage of the 1894 Lacey Act, some precedents for hunting were established in particular NPS areas.¹³² Pursuant to the creation of Grand Teton National Park in 1950, the NPS and Wyoming Game Commission set up an awkward arrangement that allowed “qualified and experienced hunters licensed by the State of Wyoming,” temporarily “deputized” as park rangers, to shoot elk within the park.¹³³ Ever since the 1930s, when NPS staff began to cull elk populations within national park boundaries to reduce herd sizes, local hunters in the Yellowstone and Grand Teton areas had complained that they had the right to shoot elk alongside park rangers. Park Service Director Newton Drury finally acceded to their demands at Grand Teton, in exchange for the inclusion of Jackson Hole within Grand Teton National Park. Public hunting under the guise of elk population control went on in the park for more than a decade.¹³⁴ Not surprisingly, a number of legislators attempted to turn the exception to the hunting ban at Grand Teton into the rule for new national parks units, including the new national seashores. That strategy bore fruit in 1940, when Congress passed an amendment to the Cape Hatteras Act to allow bird hunting within the boundaries of the national seashore.¹³⁵ The next national seashore, Cape Cod, also allowed hunting where it was deemed appropriate within the seashore boundaries.

As with the Cape Cod legislation, the PRNS authorizing act permitted hunting, but did not specifically grant hunting privileges. Congressman Clem Miller explained in 1961 that when Congress created the language of the Cape Cod bill regarding hunting and fishing, legislators intended it to become a general policy template that would, once enacted, apply to all future national seashores. Attempting to justify the inclusion of the hunting clause in his Point Reyes bill to one of his California constituents, Miller wrote, “The national seashores are not national parks—a wider range of outdoor recreational activities will be permitted, as indeed is already the case at Cape Hatteras.”¹³⁶ He added, however, that “few people believe that hunting will be compatible at Point Reyes,” even if it was compatible with the management goals at other national seashores.¹³⁷

The Secretary of the Interior and NPS officials were thus left to decide whether hunting was compatible with other PRNS management goals. As with fishing and marine collecting, the California Department of Fish and Game held the responsibility to manage game animal populations, and to determine hunting seasons, take limits, and license requirements. Of course, as long as private landowners still held title to their property, they had the same right to hunt as any other California resident, restricted only by state regulations.

The new NPS category system attempted to toss a blanket federal policy regarding hunting over the decision making of individual administrators at Point Reyes. At the same time that Udall called for the special committee to work out the new operational categories for NPS sites, he also initiated a special advisory board on wildlife management to discuss and determine wildlife management policy for the cluster of NRA sites. Stemming from the board’s 1963 report, the NPS issued “Wildlife Management Policy—National Recreation Areas,” in March 1965, which stated: “Public hunting and

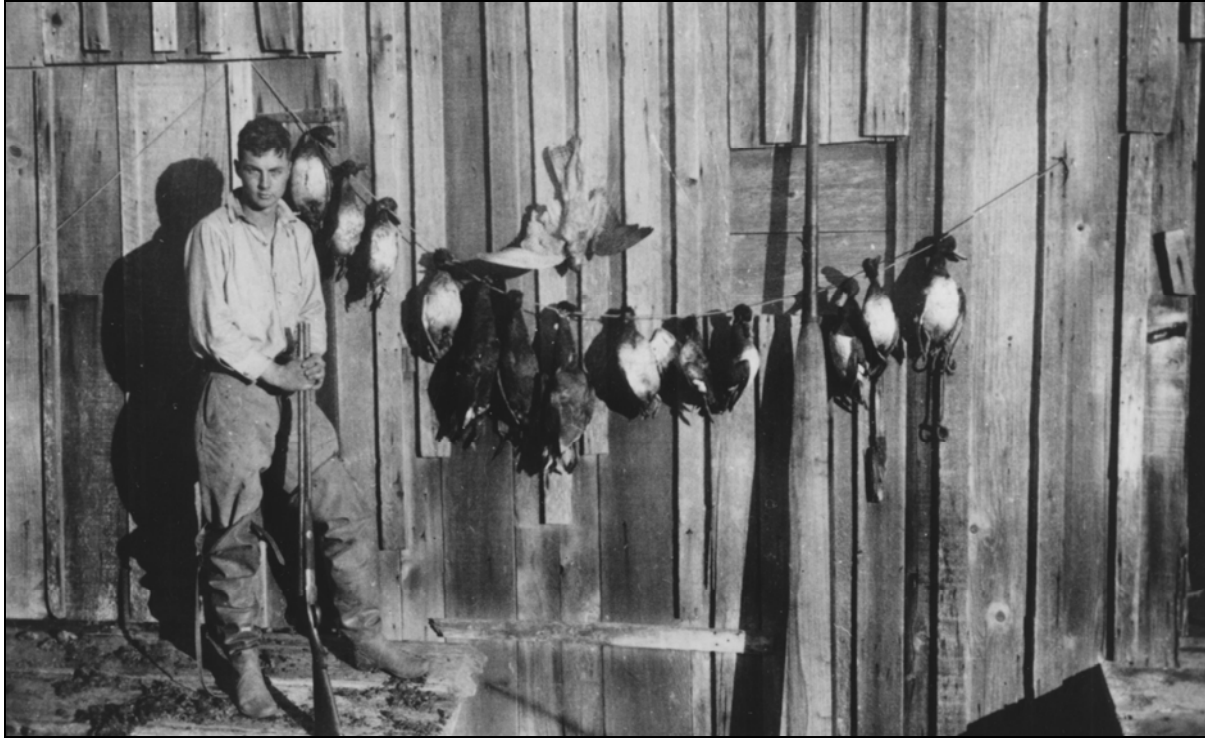
fishing are resource uses which are desirable and compatible with fulfilling the mission of the national recreation areas administered by the National Park Service.”¹³⁸

The regional office and PRNS’s first managers seemed to understand that the general sentiment among seashore supporters and Marin County residents (exclusive of peninsula ranchers) was opposed to hunting within the seashore’s boundaries. Growing recognition of the biological values of the Point Reyes area, particularly the wildlife found in the estuaries, led first to limits and then to bans on hunting in those locations. The initial Point Reyes Bird Observatory survey of Point Reyes tidal areas in 1965 helped decision making, as it did in regard to the out-of-scale recreational developments proposed for Limantour Spit. The administration’s first step in protecting these areas was to prohibit hunting of waterfowl and sea birds on estuary lands at PRNS. However, the policy, as of 1969, still allowed hunting on private tidal land.¹³⁹

Momentum was building toward a complete ban on hunting at the national seashore. In 1971, the director of Fish and Game acknowledged that public opinion was opposed to hunting there.¹⁴⁰ By that time, hunting was prohibited on all federally owned land on the peninsula. In an interagency meeting, the state and NPS agreed to make Abbott’s Lagoon, Drakes Estero, and Limantour Estero off-limits to waterfowl hunting, regardless of ownership status. The agencies also attempted to reach a more comprehensive plan for hunting throughout the peninsula. By then, PRNS administrators also had to balance the requirements of hunters and other recreational users. The number of hikers had far outpaced NPS expectations for this type of recreation. More than 200,000 visitors tramped Point Reyes trails in 1970. Much of the hiking took place when the weather was at its best at Point Reyes: in the fall, during hunting season. How then, to maintain hiker safety if hunting was allowed? Superintendent John Sansing urged that they take concrete steps to ensure hikers’ well being during that time of year. He also wanted to begin formal studies to determine whether deer hunting would be necessary to keep the deer population on peninsula in check.¹⁴¹

Successful discussions at the September meeting with Fish and Game officials produced new restrictions. On October 1, 1971, seashore management announced that all federally owned waters within PRNS were closed to hunting. The press release emphasized that the regulations were meant to protect the outstanding biological values of the coastal area. It cited PRBO studies showing that the estuaries and lagoons were sanctuaries for 110 species of migrating waterfowl, including the world’s largest known population of black brant.¹⁴² In addition, the announcement noted these shoreline areas provided opportunities for such recreational activities as hiking, bird-watching, canoeing, and nature study.

When the NPS resumed land acquisition in 1971, purchase of ranch lands also put an end to most hunting that had taken place on private land. This was, however, a difficult proposition for ranchers who had sold their land to the government but reserved the right to continue working and living on that land. Since hunting had always been a part of ranching life, many ranchers found the restriction irksome. To help soften the immediate effect of the ban, Sansing made written agreements with particular ranchers during purchase negotiations that allowed them to continue hunting until the end of that year’s deer season, even if they sold out before then.¹⁴³



Record No. 53510, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Fred Cushing poses with a string of downed birds at Duck Cabin, Point Reyes 'N' Ranch, ca. 1930s.
Photograph by John Cushing.

Most ranchers, however, remained dissatisfied with the hunting policy. Leland S. Murphy recalled that his father moved the family off the ranch, in part, because he had lost his long-held hunting rights. Hunting was part of what originally enticed Leland to buy the Home Ranch from Julia Shafter Hamilton in 1929. Friends had taken him to the peninsula on a quail-hunting trip; in the midst of the trip, he made his offer to buy the ranch, which had a hunt club on its grounds.¹⁴⁴ The NPS and California Fish and Game department regulation that usurped the senior Murphy's hunting privileges left him with a bitter taste in his mouth.¹⁴⁵

New regulations and land acquisition appeared to have resolved the main issues regarding hunting within PRNS boundaries by 1972. Hunting would resurface as an important topic of discussion (for much the same reason it had in the 1950s at Grand Teton National Park) when ungulate overpopulation became a concern in decades to follow.

LAND ACQUISITION CRISIS AND THE "SAVE OUR SEASHORE" CAMPAIGN

In the midst of tackling a multitude of management tasks during the mid- and late 1960s, the single, overriding issue for seashore staff and supporters remained the unfinished business of land acquisition. By the end of the decade, several outside threats to the seashore had raised the stakes tremendously. The NPS delivered a huge blow to the hopes of conservationists and seashore backers when it announced the Park Service plan to sell Point Reyes land to developers, who would be allowed to build a private residential community within the middle of the seashore's boundaries. This plan, along with private development threats, returned many of the activists and groups involved in the original authorization campaign to action, this time to protect the national seashore they had

helped create. The result was the “Save Our Seashore” (SOS) campaign, a genuine grassroots effort to stop private development and prod Congress into appropriating the funds necessary to complete the seashore as legislators and supporters had envisioned it.

A “Patchwork Park” By 1969, the entire PRNS, as a viable unit of the national park system, appeared to be at risk. Despite garnering an additional \$5 million from Congress in 1967 to purchase land acquired via condemnation proceedings, a significant percentage of the proposed national seashore was still in private hands. Moreover, the long, seemingly futile battle to obtain the remaining acreage had emboldened real estate developers seeking to purchase the land themselves. As time passed, owners of many of the inholdings began to consider subdividing or selling to developers. A 1969 *New York Times* article aptly described Point Reyes as a “Patchwork Park in Trouble,” and explained the many difficulties park administrators and supporters faced. The article’s author, Gladwin Hill, observed that because of financial and administrative problems, “Its future as one of the nation’s choicest preserves hangs in the balance at this moment.”¹⁴⁶ Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel lamented that chances to acquire seashore land were being missed daily, and “once lost, these opportunities can seldom be retrieved.”¹⁴⁷

A primary threat to the integrity of the national seashore was the proposed development of Lake Ranch. A. W. Sweet submitted to Marin County his plans to subdivide the ranch into forty-acre residential tracts, which he planned to sell at approximately \$3,000 per acre. The purchasers could then subdivide the tracts into ten-acre parcels, with further subdivisions possible within the bounds of the Marin County government’s lot-split ordinances.¹⁴⁸ Sweet had previously attempted to exchange the ranch for out-of-state timberland, and later offered to sell the same Lake Ranch property to the government at \$2,500 per acre. As described earlier, 3,000-plus acres of scenic coastal bluffs, extensive beachfront, and thick forests, which stretched over the width of the peninsula, made Lake Ranch one of the most valuable pieces of property within the proposed national seashore.

The creation of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1964 gave NPS officials and seashore backers hope that the disparate pieces of the seashore, including Lake Ranch, could finally be stitched together.¹⁴⁹ Congress set up the fund so federal agencies could purchase land for new parks. They bankrolled it with money from user fees charged at federal recreation areas, sales of surplus government property, and the federal gasoline tax. A 1968 amendment to the act infused the Land and Water Conservation Fund with revenue from offshore oil and gas leases.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the backlog of authorized land acquisition meant individual units would still have to “fight” for appropriations.

In the first half of 1967, California Senator George L. Murphy, and Representatives Donald H. Clausen and Jeffery Cohelan, introduced bills requesting Congress to authorize up to \$38 million from the Land and Water Fund to complete the land acquisition at Point Reyes National Seashore.¹⁵¹ These bills proved unsuccessful, but, a year later, the same cast of players, joined by Senator Cranston, repeated their efforts during the 91st Congress in 1969. Clausen, along with his twenty-seven California colleagues in the House, introduced the subsequent bill, H.R. 3786.

The House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, under the unwavering direction of Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, held hearings on H.R. 3786 in May 1969. By that time, legislators and NPS officials knew the financial situation had worsened considerably with the new administration in the White House. Several months

earlier, President Richard M. Nixon announced he was slashing, by 40 percent, the amount of money to be released from the Land and Water Conservation Fund; and his proposed, trimmed-down budget included no funding for Point Reyes. Nixon's announced cut and the expectation of further budget austerity to come indicated that an intense struggle to acquire land for the seashore still lay ahead. Despite numerous presentations and statements that overwhelmingly supported adoption of the bill, Aspinall surmised that any action on H.R. 3786 was moot until the budget deadlock was loosened. As the gatekeeper in firm control of the House Interior Committee, Aspinall could prevent the bill from ever reaching the House floor. In the meantime, Budget Director Robert P. Mayo held tight the purse strings to the Land and Water Conservation Fund. He refused to release money for NPS land acquisition, even if Congress should pass legislation authorizing the spending. Nixon did not challenge Mayo's stance. The White House, meanwhile, proposed changes to the bill that reduced the amount of money for land acquisition at Point Reyes to \$28 million, \$10 million less than the amount needed in the current real estate market.

Marin County Involvement Even as the push for funding at the national level stalled, the Marin County Board of Supervisors, which had originally opposed authorization of the national seashore in the early 1960s, reversed itself and gave its much-needed support to creation and protection of PRNS. In the meantime, the supervisors used a bureaucratic vehicle, the 1967 West Marin Master Plan, to help slow or prevent new construction and real estate subdivision within the unpurchased areas of the park.

Before the county master plan was amended in 1969, it did not cover areas in the new national seashore. But as land acquisition problems continued and developers proposed subdivisions and made requests for construction permits, county officials understood that they did not have solid ground to stand on in allowing or disallowing permits. To resolve this lack of authority, Marin County implemented an "interim zoning plan" for the proposed national seashore lands, Ordinance No. 1735, which prohibited new residential or commercial development that might conflict with the "contemplated Master Plan and zoning proposals" until the plan could be updated.¹⁵² Violations were punishable by a fine of up to \$500, imprisonment for up to 180 days, or both. Structures erected or land operated within the "Point Reyes National Seashore Interim Zone" that ran contrary to ordinance provisions were subject to abatement and removal.

But the county could only go so far in limiting private development on the peninsula. Although the commissioners favored keeping all private land within the proposed seashore in agricultural use or as open space, their legal staff said zoning regulations prevented them from acting on the idea. Marin County counsel Douglas J. Maloney described the problem when he testified in May 1969 at the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation hearing on H.R. 3786:

The highest and best use of this land is essentially urban; and its fair market value reflects this fact. On the other hand, its agricultural value is minimal. Any zoning ordinance which restricts the value of private property to this severe degree would clearly violate the California and Federal Constitutions Likewise, the law in California is quite explicit concerning the conditions which must exist before land use can be frozen pending public acquisition.¹⁵³

Maloney added that within those legal bounds the county had, “gone to the limit of our power to preserve this area, and enhance acquisition of the Seashore.” Now it was time for the federal government to take action, lest the park continue “to totter precariously in the winds of uncertainty.”¹⁵⁴

New NPS Plan for Point Reyes Mounting budget and development pressures eventually prompted the NPS to propose a radical solution. At the May 1969 House Interior Committee hearing, Director Hartzog presented a plan that would have the NPS purchase land on the peninsula, turn around and sell that land to real-estate developers, and then use the recouped money to consolidate the remaining patchwork of parcels into a unified, albeit significantly smaller, national seashore.¹⁵⁵ He estimated the plan would net \$10 million, money the government would use to purchase holdings adjacent to tracts that were already in government hands. Hartzog called for the NPS to sell a total of 9,208 acres of land on Inverness Ridge, all within legislated boundaries of the PRNS, and permit developers to subdivide those ranch lands into private residential communities and sites for “limited” commercial use.¹⁵⁶ In effect, Hartzog proposed that the NPS instigate and oversee the creation of the very thing—intrusive residential and commercial development—that the Point Reyes National Seashore campaign and 1962 Point Reyes Act sought to prevent.

Hartzog tried to cast the sell-off plan in a positive light, explaining that the private development zone would be restricted to “low-density” housing, and that all new residential and commercial developments would remain in keeping with the overall objectives of the national seashore. The NPS would reconfigure the seashore into three zones—each with separate goals and objectives. In place of Wirth’s failed pastoral zone concept, Hartzog presented a sugarcoated version of the development zone as a new sort of “doughnut hole” within the seashore’s boundaries.¹⁵⁷

Outside the NPS hierarchy, however, sketches and designs that landscape architects and land planners put to paper looked anything but low-density or compatible with the objectives of the national seashore. Katy Miller Johnson, Clem Miller’s widow, and Bill Duddleson, Miller’s former legislative assistant, were at the hearing and got a look at the plans. Katy Johnson remembered that the visual impact of the drawings, which included designs for golf courses, roads, parking lots, and a large housing development, left her “staggered.”¹⁵⁸ She and Duddleson considered it the beginning of what would become the Save Our Seashore campaign.¹⁵⁹ She immediately composed a letter to California Representative Harold T. Johnson, a longtime friend and supporter of the national seashore, to describe her reaction to the new NPS proposal for Point Reyes. She told him: “At this exact point of the crisis in the land acquisition program, the Seashore faces a wholly new threat posed by its guardian, the Interior Department.”¹⁶⁰

From that moment on, Katy Johnson began lobbying members of Congress while simultaneously recruiting backers in Marin County and the Bay Area to begin the fight to keep Point Reyes National Seashore whole. She launched a letter-writing campaign, sending entreaties to each member of Congress and to past and current allies to alert them to the danger that lay ahead. She asked Peter Behr, a former member of the Marin County Board of Supervisors who was contemplating a run for the state senate, to become chairman of the nascent seashore campaign. He agreed and set to work. Other individuals in key roles of local conservation organizations also contributed their leadership and energy to the campaign. They included Jerry Friedman, head of Environmental Action Committee of West Marin, Harold Gregg, president of Marin Conservation League, and Mike McCloskey, Executive Director of the Sierra Club.¹⁶¹

Here, connections forged earlier in the campaign to authorize PRNS enabled the creation and success of the SOS campaign. Conversations that began in the homes of a few local conservation leaders were carried into White House offices and onto the floors of the House and Senate. Activists in West Marin, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Washington, D.C., all had a hand in turning the tide that threatened to wash away the seashore as originally conceived and legislated. Threats the developers and, perhaps surprisingly, the NPS hierarchy posed prompted an already organized and dedicated group of Bay Area activists to launch a campaign to secure the integrity of “their” seashore.

Save Our Seashore

When Peter Behr took charge in 1969 of the political work in California, he bestowed the name Save Our Seashore (SOS) on the Point Reyes campaign, a phrase “stolen from an earlier “Seashore off Sausalito” movement in East Marin county. He also borrowed political tactics drawn from his experience as chair of the “Alliance to Save San Francisco Bay” campaign that had targeted state legislators in Sacramento.¹⁶² One such strategy—a massive petition-signing operation—was at the heart of the SOS effort in California. Behr chose the petition approach because not enough time remained to mount an effective letter-writing campaign. He believed (correctly, as it turned out) that a well-publicized petition-drive would draw needed media attention, heighten public awareness about the urgency of the issue, and provide weighty, concrete evidence of broad citizen support for completion of the Point Reyes National Seashore as it was originally conceived. Because it was a last-ditch effort, Behr decided the petitions should target the president himself. Harold Johnson likewise suggested the same strategy to Katy Johnson. SOS attempted to appeal to Nixon’s political vulnerability on environmental issues, and to his desire for stronger voter support in California, not only for himself, but also for Republican Senator Murphy, who faced a tough reelection battle that fall.

Unlike the original authorization campaign, firm citizen support within Marin County bolstered the SOS operation from the outset. Two of the primary opponents to the initial proposals for a national seashore at Point Reyes, local ranchers and the Marin County Board of Supervisors, supported the SOS undertaking and sent representatives (Boyd Stewart and Louis Baar, respectively) to testify at congressional hearings on the land-acquisition legislation. SOS was also a bipartisan affair. Behr and Clausen, the county’s representative in Congress, were Republicans, as was Murphy, who cosponsored the PRNS spending bill in the Senate. On the other side of the legislative aisle, Cranston, Cohelan, and many of Katy Johnson’s allies brought strong Democratic backing to the Point Reyes campaign. Johnson’s fervent calls to action engendered citizen support on local and national levels, culled support from both political parties, recruited organizers who were veterans in conservation struggles, and enticed campaign leaders who were political insiders and outsiders. Clausen, though not known as a conservationist, became a steadfast worker for the new legislation and an important ally in Congress. Point Reyes was part of his congressional district, and he knew that conservationists and seashore supporters composed a significant segment of his constituency. He also, according to Stewart, enjoyed a good rapport with ranchers on the peninsula and in West Marin, based on his own ranching background.

Between May and November of 1969, this collaboration of conservation, environmental, and community groups worked tirelessly to secure the appropriations needed to complete the seashore and block commercial development. Behr was a master publicist; every chance he found to garner media attention, he made the most of it. The iconic image of the entire seashore campaign was a photo of an exuberant and astounded-looking Behr,

standing next to tall stacks of signed SOS petitions.¹⁶³ The image was used in SOS promotional literature and accompanied many of the regional newspaper accounts of the campaign. Each new clipping or photo was duly forwarded to Washington, and distributed to Congress and the White House. SOS organizers resurrected the *Island in Time* book, film, and poster, making sure that every key legislator received a copy of Gilliam’s book. The scenic images of Point Reyes in those media carried added importance because, unlike during the authorization campaign, there was not time to fly legislators and government officials to California to witness, in person, the beauty and unique qualities of the peninsula.

POINT REYES AND PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT

Probably no park area anywhere has gone through more traumas or has depended more on the work of legions of volunteers than this one. Part of the turmoil stems from the fact that Point Reyes and its Atlantic coast counterpart, Cape Cod National Seashore, were the first units of the National Park System to be created by Government purchase of private property. Previous parks had been carved out of the public domain or, like nearby Muir Woods National Monument, had been receive as gifts. Even after the Point Reyes legislation was enacted, private activities continued – many of them destructive to the purposes of the park.

... Preface to *Island in Time*, 1962

The SOS campaign was based on the notion that there was enormous citizen support—voter support—behind the Point Reyes legislation (H.R. 3847) and full appropriations package. But the campaign faced an uphill battle. Even if Congress and the Budget Bureau agreed to make funds available from the Land and Water Conservation Fund, Point Reyes was but one among many NPS units seeking money to purchase land. In 1967, more than thirty NPS sites created since 1961 still required additional appropriations to complete land acquisition; the total for all of the projected land purchases for the park system was an estimated \$455 million.¹⁶⁴

“Cancel a Space Shot”

When Clausen’s office delivered the 450,000 signed SOS petitions to the White House, it finally convinced White House staff assistant John C. Whitaker that it was time for the administration to change tack on Point Reyes. Whitaker said that the president would get “run over by Congress on this one and we should therefore pick up the political credit and do it in the most dramatic way possible.”¹⁶⁵ Whitaker told John Ehrlichman that of the \$60 million requested for NPS land purchases in FY1970 (for Point Reyes, Cape Cod, and Padre Island national seashores, and Lake Mead National Recreation Area), funding a site in California would carry “much more political clout” than in Massachusetts, Texas, or Nevada.¹⁶⁶ He also emphasized that the “political pressure on this one is extremely high,” citing the fact that Clausen alone had thus far received 250,000 signed SOS petitions to be delivered to the president. Once the White House decided the political benefit was worth the cost, finding necessary funding was no longer an insurmountable problem. Whitaker reviewed several possible scenarios that could supply the necessary funds in the budget. Indeed, Whitaker by then believed funding for Point Reyes was worth such political clout, he suggested that if that year’s \$192.9 billion budget level was already topped out, “The money should come from some other program, e.g. cancel a space shot.”¹⁶⁷ Obtaining funding to purchase the additional land for Point Reyes had become more politically expedient than financing the next Apollo moon mission.

Key players in the spending debate—Murphy, Aspinall, and Clausen—were invited to meet with Nixon and Whitaker at the White House, so the administration could float its plan to fund the Point Reyes proposal. Once the meeting was underway, Aspinall, with the larger interests of the National Park system in mind, balked at a plan that would fund land acquisition only at Point Reyes. He proposed, instead, that the White House agree to spend \$200 million out of the Land and Water Conservation Fund to acquire land at several other sites as well as Point Reyes. In other words, Aspinall countered the president’s offer: Nixon would have to pay a price to garner desired political plaudits for “saving” Point Reyes. The price was funding for the other three sites that topped the NPS land acquisition list.¹⁶⁸ According to Whitaker, Aspinall warned that he would refuse to let his committee authorize any new NPS sites until he received assurances that Cape Cod, Padre Island, and Lake Mead also would get their needed appropriations.¹⁶⁹ The White House soon acquiesced, with the attitude that the budget office would “find [the money] somewhere,” held in reserve for some contingency or another.¹⁷⁰ The push to gain funding for Point Reyes thus helped pry open the vaults of the Land and Water Conservation Fund to bankroll spending on other national park sites.

Even after the White House changed its position on H.R. 3786, there remained the final task of persuading the Budget Bureau to release money from the fund, which would, in turn, give them Aspinall’s support to steer the bill through the House Interior Committee. The spending deadlock was due, in part, to the personality clash between the president and the budget director; since taking office, Nixon had become increasingly annoyed and exasperated with Mayo. Ehrlichman recounted that by November, as the White House raced to make its final budget decisions, Nixon simply refused to deal directly with Mayo, freezing him out of the budget-development process.¹⁷¹ Having bypassed Mayo, the White House released its federal budget, which included the spending measure for Point Reyes and other NPS sites. For seashore supporters, the political tide had turned.

With White House support secured, SOS backers had cleared what they perceived to be the biggest hurdle in their six-month dash to protect Point Reyes. To their surprise, however, another obstacle quickly blocked their path. John P. Saylor, Republican congressman from Pennsylvania and a supporter of national park legislation throughout his career, announced his intention to hold up the spending bill in committee at all costs. Saylor, ranking Republican on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, objected to the “deal” struck between the White House and Aspinall, because it seemed to be a purely political maneuver. He argued that it set the precedent of making selection of new parklands a partisan process. He thought it unseemly for a Republican president from California to blatantly support a spending bill for a California park, at a time when another California Republican (Murphy) faced a close reelection battle for his Senate seat, and when the President’s own reelection campaign looked to California for its bonanza of electoral votes.¹⁷² Whitaker, in fact, had reminded Nixon and Murphy that they should not trumpet the Point Reyes decision as a boost for California’s economy, environment, or tourist appeal. Instead, they should focus attention on the rapid escalation of real estate prices in Marin County as the reason to put Point Reyes at the top of the appropriations list.¹⁷³ Saylor, for the time being, would have none of it, and wrote the minority opinion opposing the legislation in the committee’s report to Congress (H. Rpt. 91–785) on H.R. 3786.¹⁷⁴

Congressional Hearings and Debates On February 10, 1970, President Nixon’s “Special Message to Congress on Environmental Quality” announced his proposal to spend \$327 million, the full amount available that year, from the Land and Water Conservation Fund on parkland acquisition

and recreational facilities. The president explained his rationale as though these were long-held views of his own:

Plain common sense argues that we give greater priority to acquiring now the lands that will be so greatly needed in a few years. Good sense also argues that the Federal Government itself, as the nation's largest landholder, should address itself more imaginatively to the question of making optimum use of its own holdings in a recreation-hungry era.¹⁷⁵

Nixon then announced his intent to provide full funding of the \$327 million available through the Land and Water Conservation Fund in fiscal 1971, "for additional park and recreational facilities, with increased emphasis on locations that can be easily reached by the people in crowded urban areas."¹⁷⁶

This was the news Saylor needed to hear: he reversed his position opposing spending for Point Reyes and got behind the bill. Saylor explained that he had not been against the Point Reyes proposal, *per se*, rather he had objected to "picking out Point Reyes and authorizing its acquisition in preference to all the other projects that have been authorized by Congresses in years gone by and that also need immediate financing."¹⁷⁷ With Saylor's support, the House debated and passed the bill by a voice vote the same day they received the President's message.

The House bill included a supplemental funding request of \$7 million to acquire immediately the two most important and threatened parcels at Point Reyes, Pierce Point Ranch and Lake Ranch. It also included an amendment that Representative William Ryan of New York had inserted during the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee deliberations for their report, which provided "that no freehold, leasehold, or lesser interest in any lands hereafter acquired [after April 3, 1970] within the boundaries of Point Reyes National Seashore shall be conveyed for residential or commercial purposes," except for public accommodations, facilities, and services of a concessionaire operating under the authority of stringent federal guidelines.¹⁷⁸ During the subsequent House debate on the bill, Ryan explained the purpose of his amendment was, "to insure the integrity of the seashore and to prevent the Department of the Interior from selling land within the Point Reyes National Seashore for private development."¹⁷⁹

**The Ryan
Amendment**

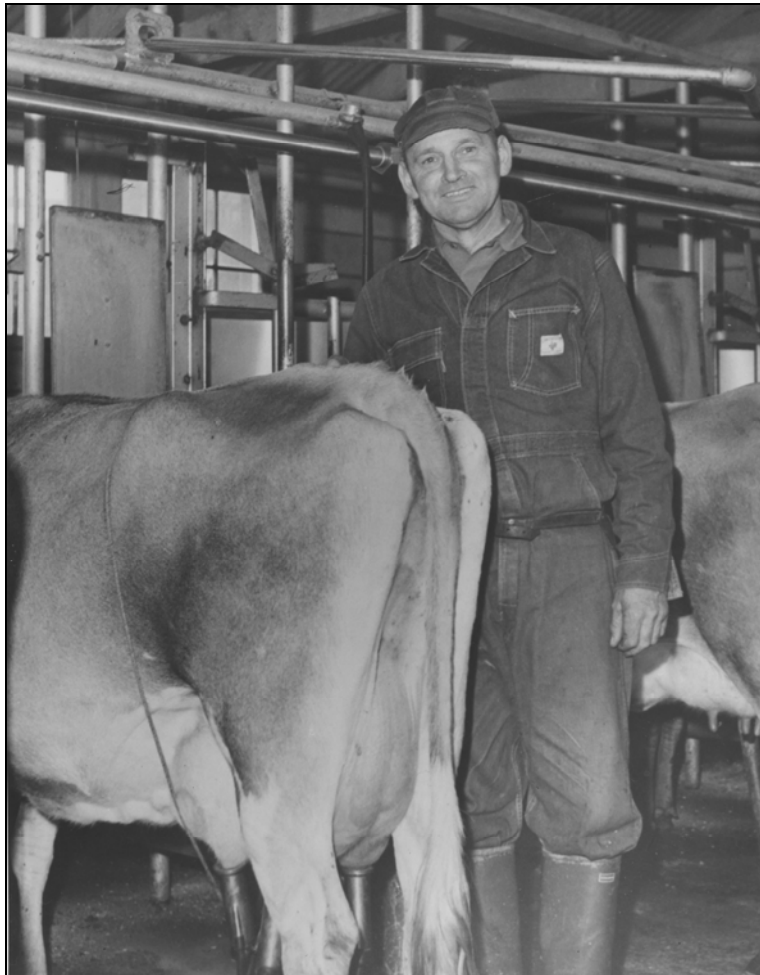
Ryan's amendment, which remained in the bill's final version and passed into law, was a reaction to Hartzog's sell-off-for-subdivision scheme of the previous year. Ryan, who was present at the subcommittee hearing when Hartzog first broached his plan, railed against the audacity of the director's strategy:

The proposal to sell the land to private owners for development is clearly inconsistent with the intent of Congress when it authorized the Point Reyes National Seashore in 1962. It would deplete the seashore by one-sixth, allowing for the resale of the land to developers who would build homes, shopping centers, and other facilities totally inconsistent with the purpose of the park. . . . Congress must neither countenance nor sanction the carving out of enclaves of private privilege within the national park system.¹⁸⁰

By reporting on the bill with his amendment, Ryan believed that the committee had set a precedent that would protect not only Point Reyes, but would also "preserve a large part

of our land [the national park system] unfettered from commercial development for the benefit of everyone, in this decade and in the future.¹⁸¹

The bill moved on to the Senate, where a voice vote passed the bill on March 17, 1970.¹⁸² President Nixon signed H.R. 3847 into law on April 3, 1970, signaling the certain completion of the entire national seashore and success for the SOS campaign. The resulting Public Law 91-223 amended the PRNS Authorizing Act, increasing the spending ceiling for land acquisition to \$57 million.¹⁸³



Record No. 58560. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Even with automatic milking machines, as shown here on the McClure Ranch, the sons and daughters of the peninsula's dairy ranchers were generally not eager to take on the long hours and arduous work of running the family business.

The government began new land acquisition later that year. PRNS acquisitions thereafter went quickly and, in most cases, smoothly. The NPS assigned William Kriz, from the San Francisco Regional Office, to work in San Rafael as the land acquisition officer, directing NPS land appraisals, negotiations, and purchases of property at Point Reyes. Negotiations for some properties hit a harsh note when Sansing, starting at his new post as superintendent in the midst of acquisitions, mistakenly informed several ranchers they would have to vacate their property once they sold to the government. Brief conflicts ensued, mainly because the regional office failed to brief Sansing comprehensively on the acquisition process, and because he did not conduct adequate research of his own before taking his post.¹⁸⁴ Once Sansing understood the legislative history behind the acquisitions, he defused the conflicts.

Former Department of the Interior Regional Field Solicitor Ralph Mihan recalled that there generally was some resistance to selling among the individual ranch owners,

but they eventually found the rationale to sell their land sufficiently compelling. "When they said no," Mihan said, "invariably they would say yes."¹⁸⁵ He summarized the outlook of many Point Reyes ranchers:

It becomes pretty economically attractive to the rancher . . . when the government is saying out there, 'here's a check for a million bucks to go buy your land.' [Rancher thinks] 'I've got to get up at 3:00 in the morning to milk those cows for the rest of my life. Sometimes I can't sell

the milk, sometimes there's a bad year, sometimes there's a flood on the market . . . you know, that's [the purchase offer] not so bad.¹⁸⁶

Mihan noted that many older farmers and ranchers loved their way of life, but their children were not “enamored of having to get up at 3:00 in the morning to milk the cows,” especially when nearby cities offered more opportunities with less physical toil.¹⁸⁷ By choosing to sell and keep a reservation, they could continue farming and ranching for up to, and possibly beyond, twenty-five years. They could also put the purchase proceeds in the bank and use the interest to pay debts during lean years or to make improvements to their facilities. Some Point Reyes ranchers also recognized they could not keep competing with larger operations in California and simply quit the business. As a result, the government had by 1972 purchased virtually all of the land needed to complete the seashore, enabling the Department of the Interior officially to establish Point Reyes National Seashore on September 16 of that year.

Significance and Legacy of the SOS Campaign Bill Duddleson called the SOS campaign a “citizen-action enterprise that succeeded far beyond the dreams of those who set it motion.”¹⁸⁸ Likewise, repercussions of the political and legislative battles for Point Reyes were felt far beyond the newly secured boundaries of PRNS. The push to fund land acquisition for Point Reyes had the immediate consequence of unlocking money in the Land and Water Conservation Fund for other NPS sites. The SOS endeavor also demonstrated the kind of political power the growing environmental movement could wield. The implications included an awareness and appreciation for environmentalism—as a political force—in the Nixon White House. It helped convince the president and other elected officials that they could make political hay if they positioned themselves in the environmental camp. The political payoff from the Nixon administration’s decision on Point Reyes helped pave the way to White House support for the authorization of Golden Gate National Recreation Area in 1972.¹⁸⁹

Throughout the ten-year period that followed authorization, the process of defining and redefining the seashore—a central theme of this history—was readily apparent. The success of the SOS campaign and enactment of P.L. 91-223 capped a decade of events that confirmed the status of PRNS as it was originally envisioned. The rejection of both the private and government pro-development proposals, which some NPS officials may have perceived as being consistent with the directives of the recreation area category, confirmed that the seashore’s primary mission was protection and preservation of the peninsula’s natural world for aesthetic, scientific, and recreational purposes. The recognition that not all recreational and public use developments were appropriate at Point Reyes indicated that the tripartite division the Park Service had delineated in 1964 did not always apply to the management and planning of each unique NPS unit. These events and their aftermath pointed to new directions for seashore administrators in the decades to come. NPS officials would soon put new definitions of the seashore to paper in the development of the seashore’s new general management plan and the creation of a designated wilderness area, to be discussed in the following chapter.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

¹ Assistant Secretary John A. Carver Jr. to George Collins, Conservation Associates, October 11, 1962, Parks and Sites–Point Reyes Files, Box 333, Central Classified Files 1959–63, (hereafter CCF) RG-48, National Archives-II, College Park, Maryland (hereafter NARA-II).

² National Park Service, “Tracts Conveyed between 01/01/1950 and 05/20/03 for Point Reyes National Seashore,” Table, April 20, 2003, Decimal L1425, Land Acquisition Priority List, Lands Files L14-L36, CCF, Point Reyes National Seashore (PRNS). Note: PRNS will be used to indicate locations of active files or other documents in the current offices of the national seashore. The abbreviation PRA refers to the Point Reyes National Seashore Archives, located in the Red Barn at Bear Valley.

³ D. S. [Dewey] Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula: A History of the Dairy and Beef Ranches within Point Reyes National Seashore, 1834–1992,” Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, Point Reyes National Seashore, July 1993, 333–36. His stay on the ranch was interrupted when Heims, a German immigrant, was arrested and placed in a federal detention camp for several years during the war.

⁴ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 335.

⁵ Conrad Wirth to Secretary of Interior, January 10, 1962, Parks and Sites–Point Reyes Files, Box 333, CCF, RG 48, NARA-II.

⁶ “Meeting with Bruce Kelham and Francis Hutchens (Attorney), Doris Leonard, Dick Leonard, and George Collins at NPS Office on June 8, 1960,” Meeting Minutes, Folder Bruce Kelham Mtg. Notes, Box 1, Administrative History Files, PORE-8053, PRA.

⁷ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 220–21.

⁸ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 222–23.

⁹ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 223.

¹⁰ National Park Service, “Tracts Conveyed between 01/01/1950 and 05/20/03.”

¹¹ National Park Service, “Tracts Conveyed between 01/01/1950 and 05/20/03.”

¹² Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 179.

¹³ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 345–46.

¹⁴ *Taylor Grazing Act, U.S. Code*, volume 43, section 8(b), 315.

¹⁵ United States Comptroller General, *Report on Examination into Certain Proposed Land Exchanges for the Point Reyes National Seashore in California*, prepared for the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, September 1966), Government Documents Collection, Northern Arizona University, 5–7, 48.

¹⁶ Carver to Collins, October 11, 1962.

¹⁷ Collins to Carl Gustafson, President, American Conservation Association, October 5, 1962, Parks and Sites–Point Reyes Files, Box 333, CCF, RG 48, NARA-II.

¹⁸ Collins to Gustafson, October 5, 1962, 2.

¹⁹ Collins to Gustafson, October 5, 1962, 5.

²⁰ Comptroller General, *Report on Examination into Certain Proposed Land Exchanges*, 8–11.

²¹ Secretary Stewart Udall to Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of House Committee on Interior Affairs, November 16, 1965, Point Reyes Folder Pt. 1, Box 214, Parks and Sites, CCF 1964–68, RG 48, NARA-II.

²² Comptroller General, *Report on Examination into Certain Proposed Land Exchanges*, 41. The only other successful exchange netted 300 additional acres for the seashore. In May 1966, Point Reyes landowners had filed twenty-six applications to exchange a total of 9,300 acres of peninsula land.

²³ Comptroller General, *Report on Examination into Certain Proposed Land Exchanges*, 42.

²⁴ Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Hearings on S. 2428, a Bill to Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California and For Other Purposes*; 87th Cong., 1st sess., March 28, 30, and 31, 1961 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1961), 69.

²⁵ *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2^d sess., July 23, 1962, 108, pt. 2: 14414.

²⁶ Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula,” 221–22.

²⁷ Lady Bird Johnson, Dedication Speech–Point Reyes National Seashore, October 20, 1966.

²⁸ Stanley A. Cain to Wirth, November 7, 1962, General Correspondence Files, Box 8, Wirth Files, RG 79, NARA-II.

²⁹ Stanley A. Cain, Special Subcommittee Chair, to Harold P. Fabian, Chair of Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, December 6, 1962, with attached recommendations of December 5, 1962, Box 9, Wirth Files.

- ³⁰ Stanley Cain, “Opening Statement, Special Subcommittee. . . December 5, 1962,” Box 9, Wirth Files.
- ³¹ Cain to Fabian, December 5, 1962.
- ³² Public Law 85–470.
- ³³ Hal K. Rothman, *The Park that Creates Its Own Weather: An Administrative History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area*, online rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2002), <http://www.nps.gov/goga/history/pdf/hist-admin-2nd-edition.pdf>, 10–11. Rothman’s revised administrative history was subsequently published as *The New Urban Park: Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Civic Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).
- ³⁴ Ronald A. Foresta, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), 176.
- ³⁵ President, Executive Order No. 11017, April 27, 1962.
- ³⁶ George B. Hartzog, Jr., *Battling for the National Parks* (Mt. Kisco, N.Y.: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988), 101.
- ³⁷ Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 101.
- ³⁸ Recreation Advisory Council, “Federal Executive Branch Policy Governing the Selection, Establishment, and Administration of National Recreation Areas,” Circular No. 1, March 26, 1963, in Department of the Interior, *Administrative Policies for Recreation Areas, National Seashores, National Lakeshores, National Parkways, National Scenic Riverways of the National Park System*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1968), 69–70.
- ³⁹ Udall to Director, National Park Service, July 10, 1964, “Memorandum re: management of the National Park System,” reprinted in *Administrative Policies for Recreation Areas of the National Park System*, 64–66.
- ⁴⁰ Hartzog, *Battling for the National Parks*, 101.
- ⁴¹ Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Compilation of the Administrative Policies for the National Recreation Areas, National Seashores, National Lakeshores, National Parkways, National Scenic Riverways (Recreational Area Category) of the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1968).
- ⁴² *Compilation of the Administrative Policies for the National Recreation Areas*, 10.
- ⁴³ Dwight F. Rettie, *Our National Park System: Caring for America’s Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 42–43.
- ⁴⁴ Doug Nadeau, interview by Paul Sadin, December 3, 2004, San Rafael, California, audiotape recording, HRA Administrative History Files, Point Reyes Archives (hereafter PRA).
- ⁴⁵ *National Park System General Authorities Act*, Public Law 91–383, 16 USC 1a-1; and Lary M. Dilsaver, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: a History of Conservation Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 152.
- ⁴⁶ Rettie, *Our National Park System*, 43.
- ⁴⁷ Public Law 95–250; 16 USC 1a-1.
- ⁴⁸ Stephanie S. Toothman, “Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas of the National Park System,” *Public Historian* 9 (Spring 1987): 65–76, quotation on 66.
- ⁴⁹ Until 1972, the park planning document was referred to as a *master plan* (MP); the term then changed to *general management plan* (GMP).
- ⁵⁰ Nadeau, interview.
- ⁵¹ William Duddleson, “The Miracle of Point Reyes,” *Living Wilderness* (Summer 1971): 15–24, 20.
- ⁵² NPS, “Master Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore, California,” Visitor Use Plan, Drawing NS-PR 3021, June 7, 1963, PRA Map Collection, sheet 12.
- ⁵³ NPS, “Point Reyes National Seashore (Proposed) Construction,” File D22 Construction Program 1963–64, Box 2, Accession 76A713, Point Reyes Correspondence Files [hereafter PORE Files], RG 79 Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration-Pacific West Region, San Bruno, California (hereafter NARA-SB), 3.
- ⁵⁴ NPS, “Master Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore, California, Developed Area Narrative To Accompany Drawing No. NS-PR-3025-A, Limantour,” prepared by Franklin G. Collins, landscape architect, February 10, 1965, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, Box 2,

- Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 3. The original or a copy of architectural drawing NS-PR-3025-A has, not been found.
- ⁵⁵ NPS, “Master Plan, Point Reyes,” 3.
- ⁵⁶ NPS, “Master Plan, Point Reyes,” 3.
- ⁵⁷ NPS, “Master Plan, Point Reyes,” 4.
- ⁵⁸ NPS, “Parking, Beach and Picnic Development, Drakes Bay Beach, PRNS,” Preliminary Drawing/Site Plan, August 13, 1965, prepared by NPS Branch of Landscape Architecture, PRA.
- ⁵⁹ Leslie P. Arnberger to the Regional Director, Western Region, August 20, 1965, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB. Rangers found that the chain most frequently appeared where the road crossed the Lockhart property.
- ⁶⁰ Stanley Cain, Asst. Secretary of Interior, to Winfield Denton, Chair, House Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations, October 11, 1965, Point Reyes Folder Pt. 1, Box 214, Parks and Sites, CCF 1964–68, RG 48, NARA-II.
- ⁶¹ Cain to Denton, October 11, 1965.
- ⁶² Arnberger to Regional Director, August 20, 1965, 2.
- ⁶³ Leslie Arnberger to Director, Western Region, August 16, 1966, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁶⁴ Arnberger to Director, Western Region, August 16, 1966.
- ⁶⁵ Edward J. Kurtz to Regional Director, Western Office, December 6, 1967, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB.
- ⁶⁶ Kurtz to Regional Director, Western Office, December 6, 1967.
- ⁶⁷ R. B. Moore, Western Region Office, to Superintendent Kurtz, December 19, 1967, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB.
- ⁶⁸ National Park Service, “Planning Directive, Point Reyes National Seashore,” prepared by the Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC, May 1, 1970, File D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁶⁹ NPS, “Planning Directive, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2.
- ⁷⁰ John Sansing to Mrs. Edgar Wayburn, April 23, 1970, File D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, 1965–70, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB.
- ⁷¹ Robert Luntley, Chief, Office of Resource Planning, to Assistant Director, NPS, May 22, 1969, D18 File—Planning Progress and Master Plans, 1968–69, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, RG79, NARA-SB.
- ⁷² Luntley to Assistant Director, May 22, 1969.
- ⁷³ Luntley to Assistant Director, May 22, 1969.
- ⁷⁴ The Bureau of Public Roads report, “Reconnaissance Report on the Feasibility of Access to Point Reyes National Seashore,” is summarized in Edward Weinberg, Deputy Solicitor, Department of Interior, to Edwin Weisl, Jr., Asst. Attorney General, Department of Justice, August 2, 1965, Point Reyes Folder Pt. 1, Box 214, Parks and Sites, CCF 1964–68, RG 48, NARA-II, 3–4.
- ⁷⁵ Weinberg to Weisl, August 2, 1965, 2.
- ⁷⁶ Weinberg to Weisl, August 2, 1965, 2.
- ⁷⁷ Weinberg to Weisl, 4.
- ⁷⁸ Congress, *An Act to Amend the Act of September 13, 1962*, Public Law 666, 89th Congress, 2^d sess., October 15, 1966.
- ⁷⁹ Sansing to James W. Moorman, Executive Director, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, July 3, 1973, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 2, Accession 78-0001, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁸⁰ John L. Sansing, unpublished memoir, n.d., Superintendent’s Office Files, Administration Building, PORE, 12–13.
- ⁸¹ PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1972,” File A2621 Annual Reports–General, Box 1, Accession 79-78-0001, NPS Correspondence 1972–74 [hereafter PORE Files], RG 79, NARA-SB, 7.
- ⁸² Joseph C. Rumburg, Jr., Western Region Director, to Sen. Alan Cranston, n.d., ca. 1971, Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁸³ Cite.

- ⁸⁴ Robert “Bob” Barbee, telephone interview by Paul Sadin, May 24, 2005, audiotape recording, HRA Administrative History Files, PRA.
- ⁸⁵ Barbee, interview.
- ⁸⁶ Barbee, interview.
- ⁸⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Report – March 1965, memorandum, April 16, 1965, File A2615 Monthly Narrative Reports CY 1965, Box 3, Central Alphanumeric Files 1953–1969, Records of the Office of the Regional Director, Western Regional Office (hereafter WRO Records), RG 79, NARA-SB.
- ⁸⁸ Even when a park has established boundaries, infrastructure, and facilities, it is—in many respects—still a concept rather than a physical entity. Even today, visitors approaching Point Reyes, particularly those traveling by car, cannot easily tell where the official seashore, as a geographic and political entity, begins and where it ends.
- ⁸⁹ Barbee, interview.
- ⁹⁰ Barbee, interview.
- ⁹¹ PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes,” April 14, 1969, File A4023—Staff Mtg. PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁹² PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” March 9, April 22, June 8, and August 10, 1970, File A4023—Staff Mtg. PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁹³ PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” April 12, 1971, File A4023—Staff Mtgs. PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁹⁴ “Staff Management Minutes,” October 12, 1969, File A4023 Staff Management PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁹⁵ For example, in the first half of 1970, the park had filed 400 court cases, 100 of which were drug related. PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” June 8, 1970, 3.
- ⁹⁶ PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes,” October 12, 1969, File A4023—Staff Mtg. PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁹⁷ “Minutes SFBAG”, April 20, 1970, File A4023 Staff Management PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 4.
- ⁹⁸ “Staff Management Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” August 10, 1970, File A4023 Staff Management PORE, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.
- ⁹⁹ Joseph Sax, *Mountains without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980).
- ¹⁰⁰ Barbee, interview.
- ¹⁰¹ PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1972,” File A2621, Annual Reports—General, Box 1, Accession 79-78-0001, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 5.
- ¹⁰² PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” August 10, 1970 and September 14, 1970.
- ¹⁰³ PRNS, “Staff Meeting Minutes, Bay Area Cluster,” August 10, 1970 and September 14, 1970.
- ¹⁰⁴ The year-end attendance figure was 1,086,631.
- ¹⁰⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, January–December 1965, File A2615 Monthly Narrative Reports CY 1965, Box 3, Central Alphanumeric Files 1953–1969, WRO Records, RG-79, NARA-SB.
- ¹⁰⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, June 1966, File A2615 Monthly Narrative Reports CY 1966, Box 3, Central Alphanumeric Files 1953–1969, WRO Records, RG-79, NARA-SB.
- ¹⁰⁷ Donald Cameron, interview by Paul Sadin, March 10, 2005, American Fork, Utah, handwritten notes only.
- ¹⁰⁸ California, *An Act to Convey Certain Tide and Submerged Lands to the United States in furtherance of the Point Reyes National Seashore* (1965), section 3, 983:44.
- ¹⁰⁹ *An Act to Convey Certain Tide and Submerged Lands*, 1965.
- ¹¹⁰ Kurtz to Willard Greenwall, Department of Fish and Game, March 11, 1969, File A44 Cooperative Agreements—California Fish and Game, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹¹¹ Kurtz to Greenwall, March 11, 1969. Kurtz cited Pratt, “Manual of the Common Invertebrate Animals.”

- ¹¹² Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 170.
- ¹¹³ Title 26, Code of Federal Regulations [hereafter CFR], Chapter 1, Section 2.13 (d).
- ¹¹⁴ Kurtz to Greenwall, March 11, 1969.
- ¹¹⁵ Cranston to George Hartzog, Director, NPS, August 26, 1971, Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹¹⁶ Cranston to Hartzog, August 26, 1971.
- ¹¹⁷ Marin Conservation League, et al., to Marin County Park and Recreation Commission, September 8, 1971, A44 File—Cooperative Agreements, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹¹⁸ Corresp., Folder A44—Cooperative Agreements—CA Fish and Game, 1968–71, Box 1, PORE Files—Accession 76A 713, RG 79, NARA-SB.
- ¹¹⁹ “Memorandum of Understanding between the State of California, Department of Fish and Game and the National Park Service Relating to Wildlife Management in the Point Reyes National Seashore,” signed September 3, 1969, Folder A44, Box 1, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹²⁰ “Memorandum of Understanding between the State of California, Department of Fish and Game and the National Park Service Department of the Interior, NPS.”
- ¹²¹ Joseph Rumburg, Jr., Western Region Director, to Senator Alan Cranston, n.d., ca. 1971, File A44—Cooperative Agreements, CA Fish and Game, Box 1, PORE Records, NARA-SB.
- ¹²² Sansing to Ray Arnett, Director, California Dept. of Fish and Game, Se. 7, 1971, Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.
- ¹²³ Gerald R. Wright, *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 55.
- ¹²⁴ Carver to Robert L. Condon, Attorney, Martinez, California, April 6, 1962, Park and Sites—Point Reyes Files, Box 333, CCF, RG 48, NARA-II.
- ¹²⁵ California Department of Fish and Game, “The California Oyster Industry,” Fish Bulletin No. 123, prepared by Elinore M. Barrett, 1963, 60-63, in *The Online Archive of California*, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt629004n3> (accessed September 25, 2007).
- ¹²⁶ State of California Department of Fish and Game, “Allotment of State Water Bottoms for Shellfish Culture No. 72,” March 5, 1965, and “Allotment of State Water Bottoms for Shellfish Culture No. 2,” July 30, 1965; Leslie Bigerton, Assistant to the Fish and Game Commission, to Johnson Oyster Company, February 23, 1965. Copies of the preceding documents are included as appendices to “Appraisal Report & Economic Study: Johnson Oyster Company, Point Reyes National Seashore,” PWR Archives.
- ¹²⁷ “Appraisal Report & Economic Study: Johnson Oyster Company, Point Reyes National Seashore,” prepared for the NPS by Harding Appraisal Co., California, June 1972, Park Files, History Program Collection, NPS-Pacific West Region Office Archives, Oakland, CA [hereafter PWR Archives], 10-12.
- ¹²⁸ Department of the Interior, *Land Use Survey, Point Reyes National Seashore Proposal*, prepared by NPS Region Four Office (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1961), 16.
- ¹²⁹ Congress, Senate Committee On Interior and Insular Affairs, *Point Reyes National Seashore, Report to Accompany S. 476*, 87th Congress, 1st sess., 1961, S. Rept. 807, 8; the special agreements, usually in the form of correspondence from the Department of the Interior, were included in the appendix to S. Rept. 807.
- ¹³⁰ NPS, “Tracts Conveyed Between 01/01/1950 and 5/20/2003 for Point Reyes NS,” computer table, run date April 20, 2003, 1, File L1425 Land Acquisition Priority List and LWC Fund Calls, Land Files, CCF, PRNS.
- ¹³¹ Sarah Allen, science advisor, interview by Paul Sadin, August 13, 2004, Point Reyes National Seashore, audiotape recording, HRA Administrative History Files, PRA.
- ¹³² Congress, *An Act to Protect the Birds and Animals in Yellowstone National Park, and to Punish Crimes in Said Park*, U.S. Statutes at Large 28 (1894): 73. Better known as the Lacey Act.
- ¹³³ Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Struggle for Grand Teton National Park* (1982; reprint, Moose, Wyo.: Grand Teton Natural History Assoc., 2000), 149. One of the prime reasons for this unusual exception was the expressed need to limit the size of the Jackson Hole Elk Herd.

- ¹³⁴ Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 196. Much to their dismay after years of clamoring for the chance, seven out of every eight “deputies” at Grand Teton failed to bag an elk.
- ¹³⁵ Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park System in the 1930s* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1983), http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi4b.htm.
- ¹³⁶ Miller to Jack Nevraumont, San Francisco, December 3, 1961, Box 4, Drakes Estates, Miller Papers.
- ¹³⁷ Miller to Nevraumont, December 3, 1961.
- ¹³⁸ “Memorandum of Understanding,” September 3, 1969, Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Records, NARA-SB, 3. The memo cited the final report of the Special Advisory Board, which Secretary Udall approved on May 2, 1963.
- ¹³⁹ Edward Kurtz, Superintendent, Point Reyes National Seashore, memorandum to files, October 9, 1969, Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ray Arnett, Director, California Fish and Game, to Supt. Sansing, September 28, 1971, File A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹⁴¹ Sansing to Ray Arnett, Director, California Fish and Game, September 7, 1971, File A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 1.
- ¹⁴² Point Reyes National Seashore, Press Release, October 1, 1971, File A44 Cooperative Agreements, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ¹⁴³ Sansing to Domingo Grossi, Inverness, July 16, 1971, Folder Land Acquisition–Confidential, Carton 5, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, Point Reyes National Seashore Archives (hereafter PRA).
- ¹⁴⁴ Leland S. Murphy, interview by Diana Skiles, June 15, 1977, Guerneville, California, transcript, n.p., PRA.
- ¹⁴⁵ Lee Murphy, interview by Paul Sadin, August 10, 2004, Kentfield, California, HRA Administrative History Files, PRA.
- ¹⁴⁶ “Point Reyes in California a Patchwork Park in Trouble,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1969, 39.
- ¹⁴⁷ “Point Reyes in California a Patchwork Park in Trouble,” 39.
- ¹⁴⁸ Land Investors Research, “Newsletter,” April 1969, Folder Land Acquisition–Confidential, Carton 5, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA, 2.
- ¹⁴⁹ Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, *Statutes at Large*, 78 (1964): 897–904. (16 U.S.C. 4601-6a(a).)
- ¹⁵⁰ Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, *Statutes at Large*.
- ¹⁵¹ Gustav Meuhlenhaupt, Western Region Office, to Mrs. Bill Eastman, June 26, 1967, Box 2, PRNSF, Accession PORE-433, PRA.
- ¹⁵² Marin County Board of Supervisors, “An Ordinance Establishing A Point Reyes Interim Zone, Prohibiting Uses Therein, And Providing That Said Ordinance Take Effect Immediately,” County Ordinance 1735, December 2, 1969, Folder A44, Box 1, Accession No. 76A713, PORE Files, RG 79, NARA-SB, 2.
- ¹⁵³ “Statement of Douglas Maloney, County Counsel of Marin County, to the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, May 13, 1969,” Hearing on H.R. 3786, Washington D.C., Folder A44, Box 1, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 1–2. The law prohibiting government entities from depreciating private property is found in *Griffin v. County of Marin*, 157 California Code, App. 2d 507.
- ¹⁵⁴ “Statement of Douglas J. Maloney, County Counsel of Marin County, California,” *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on H.R. 3786 and Related Bills*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., May 13, 1969,” Serial No. 91-5 (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1969), Appendix B, 284.
- ¹⁵⁵ Hartzog may have been considering this plan for some time. The contents of a 1966 memo from Western Region Director to Hartzog suggest that Hartzog was making inquiries about Point Reyes land to “eliminate” as early as January 1966. Edward A. Hummel to the Director, memorandum, January 4, 1966, Land Acquisition–Confidential file, Carton 5, PORE-8053, PRA.
- ¹⁵⁶ William J. Duddleson, “Introduction,” *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969–1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation* (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The

Bancroft Library, 1993), viii. Duddleson's introduction is an excellent summary account of the entire Save Our Seashore movement.

¹⁵⁷ NPS, "Statement: Point Reyes National Seashore," prepared by George Hartzog, 1969, File Land Acquisition—Confidential, Carton 5, NPS Administrative History Files, PORE 8053, PRA.

¹⁵⁸ Katy Miller Johnson, "Catalyst and Citizen Lobbyist in Washington," interview by Ann Lage, 1990, in *Saving Point Reyes*, 21.

¹⁵⁹ William Duddleson, interview by Paul Sadin, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, October 28, 2004, tape recording and transcription, HRA Administrative History Project Files (hereafter HRA Files), PRA.

¹⁶⁰ Excerpt from Katy Miller Johnson's letter to Harold Johnson quoted in Duddleson's introduction to *Saving Point Reyes*, ix.

¹⁶¹ Johnson, "Catalyst and Citizen Lobbyist in Washington," 24.

¹⁶² Peter Behr, "Marin County Environmentalist and Political Leader: Spearheading the Save Our Seashore Campaign," interview by Ann Lage, 1990, in *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969–1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation*, 117–20.

¹⁶³ Duddleson, "Introduction," *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore*, xiv.

¹⁶⁴ National Park Service, "Estimated Additional Authorization Needed to Complete Acquisition for Areas Authorized Since 1961," and "Estimated Cost to Complete Land Acquisition in Areas Authorized Prior to 1961," January 27, 1967, Untitled black notebook, Box A82/4, George Hartzog Office Collection, Accession 73-9, Harpers Ferry Center Archives and Library, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

¹⁶⁵ John C. Whitaker, "Memorandum for John D. Ehrlichman," November 13, 1969, document copy in *Saving Point Reyes*, Appendix G, 334.

¹⁶⁶ Whitaker, "Memorandum," November 13, 1969, 334.

¹⁶⁷ Whitaker, "Memorandum," November 13, 1969, 335. Whitaker made the "space shot" remark just one day before the launch of Apollo 12, the second mission to put people on the surface of the moon. The next launch, of the ill-fated Apollo 13, came in April 1970.

¹⁶⁸ John C. Whitaker, "Memorandum for Director Mayo," November 20, 1969, document copy in *Saving Point Reyes*, Appendix H, 341.

¹⁶⁹ Whitaker, "Memorandum for Director Mayo," 340.

¹⁷⁰ Ehrlichman, "Presidential Assistant with a Bias for Parks," 382.

¹⁷¹ John D. Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power: The Nixon Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 88. Nixon requested, and received, Mayo's resignation from the cabinet in early 1970.

¹⁷² Duddleson, "Introduction," *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore*, xviii–xix.

¹⁷³ John C. Whitaker, "Memorandum for the President," November 18, 1969, copy in Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., "An Environmentalist in Congress: Urging Presidential Action of Point Reyes," oral history interview, *Saving Point Reyes*, Appendix G, 336–37.

¹⁷⁴ Congress, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Authorizing the Appropriation of Additional Funds Necessary for Acquisition of Land at the Point Reyes National Seashore in California*, 91st Congress, 1st sess., 1969, H. Rpt. 91-785, 11–19.

¹⁷⁵ President Richard M. Nixon, "Special Message to Congress on Environmental Quality," February 10, 1970, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1971), reprinted in "The American Presidency Project," University of California at Santa Barbara website, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index> (accessed February 9, 2005).

¹⁷⁶ Nixon, "Special Message to Congress on Environmental Quality," February 10, 1970.

¹⁷⁷ *Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, 2^d sess., 1970, 116, pt. 3:3139.

¹⁷⁸ House Interior Committee, *Authorizing the Appropriation of Additional Funds*.

¹⁷⁹ *Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, 2^d sess., 1970, 116, pt. 3:3143–44.

¹⁸⁰ *Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, 2^d sess., 1970, 116, pt. 3:3144.

¹⁸¹ Public Law 223, Sec. 1, 91st Congress, 2^d sess., April 3, 1970; 84 Stat. 90. Guidelines for concession operations found in 16 USC Sec. 20 and 462(h); and Duddleson, interview, 36.

¹⁸² *Congressional Record*, 91st Congress, 2^d sess., 1970, 116, pt. 6:7613-17.

¹⁸³ Public Law 91-223, Sec. 1; 84 Stat. 90.

¹⁸⁴ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 11.

¹⁸⁵ Ralph Mihan, interview by Paul Sadin, April 30, 2004, San Rafael, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA. Mihan served as Regional Field Solicitor in the San Francisco Office from 1967 to 2003. His duties included attending to legal issues that arose in PRNS, related to PRNS, or involved NPS staff assigned to the seashore.

¹⁸⁶ Mihan, interview.

¹⁸⁷ Mihan, interview.

¹⁸⁸ Duddleson, *Saving Point Reyes*, vi.

¹⁸⁹ Duddleson, *Saving Point Reyes*, xxii.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHAPTER FIVE PARK PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT, AND MAINTENANCE, 1972–2002

The development [at Limantour] should reflect the holiday mood of the recreational functions of the area.

... *PRNS Master Plan*

The developments proposed . . . will seriously impair the ecology of one of the most outstanding natural features on the Pacific Coast.

... *R. B. Moore, NPS Western Region*

Although the final land purchases and formal National Park Service establishment of Point Reyes National Seashore in 1972 had “completed” the park by defining its geographic boundaries, the process of redefining the function and meaning of the peninsula’s natural, cultural, and human resources continued over the next three decades of PRNS history. Shifts in public perceptions, scientific understandings, and political meanings of park resources added to the complexity of administering PRNS for the remainder of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. Debate regarding the definition of several key issues played a significant role in shaping the future of the national seashore. Among these debates were the long-term viability of agriculture on the peninsula, the extent of public participation in the administrative policy-making process, recreational access to PRNS land, natural and cultural resource preservation, communication with the park’s gateway communities, partnerships with research and education programs, relationships with the media, and the value of sound park planning. PRNS administrators began to tackle or continued to wrestle with all of these issues from 1972 through 2002.

A 1972 NPS Operations Evaluation of Point Reyes noted that the seashore had just emerged from its “pioneer” stage, when legislative strategies, land acquisition, initial staff development and coping with “here and now” problems took center stage.¹ By contrast, the report stated, the park’s administration was entering its “ongoing operations” stage, which would necessitate a new set of objectives and tasks. It was time for park officials to make decisions about long-term management of the seashore, rather than simply responding to daily operational brush fires. Park administrators set to work on these tasks of developing long-term plans, programs, staff, and equipment needed to operate the seashore from 1972 to 1980, when teams fashioned a new general management plan, the first resource management plan, and a new interpretive planning prospectus for PRNS.

In 1972, however, most divisions still had a long way to go before they were operational. NPS regional office and PRNS staff were developing a new general management plan, but the document lacked a comprehensive natural resources management plan to address such issues as reintroduction of tule elk, management of the deer population, and preservation of marine and other unique ecosystems.² The Interpretive Division was also due for a new management study and plan that could guide updating and expanding the current interpretive exhibits and self-guiding tours. New interpretive facilities were the greatest need, but improvements and alterations to overall interpretive programming were also in order. In the seashore’s maintenance division, long-term objectives called for staff to complete the inventory of all park roads, trails, and buildings, to continue to stabilize or remove ranch structures as appropriate, to finish the construction of modern, basic

facilities (restrooms, parking, and so on) at the primary visitor use areas, to add specialized equipment suited to the seashore's needs, to install safety equipment, and to continue improvement work on the park's roads, trails, and buildings.

ADMINISTERING THE NATIONAL SEASHORE AS AN INTEGRATED UNIT

Remarkably, in the thirty-plus years since the Department of the Interior officially established the national seashore in 1972, only two superintendents have served at Point Reyes. John L. Sansing was superintendent from 1970 to 1994; his successor, Donald Neubacher, held the position from 1995 through the time of this writing. Sansing's administration focused on facilities development, long-term planning, fostering relationships with the ranching community, fund raising, and adapting to dramatic changes in federal regulations regarding the environment, cultural resources, and park personnel. He also developed a reputation of being somewhat of a maverick when it came to working within the NPS bureaucracy. Neubacher devoted much of his time and attention to planning, community relations, and fund raising; he also increased the park's emphasis on scientific research, staff development, natural and cultural resource management, and has fostered strong connections with the wider NPS community. Without a doubt, both superintendents dedicated themselves to the protection of the peninsula's natural resources. Some of the differences between the two reflect their respective NPS backgrounds, while other differences, such as increased respect for the park's cultural resources, mirror the dramatic shift in agency attitudes and policies that occurred between 1970 and 1995. Both superintendents, in other words, were products of their times.

Sansing's Park Service background was unusual for someone stepping into a superintendent's post. After serving in the military and earning a degree in accounting, he began his NPS career in 1955, as an accounting clerk at the Southwestern National Monuments Headquarters in Globe, New Mexico. He sought out work with the NPS because it was one of the few employers in the area that offered him a chance for job advancement, and because he had developed friendships with the Globe superintendent and his assistant. In less than a year, Sansing transferred into the supervisory accountant position at Grand Canyon National Park. He subsequently became the supervisory accountant at Lake Mead National Recreation Area, where he worked for six years.³ He and his wife raised much of their family during those years in Nevada. His position at Lake Mead also gave Sansing the opportunity to become acquainted with Nevada Senator Alan H. Bible, a relationship Sansing would use to his great benefit when he took the reins at Point Reyes. In 1963, Sansing became assistant programs officer at the NPS regional office in San Francisco. He was promoted to assistant regional director there in 1967. During his three years in that position he supervised the planning, budgeting, and completion of park development projects, including the last pieces of the Mission 66 program, and directed the inholdings acquisition program in that region. In the midst of position shuffling during the 1970 NPS reorganization, the regional director offered Sansing the position that Edward J. Kurtz had recently vacated at Point Reyes.

Sansing's Park Service background prepared him for some tasks he would face as superintendent, such as handling large budgets, dealing with land acquisition, and working with the regional and support offices. But it gave him little experience in managing on-the-ground park operations or working with the public. Nevertheless, Sansing was quick to develop the political savvy and relationship skills necessary to build

bonds with staff, local residents, and the ranching community of Point Reyes. Burr Heneman, who had a long association with Sansing as a Bolinas resident and as former executive director of PRBO, credited him with recognizing that “he had to do some adapting.”⁴ John Sansing, Heneman said, “was a very political animal. He recognized the value of having a local base of support, which started out being, exclusively, the ranching community.”⁵ But as times changed, Heneman noted, he worked to “broaden his base of support” in the local community and in the environmental community. Sansing also demonstrated a degree of unorthodoxy and unusual autonomy as superintendent, especially in his dealings with the agency hierarchy, a predilection that exasperated some NPS officials. In a 2004 interview, Sansing acknowledged that although some of his actions created enough enmity that, on at least two occasions, he was very close to being transferred or demoted, he was able to utilize his political connections to get himself off the hook.⁶

Over time, Sansing also became more adept at working with and listening to local residents and conservation groups. Gordon Ashby, a central figure in the Environmental Action Committee of West Marin during the Point Reyes wilderness debate of the 1970s, observed that Sansing slowly went from being, in the eyes of the conservation community, a “bad egg” to “someone who understood” the desires of the various groups involved with the seashore, which earned him grudging admiration from some former detractors.⁷ Nonetheless, Sansing was most effective in his work with the peninsula’s ranchers. He noted that his predecessor, Kurtz, had done a good job developing relationships with the conservation community but had not paid enough attention to the ranchers. Sansing, on the other hand, made it a major objective of his administration.⁸

From the outset, Sansing went out of his way to foster a positive relationship between the park and the agricultural community. In September 1971, he turned the annual end-of-summer staff picnic into a beef barbeque affair with the dairy and cattle operators because “it would be in the park’s best interest to get acquainted” and thus strengthen ties with the local ranchers.⁹ Sansing also instituted regular meetings with the ranchers; several times a year he and Chief Ranger LeeRoy Brock would talk over pertinent dairy and grazing issues with the ranchers at one of their homes. Topics included changes in the grazing rate, water use, federal regulations, permit processes, and recreationist-rancher conflicts. After a very shaky start with them, Sansing gradually gained the ranchers’ trust through these informal meetings and by contacting them promptly whenever changes or new policies were introduced that would affect their work.¹⁰ Likely, he also viewed the ranchers as an external base of political power, as several ranchers, most notably Boyd Stewart and Joe Mendoza, had strong ties with members of Congress. Brock referred to Stewart and Mendoza as the “political entities” of the ranching community.¹¹ Both men had testified before Congress on several occasions. Brock helped further solidify the relationship between the park and the ranchers by stopping for coffee at the ranchers’ morning gathering place each day on his way to work.

Two events early in Sansing’s superintendency portended the kind of issues he would face throughout his twenty-five years in that post. The 1971 San Francisco oil spill and the 1972 creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) showed him that much of his job would involve working in collaboration (or conflict) with people and groups outside the boundaries of PRNS. Sansing spent much of his time as superintendent addressing or responding to local communities and residents, environmental organizations, politicians, and NPS administrators in the regional and Washington, D.C., offices.

San Francisco Oil Spill Before dawn on January 18, 1971, two Standard Oil Company of California tankers collided beneath the Golden Gate Bridge and began spilling what would total 900,000 gallons of bunker fuel into the Pacific Ocean and San Francisco Bay. Thousands of shore birds, seabirds, and innumerable numbers of other marine organisms died in as result of the spill.¹² Northerly currents pushed large quantities of the oil to the shores of Point Reyes. Two shoreline areas, Palomarin Beach and Wildcat Beach, caught the brunt of the spill, but the crude oil eventually washed onto the peninsula's entire southern shoreline from Agate Beach to Chimney Rock.

Soon after news of the oil spill reached him, Sansing drove to Bear Valley headquarters to begin organizing a cleanup operation. He was startled to find over three hundred local residents packed into the parking area, waiting to go out to the beaches to rescue oiled seabirds.¹³ After a period of some confusion, rangers and volunteer leaders organized the assembled crowd into separate work crews and transported them to the beaches. At each beach, one group collected the coagulated globs of oil as it washed ashore, another group gathered the oil-laden birds for cleaning, and a third group attempted to wash oil off the birds. Palomarin and Wildcat became two of the more than dozen similar bird cleanup sites established along shores of San Francisco Bay and the Marin coast. At one point during the cleanup, more than seven hundred volunteers were pitching in at Point Reyes alone.¹⁴

The volunteer work crews made an impact by quickly removing some of the oil from the beaches before it could soak in and create further damage. Cleaning off the birds and other animals already soaked with oil proved to be a much bigger challenge. There were, at that time, no established methods for removing oil from seabirds. Solvents used to wash some birds may have been as deadly as the oil. Moreover, removing the oil was not always the most immediate need: animals rescued from oil spills are often starving, dehydrated, and suffering from exhaustion and hypothermia. Little of this information was clearly known at the time.¹⁵ Despite the massive outpouring of helping hands and good will, only a small percentage of the collected oil-slicked birds survived.

Nonetheless, cleanup work went on for months afterward. Effects of the spill were numerous and far reaching. In the most awkward, though less important, circumstance resulting from the spill, Point Reyes staff was left with the problem of how to disengage some of the dedicated volunteers from their rescue work, and their living quarters, once the job was finished. Although the staff may have viewed this as an oddity or a nuisance that some volunteers seemed to overstay their welcome, it signaled the kind of commitment these individuals had made to the marine environment. That dedication, in a few cases, prompted volunteers to create new organizations and networks aimed at protecting coastal wildlife. The group of Bay Area volunteers who established the nonprofit International Bird Rescue Research Center (IBRRC), for instance, launched it as a follow-up to their cleanup work on the San Francisco spill. The IBRRC gradually refined and expanded their work, and regularly joined oil-spill rescue efforts elsewhere on the West Coast. The length and size of the 1971 rescue effort also allowed scientific study and new cleaning techniques to emerge that furthered the field of oiled-bird recovery.¹⁶ Some of the information gleaned and tools developed during the 1971 spill was utilized in subsequent spills or leaks reaching the shores of Point Reyes, such as the 1997–1998 tar-ball incidents.¹⁷ The spill also generated PRBO research in 1971, which established the first monitoring effort in the United States for tracking and documenting beached birds and oiling of birds along Point Reyes beaches. This program lasted for

over fifteen years, and became the model for similar beached bird surveys conducted around the country.¹⁸



Record No. 27690. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

A young volunteer picks up globs of oil from Wildcat Beach on the east side of Drakes Bay, in the aftermath of the San Francisco oil spill, January 20, 1972.

The oil spill crisis and response were representative of two key issues—protection of the environment and cooperation with the surrounding community—that park administrators would face at Point Reyes over the next thirty years. The extent and depth of the public response to the oil spill was both a surprise and a boon to Sansing and a park staff unprepared and undermanned to tackle an environmental catastrophe of that scale. The overwhelming public response said much about that particular time, when the environmental

movement caught the attention of the general public. It spoke volumes about the seashore's "neighbors" in Inverness, San Rafael, Oakland, and San Francisco, who were familiar with community action, cognizant of their surrounding environment, and willing to stand up against threats to that environment. That the Herculean volunteer cleanup was mostly futile—one estimate suggests that only 300 of 7,000 oil-soaked birds collected on San Francisco Bay and Point Reyes beaches survived—demonstrated the fragility of the peninsula's marine environment, and suggested the paucity of scientific information then available about marine wildlife populations and how best to protect them.¹⁹ Moreover, the fact that the environmental damage came from a source miles distant from PRNS showed that the preservation of that environment had become, and would continue to be, highly dependent upon conservation efforts, or the lack of them, throughout the Bay Area and California coast. Ecologically, Point Reyes was an island no more.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

Two years after Sansing arrived at Point Reyes, the creation of Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) altered the surrounding political landscape to a greater extent than any oil spill before or since. Not only did GGNRA authorization put a second, large NPS unit in the Bay Area, it also touched seashore management and operations in a very tangible way. The northern segment of the new recreation area shared a common boundary with the southern portion of the national seashore. This accomplished what GGNRA campaigners Edgar Wayburn and Amy Meyer had long sought: a continuous corridor of protected park lands stretching from Golden Gate Park to Pierce Point, the northernmost reach of the Point Reyes Peninsula. It was a remarkable achievement—a seventy-mile-long swath of parkland—that encompassed urban parks, historic sites, an engineering marvel, deserted beaches, farmland, forests, and wilderness. Its creation foreshadowed the concept of ecological corridors that encompass the territory of more than one park or one agency.²⁰

Wayburn and Meyer launched the advocacy group, People for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and spearheaded the authorization campaign that followed. The Golden Gate campaign was truly a local, grassroots effort, aided by California senator Phillip Burton, a political powerhouse. Congress cobbled GGNRA together from lands owned by the city, county, state, and private landowners, and from preexisting park sites operated by the U.S. Army (the Presidio) and the NPS (Fort Point Historic Site and Muir Woods National Monument). Establishment of GGNRA placed the NPS in a new role as an umbrella agency that administered and co-managed the various tracts of land under its mantle.²¹ After GGNRA authorization was achieved, the formula was repeated at Redwoods National Park, Santa Monica National Recreation Area, and other NPS sites.

In San Francisco and Marin County, the new complex of NPS-managed lands affected the agency environment as much as the natural environment. NPS officials in Washington, D.C., linked the administration of these sites, making it possible for one park unit to assist in the management of another. From 1971 to 1973, the existing NPS sites of Muir Woods National Monument, John Muir House National Historic Site, and Point Reyes National Seashore were already part of an informal affiliation called the “Bay Area Cluster.” Superintendents or designated staff from each park met monthly to discuss major issues of concern in their areas.

In 1974, the NPS created an official organizational structure that put PRNS, Muir Woods, Fort Point, and GGNRA under one administrative umbrella. William J. Whalen, superintendent of GGNRA, became the general superintendent in charge of the entire park complex in July 1974.²² This “superpark” was divided into north and south units. John L. Sansing took charge of the north unit, which comprised Point Reyes, Muir Woods, and the northern section of GGNRA.

Just one year after initiating the new configuration, the NPS began to undo the administrative ties that fastened the Bay Area parks together. An NPS review of the administrative structure in October 1975 produced changes that included a decision to give each unit autonomy in its daily operations. Sansing, Whalen, and the regional director worked out an agreement that gave Point Reyes management responsibilities for the section of GGNRA north of the Bolinas-Fairfax Road. It was a logical move to improve the efficiency of NPS patrol work along the stretch of Highway One through the Olema Valley. At that location, PRNS land lay to the west of the road, GGNRA to the east. The management agreement avoided the comic scene of PRNS rangers patrolling Highway One looking out one window while GGNRA staff traveled the same road looking out the other, each monitoring their respective jurisdictions. Eventually, PRNS took responsibility for law enforcement, ranch management, natural resource management, and road and trail maintenance within the north unit of GGNRA. However, Golden Gate administrators remained in charge of planning and policy-making for this area.

During the 1970s, Wayburn began making a case for incorporating Point Reyes and GGNRA into a single entity, Golden Gate National Park. Superintendent Whalen got behind the proposal and moved to start the legislative apparatus to make the concept into a reality.²³ Sansing strongly objected to the proposal, and began to curry favor with his own political connections to prevent the idea from gaining any political traction. Wayburn’s dream never advanced further than the proposal stage, but it significantly soured Sansing’s attitude toward working cooperatively with Golden Gate administration and staff.²⁴

Given that PRNS and GGNRA did share several commonalities, and were geographically and politically linked, why not, as Wayburn suggested, reclassify them as a single national park unit? Put simply, a decision to subsume PRNS within GGNRA would have subverted the national seashore's mission as mandated by its founding act. Although both sites were pieces of the government's outdoor recreation agenda, the origins, national significance, and legislative intent of PRNS were quite different from those of Golden Gate. On the one hand, PRNS originated in the NPS national seashore campaigns of the 1930s, and 1950s, in which the objective was to preserve large, undeveloped sections of America's shoreline. On the other hand, Golden Gate arose out of the urban parks movement of the 1960s and 1970s, whose goal was to provide huge urban population centers with easy access to a park and a "park experience."²⁵ Point Reyes' authorizing legislation gave equal weight to protecting the peninsula's natural resources and recreation opportunities, while the Golden Gate Act made recreation the primary management objective. Point Reyes' isolation and relatively undeveloped state were its prized characteristics; Golden Gate helped protect and provide access to existing developments such as Fort Point, Alcatraz, and the Golden Gate Bridge. Combining the two units might have created some efficiency of scale, but it also would have diluted their primary purposes and disavowed the aims of the people and groups who labored to create them.

Point Reyes remained part of the Bay Area administrative complex for only three years; in October 1977, PRNS returned to its prior status as a separate NPS unit. Yet, even after the NPS uncoupled formal administrative ties between the two areas, GGNRA's presence immediately adjacent to PRNS continued to have a significant influence on the administration of both units. Seashore staff continued their law enforcement, resource management, and maintenance responsibilities in the Olema Valley segment of Golden Gate Park. GGNRA lands in Marin County increased the recreational opportunities in the immediate vicinity of Point Reyes, making it an even more attractive recreation destination while also distributing some recreational uses over a wider area. The combination of PRNS and GGNRA gave the NPS a much higher profile in the San Francisco Bay Area, a favorable factor in obtaining legislative support for park appropriations and policy changes.

**Citizens'
Advisory
Commission**

Another long-lasting product of the linkage between the two parks was the GGNRA/PRNS Citizens' Advisory Commission, authorized in the GGNRA founding act. Clem Miller and Bill Duddleson had discussed the possibility of including a citizens' advisory group in the 1962 PRNS legislation. At that time, however, they put more emphasis on getting the bill quickly through Congress, choosing to withhold some pieces that might prove to be obstacles to its passage. Ten years later, when Duddleson and other Point Reyes supporters saw that Phil Burton was likely to push the GGNRA bill through Congress, they saw an ideal opportunity to revisit the idea of a citizens' group for Point Reyes. Duddleson researched the possible benefits and drawbacks by traveling to Cape Cod, where the national seashore founding act included a provision for citizen oversight and participation, to talk with the park superintendent, the chairman of the Cape Cod National Seashore Advisory Commission, and individuals who represented the nearby towns. He found that all the people he spoke with, including the superintendent, liked the way the commission functioned. Duddleson took the advisory commission section in the Cape Cod statute for a model, rewrote some of the language to fit the situation at GGNRA and PRNS, and delivered a draft to Burton and Edgar Wayburn. After obtaining Wayburn's approval, Burton inserted what Duddleson called a "bare-bones" version of the advisory commission language into Section 5 of the GGNRA bill.²⁶

Even the staunchest supporters of Point Reyes National Seashore favored creating an advisory commission via the GGNRA legislation. During a September 1972 Congressional hearing on Golden Gate authorization, Katy Miller Johnson—widow of Clem Miller and founder of the Save Our Seashore campaign—stated that when it came to a citizens’ commission, it made sense to view all four NPS units in the area “as a whole, as a system rather than as isolated units.”²⁷ Public Law 92–589 authorized the charter for the advisory commission, and directed the Secretary of the Interior to appoint some members from among the individuals recommended by the Marin County Board of Supervisors, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the Association of Bay Area Governments, and People for a GGNRA. Point Reyes rancher Joe Mendoza became one of the first Marin County representatives.

The initial advisory commission formed a Point Reyes subcommittee that dealt with issues on the peninsula. But the selection process, which created disproportionate representation by members of People for a GGNRA and other San Francisco groups, resulted in a perception among PRNS staff that the commission’s interest and attention was skewed toward Golden Gate.²⁸ In reality, Marin County accounted for six of the fifteen members sworn in to the inaugural advisory commission, and Edgar Wayburn, who filled one of the Bay Area seats, was also a West Marin resident. Moreover, Marin County representative Frank Boerger was the commission chair from 1974 until 1990. Richard Bartke, an advisory commission member from start to finish (2003), believes the group successfully avoided provincialism, to the extent that “it would be hard to find a single instance in the record where any member of the Commission took a position that was not for the benefit of [PRNS] and its resources.”²⁹



Record No. 19290. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Meeting of the GGNRA/PRNS Citizens’ Advisory Commission at the Point Reyes Administration Building, Bear Valley, fall 1980.

Sansing did not initially welcome the creation of the advisory commission, which he felt might slow and complicate administrative decision-making.³⁰ Point Reyes, in fact, already had an advisory council, albeit without the authority derived from legislation or policy. At the suggestion of the regional director, the NPS had asked Marin County to select an advisory group. Sansing found this group, composed of representatives from various West Marin organizations, useful as a sounding board for PRNS management decisions that might affect the surrounding community. He wrote that the Marin group helped “bridge the gap between park operations and the inaccurate public rumors which seem to arise frequently.”³¹ After he had worked with both groups, Sansing believed the informal county meetings were more beneficial for Point Reyes than the official advisory commission, because all of the participants in the former were county residents and their sole focus on the council was PRNS. Nevertheless, Sansing eventually learned to use the GGNRA Advisory Commission in a way that benefited the park and the public. He assigned a staff person to attend each meeting and give presentations on such subjects as endangered species, road closures, prescribed burning, and the like. Brock recalled that although the Saturday advisory commission meetings could be “deadly” (boring), he too, learned that they were often beneficial.³²

Congress inserted a sunset provision for the advisory commission in the initial legislation. In 2003, Congress allowed the advisory commission’s legal authority to expire; the commission members held their last official meeting in October 2003. Attempts to pass Congressional legislation to reauthorize the advisory commission have failed to date. Many of the commission’s members, however, continue to meet and to share their input with park staff.³³

Organizational Changes While such elements as GGNRA and the Citizen’s Advisory Commission became new external influences on national seashore planning, Sansing and regional office staff also made significant changes to the seashore’s internal organizational structure. Some of the alterations reflected the administrative shift, mentioned earlier in the chapter, toward planning for the long term rather than the short term. Other administrative moves came in response to new NPS policies and federal regulations. Agency and staff growth also accounted for some organizational changes.

As is typical of any organization’s growth, greater separation of operational responsibilities and increasing role specialization began defining individual job responsibilities and each division’s capabilities. The former Interpretation and Resource Management Division, which operated with a single, vertical management structure until this point, split into two separate divisions in mid-1971. This meant that Interpretive Chief Bill Germeraad could spend all—rather than half—of his time on interpretive planning and personnel decisions. In the 1980s, the Resource Management Division again divided into separate Resource Management and Visitor Protection Divisions.

Although the NPS had staffed PRNS for seven years prior to Sansing’s arrival, the staff he inherited was still quite small and limited, particularly in certain divisions. Whereas the maintenance and interpretive staffs grew rapidly, the natural resource and visitor protection divisions were slower to expand. Key positions remained unfilled well into the 1970s. For several years after Sansing came aboard, for example, there was no administrative secretary; senior managers typed their own correspondence and reports.³⁴

Staffing

Sansing and his division chiefs had several things to consider, including new federal laws and regulations, in their hiring decisions. By 1970, building an NPS staff entailed making it more inclusive as well as more skilled. Whereas the Park Service had been an almost exclusively white male domain prior to the 1960s, social reverberations of the civil rights



Record No. 20380. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

1966 PRNS staff photo. Front row, left to right: chief ranger Gordon Patterson, Howard Knight, Doris Omundson, Ron Autri, Dan Stout, and Lee Otter. Top row, left to right: Harry Wills, unidentified, Superintendent Les Arnberger, and Robert Barbee. Note Omundson's sex-typed NPS attire.

movement and the burgeoning women's movement began to alter the makeup of NPS employee ranks in the late 1960s and early 1970s. New federal regulations mandated that the Park Service revise its discriminatory hiring and promotion processes. Although a small group of women at various parks had served as naturalists beginning in the 1920s and women were hired to fill vacant positions such as fee collector and dispatcher during World War II, most of those jobs reflected special conditions or connections rather than the opening of a new field of employment for women. Until 1962, only male applicants could take civil service exams for prospective Park Service jobs and women thus did not claim park ranger positions until the end of the decade.³⁵ When the NPS did make a specific effort to hire women at particular park areas—usually historic sites and buildings—they were confined to guide, naturalist, or historian-interpreter positions. Moreover, women in those jobs could not wear the standard NPS green and gray uniform, Stetson hat, or NPS badge. They were confined, instead, to skirts, white blouses, and “pillbox” hats.³⁶

Federal regulations initiated a push for change. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 included a provision prohibiting sexual discrimination in all realms of public life. A 1967 Executive Order specifically directed that civil rights law should apply to the federal workplace. Subsequent presidential orders in 1969 and 1972 reaffirmed this policy and created prescribed steps for federal employers, to ensure that the hiring process created a fair playing field for men and women.³⁷ The Park Service response was slow and reluctant. In 1964, the NPS admitted women to its primary training program for park rangers, the



NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Diana Skiles, who joined the staff as a GS-11 Interpretive Specialist in 1975, holding Ming Dynasty pottery sherds.

Albright Training Center; however, over the next six years only fifty-six women went through the program and most entered ranger-naturalist or similar positions afterward. A 1972 affirmative action program prompted the NPS to open a wider array and number of positions to women applicants. Nevertheless, acceptance of women in traditional park ranger and law-enforcement positions came slowly, particularly in parks where senior managers clung to sexist beliefs and attitudes.³⁸ Aspiring NPS applicants, male or female, from minority ethnic and racial groups found the rate of change in the Park Service hiring practices equally slow.

The first group of female employees joined the staff at PRNS in sex-typed roles; first as secretaries/clerical assistants and then as interpreters/educators. Although the latter were in semi-professional positions, they still found themselves in a traditional realm for women at work: teaching. Nonetheless, park technician Doris Omundson, the first woman to wear an official NPS uniform at Point Reyes, assumed a major role in PRNS interpretive operations in 1970, running the start-

up Environmental Study Areas (ESA) program.³⁹ After working for seven years at Point Reyes, Omundson used her experience as a springboard to become, in the mid-1970s, one of the first female superintendents in the national park system, at John Muir National Historic Site.⁴⁰

Volunteer Programs

The citizen response to the 1971 oil spill was a revelation to Sansing and other NPS staff, who saw firsthand the energy and skills dedicated volunteers can bring to any project. Just the previous year, Public Law 91-357 established the Volunteers in Parks (VIP) program for federal land management agencies. Point Reyes administrators quickly engaged volunteers in interpretive, maintenance, and resource management positions. VIPs played an especially important role in helping run the demonstration programs at Morgan Horse Farm and Kule Loklo Coast Miwok Village.



Record No. 23250. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

A volunteer YCC crew performs trail repairs at Point Reyes, ca. 1980.

Several divisions were already making use of other volunteer and job training organizations, drawing from the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), Student Conservation Association (SCA), and Youth Conservation Corps (YCC). Jack Williams, the park's civil engineer during the mid-1970s, took charge of YACC crews of twenty-five to thirty participants during his first years in the park (1975–1977). Because they were older (ages eighteen to twenty-five) and had a higher skill level than the other groups, YACC members played a significant role in the seashore's maintenance operations for several years. The YACC crew did construction work and helped build the original holding pen for the reintroduced elk that arrived in 1978.⁴¹

Internal Reconfigurations

While the seashore and NPS continued to redefine the PRNS mission and objectives, new federal legislation and additional agreements with the state of California reconfigured the political boundaries of the national seashore. The *National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978* (Public Law 95–625) added two thousand acres to PRNS and refined the agency's management objectives. The completion of a tideland survey gave NPS title to the tidal lands that the state ceded to Point Reyes.

In 1972, the state of California and NPS established two marine-life reserves within the seashore boundaries: Point Reyes Headlands Research Natural Area and Estero de Limantour Reserve. The purpose of these reserves was to preserve the natural environment and to protect organisms living in them. In order to accomplish these objectives, PRNS kept “human intrusions” into the reserve lands restricted to park-approved research projects. Although the struggle over establishment of a Point Reyes wilderness was just beginning to heat up, these two reserves created 1,300 acres of de facto wilderness. The act of setting aside the two coastal areas also signaled the direction the wilderness and general management plans would take: moving toward heightened protection of Point Reyes' natural environment.

DEFINING THE NATIONAL SEASHORE ANEW

In the early 1970s, with the immediate work of acquiring land nearly completed, a new administrative phase for PRNS began. Managers recognized that much of the long-term planning still remained to be accomplished.⁴² Park administrators and regional NPS officials again tackled the task of defining PRNS for themselves and for the public. The official process of defining the park involved developing a general management plan (GMP). Between 1970 and 1980, NPS staff crafted, with considerable input from the public and outside organizations, two management plans that shaped the administration of PRNS for the remainder of the century. Administrative planning during the next decade also included the crafting of separate wilderness and natural resources

management plans. In addition, the NPS delivered and Congress affirmed a PRNS wilderness bill, which redefined the administrative conception and public perception of nearly half the seashore's land base.

**Developing a
General
Management
Plan**

Work on a new GMP for Point Reyes came on the cusp of major changes for the master planning process throughout the national park system. The seashore's first master plan, put together in 1963–1964, was little more than a series of blueprints and brief narratives depicting large-scale tourist developments. It included the controversial proposal for a high-intensity, recreational-use area on Limantour Spit. NPS landscape planners in the Western Office of Design and Construction prepared the plan without seeking input from the public or park staff. It was typical of the “package” master plans NPS regional planners produced in the 1950s and 1960s, long on detailed landscape drawings and construction plans, but short on narrative and context.⁴³

Developing a park master plan became a standard procedure for all NPS areas in the early 1930s. In the prior decade, the NPS Landscape Architecture Division began producing master development plans for new construction projects. The design process bore the influence of the then-vibrant urban planning movement in the United States. An NPS regional landscape architect generally drew up a plan with input from an engineer, an on-site landscape architect, the park's superintendent, and, on occasion, Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather or his assistant Horace Albright. The thoroughness and success of the 1930 master plan for the Yakima Park development in Mount Rainier National Park prompted Mather to direct all NPS areas to include master planning as standard operating procedure. By the 1960s, veteran NPS planners were punching out standardized master plan packages for the ever-growing number of NPS sites.⁴⁴

Two new developments changed the nature of NPS master planning in the late 1960s. First, a younger generation of park planners began to move toward creating “conceptual” master plans. Instead of plugging into a standard framework used for all parks, the new planning was a process that began with a question or questions about a particular site, the answers to which pointed out the direction and outlined the shape of the subsequent plan.⁴⁵ Each step of the planning ladder was geared toward the particular park under consideration. In order to accomplish this, planning teams included members who were familiar with the prominent natural, historic, or recreational resources of an area. Team members studied textual and cartographic records, visited the site, and conducted interviews with the public, staff members, and organizations to determine how each group perceived a park's values and significance.⁴⁶

A second key event that altered management planning, and park management in general, was the enactment of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. NEPA regulations stipulated that federal agencies must invite and obtain public input on projects before officials made final decisions to implement them.⁴⁷ NEPA prompted a radical transformation of traditional NPS planning. The requirement for environmental impact statements began “driving” the process of public comment periods.⁴⁸ For PRNS, a team of planners from the NPS San Francisco service center joined Sansing and several park staff in 1970 to prepare a study for a general management plan—the new term for the document—that would take them beyond the sketchy confines of the original Point Reyes master plan. Doug Nadeau became the project team leader. They wanted a GMP that “encouraged broad public use” and recognized “the outstanding natural features and our responsibility to preserve this quality and character of Point Reyes.”⁴⁹ From the outset, the planning team attempted to strike an appropriate balance between environmental

preservation and recreation, although the scales clearly tipped toward the former rather than the latter.

The task of preserving the environment at PRNS included making a determination in the new GMP about the Limantour Project, whose fate was still undecided. An NPS “Planning Directive,” which helped steer the course of the team’s study, asked how “the importance and vulnerability of the ornithological and marine communities of Limantour Estero [could] be reconciled with the intensive development the plan proposes for that location?”⁵⁰ Putting the question more broadly, the document inquired whether the park’s long-term goal was to expand visitor facilities “ad infinitum” to meet public demand or whether it was to cap the number of visitors in order to protect the natural resources. As a tool to obtain balance between preservation and access, the planners introduced distinctive public use categories (e.g., active versus passive recreation) into the management schema for Point Reyes.⁵¹ They also hoped to address such issues as the future of Johnson Oyster Farm and the peninsula’s dairy ranches. NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., urged the planning team to coordinate their work with representatives of the local tourism industry as well.⁵²

Once the planning team completed its study and made its recommendations, the next phase of the GMP process was to announce the findings and solicit public comment. This step, which reflected new NEPA requirements, was an unfamiliar one for most NPS officials. Point Reyes became one of the first NPS sites to incorporate the inclusive protocol into its planning process. Expecting seashore staff, government officials, conservation associations, community groups, and the public to collaborate in plotting out the future path of the seashore was a noble goal. However, it also opened a period of contentiousness among the myriad groups involved in the process. Sansing, having worked hard with the other planning team members to produce a viable set of initial recommendations, reacted defensively when the public heaped criticism on the initial NPS proposal. At one point, he forwarded several letters favorable to the NPS plan to the regional director and remarked, with obvious sarcasm, that the letters were evidence that “we [NPS] may not be as stupid as some would have us believe.”⁵³

Historian Dwight F. Rettie has keenly observed that although “bureaucracies of all sorts would rather conduct their affairs without public involvement, Park Service experience during the twenty-five years since passage of the National Environmental Policy Act certainly suggests the wisdom of an involved constituency.”⁵⁴ This was particularly true for NPS sites like PRNS, where the park and the local community were inextricably intertwined. Yet, it took some time for NPS administrators, whether they were on-site staff or regional officials, to trust fully the open nature of the process. Sometimes, NPS officials even attempted to downplay or bury outside input. Nadeau, for example, recalled that his boss (the manager of the service center) “admonished me not to talk to special interest groups like the Sierra Club” at the outset of the planning process.⁵⁵

When park superintendents had proposed new master plans in prior decades, the documents needed only pass muster before the regional or national director. By the 1970s, however, Sansing (and his colleagues at other NPS sites) had to submit his proposal to the court of public opinion and address the concerns of what must have seemed to him every organization, interest group, and politician in the state of California and in Washington, D.C. The momentum and expanded scale of the environmental movement had altered the way conservation and environmental organizations responded to NPS planning. The National Parks and Conservation Association, the Sierra Club, and

a coalition of Marin environmental groups spearheaded by the Environmental Action Committee of West Marin each submitted their own GMP and wilderness proposals for Point Reyes. Conservation groups and outdoor clubs were no longer content writing letters and signing petitions, although they continued to do both. In addition to these methods, they developed professionally prepared documents like the above-noted management plans, spent money lobbying legislators, and made coordinated efforts to draw media attention to their agendas.

As Sansing pointed out, there also were supporters of the initial GMP proposal, particularly among long-time residents of the area. An individual from Inverness wrote to Sansing in order to put himself “on the record” in support of the plan. The writer noted that he and many other Point Reyes residents had been conservation-minded for decades; however, their conception of conservation did not adhere to the extremist arguments of some newer conservation groups that had recently “proliferated in every clump of trees.”⁵⁶ Bill Duddleson, although disappointed about the amount of acreage allotted to wilderness in the plan, lauded the new GMP proposal because it pioneered “using ecological knowledge as the basis for planning and in discarding visitor dependence on the private automobile.”⁵⁷ Others indicated their understanding that NPS had to manage two very different kinds of seashores at Point Reyes: the tranquil one that visitors and residents trickled onto during the week and the raucous one inundated by Bay Area residents on the weekends. They urged the NPS to develop a GMP that reflected this split personality. A Greenbrae woman suggested the NPS make a distinction between weekends and weekdays in determining whether to close the Mount Vision Road to car traffic. She pointed out that in four recent weekday trips up the road, she had seen seven other cars, hardly the “devastating throng” with which management dealt on weekend days.⁵⁸

On September 22 and 23, 1971, NPS staff and the planning team organized two hearings at the San Rafael Civic Center as an initial venue for public comment. Proponents and opponents of the GMP and wilderness proposals came together to express their views. Nadeau presented an outline of the GMP process and some of the preliminary specifics then in draft form. Participants at the meeting spoke resoundingly in favor of preserving PRNS as a natural area with very limited or no development. Despite the fact that this also was the main thrust of the evolving GMP, reporters framed the public comments as generally opposed to the plans. Senator John V. Tunney urged the Park Service to do everything in its power to protect the natural environment of Point Reyes.⁵⁹ California Senator Alan Cranston argued that the new GMP and future management decisions should “promote a reversion to nature so that Point Reyes will for all time provide a unique individual encounter with nature.”⁶⁰ In contrast to the more measured speeches of local politicians, environmental groups turned to such direct action tactics as street theatre to register their dismay.

Some of the opposition centered on a single piece of the proposed GMP, namely the designation of a portion of the national seashore as wilderness under the terms of the Wilderness Act of 1964. Although the NPS wilderness plan was officially a separate document than the GMP proposal, the two elements were linked in the public’s mind. At issue was the seemingly small size of the NPS recommendation, five thousand acres of peninsula land. But in a larger sense, the debate also revealed how park administrators, residents, and the general public continued the pattern of redefining the “natural” world of Point Reyes.

**Wilderness
Debate and
Legislation**

In a February 1961 message to Congress, President John F. Kennedy focused the political spotlight onto two new conservation agendas: creation of national seashores, including Point Reyes National Seashore, and adoption of the Wilderness bill. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall saw these as two key elements of the “third wave” of the American conservation movement.⁶¹ Both proposals followed their separate legislative courses thereafter, with Congress taking three more years to discern, debate, and pass the Wilderness Act, which was the more controversial of the two agendas. But ten years later, the two shared the spotlight again when NPS and public proposals to create designated wilderness within PRNS were debated in the early 1970s.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Wilderness Act into law on September 3, 1964. Section 3 (2)(c) directed the Secretary of the Interior to review for potential wilderness designation all suitable areas of five thousand or more continuous acres in all existing NPS units.⁶² That it took another five or six years for the NPS to make what most considered a meager wilderness proposal for Point Reyes was not unusual. It was, in fact, a rapid response to federal wilderness regulations when compared to sluggish administrative action on wilderness elsewhere in the national park system. Whereas, by 1970, millions of acres of national forest land were already stamped as federal wilderness areas, the NPS was moving at a glacial pace. The first wilderness designations in the national parks did not occur until 1970, at Petrified Forest National Park and Craters of the Moon National Monument.⁶³

Historian Alfred Runte has pointed out how NPS foot-dragging on the study and designation of wilderness—particularly in the older, larger parks—reflected the agency’s desire to maintain “bureaucratic autonomy” over its territory.⁶⁴ Stripped of their management authority, Park Service officials feared possible limitations on tourist development plans, concession operations, and, ultimately, on park visitation. Udall recalled that NPS director Conrad L. Wirth and the rest of the agency’s “old guard” thought the Wilderness bill was unnecessary.⁶⁵ They believed the presence of established backcountry-management zones in national parks demonstrated that they were already “doing wilderness.” Other superintendents and resource managers considered land in their areas unsuitable for wilderness designation.⁶⁶ When parks did recognize areas as potential or designated wilderness, the NPS was still unsure of what it needed to do to meet the formal guidelines of the Wilderness Act. Park managers did not know, for instance, whether cultural features within designated wilderness were to be maintained or removed. Just months prior to public hearings on wilderness designation for Crater Lake National Park in 1970, for example, park staff demolished seven historic backcountry cabins because of ill-conceived notions about the requirements for compliance with the federal legislation.⁶⁷

Resistance to wilderness designations showed in both the administrative hierarchy of the NPS and among division chiefs and park rangers in the field. While upper-level park officials saw the question of who held ultimate administrative authority over parklands as the primary issue, field staff at sites like Point Reyes had more pragmatic concerns. Donald Cameron, chief of maintenance from 1965 until 1980, viewed the wilderness designation as an impediment to visitor access, an interruption of required maintenance operations, and a crippling blow to the park’s fire-fighting capacity.⁶⁸ Strict regulations regarding use of machinery in designated wilderness restricted operation of the walk-in campgrounds, where maintenance used vehicles to haul out garbage, remove human waste from vault toilets, and test and repair the water system. But as time went on,

according to Historian Richard West Sellars, upper-level NPS administrators' stance on wilderness "drifted from outright opposition to reluctant neutrality."⁶⁹

At Point Reyes in the early 1970s, however, conservationists, environmentalists, and many local supporters of PRNS were not willing to move so slowly. These groups opposed and vilified the initial NPS proposal for a Point Reyes wilderness area comprising five thousand acres around Mount Wittenberg, the bare minimum amount of land needed to qualify as a federally designated wilderness.⁷⁰ Senator Tunney called the wilderness proposal "clearly inadequate" to provide the protection needed at Point Reyes, calling instead for a wilderness designation of over thirty thousand acres.⁷¹ Senator Alan Cranston wanted the park to preserve "a remarkable wilderness . . . to the greatest extent possible, to allow Pt. Reyes to be once again as nature made her over the ages."⁷²

Cranston's desire to see Point Reyes be "once again as nature made her" reveals some of the inherent complexity and, in some cases, confusion involved as different constituencies attempted to demark "wilderness" without having a clear agreement on its definition. At that time, many wilderness advocates failed to see that Native Americans had left indelible marks on the environment for millennia before Europeans entered the scene, thus few American landscapes could accurately be considered "untrammelled by man," in the words of the 1964 Wilderness Act.⁷³ Environmental historian William Cronon argues, "The myth of the wilderness as 'virgin,' uninhabited land had always been especially cruel when seen from the perspective of the Indians who had once called that land home."⁷⁴ Once again, the shifting definition of "wild" or "natural" had complicated the park-public dialogue and the administrative decision making regarding Point Reyes. On a more abstract level, the impulse to "return" the land to some prior state also revealed the environmental movement's lasting impacts on public perceptions of the national parks.

Notwithstanding differences in how they each might define wilderness at Point Reyes, a number of environmental organizations, community groups, and interested individuals came together, as an informal alliance, to push the NPS for a larger wilderness designation. Although there was no organizational structure, per se, several individuals played key leadership roles. The Sierra Club representative, Sonya Thompson, played an active part, as did West Marin resident Jerry Friedman and his Environmental Action Committee of West Marin. Jim Eaton, a graduate student in geology at the UC Davis, became the primary architect of what became the citizens' wilderness proposal. Former Clem Miller aide Bill Duddleson, who was then working with the Washington D.C.-based Conservation Foundation, served as moderator for their planning meetings. Before Duddleson flew out to the Bay Area, he asked Ernie Dickerman, whom Duddleson called "one of the grand old men of the Wilderness Society" for advice on winning the wilderness debate. Dickerman, a veteran of many previous wilderness battles, advised Duddleson to "get all of your troops singing from the same songbook."⁷⁵ In other words, approach the Park Service and Congress as a unified front, even if individual differences existed among the groups in the alliance. Following Dickerman's advice, the groups developed a coalition counterproposal that called on NPS to set aside 32,000 acres as wilderness in the Point Reyes National Seashore.

The Park Service's public hearing on its wilderness proposal took place at the San Rafael Civic Center on September 23, 1971, the day after the GMP meeting. Duddleson remembered the meeting as a remarkable event packed with wilderness proponents, a smaller number of opponents, and NPS officials. As conservation groups, legislators, and

NPS officials made presentations or read prepared statements, the room became infused with excitement.⁷⁶ One group of wilderness supporters, led by Environmental Action Committee of West Marin member Gordon Ashby, unexpectedly came into the auditorium wearing papier-mâché heads of birds and wildlife of Point Reyes, to represent the non-human residents of the peninsula who also had a critical stake in the outcome of the debate. Duddleson called it “stunning political theater.”⁷⁷ Joseph L. Rumberg, NPS Western Region Director, told the audience that he “had never seen anything like it in his career in the Park Service.”⁷⁸

One reason citizen advocates pushed so vehemently for a larger wilderness designation was their distrust of the NPS regarding future development plans for Point Reyes. For community and environmental groups, the memory of Hartzog’s seashore sell-off plan—the key issue in the 1969 SOS campaign—was still fresh in their minds. Even though the Ryan amendment to the 1970 SOS legislation prohibited any such sales in the future (see chapter 4), park advocates remained hesitant to trust the future use and development of PRNS to Park Service planners and administrators alone. Conservationists and residents also rued earlier NPS decisions to over-engineer the Limantour Road and to build the visitor center parking lot at Drakes Beach, which had filled in a freshwater marsh.⁷⁹ Those decisions left residents and park supporters suspicious about the intent of the Park Service. They believed that creating a thirty- to forty-thousand-acre wilderness, would protect the seashore’s backcountry area from such development.

Testimony in the public hearings on the wilderness plan and GMP ran strongly in favor of preserving more of the peninsula in its relatively wild, undeveloped state, and advocated alteration of the NPS proposal. Environmentalists and community members, not Park Service policies, drove the process by which Congress eventually granted wilderness status to close to 32,000 acres of land, guaranteeing legal protection to much of the peninsula’s open space and natural character. Even some longtime ranchers strongly supported the larger wilderness designation, since they too wished to preserve the traditional character of the peninsula.

**Point Reyes
Wilderness
Act**

Despite the huge outpouring of support and dramatic calls for action in the 1971 public hearing, it would take five more years until Congress passed a bill for an expanded wilderness designation at PRNS. After the hearings, the NPS did not immediately show signs of altering its stance. The Park Service eventually submitted a modification of the original proposal, calling for a 10,000-acre wilderness. Environmental groups renewed the battle, eventually making a much-needed ally in Congress, John L. Burton, who was the driving force behind the creation of GGNRA. Burton worked closely with Jerry Friedman and other citizen activists to finally bring the Point Reyes wilderness campaign to fruition.⁸⁰ On October 18, 1976, President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 94-544, which designated a 25,370-acre wilderness area as well as 8,003 acres of land and water as potential wilderness.⁸¹

During the drafting of the wilderness bill, H.R. 8002, an amendment to the PRNS founding legislation was inserted into one of the bill’s subsections. The first version of the amendment stated that the Point Reyes National Seashore “shall be administered by the Secretary as a natural area of the national park system.” When the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs revised the amendment in its drafting of the final version of Public Law 94-544, they replaced the reference to the “natural area” category.

According to the committee report on H.R. 8002, the initial language of the proposed amendment would have “required by law that the area be managed under the policies for the ‘natural area’ management category as administratively defined by the NPS, and thereby remove the area from the ‘recreational’ area management category under which it is currently placed by the Service.”⁸² The committee chose to delete that specific language because its inclusion would “recognize or sanction by statute, the existence or propriety of this administrative policy categorization system.” The committee members did not want Congress to unintentionally validate an agency policy (the blue book) that lacked prior legislative authority. The committee asserted that their rewording of the language fulfilled the intended effect of the original amendment, which was to underscore, “that the Seashore is to be managed for the protection of its natural environment and values.”⁸³ It thus provided a legislative basis for defining PRNS as primarily a natural preserve. In drafting the amendment, however, the committee did not define what specific elements of the peninsula they thought of as “natural,” and which might be merely “recreational.”

1980 General Management Plan

Park Service planning for the Bay Area parks, as a single administrative entity, continued even after GGNRA and PRNS resumed operations as separate administrative units.⁸⁴ In May 1977, NPS planners published an “Assessment of Alternatives for the General Management Plan,” for both GGNRA and PRNS. The joint assessment was a vestige of the prior administrative superpark, extant when this particular round of planning began. In general, the outlook of the plan specific to Point Reyes echoed the theme voiced by the 1970–1971 planning team. According to Nadeau, it was essentially the same document with a few additions regarding specific issues such as campgrounds. That Point Reyes was folded into the same document as GGNRA, however, reflected the intent, during the mid-1970s, of the regional office, GGNRA superintendent Whalen, and significant members of the citizen’s advisory commission to make PRNS part and parcel of an enlarged GGNRA.

In 1980, a revised “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore” arrived embedded within a joint PRNS-GGNRA publication. The 1980 GMP was a composite of the planning team’s work in the early 1970s, the 1976 Wilderness Plan, the 1976 Natural Resource Management Plan, and additional input from the 1980 GMP planning team, which included Sansing, Nadeau, GGNRA landscape architect Rolf Diamant, GGNRA planner Greg Moore, advisory commission liaison Ruth Kilday, Denver Service Center ecologist Nancy Fries, and project manager Ron Treabess.⁸⁵ In general, the 1980 GMP for Point Reyes stayed the course that the planning team set out in 1972, but it also addressed issues given no mention in the early 1970s. The biggest changes involved the attention given to cultural resources, particularly to Coast Miwok culture and to the historic dairy ranches, and two natural resource issues not previously emphasized, the protection of marine mammals and protected/endangered species. One objective directed resource managers to “enhance knowledge of the [Coast] Miwok Indian culture through research and investigation” of the area’s potential archeological sites.⁸⁶ Another objective for cultural resource preservation was “to monitor and support productive land uses and activities which are consistent with historical patterns,” including closer NPS oversight of grazing practices and the “preservation” of ranching as a cultural resource. More pointedly, the park needed to “ensure that the agricultural and maricultural activities are consistent with the evolution of land and water use at Point Reyes.”⁸⁷

The stated objectives in the “visitor activities” category communicated how much the NPS, Congress, and the public had redefined their conception of PRNS since the first

master plan. Seashore managers were to “provide for and permit *only* those cultural, educational, and recreational activities which were compatible with the preservation of an undeveloped coastline.”⁸⁸ The clear directive was preservation first, recreation second. This represented a dramatic change of perspective on the value and meaning of the national seashore since the 1964 Secretary’s Circular on Recreation Areas was released. The new emphasis, in fact, fit more closely with Wirth’s original conception of national seashores (see chapter 2). The 1980 GMP’s objectives for seashore development aimed for building projects that were only the “minimum necessary for efficient and essential management” and which were compatible with natural resource objectives, especially special requirements for protecting the coastal environment.⁸⁹ The document’s introduction highlighted this redefinition of Point Reyes, observing that the seashore acted as a “sharply contrasting complement to the other public places”—in other words, GGNRA and other such recreational areas in the San Francisco Bay Area.⁹⁰

Organizing the peninsula landscape into separate management zones also reflected the GMP’s strong emphasis on natural resource protection. Of the seashore’s 67,684 acres, approximately two-thirds were assigned to the natural zone, including 34,000 acres of research reserves and designated wilderness.⁹¹ Another 20,000 acres were dedicated to the pastoral zone. By contrast, the plan limited the development zone to eighty-five acres. Despite the shift toward greater protection of the seashore’s natural environment, the GMP also included plans to increase visitor access, services, and facilities within specified areas of the peninsula. Planners attempted to respond, in particular, to broad public desire for more campsites within the boundaries of the seashore.

**Other
Planning
Programs**

Sansing made the development of the natural resource plan one of his highest priorities. He assigned research biologist Richard Brown and district ranger B. Brown to study and craft the plan.⁹² Natural resource management at Point Reyes involved scientific observation, population monitoring, and habitat protection of more traditional national park fauna and flora, and of the peninsula’s dairy and cattle operations. Resource managers and staff had to understand and work with native wildlife, domestic plants and animals, and human beings (ranchers). Development of the 1976 and 1994 natural resource management plans are discussed further in chapter 7. The seashore’s environmental education program, which served increasing numbers of elementary and high school students from Marin County and the North Bay Area, was the other area of emphasis. Although education facilities at PRNS had already been improved and expanded since the program was first initiated, ever-greater public demand for this service necessitated prioritizing further expansion and improvements in the education program over other elements of the seashore’s interpretive program.

PARK INFRASTRUCTURE AND FACILITIES MANAGEMENT

As was the case in other recent additions to the national park system, numerous roads and structures already existed within the boundaries of PRNS by the time Congress authorized it. These features were the legacy of the ranching and dairying activity on the peninsula dating to the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the vestiges of twentieth-century residential and tourist use. Initial development of the seashore’s infrastructure leaned heavily on conversion of these roads and structures to NPS use. This was necessary, in part, because most appropriations for Point Reyes went toward all-important land acquisition. Rehabilitated ranch buildings became the first structures to accommodate administrative, maintenance, and interpretive functions and to house park

staff. The seashore's first roads and trails were likewise converted for employee and visitor use (see chapter 4).

Donald Cameron became the first member of the maintenance staff when he came as a temporary transfer from Yosemite National Park in 1965 (see Chapter 4 for an account of Cameron's early maintenance operations at Point Reyes). By the time he retired as chief of maintenance in March 1980, he had a division staff of thirty, including an engineer and two foremen. Maintenance division, in the typical NPS organizational structure of that time, consisted of two departments: Roads and Trails and Buildings and Utilities.

Roads and Trails

In 1972, two roads provided public access to the peninsula interior and the coastal beaches. Sir Francis Drake Boulevard was a county road that ran from Olema Valley to Point Reyes Lighthouse and the Coast Guard Lifeboat Station, with a spur leading to Drakes Beach. An official national seashore "entrance road" from Bear Valley to Limantour Beach opened to the public on June 15, 1972.⁹³ This was accomplished by constructing a short spur road along the top of Inverness Ridge, between the government-built "road to nowhere" and an existing ranch road. The opening of this road put an end to controversies over visitor use of a preexisting private road, which developer David Adams and Lee Murphy built for homeowners in Drakes Bay Estates, and thus circumvented potential lawsuits brought on behalf of the private landholders.⁹⁴ No sooner was the latter route opened than severe winter storms flooded culverts, washed out several switchbacks, and forced the park to close the road again. When the switchbacks washed away, the released water also flooded private residences downhill from the road. Repair work required 900 cubic yards of rock and several hundred cubic yards of other fill material to stabilize the roadbed.

Of the many ranch roads on the peninsula, some continued to serve dairy and cattle operations while others went into use as hiking trails. Trail work involved bringing former ranch roads into adequate shape for hiking and park vehicle travel. The park maintenance division shared some of this work with ranchers when old roads traversed or led onto their property. This occasionally created problems when ranger staff and ranchers did not communicate clearly their expectations about the work to be accomplished. A minor furor arose in 1973 when one of the ranch operators ran a bulldozer over several trails to "clear" them, as ranchers had traditionally done in the past.

Trail crews also took responsibility for maintaining the backcountry camps that opened in the late 1960s. To provide potable water for one of the camps, Cameron first drilled a vertical well and installed a hand pump to provide potable running water to the camps. To increase capacity to meet the overflowing camps' demands, Cameron had a maintenance crew drill a horizontal well into a nearby hillside. When the drill hit the water table, a geyser of water shot straight out of the hillside. It continued sluicing out with such force that Sansing worried the water level would drop throughout that section of the peninsula. The crew eventually capped the spring and installed piping to bring the water into the campground.⁹⁵ In addition to providing water to the camps, maintenance staff ran weekly tests to check the bacterial content and chemical analysis of the water. Garbage collection at the camps and on popular beaches was another time-consuming task.

Trail maintenance became considerably more labor intensive after the creation of the wilderness area. The Wilderness Act required that the NPS make every feasible effort to eliminate use of motorized equipment in designated wilderness. Since 1982, PRNS staff

members have performed trail maintenance without mechanized equipment, hiking to each site and working with hand tools.⁹⁶ Restrictions pursuant to the Endangered Species Act also affect trail crew work at certain locations.

Buildings and Grounds Following further acquisition of land for the seashore in 1971–1972, maintenance crews removed thirty miles of barbed wire fencing to improve access and safety for bicyclists, hikers, and horseback riders. Staff also removed “several tons of debris” from recently purchased ranchlands.⁹⁷ Ranchers in turn accomplished significant cleanup and repair of their facilities at the prompting of PRNS staff. In 1973, the park demolished (or permitted the high public bidder to disassemble and remove) fifteen recently acquired ranch buildings deemed “decrepit,” and crews returned the grounds to “natural conditions.” Such “restoration” projects typically entailed digging a large ditch near the structure, then using a Caterpillar tractor to knock the building down, bulldoze the detritus into the pit, and then cover the pit with the removed soil. On some occasions, new seed or plantings were used to return the site to natural conditions. Seashore staff similarly disposed of an additional nineteen structures in 1974.

While some ranch buildings were coming down, others were going up. Under the guidance of park resource managers, dairy ranchers erected four new “loafing” barns by 1975 to help keep the ranches within federal pollution control standards. Loafing barns are covered areas where cows can shelter, particularly during the oft-stormy weather at Point Reyes. The barns have cement floors and drainage systems that ensure appropriate chemical treatment of liquid manure before it spills into surface streams. Loafing operations also make it easier for the dairy rancher to collect solid waste to use as fertilizer.⁹⁸

Seashore staff oversaw the removal of the seven private homes on the Limantour Spit, along with the associated utility poles, wires, and other installations. Park administrators set up an arrangement that allowed private individuals to bid for the right to disassemble a particular house and take the materials for their own use, as long as they agreed to remove all materials from the original site. Property owners constructed several new homes on the peninsula (outside PRNS boundaries) in the 1970s using recycled wood and fixtures from the Limantour houses. For example, Burr Heneman built his house in Bolinas out of materials from one of the Limantour cottages.⁹⁹ After the houses and foundations were completely removed from the spit, seashore crews tore up and hauled away the mile length of roadway.¹⁰⁰

Structures that were not demolished or moved were put to use for Park Service staff and projects. A barn on the Hagmaier Ranch, for example, served as a horse stable and a supply cache for patrols in the north segment of GGNRA. Maintenance staff converted other ranch structures around the peninsula for use as administrative offices and staff housing. One of the Limantour homes was moved to Bear Valley to serve as a new visitor center. Two buildings on the Laguna Ranch became an overnight facility of the American Youth Hostel organization, which began accepting guests in 1972. Today, the hostel remains the only public overnight accommodations within PRNS boundaries. While the buildings and utilities division performed most of this repair or rehabilitation work, the seashore administration also contracted with local firms to do some of the structural work. For instance, a private construction outfit built new facilities at Drakes, North, and South beaches.¹⁰¹



Record No. 10350. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Two residences on Limantour Beach, prior to removal, 1970. Photograph by William Germeraad.

While public lodging within the seashore was not essential, because a variety of private motels, inns, and guest houses were located just outside the seashore, the opposite was true for staff housing. Skyrocketing real estate prices in California (Marin County in particular) made it extremely difficult for permanent staff at any level to purchase homes near the park. Correspondingly, high tax rates and the small number of vacant homes in West Marin resulted in rental prices beyond the budget of most permanent staff and virtually all of the term employees or seasonal staff. Thus, park administrators placed a high premium on acquiring and maintaining buildings suited for staff housing.

As the decades passed, fewer and fewer park employees could afford to live in the West Marin communities beyond PRNS boundaries. While the size of the seashore staff grew, real estate prices in the county continued to climb and the number of affordable homes or rental residences continued to diminish. Although some new ranch houses became available and were converted to staff housing, they were few in number. Housing requirements for seasonal staff locked up many of the remaining spots inside the park, and many of these quarters were far from ideal. By 2004, only one-third of PRNS permanent and term staff lived in park housing; of the other two-thirds, a large percentage lived in east Marin and Sonoma counties and some as far away as San Francisco or Oakland.¹⁰²

Point Reyes Lighthouse

Put into operation in 1870, the Point Reyes Lighthouse has long been a symbol of the intersection of land and sea, the luminous boundary between ship and shore that epitomized the Point Reyes environment. The history and symbolism of the lighthouse, and its dramatic, cliff-edge location have made the structure a tremendous tourist attraction. In addition to all its attractive attributes, the lighthouse has also been a maintenance nightmare. Point Reyes Lighthouse, the most recognizable icon of the Point Reyes landscape, became the responsibility of the Park Service when the U.S. Coast Guard turned it over to the national seashore in summer 1974. The Coast Guard relinquished its role as lighthouse keeper after installing an automated beacon on the

bluff below the lighthouse structure. When the Park Service acquired it, the lighthouse was a hundred-year-old structure that had been continually subjected to some of the harshest climatic conditions in the United States. Before historic survey work, interpretive programming, or visitor tours could take place there, maintenance crews set to work repairing and stabilizing the buildings and the site. Park administration budgeted \$52,000 for the initial alterations needed to prepare the site for visitor use.¹⁰³

**Bear Valley
Visitor
Center**

Although a former Limantour Spit house had been moved to Bear Valley to serve as a visitor center in the early 1970s, the new facility quickly became overcrowded, necessitating the construction of a modern visitor center that could serve as a focal point for seashore visitors. In 1978, Walter Gray, executor of the estate of William Field, came to Sansing with the information that he had “a little money” for the seashore from Bill Field, who had recently died. Field, a Nicasio resident who was a strong local supporter of the park, had bequeathed approximately \$750,000 to PRNS for a new visitor center. Sansing asked the NPS regional office to obtain a matching appropriation or grant, in order to cover the cost of a modern facility. When he received no response from the Park Service, Sansing searched for a solution amid his wide circle of personal and political acquaintances. Sansing contacted Point Reyes rancher Boyd Stewart to inquire whether the Marin Community Foundation might be able to help fund the visitor center. To the pleasure of everyone involved, the foundation came up with a donation matching Field’s \$750,000 bequest.

Jack Williams, chief of maintenance at the time, and Donald Neubacher, at the time education program administrator, hired noted architect Henrik Bull, of the San Francisco firm of Bull, Field, Volkman, Stockwell, who designed a barn-like structure to represent the peninsula’s ranching tradition. Bull became known for paying attention to the local environment of his projects, including his work at Bear Valley, where he realized that whatever he came up with “better look like it’s always been there.”¹⁰⁴ The resulting design mirrored the landscape theme, if not the regional architectural style, of Point Reyes. Bull’s impressive creation, with its massive beams and 42-foot-tall ceilings, won several design awards and was featured in national magazines. More important, the structure has facilitated visitor orientation, provided a focal point for interpretive activities, impressed new arrivals, and pleased staff ever since its construction. PRNS contracted with Dan Quan Design to design and produce modern interior exhibits featuring the marine ecosystems, which by that time had gained recognition as being among the park’s most significant natural resources.

Utilities

Although much of PRNS is considered wilderness and utilities are nonexistent, the maintenance division has had to maintain and construct essential utilities networks for park buildings, campsites, and the like. During the first years of PRNS operations, Bear Valley utilized a large spring that provided plenty of water. Later, when the county installed a water distribution system for homeowners in Olema Valley and the peninsula, the NPS tied into that system. Eventually, PRNS entered into an agreement with the North Marin Water District to supply drinking water and a fire line to the administrative headquarters and visitor facilities in Bear Valley. At Limantour Beach, water pipes were laid during the construction phase of Drakes Beach Estates. At Drakes, North, and South beaches, PRNS maintenance crews piped well water to the sites. Waste in the park is managed by septic tanks, except at Drakes Beach, where the high water table and steep bluffs make it impossible to have a percolation field at the site. Instead, a maintenance crew constructed a system that pumped waste to a spot higher on the hillside, where it went into two holding tanks for evaporation treatment.¹⁰⁵ From the mid-1960s on, the

national seashore had an annual agreement with the Marin Public Works Department to perform maintenance tasks at Point Reyes. Seashore staff members have also worked with Marin County Public Health Department officials to monitor the sewers and water quality of Point Reyes dairies.

**Dairy and
Cattle
Ranching**

During the past decade of PRNS history, and likely for several decades to come, one of the most complicated administrative issues has involved land use in the original pastoral zones of PRNS and GGNRA. During the 1961–1962 congressional debates regarding the authorization of a national seashore at Point Reyes, legislators discussed and tried to resolve some of the land-use problems, which they knew would make life complicated for future administrators at the park. They ironed out some of the potential conflicts in their construction of the Point Reyes bill, but other problems were only temporarily avoided or swept under the rug in order to ensure the bill’s passage. These latent conflicts resurfaced at various times during the next four decades, particularly when administrators tried to alter arrangements that had become part of the park’s status quo.

The specific language in the founding act, Public Law 87-657, which states that the government may not acquire land in the pastoral zone without the consent of the owner, “so long as it remains in its natural state, or is used exclusively for ranching and dairying purposes,” was in no way a mandate for the NPS to continue agricultural activity at Point Reyes.¹⁰⁶ That language described the terms by which a rancher would be allowed to maintain property ownership. In other words, if the rancher wanted to keep title to their property for a designated period of time, they had to keep the land in its traditional agricultural operations; otherwise the government could condemn the property in order to ensure that the NPS remained in control of the land. The point was to keep other inappropriate land uses—subdivisions, apartment buildings, Ferris wheels, and the like—from appearing in the center of a national seashore.

The authorizing act did not mandate the ranch owners, or the NPS, to keep the land in agricultural use; they did want to maintain undeveloped open space, the pastoral scene, and rights of the original property owners. Many NPS officials and members of Congress assumed that once the government purchased the land in the pastoral zone, it would eventually be allowed to return to its natural state, as that term was then understood. When the government purchased from ranch owners the land needed to create the national seashore, the NPS granted reservations of use and occupancy (ROPs), or in some cases, life estates, to landholders who wanted to continue their dairy or cattle grazing businesses. The ROPs gave the ranchers and their descendants, generally for a period of twenty-five years, the right to continue living and working on their former properties, as long as they continued their traditional agricultural operations. By the early 1990s, the terms of the ROPs began to expire, leaving park administration to determine how to proceed.

Sansing, many of his staff, and a majority of the local population favored a continuation of traditional dairying and grazing on the peninsula. In his 1990 “Statement for Management,” Sansing suggested that given economic value, public support, and legislative backing of ranching activities, they were likely to “continue indefinitely” within the national seashore.¹⁰⁷ Most, but not all, of the regional environmental organizations involved with the park supported continuation of agricultural practices, although they wished to see the park place more stringent regulations on those operations to prevent overgrazing and soil erosion, and to improve water quality. Most ranchers, of course, would have liked to renew their ROPs, but NPS policy did not allow for that.¹⁰⁸

Sansing, who had been an advocate for the ranchers, began negotiating leases and grazing permits with them well before the expiration of eight ROPs in 1991, in order to assure the ranchers that they could continue to invest in their operations.¹⁰⁹ To smooth the process, the NPS hired an outside firm to perform the property appraisals, which were used to determine the rental rates and permit fees. Two ranchers entered into lease agreements in 1991, the six others did so in 1992. Sansing believed that the park's approach to the appraisal process proved beneficial, observing that the rental rates were "accepted by the ranchers without as much unfavorable comment as had been expected."¹¹⁰ Certainly, it is possible that any number of these ranchers might have had strong objections to the transition from ROPs to lease agreements, but chose not to express them publicly. But others may well have come to terms with their tenant status. In a 2001 interview with a reported from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, long-time rancher Boyd Stewart explained that over the years, many of the Point Reyes ranchers had come to see the NPS presence as helpful to their operations, rather than a hindrance. Stewart noted that Point Reyes was "the only major block of land in Marin County" that remained in agricultural use, which was only possible "because the park is here."¹¹¹

Between 1999 and 2001, nineteen more ROPs expired, requiring the park to engage in another round of appraisals and rental agreements. It also represented the completion of another transition: the peninsula ranchers were now lessees with five-year rental agreements rather than holders of the long-term ROPs.¹¹² Independent contract appraisers established the rental rates for the ranch facilities, based on the "prevailing prices in competitive markets for goods, resource, or service that are the same or similar to those provided by the government," as authorized in 36 CFR 18.5.¹¹³ The park also set new grazing permit fees for the ranchers, according to a fair-market-value assessment of surrounding, comparable land parcels. Fees were charged per Animal Unit Month (AUM) rate, using the Bureau of Land Management average rate for public rangeland in California as a point of comparison.

**Wilkins
Ranch
Controversy**

A Point Reyes rancher's lease agreement covered only five years, but both the park and the rancher entered into the agreement with the understanding that the leases could be renewed into the indefinite future, as long as that ranch remained a viable agricultural operation. This was not true with special use permits, which were intended to cover a discreet period of time without renewal. Conflicts occasionally arose when a permittee resisted their required abandonment of a property. In 1998, PRNS began to take steps, laid out in the 1980 GMP, to rehabilitate several structures at Rancho Baulines (Wilkins Ranch) and convert the entire property into an education center. The first step in that process involved notifying longtime tenant Mary Tiscornia that the park would not renew her special-use permit to stay on the ranch. For reasons that are still unclear, Tiscornia had received and then continually renewed a five-year use permit to stay on the ranch, even though it was no longer in full agricultural production. Although the NPS never intended the property to remain a residence and small-scale farm, the previous administration had allowed Tiscornia to retain her permit while plans for the proposed education center were in stasis.

Tiscornia protested the park's decision regarding her permit, especially when no other tenant was ready to take over the ranch. She argued that she should be able to continue on as permittee because she helped keep up the ranch and because she considered the place her home after living there for thirty years.¹¹⁴ In other words, she sought squatter's rights to an arrangement that thousands of Bay Area residents would clamor for a shot at—a chance to live in the beauty and splendor of the Point Reyes Peninsula, protected from

future development. PRNS arranged a different special-use permit that would allow Tiscornia to remain on the property until May 2001.¹¹⁵ Instead, Tiscornia sued Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt to revoke NPS's decision to terminate her prior permit. The court ruled in June 1999 that Tiscornia held no right to maintain her tenancy, a decision congruent with PRNS legislative guidelines, which allowed ranchers to remain on their former properties only if traditional agricultural operations continued. Nonetheless, Tiscornia continued to protest the NPS decision and found an effective vehicle to air her complaints in the local newspaper, the *Point Reyes Light*.¹¹⁶

Neubacher believed the rifts that sometimes opened between the park and local population, such as the conflict over Rancho Baulines, were not nearly as deep or as wide as they might have appeared, and healed over time. He noted, in fact, "If we had a more balanced sort of local paper it wouldn't have been as bad," a reference to the occasionally inflammatory headlines and articles in the *Point Reyes Light*.¹¹⁷ Biased coverage is certainly the prerogative, and possibly the *raison d'être*, of a community newspaper in a locale shared with a large federal entity. But the paper merely contributed to the confusion and animosity when, for example, it made vague attributions regarding the number and motivation of the objecting parties. The paper regularly used headlines and subheads that intimated the entire town of Bolinas was opposed the park's actions ("Bolinas furious at park's quiet Rancho dealings") when, in fact, protestors were in the minority.¹¹⁸

As news coverage kept the conflict visible, some (it is unclear how many) Bolinas residents did join in the clamor over Rancho Baulines. Detractors contended that the presence of an education center at the Bolinas "Y" (where the road to Bolinas leaves Highway 101) would attract unwanted crowds of tourists to their community. Furthermore, they argued, the NPS should have notified the community of their plans before negotiating with Tiscornia or with the Point Reyes Bird Observatory (PRBO), a likely tenant for the education center.¹¹⁹ In November 2000, the ad hoc Bolinas Committee on Park Planning and the directors of the Bolinas Public Utility District called for PRNS to postpone their decision about Wilkins Ranch and institute a process wherein the public could participate in the final decision. By that time, however, the NPS had already aired their proposals to the Citizens' Advisory Commission and opened the issue for public comment, clearly meeting their federal requirements to engage citizen input.¹²⁰ The controversy brought out park supporters as well, many of who wrote to the *Point Reyes Light* or to PRNS in agreement with NPS decision-making at Point Reyes.¹²¹ A group of Point Reyes and GGNRA ranchers, for example, wrote a joint letter to Neubacher praising their long and positive work relationship with park management and stating that they had felt, all along, that the park was committed to keeping the working ranches viable and an integral part of the national seashore.¹²²

Public dialogue regarding proposals for the Wilkins Ranch reappeared the next year when the NPS released the draft Environmental Assessment (EA) of the property for public review. PRNS posted notice of the comment period and the dates for a public meeting of the Citizen's Advisory Commission, via the park's website, a press release to the *Point Reyes Light*, and mass mailings to individuals and organizations. By the end of the comment period, the park had received 106 written communications—including letters, e-mail, faxes, and written testimony at the public meeting—nearly two-thirds of which supported the NPS recommended alternative.¹²³ Following the May 5, 2000, advisory commission meeting, the planning team reviewed the comments, revised the Wilkins

Ranch EA, and released the new document for a second public comment period in October.

After the thirty-day review period, in which the park received only four additional letters, PRNS released the results of the completed EA in a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) in April 2002.¹²⁴ It described the preferred action alternative in the EA that directed the NPS to create public access to the ranch building and property, rehabilitate buildings in need of repair, upgrade the water and septic systems, and establish a conservation and education center that would provide educational and interpretive programs.¹²⁵ The final decision included several small modifications made to the original alternative that were ironed out in an informal face-to-face meeting, in the backyard of a Bolinas home, between park managers and an ad hoc committee of Bolinas residents. One of the modifications included express guidelines that any future group operating at the site will be asked to follow.¹²⁶ The agreed-upon modifications put an end to the contentiousness over the ranch's future.

NEW MANAGEMENT, NEW STRATEGIES

In his first annual report, Superintendent Donald Neubacher dubbed 1995 the “year of change” at PRNS. Not only did Neubacher step in as the first new superintendent in twenty-five years, but also LeeRoy Brock retired at the start of the year after serving as Sansing's chief ranger. Neubacher saw the transition period as an opportunity to make changes in several key areas of seashore management. Unlike Sansing, Neubacher was very familiar with PRNS operations when he took up the administrative reins, due to his previous tour of duty as chief of the interpretative division.

Neubacher initiated a new round of planning activity, beginning with a series of meetings in which managerial and field staff provided input for the development of a mission statement, a listing of park objectives, and a five-year strategic plan.¹²⁷ After obtaining this initial feedback, he targeted the following operations for changes or improvements: natural resource protection, biological research, cultural resource protection (including the addition of a CRM division), modernization of the park's technological capacities, partnerships with outside agencies, and interagency connections.¹²⁸ During his first two years as superintendent, Neubacher also initiated new management plans for park housing, among other significant reforms to park administration, organization, and operations.

Neubacher was born in Vallejo, California, and grew up in Healdsburg, Sonoma County. He attended the University of California at Davis as an undergraduate, then Humboldt State University for graduate work in resource management. Neubacher made the familiar climb up through the ranks of the Park Service, from summer seasonal field jobs (his first position was at Glacier Bay National Park in Alaska during the mid-1970s) to his current rung as superintendent. While a graduate student at Humboldt State, he worked at Point Reyes through an arrangement with the school's Cooperative Park Studies Unit. After obtaining a graduate degree in resource management, Neubacher's experience through the cooperative studies program enabled him to land his first permanent job as an education specialist in the division of visitor services and interpretation at Point Reyes. He worked at the Coast Miwok Indian village and with environmental education programs in the local community schools. Neubacher quickly moved his way up to division chief at PRNS, replacing Dave Pugh. He then transferred to

the Denver Service Center, where he became the planning team chief and deputy manager for the Presidio master plan at GGNRA.¹²⁹ During that time, Neubacher worked closely with Stanley L. Albright, the regional director, in what became an intense, politicized planning process that entailed working with congressional leaders, community activists, Bay Area environmental groups, and other NPS officials. In this position, Neubacher gained recognition for his management and planning skills, and obtained a wealth of administrative experience; undoubtedly, the experience paved the way for him to return to Point Reyes.¹³⁰

**Increased
Emphasis on
Resource
Management**

Neubacher substantially expanded the park's resource programs, adding staff and new management positions in natural resources, and inaugurating three entire new divisions in cultural resource management, fire management, and science and research. Among the most significant changes he wrought were making PRNS into a major center (among NPS sites) for research in the biological sciences, spearheaded by Sarah Allen, who was hired as a GIS Specialist and Wildlife Biologist in 1995 and became Science Advisor in 1997. Allen's specialized knowledge in marine ecology helped the seashore obtain immediate expertise, which it had been sorely lacking, in one of the seashore's most significant natural resources—coastal ecosystems.¹³¹ In a serendipitous quirk of timing, the year Allen arrived, the number of elephant seal pups born at the national seashore increased by 30 percent and winter storms extended the seals' pupping territory as well. In 1995, the seashore initiated four new research studies: snowy plover monitoring, an intertidal inventory, a tule elk population study, and habitat restoration. Under Neubacher's guidance, the PRNS continued to initiate an impressive array of new research projects, created a science division, and established the Pacific Coast Science and Learning Center.

Neubacher and his senior staff also set out to increase interdivision harmony and staff morale. They introduced an adjustable work schedule that gave employees with families or those with long commutes more flexibility.¹³² Additional training time and funds were also provided to employees. The administrative team put an end to the district arrangement that had split visitor protection staff into separate fiefdoms. In an extreme example of the impact districting could have on personnel, Sansing recollected that a district ranger who covered the Pierce Point section of the park in the 1970s had become so territorial that he wanted other PRNS staff to obtain passes before they entered his province.¹³³

Neubacher saw that new connections and working relationships were needed outside the park as well as within it. Between 1995 and 2002, the administration established new partnerships, or reaffirmed prior collaborations, with a wide variety of organizations. New partnerships included Point Reyes Bird Observatory (PRBO, now called PRBO Conservation Science), Marin Conservation Corps, the National Biological Survey, Marin County Resource Conservation District, the Sonoma State University Academic Foundation, and others.¹³⁴

Neubacher's skills in building connections with groups outside the agency and his strengths in fostering interrelationships within the NPS did not immediately carry over to his work with the Point Reyes ranching community. Local ranchers had grown accustomed to the close ties they had with Sansing and Brock and were very familiar with their management style. While Neubacher sought to foster good relationships with the ranchers themselves, he directed changes in the park's range and dairy management regulations and protocols, which some ranchers protested. Range management at Point

Reyes became more systematic, and resource management staff initiated new range conservation plans for each operating ranch. In reality, Sansing himself had spurred some of these changes, starting with his establishment in 1985 of a range conservationist position at the seashore.¹³⁵ During Neubacher's first year as superintendent, the park held seven workshops on range conservation planning for Point Reyes ranchers. The more systematic approach to range management was demonstrated with the introduction of a ranch-planning workbook, a software application for dairy waste management, and greater attention to residual dry matter measurement (RDMs) transects to determine the condition of grazing lands.¹³⁶ Neubacher, however, moved more quickly to implement changes in ranch procedures and instituted a greater number of them. One of his first steps, after obtaining input from the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, was to decrease the stocking rates (the number of cattle allowed on a particular parcel of land) in 1996; soon thereafter, he okayed an increase in ranchers' grazing fees.¹³⁷

Moreover, Neubacher challenged the appropriateness of some former ranch practices to which ranchers felt entitled. For instance, ranchers continued to use borrow pits located within the national seashore to extract gravel and fill materials for road repairs and the like. Although the authorizing act and subsequent legislation allowed a continuance of agricultural operations in general, it was very rare for the NPS to allow extractive activity in any of its units. NPS national policy directed in-park residents or lessees to avoid this kind of resource exploitation within an NPS site by obtaining materials outside the park boundaries. Neubacher ordered a halt to the quarrying, aiming eventually to restore the sites. But he later changed his tack somewhat, deciding to hold public hearings regarding the fate of the borrow pits, with the idea of consenting to continued use at one site while the ranchers, in turn, agreed to assist in or help pay for restoration of the other gravel quarries. Although no agreement had been worked out at the time of this writing, the process indicates the type of difficult compromises Neubacher learned to make in working with Point Reyes ranchers.¹³⁸ The conflict also reveals the complexity of managing economically viable agricultural operations within an NPS unit that was established primarily as a natural and recreation area.

Several individuals interviewed for this administrative history described a perception that there was less harmony between the park and the community under Neubacher than had existed in prior decades. Whether perception or reality, the shortage of staff housing in and immediately outside PRNS by the 1990s might have contributed to this change. Fewer staff lived among the park's neighbors than in earlier decades. Of the one hundred permanent employees on staff in 2004, two-thirds lived outside the park, mainly in east Marin and Sonoma counties.¹³⁹ With fewer staff living in the immediate vicinity, PRNS administration and managers have had to take a more deliberate approach to develop open and effective relationships with community members. Neubacher acknowledged that at times the effort he put into making those connections, such as conducting three or four consecutive meetings in different towns in the space of one morning, were "simply exhausting."¹⁴⁰

Conclusion

Several issues discussed in this chapter convey some of the complexities that PRNS administrators have faced over the past thirty years, including the long-term viability of agriculture on the peninsula, public participation in the administrative policy-making process, recreational access to PRNS land, natural resource preservation, cultural resource preservation, communication with gateway communities, partnerships with research and education programs, relationships with the media, and the value of sound park planning. All were topics that PRNS administrators would be dealing with in the

decades to come. In fact, one of the contributing factors in the controversy over the use of the Wilkins Ranch was the lack of an up-to-date management plan to help define and direct such decisions. Park managers were still relying on the twenty-year-old GMP as the basis for policy and decision making. Accordingly, in the late 1990s, Neubacher set in motion planning for a new GMP, which was nearing completion at the time of this writing.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

¹ National Park Service, “Operations Evaluation, Point Reyes National Seashore,” May 1972, Box 1, Accession 78-0001, PORE Correspondence Files, RG 79 Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno, California (hereafter PORE Files, NARA-SB), 1.

² “Operations Evaluation, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1972, 1–2.

³ John L. Sansing, unpublished memoir, n.d., Superintendent’s Office Files, Administration Building, PORE.

⁴ Burr Heneman, interview by Paul Sadin, November 30, 2004, Bolinas, California, audiotape recording, HRA Administrative History Project Files (hereafter HRA Files), Point Reyes National Seashore Archives and Library (hereafter PRA).

⁵ Heneman, interview.

⁶ John L. Sansing, interview by Paul Sadin, April 29, 2004, San Rafael, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.

⁷ Gordon Ashby, interview by Paul Sadin, November 30, 2004, Point Reyes Station, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.

⁸ Sansing, interview.

⁹ Sansing, memorandum to all employees, August 1971, File Land Acquisition–Confidential, Carton 5, NPS Administrative History Files, Accession PORE-8053, PRA.

¹⁰ LeeRoy Brock, interview by Paul Sadin, August 12, 2004, Point Reyes Station, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.

¹¹ Brock, interview.

¹² “Tanker Collision in San Francisco Bay Spurs Demands for Stiff Harbor Controls,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1971, S9.

¹³ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 16.

¹⁴ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 16.

¹⁵ International Bird Rescue Research Center, “Just Little Bit of Oil Can Be Deadly,” International Bird Rescue Research Center website, Fairfield, California, 2005, http://www.ibrrc.org/oil_affects.html.

¹⁶ International Bird Rescue Research Center, “The Genesis of IBRRC,” International Bird Rescue Research Center website, Fairfield, California, 2005, http://www.ibrrc.org/f_perspective.html.

¹⁷ Harry R. Carter and Richard T. Golightly, eds., “Seabird Injuries from the 1997–1998 Point Reyes Tarball Incidents,” report prepared for the NPS by Department of Wildlife, Humboldt State University, Arcata, California, under Cooperative Agreement No. 1443-CA-8530-99-003, July 2003.

¹⁸ Sarah Allen, written communication with Paul Sadin, December 11, 2005.

¹⁹ International Bird Rescue Research Center, “A Long History of Saving Oiled Wildlife,” International Bird Rescue Research Center website, Fairfield, California, 2005, <http://www.ibrrc.org/history.html>.

²⁰ Conservation and environment groups, for instance, pushed for the adoption of a Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem in the late 1970s, as a means to protect the migratory corridors of endangered wildlife populations; James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone’s Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 254–57.

- ²¹ For a thorough description and analysis of GGNRA establishment, see Hal K. Rothman, *The Park that Creates Its Own Weather: An Administrative History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area*, online rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2002) <http://www.nps.gov/goga/history/pdf/hist-admin-2nd-edition.pdf>. Rothman's revised administrative history was subsequently published as *The New Urban Park: Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Civic Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004). For primary sources, see oral history interviews with selected participants in the GGNRA campaign in the Bancroft Oral History Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and the collected papers of the Sierra Club and individual club members in the Bancroft Library's archival holdings.
- ²² Rothman, *The Park that Creates Its Own Weather*, 70.
- ²³ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 34–35.
- ²⁴ Doug Nadeau, interview by Paul Sadin, December 3, 2004, San Rafael, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
- ²⁵ Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), 173–81.
- ²⁶ William Duddleson, interview by Paul Sadin, October 28–29, 2004, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, HRA Files, PRA. Duddleson made the "bare-bones" description in review comments on this chapter sent to Gordon White, July 29, 2006.
- ²⁷ Congress, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation Hearing on H.R. 9498, a Golden Gate National Recreation Area*, May 11 & 12, 1972, 340.
- ²⁸ Duddleson, interview.
- ²⁹ Richard Bartke, correspondence with Paul Sadin, June 9, 2006.
- ³⁰ Sansing, interview.
- ³¹ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 27.
- ³² Brock, interview.
- ³³ Bartke, correspondence.
- ³⁴ Sansing, interview.
- ³⁵ Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 124–25, 131.
- ³⁶ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 124.
- ³⁷ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 130.
- ³⁸ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 136.
- ³⁹ Point Reyes National Seashore (hereafter PRNS), "Staff Meeting Minutes SFBAG," April 20, 1970, File A4023 Staff Mtg., Box 1, Accession 79-78-0001, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 4. Omundson joined the staff in 1969 or early 1970.
- ⁴⁰ Doris [Omundson] Bowen, interview by Paul Sadin, Tullake, California, March 28, 2007.
- ⁴¹ Jack Williams, telephone interview by Paul Sadin, April 27, 2005.
- ⁴² Sansing, unpublished memoir, 11.
- ⁴³ Nadeau, interview. The Western Office of Design and Construction was the predecessor of the regional service center.
- ⁴⁴ Nadeau uses this particular term to categorize the master plans of that period. Nadeau, interview.
- ⁴⁵ Nadeau, interview.
- ⁴⁶ Nadeau, interview.
- ⁴⁷ Dwight F. Rettie, *Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 106–7.
- ⁴⁸ Nadeau, interview.
- ⁴⁹ Robert S. Luntley, Chief of Resource Planning, to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, May 22, 1969, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁵⁰ NPS, Office of Environmental Planning and Design, "Planning Directive, Point Reyes National Seashore," May 1, 1970, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB, 2.

- ⁵¹ Luntley to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, May 22, 1969, 2.
- ⁵² Fred J. Novak, Western Region Office, to all Superintendents, Western Region, April 21, 1970; Hartzog to Regional Directors, memorandum, March 9, 1970, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁵³ Sansing to Director, Western Region, September 30, 1971, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁵⁴ Rettie, *Our National Park System*, 107.
- ⁵⁵ Nadeau, interview; and Nadeau to Gordon White, personal correspondence, May 30, 2006.
- ⁵⁶ R. L. Bruckman, Inverness, to Sansing, September 25, 1971, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁵⁷ William Duddleson, “The Miracle of Point Reyes,” *Living Wilderness* 35 (Summer 1971), 20.
- ⁵⁸ Mrs. Bruce Johnson, Greenbrae, California, to the Superintendent, September 21, 1971, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, Accession 76A713, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁵⁹ John V. Tunney, “Statement by Senator John V. Tunney, NPS Hearings, September 22–23, 1971, Marin Civic Center,” presented by Clarence C. Kent, Field Representative, File D1815, Suggestions for Master Plan, 1971, Box 2, PORE Files, NARA-SB.
- ⁶⁰ Alan Cranston, “Statement by United States Senator Alan Cranston, California, on the Point Reyes Master Plan, Before National Park Service Hearing, Marin County Civic Center, Wednesday, September 22, 1971,” File D1815, Suggestions for Master Plan, 1971, Box 2, PORE Records, NARA-SB.
- ⁶¹ Stewart L. Udall, interview by Paul Sadin, February 3, 2005, Santa Fe, New Mexico, transcription, HRA Files, PRA, 5–6.
- ⁶² Legislators introduced the first version of wilderness bills in 1956; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, 1982), 221.
- ⁶³ Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 3rd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 241.
- ⁶⁴ Runte, *National Parks*, 241. Runte is only one of the many national park historians who have made this argument.
- ⁶⁵ Udall, interview.
- ⁶⁶ Rick Harmon, *Crater Lake National Park: A History* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002), 179.
- ⁶⁷ Harmon, *Crater Lake National Park*, 180–81.
- ⁶⁸ Donald Cameron, telephone interview by Paul Sadin, March 10, 2005, American Fork, Utah, unrecorded, notes in HRA Files, PRA.
- ⁶⁹ Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 193. As of 2004, the Park Service was still delinquent on studies required for 39 NPS units, and tardy on sending wilderness recommendations for an additional 2.7 million acres to the White House. *The Wilderness Act Handbook; 40th Anniversary Edition*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Wilderness Society, 2004), 35.
- ⁷⁰ NPS, “Wilderness Study: Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1971, Carton 2—loose materials, Administrative History Files, PRA.
- ⁷¹ Tunney, “Statement by Senator John V. Tunney, NPS Hearings, September 22–23, 1971, Marin Civic Center.”
- ⁷² Cranston, “Statement.”
- ⁷³ *An Act to Establish a National Wilderness Preservation System*, Public Law 88-577, 88th Congress, 2^d session, September 3, 1964, 2(c). To understand some of the complexities of evaluating prehistoric land use patterns and their long-term effects, see these two scholarly landmarks in the field of environmental history, Richard White, *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980, 1992), and William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indian, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), for starters.
- ⁷⁴ William Cronon, “The Trouble With Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 79.
- ⁷⁵ Duddleson, interview.

- ⁷⁶ Department of the Interior, “National Park Service Hearing on Point Reyes National Seashore, San Rafael, California, September 23, 1971, prepared by Schiller’s Reporting Service, San Francisco, Carton 2—loose materials, Administrative History Files, PRA.
- ⁷⁷ Duddleson, interview.
- ⁷⁸ Duddleson, interview.
- ⁷⁹ Nadeau, interview. Nadeau contrasted the 1963 and 1972 management plans by observing that “all of the frightful things that were done at Point Reyes,” took place prior to the second master plan.
- ⁸⁰ Duddleson, interview.
- ⁸¹ An Act To Designate Certain Land In The Point Reyes National Seashore, California, As Wilderness, Public Law 544, 94th Congress, 2^d sess. (October 18, 1976).
- ⁸² H. Rept. 94-1680,
- ⁸³ H. Rept. 94-1680, 2–4.
- ⁸⁴ Rothman, *The Park that Creates Its Own Weather*, 91.
- ⁸⁵ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 46.
- ⁸⁶ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 2.
- ⁸⁷ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 2–3.
- ⁸⁸ Emphasis added. NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 3.
- ⁸⁹ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 3.
- ⁹⁰ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, iv.
- ⁹¹ NPS, “General Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1980, 9.
- ⁹² Although district ranger Brown was mentioned in several documents, his first name, unfortunately, was not.
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- ⁹⁶ PRNS, “Trail Inventory and Condition Assessment with Recommendations, Point Reyes National Seashore and the North District of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, November 2003,” PRNS website, http://www.nps.gov/pore/home_mngmntdocs_trailinventory2003.htm, 6.
- ⁹⁷ PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1972,” 7.
- ⁹⁸ PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1975,” shelved materials, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, California (hereafter PWRO), n.p.
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- ¹⁰⁰ Heneman, interview.
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- ¹¹¹ Bill English, “Preserving Paradise: Point Reyes Cattle Ranchers and Park Service Work Together to Keep Alive a Way of Life,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 6, 2001.
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- ¹¹⁴ “Residents Blast Park over Rancho Baulines Evictions,” *Point Reyes Light*, October 26, 2000.
- ¹¹⁵ Gordon White, correspondence with Paul Sadin, received April 29, 2005.
- ¹¹⁶ “Park Service To Drop Lease at Rancho Baulines,” *Point Reyes Light*, December 16, 1999.
- ¹¹⁷ Neubacher, interview.
- ¹¹⁸ “Bolinás Furious at Park’s Rancho Dealings,” *Point Reyes Light*, January 25, 2001; and Gordon White, telephone discussion with Paul Sadin, April 22, 2005.
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- ¹²⁸ Neubacher, interview.
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- ¹³¹ “Point Reyes National Seashore, 1995,” Annual Report, 4.
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- ¹³³ Sansing, unpublished memoir, 22.
- ¹³⁴ “Point Reyes National Seashore, 1995,” 2; and PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1996,” File A2621, CCF, PRNS, 8.
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- ¹³⁶ “Point Reyes National Seashore, 1995,” 5.
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CHAPTER SIX

CHAPTER SIX

VISITOR USE, VISITOR SERVICES, AND PARK PROTECTION OPERATIONS

In the early days, we'd just fly down and I probably ran over five or six people, plus a few of my best friends. I didn't mean to, but I'd get in a power slide and, you know, just scoop 'em up, like a cow catcher.

... "reformed" Marin County mountain biker

The proximity of Point Reyes National Seashore to a major urban center, and thus the ease of public access to its most popular recreational features, has been the park's bounty and its burden. On the one hand, millions of potential visitors within a one- or two-hour drive made it easy for park managers to meet part of the NPS mission, to provide resources "for the enjoyment . . . for the benefit and inspiration of all the people." On the other hand, those same millions made it more difficult to keep the seashore's resources "unimpaired for the use of future generations."¹ PRNS administrators' attempts to strike an appropriate, complicated balance between visitor use and resource protection at Point Reyes thus recapitulated the long saga of debate over this question in other national parks, dating to conflicts that arose soon after Yellowstone National Park's establishment in 1872. Although the park's resources are still center stage, this chapter reveals to a greater extent how the park and the public define and redefine human activities, particularly in regard to such issues as public access, safety, comfort, and whether there is a "place" for particular types of leisure and recreational activities within a national seashore. In one case, involving the appropriateness of bicycle use in designated wilderness, the process of defining was not just an abstraction. NPS policy making came down to determining the specific definition of the term *machine*, as used in the 1964 Wilderness Act, and debating whether a bicycle fit that definition.

Regardless of which particular attraction or activity drew visitors to PRNS, park staff had the responsibility to accommodate and protect them, and to respond to any emergencies they might encounter. The seashore's authorization act and the NPS organic act likewise charged the staff with protecting the park's resources from visitor overuse or abuse. In the course of fulfilling these duties, ranger staff also had to protect visitors from each other and, at times, to protect themselves.

ACCOMMODATING VISITOR USE AT POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Between 1970 and 2002, an average of roughly two million people visited PRNS each year.² People came to Point Reyes for the very reasons park campaigners and Congress envisioned when they established the national seashore: beach recreation, hiking, sightseeing, photography, and peace and quiet. As the inclinations and technologies of outdoor recreationists evolved, visitors also came to pursue activities legislators and conservationists may not have foreseen, including trail running, mountain biking, whale watching, and "collecting" lighthouses for their "passports."³ During the first decades of park operations, visitor activities included sightseeing, hiking, backpacking, horseback riding, photography, nature study, bicycling, fishing, bird-watching, historical tourism, sailing, kayaking and canoeing, motorboating, and a variety of ocean beach activities that

included swimming, sunbathing (clothed or nude), tide pooling, shellfish gathering, picnicking, surfing, and various and sundry other pursuits.

Table 1. Total Recreation Visits, 1966-2005

Year	Point Reyes NS Total Recreation Visits	Year	Point Reyes NS Total Recreation Visits
1966	411,300	1986	2,053,399
1967	521,200	1987	2,126,790
1968	574,500	1988	2,241,850
1969	973,100	1989	2,204,407
1970	1,089,200	1990	2,369,083
1971	1,347,700	1991	2,396,904
1972	1,123,790	1992	2,579,949
1973	1,231,500	1993	2,561,234
1974	1,307,900	1994	2,466,532
1975	1,466,700	1995	2,208,369
1976	1,620,200	1996	2,272,398
1977	1,785,200	1997	2,505,547
1978	1,919,989	1998	2,477,409
1979	1,489,135	1999	2,300,631
1980	1,408,810	2000	2,325,336
1981	1,322,449	2001	2,222,762
1982	1,344,582	2002	2,395,693
1983	1,424,751	2003	2,224,882
1984	2,032,238	2004	1,960,055
1985	1,991,615	2005	1,988,585

**Beach
Recreation
and Boating**

When Congress designated Point Reyes a national seashore, that status immediately advertised it as a place to go and enjoy the beach. Local residents had long known and enjoyed the pleasure of walking or relaxing on the peninsula’s ocean beaches, such as those at Limantour Spit and Drakes Bay. The first NPS survey of Point Reyes praised Drakes Beach for its “majestic stretches of gently sloping, sandy beaches of warm tan color guarded by tawny bluffs.”⁴ Not coincidentally, a windswept walk along the beach highlighted the first conservation field trip for the authorization campaign. Bay Area newspapers frequently ran articles featuring the waves, bluffs, dunes, and ocean views of the peninsula. As a result, the beaches became popular before park staff had time to ensure that adequate facilities were in place. Unlike other recreational activities, beach recreation was not the domain of a specialty-use group like mountain bikers or kayakers. Rather, the beach offered a wide range of activities, from the most leisurely to the most active. Point Reyes beaches attracted visitors who sunbathed, picnicked, fished (for example, there were 33,900 salt-water-angler use days in 1974), and dug for clams.⁵

Boaters also utilized the seashore’s recreational opportunities, primarily plying the calm waters of Tomales Bay. The maintenance division established two primitive beach campgrounds, accessible only by water, on the bay’s western shore. With minimal facilities and nearby camping available at Tomales Bay State Park, the camps were

lightly used; for example, approximately twenty visits per month were recorded in 1972.⁶ Ranger staff used a twenty-one-foot outboard Boston whaler obtained in 1974 to patrol these camps and keep in contact with boaters in Tomales Bay and on the ocean coast.⁷ The boat was also a key piece of equipment in search and rescue operations, including cliff rescues and drowning recoveries.

During the first years of staff operations, chief ranger Gordon K. Patterson was sure that swimming in Drakes Bay would be a big recreational activity at Point Reyes. He hired lifeguards, erected lifeguard towers, and sent all of the ranger staff through a state-certified life-saving course. In a 2005 interview, early Point Reyes ranger Bob Barbee recalled that the staff jokingly referred to themselves as Patterson’s “swim and fin club,” because of his unrealistic effort to make swimming the central recreational activity at the national seashore.⁸ As the ranchers and ranger staff had already surmised, the cold water and often-cool summer weather kept the swimmers away from the ocean beaches. But the beaches were a popular destination for a wide range of other activities.



Record No. 38060. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Point Reyes lifeguards on duty at unknown beach, Point Reyes National Seashore, ca. 1960s. Rangers at that time joked about chief ranger Gordon Patterson’s “Swim and Fin Club.”

In the 1960s and 1970s, a time when personal liberties (free speech, free love, and so on) were emphasized, beaches—with their open expanses of sand and sea suggesting the ability to move about at will—offered a powerful sense of freedom from the built environment and motorized America. These were, in essence, the qualities the NPS sought to preserve within the national seashore schema. They were also qualities that lured a sizable portion of the San Francisco and Berkeley counterculture movement to visit Point Reyes. Barbee recollected that in the days of the free speech movement in Berkeley and hippie culture in Haight-Ashbury, Point Reyes was “inundated with people on their spiritual quests, all strung out [on drugs],” whose presence and behavior was a “real mystery to the staff.”⁹ Donald Cameron, chief of

maintenance at PRNS from 1966 until 1980, likewise noted “there were a lot of hippies in those days, you know . . . they really loved those beaches.”¹⁰ Many 1970s beachgoers, whether hippies or not, felt free to skip clothes, camp wherever and whenever they pleased, and operate, in general, as though they had free reign from authority.

These groups brought their own definition of the national seashore with them, a definition that conflicted with that of park staff and rules but which posted regulations and NPS policies did little to reshape. As a result, ranger duties at Limantour, Drakes, and South beaches were heavy, with numerous citations issued for illegal campfires, illegal camping, and parking violations. When weekend beach use through the 1970s rose from

hundreds to thousands of visitors, vandalism and parking lot “car clouting” (smashing windows in order to burglarize the vehicle) became regular problems.

Fundamental problems arose when a particular beach became the destination for a large gathering. In April 1971, for instance, approximately two thousand unexpected visitors traveled to Point Reyes for a Sunday “happening” at Palomarin Beach.¹¹ Because the organizers advertised the event through the Bay Area’s underground newspapers, park personnel were unaware of the impending impromptu rock festival until it was too late to keep the affair manageable. Rangers found cars backed up to a half-mile outside the park boundary, and the crowd at the beach ten times larger than they first realized. It was too late to call in additional help from the county and the staff had no means to control the crowd. Fortunately, the party ended peacefully: there were no criminal activities reported



Record No. 5190. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Visitors sunbathing at Drakes Beach, Point Reyes National Seashore, ca. 1980s.

and the organizers agreed to clean up the beach afterward.¹² But the incident was an eye-opener for the park’s administration and staff, coming on the heels of the “riot” just one year earlier in Yosemite’s National Park’s Stoneman meadow, as discussed later in this chapter.¹³ The happening at Palomarin had the potential, no matter how “copasetic” the participants, to result in injured people and damage to shoreline resources.

Weekend beach parties have been a popular activity and management problem throughout PRNS history. A July 4th celebration in 1991 that drew huge crowds to the beaches erupted into “alcohol related altercations,” other illegal activities (particularly fireworks), and a “near riot of unruly crowds” by the end of the evening.¹⁴ To prevent a reoccurrence of this debacle, the park closed Limantour and Drakes beaches at 6:00 P.M. the following Fourth of July holiday. The closure was successful in avoiding excess partying, without alienating many visitors or local community members. The park

handled the public relations effectively, in part by publicizing the closure ahead of time in the local newspapers.¹⁵

In 1996, PRNS staff got word of a planned gathering of the Rainbow Family at Limantour Beach.¹⁶ Worried that the large crowd would damage dune habitat, block the roadway, and severely overtax existing restroom facilities, staff blocked off the Limantour Road and turned back participants. Although a small number of early arrivals stayed the weekend quietly at the temporarily closed Limantour Beach, the park turned away hundreds or possibly thousands more who wished to participate in the festivities. By acting swiftly, though perhaps without adequate authority, the administration defused a potential problem, and did what they believed best to protect Limantour from the possible damages such a large number of people could inflict.

Although such instances of restrictions on recreational use were rare, park officials felt they were sometimes necessary to protect visitors and the environment. For the most part, however, park administration focused on efforts to make the beaches more, rather than less, accessible for its myriad uses. Completion of the Limantour Road in 1974 (and its reconstruction in 1984) was an important step in opening shoreline areas to public use. Providing access, however, entailed more than simply building roads to a destination. When PRNS added and improved on its concession facilities at Drakes Beach, it enabled casual tourists who had not planned ahead by bringing food or water to spend more time enjoying the beach. In 1975, maintenance crews built a designated parking space and a wheelchair ramp down to the beach path for disabled visitors. Even before passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 (which went into effect in 1992), these efforts provided access a wider range of the population, albeit often on paper only.¹⁷ In this era before uniform specifications were available, not all “handicapped” trails and ramps were negotiable for wheelchairs or walkers. In the past three decades, however, PRNS has worked to increase accessibility to its resources. Today, although many of the trails remain inaccessible for those in wheelchairs, six trails, three beaches, and all of the park’s visitor facilities (with the exception of the second floor of the lifeboat station), are accessible.¹⁸ Additional trails were in the process of being made more accessible. In 2005, for example, the Coastal Conservancy gave over \$80,000 to PRNS and the Marin Conservation Corps to widen and regrade the Elephant Seal Overlook Trail to provide disabled visitors better access to the trail’s views.¹⁹

Hiking and Camping

For those with physical mobility, Point Reyes quickly became a popular destination for hiking and camping. Park managers were surprised by the amount of interest in backpacking and the heavy demand for campsites. The park established three walk-in backcountry sites in the 1960s, and, as the park acquired additional property, added a fourth, Wildcat Camp, in 1971. The camps filled quickly, with the number of campers increasing by 35 percent between the years 1969 and 1970 alone.²⁰ Backpacking’s popularity had increased so much by the late 1960s that the administration established a reservation system for walk-in camps in 1968, decades before some of the national park system’s renowned backpacking/hiking parks took the same step.²¹



Record No. 19930. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Campsites at Coast Camp, 1985.

Crowded PRNS backcountry camps testified to a redefinition of the American recreational landscape in the 1960s and 1970s. In this case, a larger portion of working- and middle-class Americans viewed “wild” lands as a place to spend a night, a weekend, or a week, challenging their physical boundaries and taking satisfaction in their self-sufficiency. Technological improvements and reawakening of a back-to-nature sensibility prompted the change. Lightweight tents and backpack frames that significantly improved on the back-breaking rucksack frames of earlier eras helped ease more Americans into the woods and mountains. In addition, nearby San Francisco and Berkeley—often at the forefront of new trends and societal changes—provided a large cohort of people who sought out Point Reyes to enjoy the “freedom of the hills” with their lodging, kitchen, and meals strapped to their back.²²

Table 2. Backcountry Overnight Visits, National Seashores, 1979-2004

Assateague Island	68,754
Cape Canaveral	41,832
Cape Cod	0
Cape Hatteras	0
Cape Lookout	187,168
Cumberland Island	129,852
Fire Island	867
Gulf Islands	84,314
Padre Island	236,570
Point Reyes	577,652
Total	1,327,009

Park staff realized that because many of the backpackers came from urban or suburban areas, a good percentage of them would be on their inaugural overnight outing. This was both an opportunity and an obstacle. Because it was easy to get to the seashore and hike the relatively short distance to a camp, staff realized the park had become a training ground for backpackers who would later graduate to longer, tougher trips in other national parks. Staff had the opportunity to teach wilderness ethics, survival essentials, and backcountry courtesy. But playing host to backcountry “student drivers” also placed a higher demand on ranger and maintenance personnel. Despite education efforts, information boards, printed materials, and orientation talks, many campers headed out still oblivious to backcountry ethics and regulations. Campgrounds suffered the impact: at the end of a weekend, staff more often than not found garbage strewn about, latrines filled with unwanted refuse, and still-smoldering fires.²³

Part of the problem lay in a central premise of the backpacking movement: no longer tethered to an automobile and its accoutrements, backcountry travel and camping offered the freedom of a simpler, less-cluttered, less-regulated experience. But the preservation-minded language of the seashore’s authorizing act and the “preserve for future generations” construction of the NPS organic act directed PRNS managers and staff to regulate campground use in order to protect seashore habitat and the wilderness experience of other campers. On a positive note, the cleanup task was easier at PRNS in the 1960s and 1970s than it was in other national parks. The old farm roads that constituted the hiking trail system provided rangers and maintenance crews with vehicular access to the walk-in sites, enabling them to haul out garbage, monitor water systems, repair damage, and clean the vault toilets.

**Public
Transporta-
tion**

The Golden Gate National Recreation Area Act of 1972 included a section calling for evaluation of public transportation to and within GGNRA and PRNS. The timing of the legislation meant that the NPS could not incorporate the transportation mandate into the GMP planning process, which the park had just completed that same year. Nonetheless, in 1972, the park began shuttle bus service, which operated on weekends and holidays during the summer, from Bear Valley to Limantour and Palomarin beaches. Hikers could disembark at any point along the route. Marin County financed the \$5,000 cost of the shuttle system during its inaugural year run.²⁴ Two economy vans provided transportation for approximately 2,500 round-trip passengers. The experiment was so popular that Superintendent John Sansing decided to continue, with bigger buses, the following summer. Synanon, a residential drug treatment facility located in West Marin that neighbors would later consider a cult, provided two larger buses and bus drivers, enabling the park to run a summer shuttle to Limantour Beach that accommodated 2,800 passengers.²⁵ PRNS operated the shuttle to Limantour on its own in 1974 and restored service to Palomarin Beach. Usage increased again, to 3,300 passengers.²⁶

In 1975, funding from an alternative-transportation program kept the shuttle service at approximately the same level of operation as the preceding year, with added service to Drakes Beach.²⁷ Visitor use of the Limantour shuttle from 1974 to 1975 increased by 18 percent; the increase included the Drakes Beach shuttle that carried 3,039 passengers during that route’s first summer.²⁸ Significant problems appeared in 1977 when the schedule and the small size of the buses created as long as two-hours waits for visitors to board a bus for their destination.²⁹ Vehicle size restrictions on the western (old) portion of Limantour Road limited the type of buses the park could use. Three buses, all GSA (General Services Administration) vehicles, were put into shuttle use in 1978–1979, enabling the park to offer bus departures every half-hour for Limantour.³⁰ Staff matched

the bus schedules to arrivals of Golden Gate Transit System buses from Larkspur and San Francisco.³¹

Successful implementation of a winter whale-watching shuttle in 1981 necessitated cutbacks in the summer shuttle program to weekend-only service.³² Flooding from the January 1982 rainstorms that demolished a portion of Limantour Road kept the road and the shuttle closed down until the Bureau of Roads finally repaired the road in 1986. By that time, the summer shuttle's time had passed and park staff no longer saw the bus as necessary. It had, nonetheless, served its purpose, as the shuttle service averaged approximately 4,000 passengers per year during a decade of operation (see Table 3). In the meantime, the burgeoning number of whale watchers who came to Point Reyes each winter insured continuation of winter bus service to Point Reyes Lighthouse.

Table 3. Summer shuttle bus passengers, 1972-1981

Year	Passengers
1972	2,500
1973	2,800
1974	3,300
1975	5,364
1976	3,371
1977	5,000
1978	5,139
1979	5,200
1980	5,298
1981	2,964
Total	40,936

Whale Watching

In the early 1970s, PRNS staff noticed a significant increase in the number of people who traveled to PRNS during winter months, specifically to catch a glimpse of migrating whales as they passed by the Point Reyes headlands. Point Reyes became a popular whale-watching point because the peninsula extended so far into the Pacific Ocean beyond the mainland coast of California that it literally inserted itself into the migration routes of many Pacific avian and marine species, including gray whales. On their return journeys, whales often lingered around Point Reyes, feeding on the rich resources caused by the upwelling currents. Someone wanting to watch whales at close range, without renting or chartering a boat, could find few places better than the Point Reyes headlands. Newspaper and magazine articles began publicizing the whale migration past Point Reyes in the 1970s, prompting further increases in the number of whale watchers.³³ Larger crowds necessitated additional safety precautions, including the installation of more warning signs and barriers to keep visitors clear of the headlands' precipitous cliff-edges.

Point Reyes hosts a great number and variety of cetaceans (the order that includes whales, porpoises, and dolphins), including the earth's largest creature, the blue whale, the familiar harbor porpoise, and the most commonly seen migrant in Point Reyes waters, the California or Pacific gray whale.³⁴ Gray whales are most visible during their southern migration from the Bering Sea to waters off Baja California, where cows bear their calves. During this journey, between late November and early February, most whales stay close to shore. Gray whales and other migrants are also visible during their return trip

north, generally from late March until early June, although they often swim along routes farther out to sea. Gray whales are more likely to linger to feed in local waters during the northward leg of their annual journey.

Whale watching grew out of American's growing environmental awareness of the 1970s and a particular fascination many people had with cetaceans. The endangered status of some species, widespread belief that their high intelligence might make them sentient individuals, and research indicating their complex underwater communication patterns, generated public interest that ranged from casual curiosity to passion. Even though the education curriculum used in the 1970s at PRNS and other NPS sites emphasized the ecological interconnectedness of living things and the value of every member of a living community, no matter how large or small, when it came to visitor attractions, "charismatic megafauna" remained the stars. Visitors wanted to see such animals as elk, mountain lions, sea lions, and the most "mega" of all the world's fauna, whales.



Record No. 48420. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Whale watching from bluff at Point Reyes Light Station, 1981.

The same feature that made Point Reyes an excellent whale-watching location—the jut of the peninsula into Pacific migration routes—and the large number of diverse environments on the peninsula also made Point Reyes a popular destination for birdwatchers. “Birders,” whether casual or avid, hobbyists or professional researchers, flocked to Point Reyes to catch a glimpse of particular species or to observe unique species groupings found there.³⁵ Because NPS interpretive services at large deemed nature study to be a significant visitor use of Park Service sites, PRNS provided trails, trailhead access, publications, and interpretive displays that helped birders use and enjoy the park. However, the possible locations for bird watching encompassed virtually every

square meter of the peninsula, which meant birders, no matter how great in number, rarely received the attention (from staff or media) as did whale watchers, who gathered in large groups at one or two popular spots.

Throughout the 1980s, the number of whale-watching visitors increased each year, creating enormous weekend traffic and parking congestion.³⁶ To counter the expanding problem, the park initiated a winter shuttle-bus service. Shuttle service operated from January 12 through March 9, 1980 with three twelve- to sixteen-passenger GSA vans ferrying visitors from the Drakes Beach parking area to the lighthouse every fifteen minutes.³⁷ After the success of that first winter—3,900 visitors were served—staff expanded the shuttle schedule in 1981 to include the Christmas/New Year’s holiday period and employed a twenty-eight-passenger bus during the busiest weekends. That year, PRNS interpreters also began giving thirty minute “whale programs” three times per day on Saturday, Sunday, and holidays.³⁸ Due to winter storm damage to Limantour Road in 1981, shuttle buses ran on a limited schedule in 1981–1982, yet 4,400 visitors still used the service, for a total of nearly nine thousand visitors utilizing the shuttle during the first two winters of service.³⁹ Grants of \$10,000 per year from Chevron U.S.A. supported the shuttle program from 1985–1991. Staff also instituted a “number and hold” system in winter 1984–1985 to accommodate visitors who wanted to drive their own vehicles to the lighthouse. Once the lighthouse parking lot was full, rangers held traffic in the Drakes Beach or South Beach lots, and gave each car a number reflecting its place in line. As parking spaces opened up at the lighthouse, the duty ranger released cars from the remote parking areas to drive to the point.⁴⁰

With whale watching established as a major visitor use, park administrators considered contracting the services of a boat to run whale-watching tours out of PRNS. In 1983, NPS prepared a concessions study of possible boat launch sites, but found that none were adequate without investing money to repair the existing facilities.⁴¹ Park administration apparently did not pursue the idea, possibly because PRNS had undergone in 1983 some of its sharpest budget cuts ever. Spending money on a questionable concession service during a budget shortfall was likely low on the park’s priority list.

Whale-watching visitation dropped off during 1989 and 1990, and then remained at roughly the same level for a number of years thereafter. Sansing attributed the drop-off to decreased public interest in whale watching, but it is more likely that the increasing number of commercial whale-watching boat operators made a dent in the park’s winter visitation rates.⁴² In the meantime, PRNS rangers continued to run the successful but labor-intensive number-and-hold parking arrangement at South Beach for whale watchers visiting the seashore.

The arrival of another marine mammal to Point Reyes—northern elephant seals—complicated winter visitor-use patterns at the lighthouse, and forced PRNS staff to find an alternative transportation plan. Elephant seals, once common to the area but hunted to the brink of extinction in the nineteenth century, began to reappear on Point Reyes beaches in the 1970s. The first elephant seal colony, located at the base of a cliff below Chimney Rock, formed in the early 1980s, and within several years began to increase rapidly in size. By the early 1990s, visitors could view the colony of huge elephant seals sprawled together on the sand from Chimney Rock, which was only a short drive from the lighthouse. The raucous seals quickly became another natural attraction at Point Reyes and began to share feature billing with the whales during the winter months.⁴³

The proximity between the two wildlife viewpoints created problems for the old parking system. Typically, visitors left the holding lot to drive to the lighthouse, parked, and looked for whales. Instead of heading back home via Sir Francis Drake Highway when they were done whale watching, as people had done in the past, many visitors began to drive the short distance to Chimney Rock to view the elephant seals and then returned to the lighthouse to check again for whales. Driving this circuit became a common practice among visitors, especially those who did not see any whales on their first try.



Record No. 20950. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Parking back-up on route to lighthouse and Chimney Rock, 1981.

Although it provided Point Reyes visitors with a wonderful opportunity to view two unique species from virtually the same location, the traffic created a management problem. Cars released from the South Beach holding lot and cars returning from Chimney Rock arrived at the lighthouse at the same time, with both drivers expecting to

find open parking spaces. The resulting traffic snarls at the lighthouse became a familiar scene on winter weekends, and forced PRNS staff to develop a new strategy.

Beginning in 1996, PRNS created a shuttle-bus system that all whale and seal watchers were required to use on designated weekends. When the weather was fair, the park called in large passenger buses, which ran from the Drakes Beach parking area to the lighthouse and Chimney Rock viewpoints and back on a frequent schedule. If poor weather was forecast or blew in during the morning, the buses did not operate. Of course, in a place with weather as variable as at Point Reyes, that part of operation did not always work out as planned. Nevertheless, this solution eliminated traffic jams and long waits in the parking lot, and provided a more enjoyable experience for most visitors. Maintenance crews built a bus shelter at Chimney Rock for those waiting in cold or wet weather. Moreover, the new system was more efficient than the old one: one ranger and two traffic-control aides easily ran the shuttle operation. Ranger Gus Conde called the creation and operation of the shuttle system, “one of the best things we’ve done,” during his years at Point Reyes.⁴⁴

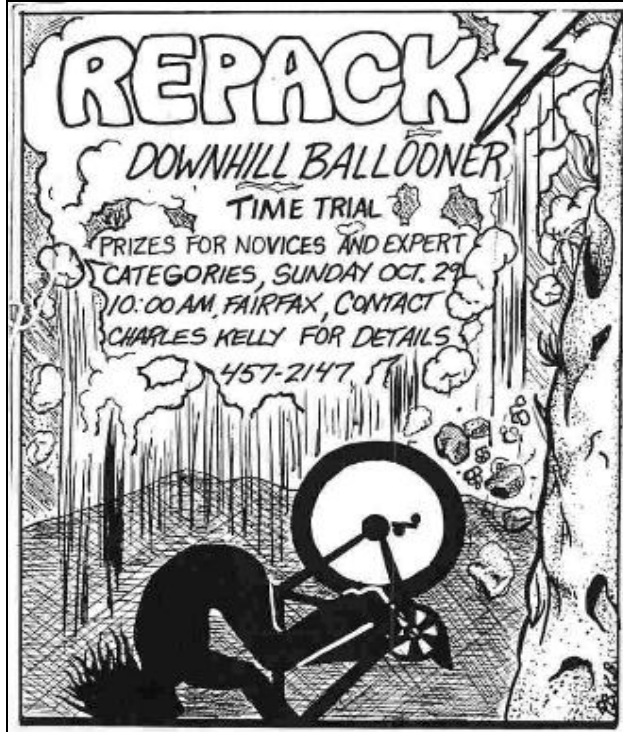
Management decisions that restricted visitor use—installing a shuttle system for whale watchers or prohibiting mass gathering on PRNS beaches—were grounded in policy created to prevent adverse visitor impact on the environment, or, in park terminology, visitor-resource conflicts. During the 1980s, a new recreational pursuit forced the administration to make decisions based on one user group’s impact on another recreational group, a visitor-visitor conflict.

Clunkers of Marin

In January 1979, *Bicycling* magazine ran an article by Charlie Kelly entitled “Clunkers among the Hills,” introducing American recreational enthusiasts to a new breed of bicycle, and at the same time identifying Marin County as the ideal place to ride them.⁴⁵ Over the next few years, other outdoor-oriented popular magazines published similar articles about bicycles alternately called clunkers, ballooners, cruisers, or bombers that a group of off-beat bicycle enthusiasts were riding on the slopes of Mount Tamalpais and other Marin hills and ridges. Thus Joe Breeze, Gary Fisher, Charlie Kelly and their Marin pals who tinkered with old balloon-tired Schwinn bicycles to ride down (and eventually up) Mount Tamalpais brought revolutionary change to the sport of bicycling, which had until then stuck primarily to paved roads. Not only did they take the first step in making the most dramatic change to the configuration of the bicycle in nearly a hundred years, their new bikes eventually created the largest influx of public participation in recreational bicycling since the turn of the twentieth century. Although the articles tended to single out one particular trail, “Repack” on Mount Tamalpais, bicycling enthusiasts lured to the area after reading about riding clunkers began to see the hills and valleys around Marin County as prime territory for pursuit of their new hobby.

Propelling the sport were technological innovations, first tested and improved on Marin County trails, which eventually made riding a bike easier and more comfortable for racing and recreational cyclists alike. Kelly, Breeze, Fischer, and their cohorts, many of whom came together to form Velo Club Tamalpais in the early 1970s, pushed the envelope of existing bicycle technology to bring the sport into the American recreational scene. Tinkering with components borrowed or adapted from older bicycles and motorcycles, Breeze and the others began to hand build bikes specifically for bombing and cruising dirt roads and fire trails. When Kelly and Fisher began selling Ritchey-built frames they coined the term *Mountainbikes* for their original line, introducing the term that was eventually applied to all the bikes built for off-road use. Commercial bicycle

manufacturers Puch and Univega produced the first mass-produced mountain bikes in late 1970s, but Specialized Bicycle Components, a San Jose, California, company, pushed the product farther into mainstream awareness when it put its initial line of “Stumpjumper” on the market in 1980.⁴⁶ By 1983, 200,000 mountain bikes of various makes had been sold in the United States.⁴⁷



Courtesy of Charlie Kelly

Poster for 1978 Repack Downhill race on Mount Tamalpais. Drawing by Pete Barrett.

The upright position, longer wheelbase, wide tires, and brake position gave bicyclists a bike that was easier and more comfortable to ride. In addition, lower gearing for climbing hills, and strengthened frames, wheels, and other components enabled bikers to traverse virtually any type of terrain. Mountain bikes changed the geography of bicycling. An article by Amy Meyer in a 1985 issue of *National Parks Magazine* carried the apt title, “This Bike Can Go Anywhere: That’s What Worries Wilderness Lovers.”⁴⁸ Therein lay the source of a growing user-conflict and park management issue. The proximity of Point Reyes National Seashore to, at that time, the “center of the universe” for mountain biking, as the new endeavor was tabbed, ensured that the park would soon have to determine how to manage this new cohort of seashore recreationists. The trails of the seashore, ranging from smooth farm roads to steep narrow paths on the slopes of Mount Wittenberg, perfectly suited the first generation of riders. Initially, the administrative focus fell on how to accommodate, guide, and educate mountain

bikers. Before long, however, user conflicts and resource damage shifted the park’s attention to regulations and restrictions. Few staff, if any, foresaw the conflicts and acrimony that would eventually arise in response to mountain biking. PRNS thus became an early testing ground for the compatibility of bikers and hikers, and for the ability of NPS park management to deal effectively with the budding controversy.

While bicyclists had pedaled along PRNS trails in the 1970s, they arrived in small numbers, kept to the widest, flattest trails, and, most significant, did not “bomb” down the trails at twenty miles per hour. Doing so on 1970s-era road bikes would have quickly demolished both bike and rider. But the creators of mountain bikes devised them for that very purpose and suddenly multiple-use trails became untenable for some hikers. The most common concerns, at least initially, were the speed and “gonzo” qualities of some riders, most of who came from the ranks of bicycles and racing. Not only did hikers see the peace, relaxation, and quiet of the traditional trail experience usurped, but they also witnessed a less frequent but more dangerous problem: descending riders who zoomed around blind corners and collided with hikers.⁴⁹



Record No. 28420. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Bicyclists on the Bear Valley Trail in the pre-mountain bike era, 1966.

Indeed, part of nascent spirit of mountain biking resided in the no-holds-barred qualities of sailing down a hillside or mountain slope. One, supposedly “reformed,” mountain biker who was once “the archetypal Hiker’s Nemesis,” described his early Marin County trail-riding experiences to a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent: “In the early days, we’d just fly down and I probably ran over five or six people, plus a few of my best friends. I didn’t mean to, but I’d get in a power slide and, you know, just scoop ‘em up, like a cow catcher.”⁵⁰ It was exactly this type of encounter that prompted an opponent of bike use on Point Reyes trails to complain, “You take your life in your hands trying to walk a trail.”⁵¹

The core of the conflict at Point Reyes involved a scenario often encountered in the national park system: the desires, actions, and consequences of one user group challenging those of another. To cast the conflict as generational obscures the importance of the mountain biking-hiking dichotomy.⁵² In *The Park that Makes Its Own Weather*, Hal K. Rothman has pointed out that certain qualities of the two activities do not mesh; the pace, amount of noise, and degree of technology involved in each pursuit are very different.⁵³ But such differences are at the heart of many other user-group conflicts in national parks, conflicts whose etiology did not derive from generational schisms. Two classic cases are snowmobilers vs. cross-country skiers and motorboaters vs. kayakers. In these instances, the recreationists who are faster, noisier, and more technology-dependent generally are the ones of an older average age. The biker-hiker controversy at Point Reyes shared similarities with other historical user-group debates in the national parks.

“IT WAS A MOONLIGHT RIDE ON POINT REYES . . .

and about nine of us were descending from a favorite peak—we came zooming down from the top, careening along the fire trails. . . . We came flying down and there was this bunch of sleeping bags laying out on the fire road. We didn’t see the bags until we were right on top of them, so we zipped right between a couple, and they all woke up, scrambling about, wondering what the hell was coming through their camp. Those guys rolled clean off the trail in their sleeping bags—right off the side of the road.”

--Bike builder and shop owner Erik Koski
Quoted in *Cyclist Magazine*

Hikers and environmentalists noted that another issue was at stake at Point Reyes, namely, the appropriateness of mountain bikes in the Phillip Burton Wilderness. The Wilderness Act of 1964 mandated that no form of “mechanical transport” be allowed in designated wilderness. Debate in the Bay Area ensued over the intent of the Wilderness legislation as it pertained to mountain bikes: Did a self-powered, nonmotorized vehicle constitute mechanized transport? The answers divided cleanly between opposing sides: hikers said yes, bikers said no. As these dividing lines were drawn and the struggle became intensely politicized, middle ground became increasingly difficult to find. In August 1984, acting associate director J. Thomas Ritter delineated the NPS position: mountain bikes were a type of mechanical transport and thus were prohibited from use in wilderness areas of the national parks.

Ritter’s proclamation did not end the debate, however. Indeed, the uproar in the Bay Area following his bicycle-policy announcement prompted the NPS to give a public airing of the issue at a series GGNRA/PRNS Advisory Commission meeting. Mountain bikers, hikers, conservation groups, and park supporters gathered at each meeting. Advisory commission members asked the Department of the Interior solicitor’s office to make a ruling on the issue. NPS director Russell Dickenson instead asked the advisory commission to make their recommendations, which he would then pass on to the solicitor’s office for review.⁵⁴ To no avail, commission members continued to protest that the mountain-biking issue would soon be of consequence in all the parks nationwide and should be decided at the national level.

In June 1985, the advisory commission finally recommended that the two parks should allow bicycle use on trails in nonwilderness areas, but prohibit biking in designated wilderness. They also asked the NPS to explore ways to invite and increase mountain bike use on nonwilderness trails in both parks, and sought to work out a compromise over use of the Bear Valley Trail at Point Reyes. Part of the Bear Valley Trail, which had been used extensively by bike riders in the pre-mountain bike era of the 1960s and 1970s and had become the most popular bicycling trail in the park, ran through designated wilderness lands.⁵⁵ Cyclists, advisory commission members, and sympathetic park supporters and conservationists hoped a compromise might allow continuance of what was, in essence, a preexisting use of the land. NPS officials did not, however, see a way to allow bicycles to travel the length of the trail without undermining their argument based on the no-mechanical-transport restriction. Although mountain bikers and cycling organizations protested the outcome, the local decision-making process served mountain bikers better than would a blanket national policy for national parks, which might have excluded them from any trail use whatsoever. Indeed, whereas the majority of NPS units

eventually banned mountain bikes from all trails, Point Reyes has retained mountain biking as an appropriate use of its nonwilderness trails.

The advisory commission's recommendations and subsequent NPS management decisions did not settle the issue; it simply moved the primary battleground outside PRNS boundaries to adjacent state, county, and water-district lands, where these other agencies continued to struggle to solve the conflict. There, the hard lines between the user groups prompted some individuals and subcultures within the competing groups to escalate the conflict into what a *Los Angeles Times* reporter entitled the "Pedal Wars in Marin County."⁵⁶ Because Point Reyes was one of the first sites popularized as a mountain-biking destination, and because of its federally designated wilderness area, park management and the NPS were forced to resolve the issue during the early phase of the mountain-bike revolution. This initial conflict may have helped Point Reyes administrators avoid the fray as it intensified during the 1990s. Illegal bike use on wilderness trails has continued to pose an enforcement challenge at Point Reyes—in 2004, chief ranger Colin Smith said that illegal biking was still "fairly rampant," but it was no longer a major political confrontation.⁵⁷

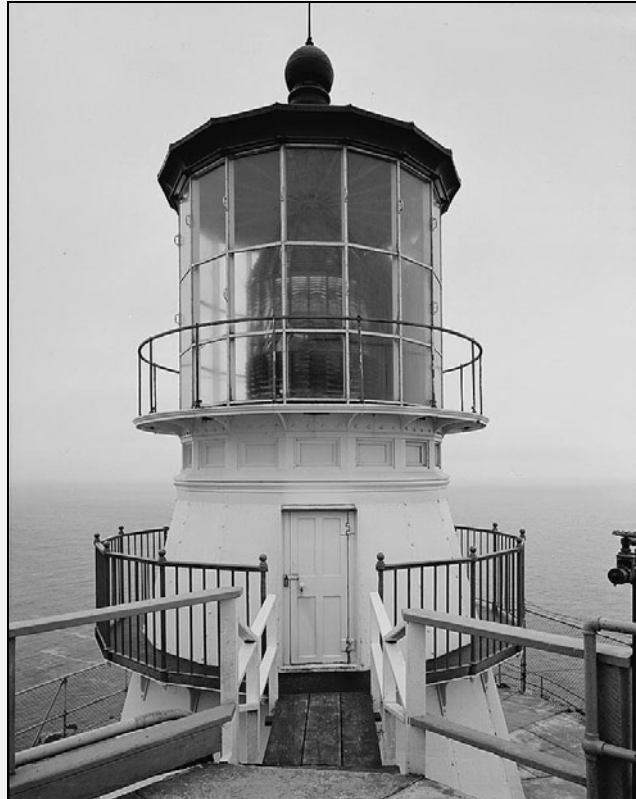
**Point Reyes
Lighthouse**

The drive along Sir Francis Drake Highway to the Point Reyes Lighthouse had long been a favorite outing for many Bay Area residents, even though the U.S. Coast Guard only opened the lighthouse to the public once (1966) prior to 1977. Most visitors enjoyed simply going to the lighthouse overlook, where they could drink in dramatic vistas, view stunning wildflower displays, and watch for migrating whales. When the Coast Guard turned the lighthouse complex over to the NPS in mid-1974, maintenance crews began repairing and rehabilitating structures and adding safety features that would enable public access to the light structure and a small visitor center in one of the outbuildings.⁵⁸ When the park opened the structures for visitor use, the trip to the lighthouse became more popular than ever. In its first full year open to the public, 181,000 people traveled to the lighthouse area, with 53,000 of them making the steep descent and ascent to and from the lighthouse itself.⁵⁹ Visitor travel to the lighthouse has subsided very little since then, even though its location withstands the worst of Pacific storms that can generate winds of more than one hundred miles per hour.

Several elements have made the lighthouse particularly attractive to PRNS visitors. American automobile tourism fosters the adoption of sites such as lighthouses as symbols of a particular place. Because drivers can sweep through PRNS or other national park units often in a matter of minutes, landscapes viewed out car windows tend to become an undifferentiated blur. Amid the tumbled hills, open grassland, and wide expanses of beach and ocean at Point Reyes National Seashore, the verticality of the lighthouse perched atop the sheer-sided Point Reyes cliffs presents dramatic counterpoint to the visually undifferentiated (to a motorist) landscape. In his sociological analysis of modern tourism, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dean MacCannell has called certain well-known attractions "symbolic markers."⁶⁰ These sights provide travelers with a mental representation of a particular tourist area; the Golden Gate Bridge, for example, has become a symbolic marker for San Francisco. When travelers see a symbolic marker, they get the sense that they have truly seen or arrived at a sought-out destination.⁶¹ Indeed, the built landscape of the lighthouse in its natural setting is an apt representation of PRNS, for it stands at the literal intersection of earth, sea, and sky.

THE LIGHTHOUSE

At the Point Reyes Light Station, the 1870 lighthouse is the most recognizable part of the larger nineteenth-century landscape that incorporated the adjacent equipment and transformer buildings, foghorn apparatus, the former lightkeeper's residence now used as a visitor center, and the water collection cisterns.



Just as the lighthouse for the past century has shined and called out a warning signal to seafarers, telling them that landfall is near, the lighthouse signaled to tourists that their “landfall” (in other words, arrival at their desired destination) was at hand. Seeing the lighthouse confirms that a visitor has “really” encountered Point Reyes National Seashore. Because no grand entrance gate greets visitors arriving at PRNS, as is the case at many of the more traditional national parks, the lighthouse has gained further value as tourist marker. The park has generally endorsed this status, featuring the lighthouse on publications, and, more recently, on the home page of the PRNS website. Moreover, lighthouses across North America have been adopted as collectors’ items: lighthouse aficionados travel along coastlines, adding an ink stamp or postcard image of each lighthouse to “passports” provided by the United States Lighthouse Society, collecting photos for personal collections, or writing descriptions in their travel journals.

The iconic status of the Point Reyes Lighthouse has been reflected in its visitation when compared to the nearby lifeboat station. The station's uniqueness was accentuated when PRNS obtained an operational boat from the Coast Guard that had once operated at Point Reyes. The station received national historic landmark status in 1990, a level of recognition the lighthouse has not received. Despite its National Historic Landmark designation and unique historic qualities, visits to the lifesaving station pale dramatically compared to the lighthouse.

Search-and-Rescue and Emergency Services

When the first rangers began patrolling national parks a century ago, their responsibilities included fighting fires, tracking poachers, and, most pertinent to this history, engaging in search-and-rescue duties. Ever since visitors to the earliest parks tumbled into thermal pools, fell into crevasses, and got lost in the woods, park rangers have responded to the call. With the advent of seashores as a unit of the national park system, rangers at Point Reyes and other national seashores have tackled more water-related emergencies than their counterparts in more traditional national parks. Accordingly, search-and-rescue work has played a large role in ranger operations at PRNS, particularly on busy weekends.

When Point Reyes ranchers spoke in opposition to the initial PRNS proposals in 1959 and 1960, they argued that the peninsula was unsuitable for public recreation because the weather was often cool and foggy and the area was unsafe for swimming, boating, and hiking. Although many of the ranchers' assumptions about the nature of recreation were uninformed, when it came to understanding the peninsula's dangers they knew whereof they spoke. In certain conditions, the ocean waters, rocky headlands, and tangled brush posed very serious threats to any visitor. Problems were accentuated on weekends, when the national seashore became, in essence, an urban park, where many visitors set out onto trails or beaches unprepared for conditions they might encounter. The resulting emergencies and accidents over time have fallen into four general categories: 1) falls, 2) drowning and near drowning, 3) lost or stranded hikers, and 4) vehicular accidents.

The waters and bluffs of Point Reyes have been the areas of biggest concern for visitor safety. At the ocean beaches, strong currents, powerful surf, and cold water make swimming, and sometimes even wading, treacherous. Between 1970 and 1977, fifteen people drowned off Point Reyes beaches: at least one each year and an average of more than two per year. Rangers began to undertake specialized training to respond to such emergencies. One necessity, a staff scuba team, organized in 1974; they received NPS certification and completed the minimum number of dives in January 1975.⁶² That year, the park also added two boats for use in rescues, recoveries, and other park operations.

For ocean rescues and boating accidents, the park stationed a twenty-eight-foot surfboat at Drakes Bay. A twenty-one-foot Boston whaler was used for rescues and patrol work in Tomales Bay.⁶³ An inflatable rigid-hull craft from the Coast Guard was put to use as well. Staff constructed a rescue cache at the Bear Valley fire station to increase response speed to emergencies.⁶⁴ In 1976 alone, staff responded to eleven boat accidents or strandings, which resulted in two drownings.⁶⁵

Although search-and-rescue activities provided adrenaline-pumping adventure and ego-boosts for some (mainly younger) staff, the duties involved could also be traumatizing, as must have been the case during the 1971 Easter Sunday search for a mother and her four-year-old daughter who drowned at South Beach.⁶⁶ Search-and-rescue operations also created dangers for staff; five rangers were injured during rescues in 1974 alone.⁶⁷ In

order to prepare staff for the potential risks, the park held or enrolled protection rangers in search-and-rescue trainings. By the 1980s, the park also established search-and-rescue cooperating agreements with the U.S. Coast Guard, the Marin County police and fire departments, the Bay Area Mountain Rescue Association, and the California Rescue Dog Association.⁶⁸



Record No. 20300. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Evacuation of victims by helicopter from Point Reyes back country in a search-and-rescue operation, 1982.

The beaches, seaside bluffs, and ocean waters were always the most dangerous spots on the peninsula, and thus where much of the rescue work took place. Among the twenty search-and-rescue incidents in 1980 were three accident fatalities: two drownings at McClures Beach and a fatal fall from a cliff at Sculpture Beach.⁶⁹ A 1983 incident illustrates some of the technical complexities of rescue work at Point Reyes. In a 1983 rescue operation, a boat accident occurred just off of the peninsula's shoreline. One member of the party drowned, but seven others made it to the rocks at the foot of a steep cliff. With the sea pinning them in on all sides but one, park staff staged a steep-angle rescue up the five-hundred-foot high cliff to evacuate all seven accident survivors. The number of boating accidents, including the above incident, increased from twenty-three accidents in 1970–1979, to a total of thirty-seven accidents in 1980–1989.⁷⁰

During the 1990s, the protection division continued to bolster their search-and-rescue capabilities by enrolling staff in specialized trainings and upgrading their equipment. By 2001, the park had acquired three boats for shoreline patrols and search and rescue, in addition to the boats, helicopters, and fixed-wing aircraft engaged through the park's cooperating agreements with the county, state, and Coast Guard. Of the PRNS boats, two stay in the calmer waters of Tomales Bay, while the other—a twenty-nine foot “safe boat”—is used for open ocean operations. Restitution money from oil companies, paid as

compensation for the costs of oil spills, enabled the park to purchase the safe boat in 2001.⁷¹

In 1974, rangers and Marin County firefighters received training in helitack firefighting skills during an eighteen-hour course at PRNS. At that time, the resource management/visitor services division had eighteen permanent staff positions, of which three were purely administrative positions, and two were tethered to information center duty. That left only thirteen staff to respond to problems and emergencies in an area that had reached more than fifty thousand acres.

VISITOR AND RESOURCE PROTECTION: LAW ENFORCEMENT

Two events profoundly influenced law enforcement at PRNS over the last quarter of the twentieth century. In 1973, park ranger Kenneth C. Patrick was murdered while on patrol duty, one of the first such instances in NPS history. Ten years later, California's "trailside killer" murdered four people on the trails of Point Reyes, the grim specter of which frightened visitors and preoccupied staff until the killer was finally identified and arrested. Both events permanently impacted visitor protection operations at PRNS.

Law enforcement struggled with several impediments to becoming an effective operation as the PRNS staff developed in the 1960s. The first protection rangers with the Division of Interpretation and Resource Management were few in number, sometimes unarmed, and did not own a clear delineation of their enforcement responsibilities. Problems of staff size and coverage became more acute when the second major round of land acquisitions nearly doubled PRNS acreage and added significantly more beach access in the early 1970s. When Limantour residents continued to chain and lock the private access road to the spit and beach, Superintendent Leslie P. Arnberger saw it as a help rather than a hindrance. When the road was open, the park simply did not have "the manpower or facilities to take care of the public" that used it.⁷² Indeed, by summer 1971, weekends were bringing more than a thousand beachgoers to Limantour alone.

PRNS staff shared law enforcement responsibility with the Marin county sheriff's department; eligible Point Reyes rangers received deputy sheriff status in June 1971, in conjunction with receiving and signing the western region weapons use policy. Two weeks of LE training ensued that month. In addition, Point Reyes arranged with the sheriff's office for permission to use the sheriff's pistol range. To give indication of the changing nature of NPS law enforcement, the San Francisco Bomb Squad and Demolition Squad came to Point Reyes to hold training sessions for park staff and other area agency employees.⁷³

A 1972 Operations Evaluation of PRNS, prepared by regional office staff who spent several weeks at the park, disclosed that while the quality of visitor protection patrols in the park had improved since a 1970 evaluation, patrols remained short-staffed and too few in number.⁷⁴ The operations evaluation team also noted that park administration failed to carry out two 1970 recommendations, one of which was an important protection tool for LE staff. PRNS had yet to install a remote radio monitor in the county's communications center, in order to provide better radio response capability for rangers, particularly during after-hours patrol duty.⁷⁵ Finally, the evaluation suggested the park needed to add technician-level rangers to ensure adequate patrol coverage of all PRNS roads, trails, and lands.⁷⁶

NPS Law Enforcement The NPS began to take steps to improve the training, professionalism, and legal authority of its law enforcement (LE) rangers in the early 1970s. Until then, the Park Service had had no agency-wide organizational framework in which to oversee, support, and evaluate law enforcement rangers in the field. After 1971, the NPS required LE staff to attend the new Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) in Washington, D.C. (subsequently moved to Georgia). Although the NPS made progress in professionalizing its ranger LE force with the establishment of FLETC, the agency made little headway in creating standard qualifications, policies, and appropriate authority for rangers. In 1971, the NPS established a separate Law Enforcement (LE) Division, headed by Franklin A. Arthur, who was also the chief inspector of the park police organization.⁷⁷ The action attached NPS LE rangers to the previously separate park police agency. Park police had previously served almost exclusively in Washington, D.C. In 1971, however, a park police captain was assigned to each regional office, and some forty park police officers were organized into a “mobile law enforcement unit” that could respond to crisis situations at NPS sites in or near urban centers.⁷⁸ Driving this move were urban riots of the late 1960s and the wave of public and congressional criticism heaped on Yosemite National Park rangers for their handling of the Stoneman Meadow “riot” in summer 1970.

On July 4, 1970, a huge gathering of counterculture youth took over the Stoneman Meadow area in the heart of Yosemite Valley. In attempting to clear the crowd, mounted Yosemite National Park LE rangers began haphazardly horse-whipping some of the people in the meadow, exacerbating an already volatile situation. The Stoneman “riot,” as it was dubbed in the media, emphasized how much “the NPS law-enforcement emphasis conflicted with the antiestablishment attitudes of the times.”⁷⁹ Richard Sellars describes how Park Service law-enforcement authority William R. Supernaugh observed that “the critical factor was that park rangers did not understand the youth of this era—their concerns for free expression and their challenge to authority. The rangers were ‘separated in years and point of view’ from the youth of the 1960s and 1970s.”⁸⁰

The Secretary of the Interior authorized park police units to respond to specific NPS sites, including GGNRA and PRNS and the park police became an important element of LE operations in the GGNRA. They apparently were never called into duty at Point Reyes, although if they had been mobilized at the time, they likely would have been called to respond to the events that took place at Palomarin Beach on Easter weekend 1971.⁸¹ As mentioned in chapter 5, approximately two thousand partygoers flocked to Point Reyes to hear rock bands play at a “happening.” PRNS staff did not anticipate the magnitude of the event because underground newspapers, not the mainstream media, publicized it, and because the promoters themselves had little clue about the number of participants it might draw. Expecting two hundred attendees, the few staff on hand were quickly overwhelmed by the two thousand that actually arrived, backed up traffic for a half mile, and descended onto the beach area. In assessing the situation afterward, Sansing called it “potentially dangerous” because the small staff presence could not have effectively controlled the crowd if major problems arose.⁸² Fortunately, they did not have to try. Sansing must have breathed a sigh of relief afterward, perhaps envisioning a recapitulation of Stoneman Meadow in his own park.

Jurisdiction During a 2005 interview with Robert (Bob) Barbee, who became the first PRNS park ranger in December 1964, he summed up the initial jurisdictional arrangement at Point Reyes as simply, “all screwed up.”⁸³ Uncertain jurisdictional responsibilities complicated resource management, visitor protection, and law enforcement from the mid-1960s until

the late 1970s. Until 1975, LE rangers operated within a proprietary jurisdictional arrangement shared with the Marin County Sheriff's Office and, to a lesser degree, the California Highway Patrol.⁸⁴ This shared authority meant that from 1963 to 1974 enforcement rangers had to be deputized by the Marin County Sheriff in order to enforce NPS regulations and county, state, and federal laws. That jurisdiction did not extend throughout the peninsula, however, since much of the land was still privately owned. A number of drawbacks complicated this arrangement. Patrol officers could not immediately respond to traffic violators or criminal activity within the road corridor, even when the crime or violation was blatantly apparent. They first had to contact the sheriff's office to obtain their consent to act. When an accident occurred on a park road, LE rangers could investigate only until a California State Patrol unit arrived. Sansing pointed out that visitors who witnessed such events, being ignorant of this legal division of authority, wondered why rangers on the scene did not take charge.⁸⁵

More confusion ensued after the state of California transferred title to the tidal and submerged lands surrounding the peninsula to the NPS. Superintendent Arnerberger became concerned that the acquired tidal lands fell under exclusive jurisdiction, meaning law enforcement staff would have to work within two different systems of legal authority when they patrolled the peninsula's beaches and inner shoreline.⁸⁶ Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall had accepted the lands on the government's behalf via an informal letter to California governor Pat Brown in 1965, which did not specify whether the national seashore was also accepting jurisdiction from the state.⁸⁷

Beginning in 1971, the park's authority to enforce regulations and issue citations was pursuant to a magistrate system, wherein a county magistrate decided the disposition of each case. Unfortunately, one of the magistrates who handled the NPS cases, the Honorable David Urban, seemed little inclined to support the park's law enforcement efforts. Although some of the cases might have been considered minor by a busy magistrate, others were critically important for the administration of seashore lands. Sansing complained that Urban's rulings left the park in a "quandary" as to how to proceed with enforcing NPS regulations.⁸⁸ Of the fifteen cases Urban handled in the first half of 1971, eleven were dismissed outright, one remained unresolved, one was suspended, and the violators in the remaining three cases were fined a total of twenty dollars. Sansing concluded that if the magistrate continued to deal with violators in this manner, "we must ask ourselves whether it is worth the time and effort to issue citations." If the legal authority that upheld each citation or warning continued to be stripped away, the seashore's staff and resources would become overwhelmed.⁸⁹

An illustrative case involved a Point Reyes rancher named Lundgren, who let his cows roam unhindered on the peninsula. Rangers delivered multiple warnings to Lundgren, then cited him numerous times, until he had accrued over \$1,500 in fines.⁹⁰ At that point, the park cited him to appear in court. Much to their dismay, Urban not only dismissed the case, he also directed the park to desist from issuing Lundgren further citations. The conundrum for Sansing and his law enforcement staff was apparent: amid the complicated management of ranchlands, which included reservations of use, special permits, and leased lands, the park's inability to enforce simple grazing regulations, and the blatant disregard of those regulations by both a rancher and a judge, threatened to undermine administration of the entire pastoral zone. As Sansing pointed out, even if Lundgren paid the \$1,500 fine, that was "a very economical rate to pay for free grazing."⁹¹ If Lundgren felt no compunction to follow regulations, why should the other ranchers continue law-abiding operations? On several occasions, over a three-year span,

Sansing asked Ralph Mihan, the regional solicitor, to discuss the issue with the chief magistrate.⁹² Sansing was understandably eager to see the park switch to a different type of jurisdiction. The issue remained unresolved until Lundgren died in 1991, after which the park purchased his two-acre parcel.⁹³

In late 1973, NPS officials sought concurrent jurisdiction for all parks in the western region except Yosemite, Sequoia, and King's Canyon, which would remain areas of exclusive jurisdiction.⁹⁴ NPS acting regional director Fred J. Novak sought from the state lands commissioner concurrent jurisdiction for the United States within the following five California NPS units: Death Valley, Joshua Tree, and Pinnacles National Monuments, Whiskeytown National Recreation Area, and PRNS.⁹⁵ In 1975, Point Reyes staff began meeting with the Marin County Sheriff's Office to prepare for the shift to concurrent jurisdiction.⁹⁶

With concurrent jurisdiction, the LE staff could pursue and prosecute both state and federal violations on NPS lands, and could share that responsibility with state police or state fish and game officials. This provided the park with jurisdictional authority on all roads within the national seashore's boundaries, which meant rangers could pursue illegal



LeeRoy Brock, Point Reyes National Seashore chief ranger from 1974 to 1995.

Record No. 20340. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

activities using California highway, penal, agricultural, and fish and game codes, without having to be deputized by the county sheriff. Sansing was pleased with the change; he thought proprietary jurisdiction had put park staff in the awkward position of operating as a federal authority subordinate to a local authority. Moreover, the "political" nature of the earlier arrangement meant it was always possible for the county to revoke LE rangers' deputy status.⁹⁷

Concurrent jurisdiction clarified and simplified LE operations on PRNS lands, but, in 1975, the park also had responsibility for patrolling Muir Woods National Monument and the northern segment of GGNRA. Despite the switch of almost all Western sites to concurrent jurisdiction, LE ranger's legal authority in GGNRA remained in proprietary jurisdiction. A ranger driving through the Olema Valley on Highway 1 had to keep a mental register of both U.S. and state code to know which illegal activities they

could pursue on one side of the road (PRNS land) or the other (GGNRA land). A memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the county sheriff's office helped simplify the LE process somewhat, giving NPS rangers temporary authority to respond to eighteen

federal felonies, such as arson, felony assault, or murder, on GGNRA land until county officers arrived. Another cooperative agreement with the county sheriff allowed PRNS staff to pursue criminal activity in state jurisdiction, after they called the sheriff and requested state patrol. Marin County Sheriff's Office could ask the LE rangers to intervene or make the arrest themselves; if the situation seemed to present imminent danger LE staff could take action, then call to report it to sheriff's to determine how the county would like to follow up.⁹⁸

The MOU working agreement, the installation of after-hours radio monitoring in the county dispatch office, and training opportunities that joined park staff to sheriff's office staff, contributed to a more effective, efficient, and amicable collaborative operation between the two forces. When LeeRoy Brock transferred to the chief ranger position in 1974, he made working relationships with other agencies, including the sheriff's office, state police, fish and game officials, and the Coast Guard, a high priority. Fostering the connection were meetings begun in 1970 and continued for decades thereafter, of the West Marin Peace Officers Association.⁹⁹ Brock recounted that those meetings and the working relationships with his colleagues in other agencies was one of the most satisfying parts of his position at Point Reyes. Marine operations, in particular, required a high level of cooperation with state fish and game staff and the Coast Guard. These relationships provided improved resource protection, more efficient response to visitor emergencies, and more effective poaching patrols. On occasion, they also provided material benefit for PRNS. For example, Brock was able to work out an arrangement with the Coast Guard to obtain the historic surfboat that had once operated out of the PRNS lifeboat station.¹⁰⁰

Kenneth C. Patrick

During an early morning patrol on August 5, 1973, park ranger Kenneth C. Patrick pulled up behind a vehicle parked on the side of a park road. As the ranger approached the car to investigate, one of the vehicle's occupants shot and killed him. The murderers drove away, leaving Patrick lying on the road where he was found around noon that day. Patrick's murder devastated his family and friends, and sent shock waves through the park community and the national park system. An intensive FBI investigation led to the arrest of Veronza Bowers, Jr., Jonathan Shoher, and Alan Veale, all members or former members of the radical Black Panthers Organization, who were the three occupants in the car that day. A San Francisco federal court found Bowers guilty of first-degree murder in April 1974, and gave him a life sentence.¹⁰¹

Apprehending the murderer and his accomplices in no way brought closure or resolution to Patrick's family, his coworkers, and his cohort of LE ranger staff around the country. A death within the park community, where employee camaraderie and close working and living connections are part of the workplace culture, spreads pain and grief in invisible, unknown, and unpredictable ways. It can alter the closeness of work relationships, confidence levels of staff, and even the career trajectories of some individuals. These reactions are usually intensified when the death is sudden or violent, or when it occurs in the line of duty. The resulting period of disruption can be a time when significant workplace or operational changes occur. This was the case at Point Reyes following Patrick's murder.

An NPS official inquiry of the murder identified the absence of radio monitoring during off hours as relevant to the murder and recommended the park remedy the gap in coverage. Sansing and the NPS moved to address two elements of law enforcement operations that the 1972 operations evaluation suggested were insufficient at Point Reyes: staffing levels and radio communications. The park quickly purchased and put to use five new handheld radios and one “voice activated recording device.”¹⁰² Sansing also added a dedicated dispatcher position to the staff and established a shared dispatch system with the county sheriff’s office in order to improve radio communication capabilities. In conjunction with the dispatch service, Point Reyes rangers also began to receive additional LE training from county sheriffs. The installation of a park-net receiver and the agreement with the sheriff’s office to provide emergency after-hours dispatch service were activated in October 1974.



Kenneth C. Patrick, ca. 1973.

Record No. 19950, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Other, less tangible repercussions from Patrick’s murder were more difficult to address. When a team of regional staff arrived to follow up on the 1972 Operations Evaluation, they found a level of suspicion or distrust among many of the field staff, who thought Sansing could and should have dealt with the LE patrol deficiencies before Patrick and other staff went out on their patrols that summer. The team’s PRNS Management Consultation Report of March 1974, noted:

The lingering effect of this sustained shock tends to dominate any discussion about law enforcement. Consequently, it was not surprising to encounter what may be an over-reaction to the alleged lack of support of the law enforcement function by the superintendent. A superintendent’s memorandum dated May 4, 1971, from the same incumbent clearly indicates understanding of the function and certainly seems to indicate support.¹⁰³

The consultation team found it “disturbing” that there remained a “belief among Ranger personnel that the superintendent does not support the law enforcement function.”¹⁰⁴ The unfortunate use of the phrase “over-reaction” and their surprise that staff might still

harbor these feelings suggests either a lack of sophistication in their understanding of the situation or a desire to see the park's personnel "move on" from the murder without additional "disturbing" reflections.

Washington, D.C., officials in the new protection division built on this momentum to pull together agency-wide standards for LE ranger activities. The eventual outcome was "NPS-9," a policy statement outlining methods for commissioned rangers.¹⁰⁵ Congress codified these changes in the 1976 General Authorities Act, P.L. 94-458, (16 USC 1a-6). Another apparent in-house result of Patrick's murder was the lateral transfer (trade) of the chief rangers at GGNRA and PRNS in April 1974. Ray Murphy, who was chief from Phil Ward's departure, transferred to Golden Gate, while LeeRoy Brock took the chief ranger post at Point Reyes. One of Brock's most important initial tasks was dealing with the distrust and lack of support his staff held for Sansing and improving communications between the administration and the field staff.¹⁰⁶ Over the long term, Patrick's murder created a heightened awareness of the potential dangers of a ranger's job. Gus Conde, a Point Reyes LE ranger since 1995, recalled approaching a vehicle during an early morning patrol and remembering that it was a similar scenario to the one Patrick had stepped into when he was killed.¹⁰⁷ Because an organization like the Park Service prides itself on the esprit de corps (whether real or idealized) among its staff members, Patrick's murder reverberated through the ranks of the entire agency.

Substantial media coverage of the murder, the violence involved, and the notion that this was the first instance of a ranger gunned down while performing his duties, grabbed the attention of NPS personnel, from field staff to administrators, across the national park system.

Patrick's murder, coming on the heels of the Stoneman Meadows riot, helped propel changes in the new protection division, which still lacked coordinated goals and standardized methods for the multitude of LE ranger training and operations in the national park system. According to one historian of the period, Patrick's death "fueled interest in the development of national standards for law enforcement training and related policies."¹⁰⁸ Ten years later, another tragic series of events sharpened the park's focus on law enforcement.

**The Trailside
Killer**

Although the circumstances of Patrick's death were unique, his murder also portended much about the future of law enforcement at PRNS. Despite Patrick's murder, the park had typically been a tranquil setting for patrol activity. However, by the 1980s, yearly attendance of more than a million and the park's proximity to the ever-growing metropolitan core of the Bay Area increased the potential for any type of human or criminal behavior to manifest. This proved true when the bodies of four homicide victims were found at Point Reyes in 1980. The deaths were soon linked to the "Trailside Killer," who was believed responsible for the sexual assault and murder of as many as ten people in the Bay area. PRNS LE Rangers were put on alert.¹⁰⁹ Whereas the murder of Patrick might have been cast as a singular event borne out of the racial tensions of the early 1970s or as a preemptive strike on an authority figure by people committing some kind of crime, the serial-killer characteristics of the 1980 homicides had a potential impact on anyone hoping to enjoy the park. One of the victims was a park employee who was attacked while on an off-duty hike up Mount Wittenberg, which had a tremendous effect on park personnel.¹¹⁰ The nature of the crimes made park staff and visitors understandably wary and overall park visitation and attendance at various programs

dropped.¹¹¹ Police arrested David Carpenter in 1981 and he was later charged with and found guilty of seven murders, for which he received a death sentence.¹¹²



Local news headlines announced the end of the trailside killing saga. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1981.

The Carpenter murders that took place within and just beyond the park's boundaries effected a redefinition of the relationship between urban center and national seashore, and in doing so, also forced PRNS protection division staff to reframe their patrol responsibilities. As with the Ken Patrick murder, the trailside killings made shockingly clear to those who lived and worked on the peninsula that Point Reyes, despite its protected status as a unit of the national park system, could not and would not be secluded from the very worst of the nation's urban ills.

Although visitors and resident ranchers might feel that Point Reyes offered a semblance of quiet isolation, that perception veiled the close proximity of a huge urban center, whose population easily found its way into the park for a wide variety of reasons. In this social context, Point Reyes was not an island that could raise a drawbridge to exclude itself from the onslaughts of the outside world.

PRNS law enforcement also received a jolt in the aftermath of the killings. Not only had an unforgettable tragedy occurred in their midst, but protection rangers also saw that their level of attention to the details and protocols of law enforcement responsibilities was insufficient. One deficiency came to light when someone discovered that the vehicle of one of the murder victims was parked in the Bear Valley lot, where it had sat unnoticed for nearly a month.¹¹³ Thereafter, patrol rangers made regular sweeps of all parking areas looking for vehicles belonging to overdue or missing parties.

Marijuana Cultivation

Protection division operations during the two decades after the Trailside Killer murders generally did not make the headlines. Park staff continued to make regular arrests and issue citations for poaching, illegal camping, canine violations, mountain biking on trails, and the like. They also continued to involve what people perceived to be urban problems, spurred on by the park's proximity to the Bay Area. While PRNS rangers have had to deal with minor drug offenses in the park since its inception, one of the more serious types of criminal activity has been large-scale marijuana cultivation on parklands.¹¹⁴ The history of marijuana cultivation on the Point Reyes peninsula is likely older than the history of PRNS itself. The peninsula's brushy hillsides and valleys have long made it good location to hide away illegal crops, ranging in size from "single use" plots of area residents to the multimillion-dollar crop discovered in September 2002.¹¹⁵

As early as August 1970, PRNS sent three rangers to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics agency in San Francisco to learn how to assess and gather evidence from marijuana crops in order to provide effective evidence in prosecuting the offenders.¹¹⁶ However, effective policing of marijuana cultivation has remained a persistent problem at the park throughout the past four decades. One way park rangers attempted to enhance their crop detection and law enforcement activities was through collaboration with the Marin County Sheriff's Office and other state and federal agencies.

Collaborative operations with Marin County led to periodic confiscations of unharvested marijuana crops. In 1984, a combined effort with other state agencies resulted in seizures of 814 plants valued at \$1.5 million.¹¹⁷ During the 1990s, collaborative efforts became even more elaborate, with aerial surveillance for marijuana fields carried out by California Highway Patrol and Coast Guard helicopters, and Marin County Sheriff's Office fixed-wing aircraft. In 1991, their combined efforts resulted in seizure of a half-million dollars worth of plants and the arrests of three growers.¹¹⁸ Park rangers found additional plots that had already been harvested, which were estimated to have produced crops worth \$400,000. The largest single seizure of a marijuana crop took place in September 2002, soon after Colin Smith became chief ranger.¹¹⁹ A visitor's tip pointed rangers to a farm where members of a reportedly "Mexican drug-controlled operation" had cleared lands, and built dams and irrigation lines. One or more managers lived at an on-site camp, tending to the crop.¹²⁰ Park staff ran an all-night stakeout that resulted in the arrests of two "low-level" helpers and 2,750 plants valued at \$1.5 million.

Special drug-program funding allowed staff to work on these surveillance and apprehension tasks without taking away from the division's budget for more straightforward seashore protection operations. Following the discoveries and seizures, PRNS anticipated receiving funding from federal drug control programs, and over the next few years, the park and participating state agencies were aided by the military, as well as the federal Drug Enforcement Agency.¹²¹ A 1992 Briefing Statement for Congress related the position of constituencies in the Point Reyes area: state, local federal officials, law enforcement agencies, and "most" citizens were opposed to marijuana cultivation. Interestingly, while illegal cultivation has remained a perennial problem at PRNS, illegal drug trafficking has never been a major issue because Point Reyes lies off the main travel routes between urban areas.¹²²

Drug operations, violent crimes, and life-saving rescues attracted media attention and provided rangers with hair-raising job experiences. Nevertheless, the core work and day-to-day operations of the LE and ranger division involve the more mundane tasks related to resource protection. Preventing illegal camping is one such essential duty of the ranger staff that might (on the outside) seem less interesting than busting pot growers. However, without this daily level of enforcement, the seashore area would be inundated with campers covering every desirable patch of meadow, beach, and forest.

Visitor Protection for the 21st Century

The visitor services and protection division evolved considerably as it entered the twenty-first century, becoming a more professional, technologically astute, and integrated operation. Neubacher initiated some of the changes, individual rangers introduced alterations based on their experience at other NPS sites, and unforeseen events brought opportunities for change. The transition from a district arrangement to a single operation, for instance, was a gradual process, inaugurated by a series of rangers in the late 1990s.

One of the first planned steps to enhance the effectiveness of LE rangers was a complete upgrade in 1995 of the law enforcement computer system, the lynchpin to ranger safety while out on patrol.¹²³ The park also contracted with the Marin County Sheriff's Office for after-hours dispatch coverage, which, remarkably, had remained incomplete despite the recommendations made after Patrick's murder. In 1995, dispatcher hours were 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.; after-hours patrols had to call the sheriff's department to give locations or request assistance. When Gus Conde first got there, the lack of a coordinated dispatch arrangement meant that the sheriff's office and the ranger staff "weren't talking to each other . . . we didn't have that [radio] capability."¹²⁴ In 1997, the two West Marin law enforcement entities entered into a more cooperative relationship.

Another agent of change in 1995 was the Mount Vision Fire. Following the devastating blaze (see chapter 7), the NPS and other federal and state agencies helped the park modernize their fire technology, fire ecology research, fire-related staff positions, and equipment. PRNS continued to receive research money, resource management staff, and equipment for years after the conflagration, prompting some to call it the "fire that keeps on giving."¹²⁵ Visitor protection staff have also invested more time working with resource managers on operations that included biological survey work (utilizing the PRNS boats, for instance) and blocking trail access to pinniped beaches during pupping season.¹²⁶

A significant intradivisional change transpired when new staff gradually supplanted the district system in favor of a single, unified visitor protection division. When Conde arrived from Redwood National Park in 1995, the visitor services and protection division comprised very distinct north and south districts. Over the years, that distinction had become so rigid that, by the time Conde arrived, he found it, "almost like two smaller parks rather than a larger park."¹²⁷ The two district rangers, Russ Case and Steve Wolff, ran their separate districts like small fiefdoms, with little cooperation between the two. When Wolff retired, Cliff Spencer became the south district ranger. Because Spencer had worked for Case earlier in his stint at Point Reyes, the two found it natural to work together on more operations. When Case subsequently retired and Spencer moved on to another park, Marc and Karyl Yeston, a husband and wife team, arrived to become district rangers, effectively putting an end to any degree of exclusivity between the districts operations. Steve Stinnett and Colin Smith succeeded the Yestons as north and south district rangers. After chief ranger Frank Dean departed in 2002, Smith served as acting chief, while Stinnett's position became supervisory ranger, leaving the district system behind. It was a gradual process that first required individuals who broke free from the fixed mindset of separate divisions. In 2003, Smith was elevated to chief ranger, and in 2004 Dan Habig became the supervisory ranger.¹²⁸

The Yestons played another significant role, as they began increasing the professionalism of the protection division. They started, and others continued, making such specific changes as ensuring the confidentiality of files and data, standardizing weaponry, and creating consistent standard operating procedures for law enforcement staff. In a 2004 interview, Smith observed that the park had been "out of the mainstream of the park service," but began to change when Neubacher arrived.¹²⁹

Conclusion

With one to two million visitors a year coming to Point Reyes, Sansing, Neubacher, and their management teams faced the challenge of coordinating and training a ranger staff that would protect and accommodate visitors, provide opportunities for recreation and relaxation, establish guidelines and safety regulations, protect the seashore's natural and cultural resources, and uphold the professional standards of the Park Service. In addition

to all of these requisites of NPS ranger duty, the proximity of Point Reyes to a major urban center also made the national seashore vulnerable to urban social issues, including violent crime. Although Congress “set aside” the area to protect and preserve its resources and recreation opportunities, the park was not an island separated from American society; its boundaries were permeable to all of the difficulties that existed around it.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER SIX

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- ⁹⁹ The Association included employees of the California State Parks, State Fish and Game Department, PRNS, and the local police. "Bay Area Cluster, Staff Management Minutes," September 14, 1970, 2.
- ¹⁰⁰ LeeRoy Brock, interview by Paul Sadin, August 12, 2004, Point Reyes Station, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
- ¹⁰¹ Ann M. Simmons, "Widow of 1973 Murder Victim Fights Parole Bid," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 2005.
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- ¹⁰³ NPS, "Management Consultation Report," 1974, 60.
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- ¹⁰⁵ Paul D. Berkowitz, *U.S. Rangers: The Law and the Land*, rev. ed. (Redding, Calif.: CT Publishing, 1994), 38–39, excerpted at 61. Note: Berkowitz has put together a useful and seemingly accurate piece about NPS law enforcement staff, but he does not cite, in footnotes or bibliography, his sources, so it is used here with caution.
- ¹⁰⁶ PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1974," n.p.
- ¹⁰⁷ Conde, interview.
- ¹⁰⁸ Berkowitz, *U.S. Rangers*, 38. Public Law 458, 94th Congress, 2d sess., 1976; 15 USC 1a-6.
- ¹⁰⁹ PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1980," 11.
- ¹¹⁰ Sarah Allen, interview by Paul Sadin, August 13, 2004, Point Reyes National Seashore, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
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- ¹¹⁵ "Point Reyes: Elaborate Pot Farm Discovered," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 24, 2002, A-22.
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- ¹¹⁷ PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1984," 2.
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- ¹¹⁹ "Point Reyes: Elaborate Pot Farm Discovered."
- ¹²⁰ Smith, interview.
- ¹²¹ PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1991," 7; PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1992," 2; PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1993," File A2621—Superintendent's Annual Reports, CCF, PRNS, 1; and PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1994," File A2621—Superintendent's Annual Reports, CCF, PRNS, 1.
- ¹²² Smith, interview.
- ¹²³ PRNS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1995," 3.

¹²⁴ Conde, interview.

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¹²⁷ Conde, interview.

¹²⁸ Conde, interview; Smith, interview.

¹²⁹ Smith, interview

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHAPTER SEVEN
*ADMINISTERING A STOREHOUSE OF RICHES:
THREE DECADES OF NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT,
1972-2002*

As with other administrative areas of the park, Park Service and public definitions of the national seashore shaped the development of natural resource management at Point Reyes. Resource managers struggled to make decisions and establish policy against the backdrop of the NPS recreation area recommendations, and amid the general lack of scientific research and systematic analysis of natural resources throughout the national park system. Moreover, for nearly twenty-five years, the park's administration was closely allied with a constituency that generally favored one type of resource management (dairy and cattle ranching) over others. Yet the people who first conceived of a national seashore at Point Reyes, those who helped create the founding legislation, and those who finally fostered its full realization—Conrad L. Wirth, Barbara Eastman, Clem Miller, Katy Miller Johnson, and Peter Behr, to name a few—had asserted that the rich bounty of the peninsula's native environment was the most valuable of the myriad elements that made up PRNS. From the 1970s through the 1990s, PRNS administrators and senior management increasingly emphasized the need to protect the ecological features of the peninsula while still maintaining public access to the peninsula's recreational opportunities. But the biggest shift took place after 1995, when an influx of new funding and staffing, an administrative reorganization, and the launch of the nationwide Natural Resources Challenge helped the park finally give full attention and budgetary backing to the monitoring, protection, and restoration of the peninsula's diverse biological realm. The explosive growth of new research and resource programming continued into the new century, many of them launched so recently that they cannot be addressed within the chronological scope of this history.

From the outset, the seashore's founders, along with the bulk of environmental and conservation organizations, a majority of local residents, and many of the park's staff, believed that the primary NPS mission at Point Reyes should involve preserving, understanding, and protecting the natural environment. Complicating this objective was the elusive "natural" itself, a word and concept that was entering, at that outset of PRNS history, a half-century of deconstruction and redefinition. Point Reyes administration evolved in step with the birth and development of the American environmental movement, and parallel to the transformation of nature in the eyes of science, historical scholarship, and, to a lesser extent, the Park Service. The very same year that Congress authorized the national seashore, Rachel Carson published her groundbreaking *Silent Spring*, igniting a new phase of environmental thought in this country.¹ Carson used the term natural in the then-traditional manner, but emphasized that human activity was impinging upon and altering every piece and layer of that natural world. A year later, the NPS Advisory Board on Wildlife Management released its landmark Leopold Report, "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," which attempted to define the "natural" landscape in the national parks and would influence park administrators' approach to nature for several decades.

Scientific discoveries and advisories certainly informed national park policy and public opinion. But the most powerful catalysts for policy change were the public and political interpretations of new scientific knowledge. In *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature*, James A. Pritchard suggests that throughout the twentieth century, national park visitors' "expectations for experiencing nature in the national parks have changed remarkably along the way, guided by increasing ecological knowledge."² He asserts that Americans' "cultural understandings of nature," though at root informed by scientific knowledge, have played a greater role than scientific research in developing resource management policies at Yellowstone National Park. Although it is certainly not as old as Yellowstone, how visitors and park staff have perceived nature at Point Reyes also changed significantly during its forty-year history as an NPS site.

DEFINING NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AT POINT REYES

Humans had been altering and managing the environment of the peninsula for thousands of years before the NPS came on the scene. Coast Miwok manipulated the environment with fire, hunting, and collecting, direct attempts to improve the area's food resources. The Spanish dons and rancheros of Rancho Puntos de los Reyes and Rancho Baulines altered the land when they introduced to the peninsula cattle and horses, animals that brought in their hooves and bowels seeds of new plant species. They also began to kill some of the native animals of the peninsula for food or sport. Members of the Shafter family and their successors in the dairy business created a substantial built landscape that altered the previous organization of plant growth, browsing areas, and wildlife corridors, which had existed in the locations where barns, houses, and driveways later stood. Over the generations, dairy and cattle ranchers built dams to impound water for their stock, impeding the migration paths of salmon, steelhead, and other aquatic species. The dams also changed the water flow and sediment load patterns, while cattle grazing in riparian areas led to eroded riverbanks and increased sedimentation in streams. Ranchers also burned the pasturelands to keep back the growth of brush and nonnative grasses.

Initial NPS Management Strategies at Point Reyes

As PRNS grew in size and began operations during the 1960s, a number of specific resource issues required administrative attention. The most immediate external threats (described in chapter 4) involved damage to the tidal zone from commercial and recreational collecting, bird hunting in the estuaries and lagoon areas, and monitoring of existing agricultural and maricultural operations. Meanwhile, the size of the PRNS staff, even as the ranger force grew larger during the decade, could not keep up with the rapidly increasing visitation rates and subsequent expansion and extent of resource damage.

Internal threats to the park's natural resources, specifically the multiple tourist/recreational developments sketched out in the 1964 PRNS master plan, had the potential to damage and disrupt the peninsula environment on an even larger scale. Adapted from the Mission 66 planning framework for traditional national parks, which were designed to facilitate the growing numbers of American automobile tourists and traditional (camping, picnicking, sightseeing, swimming, and boating) recreationists, early development plans at PRNS stressed recreation over preservation. NPS landscape architects who created the plans ignored the strong preservation theme in the legislative history and language of the PRNS authorizing act, did not have biological or geological research outlining the areas of greatest environmental vulnerability, and did not initiate or pursue scientific studies of their own. The result was a set of construction and landscape

plans out-of-scale with what most legislators and park supporters had in mind when they founded the national seashore. Robert (Bob) Barbee recalled that when Leslie P. Arnberger arrived in 1965 to replace Fred W. Binniwies as superintendent, he was “horrified at what was planned for Point Reyes.”³

When the Department of the Interior reorganized the national park system into three separate administrative lines in 1963, the decision to place Point Reyes and other new national seashores in the “recreation area” management category also influenced the initial natural resource management plans for the peninsula. In fact, the San Francisco regional office planners and landscape architects who drafted the first Point Reyes master plan focused solely on the recreation potential of the seashore, listing the following as the two primary functions of the Limantour Spit: 1) to provide opportunities and facilities for recreational activities, and 2) to provide facilities for community activities, interpretation, and ranger operations.⁴ Barbee’s observations of early tourist development plans for Point Reyes told him that the NPS recreation-area rubric created a much more “permissive” attitude in the minds of some park staff and of regional office planners regarding what was an appropriate visitor use or recreation facility, than was typical of NPS officials in traditional national parks.⁵ As a result, the conservation community, particularly those involved in the seashore’s authorization campaign, began to protest against what they believed was inappropriate development, which would damage the beauty and biological vitality of the peninsula.

During the park’s first decade, management of natural resources was hampered by a lack of knowledge about scientific research data about plants, animals, hydrology, historic growth patterns, fire ecology, and the other elements of the peninsula’s environment. This problem was not unique to Point Reyes. As Richard West Sellars has pointed out in *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, the NPS had been lacking in that regard for much of its history.⁶ What research had been accomplished in the national parks generally was conducted externally by university faculty and students or internally by dedicated but untrained naturalist personnel. The story at Point Reyes was similar, although with a few important exceptions, which are discussed later in this chapter. The park’s early ranger staff recognized that much more research was needed. Barbee recalled thinking that once cattle had ceased grazing large portions of newly acquired land, studies of the peninsula’s rangelands would benefit future planning efforts.⁷ Barbee realized that without setting out and monitoring research plots to observe vegetation growth in different range types and under different conditions, future management of the range would be based on assumptions, conventional wisdom, and guesswork.⁸

Collaboration with California Fish and Game

A cooperative agreement between PRNS and the California Department of Fish and Game aimed to protect marine organisms, particularly shrimp and abalone, and establish an initial set of wildlife management objectives for Point Reyes. On September 3, 1969, the two agencies signed a memorandum of understanding, giving each responsibility for specific wildlife management functions on the peninsula and its surrounding waters.⁹ The NPS recreation-area rubric again influenced the language of the agreement. The memorandum drew from the 1965 “Wildlife Management Policy—National Recreation Areas,” in asserting that public hunting and fishing were suitable activities in NRAs.¹⁰ Park officials could designate areas where, or periods of time when, hunting and fishing were prohibited, “for reasons of public safety, administration, or other public use and enjoyment of the area.”¹¹ The specific points of the agreement called for PRNS administration to take the following steps: 1) jointly enforce California fish and game laws, 2) practice appropriate resource management that would benefit wildlife and

increase harvest opportunities, 3) consult with the California Department of Fish and Game before issuing rulings or regulations regarding public use of the habitat, and 4) permit hunting and fishing in accordance with state laws and regulations and as provided for in Section 7 of the PRNS Act. The California Department of Fish and Game and the NPS both agreed to hold annual meetings, jointly publish press releases, establish working agreements for particular sites, evaluate existing fish and wildlife resources, and jointly assess the ecological impacts of various recreational and commercial activities upon these resources.¹²

The agreement was a first step toward protecting marine crustaceans and other ocean organisms. It also laid the groundwork for future interagency cooperation on hunting, control of nonnative species, regulation of commercial operations, and species reintroduction. The MOU called for annual meetings between the agencies; for the first few years, the meetings were de facto resource management planning sessions. During the February 1971 meeting, John L. Sansing and his senior staff, NPS Western Region Director Joseph C. Rumburg, Jr., four California Department of Fish and Game officials, and a Marin County resource manager covered the progress on the state's tule elk studies, information on sea otter reintroduction, decisions on public hunting regulations for PRNS, proposals for Research Natural Areas, and possible conflicts between elk reintroduction and wilderness designation (regarding fence construction).¹³ With the input supplied at the meeting, Sansing made a resource management decision about one issue (postpone the proposed sea otter reintroduction indefinitely) and established the groundwork for action on at least two (setting hunting regulations and establishing research natural areas) of the others.

**Creating
Management
Plans and
Objectives**

Near the end of his three-year stint as PRNS superintendent in February 1970, Edward J. Kurtz prepared "Point Reyes National Seashore Management Objectives," one of the first official planning documents to include natural resource issues. Kurtz outlined six major objectives: 1) preserve the fragile marine and terrestrial environments in the areas where the NPS planned new developments, 2) manage wildlife pursuant to the memorandum of agreement with the state fish and game department, 3) consider reintroduction of elk and possibly other species, 4) encourage independent research, 5) work cooperatively with PRBO on scientific studies of peninsula wildlife, and 6) conduct carrying capacity studies of particular ecological areas before developing visitor facilities in those locations.¹⁴ Kurtz did not address strategies for range management in his recommendations.

The 1972 "Operations Evaluation" of PRNS pointed out that Point Reyes "urgently needed" a natural resource management plan and recommended that Sansing make it one of his highest priorities. The evaluation team believed that several pressing issues, including tule elk introduction, preservation of threatened areas, understanding the marine ecosystems, and the debate regarding the wilderness plan, made the development of a natural resource management plan more important than similar plans in other divisions.¹⁵ A follow-up to the operations evaluation, the 1974 "PRNS Management Consultation Report," pushed even harder for more effective natural resource management and better research to under-gird goals and objectives of the division. The report acknowledged that Point Reyes had made significant progress in this direction by hiring a research biologist and resource management specialist, but emphasized that implementation of resource programs would require the full cooperation of the park's ranger and maintenance staffs as well.¹⁶ The report identified five specific problem areas; namely, restoration of natural ecosystems, understanding wildlife populations dynamics,

reestablishment of tule elk, compiling natural resource inventories, and reintroduction of wildfire in designated locations.

In 1973, the park established a resource management specialist position to head up natural resource planning and operations, and, to the degree that it was receiving attention at the time, cultural resource management. John Aho filled this GS-11 position from 1973 to 1979.¹⁷ Aho and his successors had to do their own clerical work (typing, filing, and the like), whereas divisional chiefs were supplied with clerical help. Because resource management and visitor protection were part of the same division, the resource management specialist also had to be a fully commissioned law enforcement ranger. The management consultant team questioned why this position was not part of the superintendent's senior staff (in other words, a divisional chief), when natural resources were supposedly a preeminent concern of the administration.¹⁸ They recommended Sansing separate the visitor protection and resource management divisions, because it was "increasingly evident" that these two key operations required very different approaches and training. Their report also recommended that the park reconsider the organizational status of the resource management specialist, because that individual played an important role as the superintendent's "eyes, ears, and conscience regarding seashore resources."¹⁹

Sansing's responses to the two suggestions were quite different: he oversaw, in relatively short order, the completion of the park's first complete natural resources management plan (NRMP) in 1976, but he never converted the resource specialist to the status of division chief. Current superintendent Neubacher finally created a chief of natural resources position in 1998. Sansing's rationale for resisting the change remains unclear. It may have reflected his early programmatic interests that he made the Morgan Horse Farm operation a separate division but did not do the same for resource management. Or it may have been due to his close affiliation with the peninsula's ranching community, some of whom were not so keen to see additional environmental regulations placed on their dairy or cattle operations.

Sansing was, however, moving ahead with natural resource issues. Staff selected test plots for studying prescribed burning experiments, and began planning with the California Department of Fish and Game for a two-year study of deer populations and for possible steelhead restoration. The park initiated programs aimed at controlling the spread of invasive nonnative plants, particularly thistle and scotch broom.²⁰ In 1974 alone, the park began or continued natural resource research and survey projects that included studies of dune ecology and deer populations, gathered range transect data for range monitoring, and completed vegetative mapping of the park's plant species.²¹ Moreover, a planning team that consisted of Richard Brown, district ranger Brown, Aho, and Sansing began work on the natural resource management plan.²²

1976 Natural Resources Management Plan

Research biologist Richard Brown and district ranger Brown had begun a preliminary survey of resources and needs to prepare a natural resource plan in 1972. To meet the new guidelines laid out by the National Environmental Policy Act, passed in 1969, the team first had to prepare a preliminary plan that the park would make available for a period of public review. After receiving comments from citizens, other agencies, the Citizens' Advisory Commission, and NPS officials in the regional office, they could proceed with a final draft of the report. The park released the preliminary NRMP in May 1975, and the public review period opened that summer. Sansing described public response to the plan as "very supportive," quite a contrast to the adverse reaction to the

1972 GMP/Wilderness Plan.²³ The differences suggest that between 1971 and 1975, Sansing had a better grasp of the value the park's constituents placed on environmental protection. Public responses to the plan did indicate, however, that the park failed adequately to address three resource issues: management of the nonnative deer population, control of feral animals, and reintroduction of tule elk.²⁴

In contrast to the public response, NPS Western Region acting director Frank E. Sylvester was highly critical of the draft, particularly its emphasis on natural resource protection at the expense of recreational opportunities. Sylvester still saw management policies for a national seashore according to the NPS "blue book," *Administrative Policies for National Recreation Areas*. He wanted the overall statement of natural resource management objectives to incorporate resource objectives designated for NPS units in the recreation area category; in particular, he thought the NRMP failed adequately to provide for additional backcountry camps and trails.²⁵ He described his overall disagreements with the NRMP:

The stated objectives in the NRMP appear to inhibit any substantial level of recreational use of the seashore, i.e., the stated objectives seem to be dominated by preservation rather than use goals. Since the seashore is a recreation area by definition, it would be useful to explain to the reader how the two purposes are compatible. We suggest that you include a discussion of the role of recreation in seashore management and administration.²⁶

In preparing the first comprehensive plan for managing the seashore's abundant natural resources, the planning team faced a monumental task. The plan would have to explain clearly the significance of the natural environment as part of the entirety of seashore operations, list the most important resources in need of protection, delineate the optimal and alternative methods of accomplishing those goals, and state the primary mission of natural resource management at Point Reyes. The planners not only had to consider the mandates of the authorizing act and its subsequent amendments, but also the 1972 general management plan (GMP) objectives, the collaborative management agreement with the California Department of Fish and Game, recommendations of the Citizens' Advisory Commission, available scientific research, the wilderness proposal and legislation, views of environmental, community, and business organizations, legal rights of peninsula residents, and a plethora of new federal and state environmental regulations.

Significant new legislation that had passed in the early 1970s compelled park administration to turn more attention than they had previously to understanding and managing its marine resources. The Coastal Zone Management Act (1972), Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972), National Marine Sanctuaries Act (1972), and Endangered Species Act (1973) all directed national park units to pay greater attention to the protection of marine species and preservation of marine habitats within their boundaries. The Coastal Zone Management Act called for greater protection of coastal lands and waters, and provided funding to states, which could then formulate their own coastal management programs to meet the federal regulations. That same year, Congress passed the National Marine Sanctuaries Act to compel federal agencies to "protect and preserve sensitive and ecologically significant marine areas." It regulated the protection of oceanic ecosystems rather than particular species or activities. First, though, PRNS officials and staff had to understand exactly what marine resources they were managing.

Nonnative Deer Species

Of the specific resource issues in the NRMP, the proposals regarding nonnative deer control generated the most controversy. At issue were questions of whether to eliminate, reduce, or maintain the herds of axis and fallow deer, how best to accomplish population reduction (shooting, infertility injections, or physical removal), and who would do the reducing. Underlying the last question was the possibility of allowing hunting, on a very restricted basis, within the national seashore, a loaded topic for the NPS, environmentalists, ranchers, other local citizens, and a relatively new constituency, animal-rights activists. A subcommittee of the GGNRA/PRNS Advisory Commission, which formed to review the draft NRMP, discussed the subject at length during the course of several meetings.

Sansing laid out three possible options for tackling the problem: 1) allow the public to hunt via lottery, 2) have rangers shoot a designated number of deer, and 3) grant “depredation permits” to ranchers so they could resume their former practice of shooting deer on their ranches.²⁷ Not surprisingly, Point Reyes dairy rancher Joseph Mendoza, who would be eligible to obtain one of the permits, encouraged the commission to recommend the third option because it would create the least public opposition. Advisory commission members initially voted unanimously to recommend the depredation-permit method, as long as the ranger staff kept “rigid control” of permit use. During the public review period, however, strong community reaction against a sanctioned hunt surfaced. In response, the commission altered its recommendation to suggest using depredation permits on an experimental basis.²⁸

The final NRMP described research and management actions for six elements of the park’s environment, and listed the no-action alternatives for each resource along with the potential environmental impact of each. Recommended management activities including a range survey, nonnative plant control, prescribed fires, tule elk reintroduction, a study of native deer population, control of nonnative deer populations, control of feral animals, a mountain beaver study, fisheries management, a pollution study related to estuarine protection, and monitoring of visitor-use influences on the park environment.²⁹ Ultimately, the NRMP’s objectives drew primarily from the 1972 GMP, rather than the goals stipulated in the *Administrative Policies* guide for recreation areas. The NRMP gave recognition to the importance of incorporating research into resource management, declaring, “A combination of research and management actions will bring about desired conditions contained in the management objectives.”³⁰ The planning team identified several areas where research had been lacking or inadequate, pointing to range management and estuarine studies as the most important research targets.

Natural resource management activities in the half-decade following the NRMP’s release demonstrated that the park aggressively pursued three of the recommended action plans (nonnative plant removal, exotic deer reduction, and tule elk reintroduction), proceeded hesitantly on two others (fire management and expanded research), and, essentially ignored the action plans for range management and fisheries habitat restoration. In the meantime, the bulk of resource management operations focused, as it had prior to the release of the NRMP, on reduction or elimination of nonnative species. William Shook, who became chief of natural resource management in 1993, first came to work at Point Reyes in 1978. He recalled that most of the resource operations at that time involved shooting deer, and pulling, hacking, spraying, or burning thistle, scotch broom and other invasive, alien plant species.³¹ Although the tule elk reintroduction program received the most media attention and external funding, the bulk of the workload for resource management staff remained culling deer and eliminating nonnative plants.

The 1980 GGNRA/PRNS General Management Plan (GMP) largely incorporated the 1976 NRMP, and outlined some additional objectives for resource management at PRNS. Its directive to “identify, protect, and perpetuate the diversity of existing ecosystems which are found at Point Reyes,” included protection of marine mammals, and of threatened or endangered species, two groups that the 1976 NRMP had failed specifically to address.³² The GMP also recommended more extensive studies of range and tidal areas that incorporated resource carrying capacity data, a more comprehensive monitoring program for grazing practices with help from the U.S. Soil Conservation Service (now the National Resources Conservation Service), and better monitoring of Johnson Oyster Farm, in cooperation with the California Department of Fish and Game.³³

Marine Mammal Management Plan

The absence of a management plan for marine mammals at PRNS was a particularly glaring oversight, since Congress had passed both the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act in 1972. The lack of a strategy for protecting marine mammals, which were abundant on the shores and waters of Point Reyes, must have been particularly obvious by the time the 1976 NRMP was being finalized, as shortly thereafter the resource management division enlisted PRBO to write a Marine Mammal Management Plan (MMMP) supplement to the NRMP. David Ainley, an advisory member of the U.S. Marine Mammal Commission, Harriet Huber, marine biologist at Farallon Islands National Wildlife Refuge, and Sarah Allen authored the marine mammal management plan for PRBO, which it delivered to the park in 1979. Incorporated as a supplement to the existing Point Reyes NRMP, the new MMMP directed resource staff to identify, sign, and patrol the park’s harbor seal pupping sites. Furthermore, the plan recommended that northern elephant seals, just beginning to recolonize Point Reyes beaches in significant numbers, be protected from human harassment.³⁴

Point Reyes had historically been a colony for elephant seals but they were likely extirpated by European hunters. Scattered reports of elephant seal sightings came in the 1970s, with increasing frequency as the decade progressed. Most significant, a female pupped at a secluded beach below the Point Reyes Headlands in 1981. Because the MMMP had made it unlawful to “harass, hunt, capture, or kill” these animals and placed special emphasis on protection of mating and birthing grounds, the park was legally mandated to comply.³⁵ At particular issue was public use of Point Reyes beaches during harbor seal and elephant seal pupping season, where park visitors—most harboring no ill intent—approached the animals, chasing them back into the water. Fortunately for the park (and the seals), a research monitoring program was already in place, for the purpose of studying harbor seals, when the elephant seals began to “haul out” onto the beaches in greater numbers.³⁶ Although severe winter storm seasons in 1981–1982 and 1982–1983 had resulted high waves that washed all of the pups away, the colony’s viability began to seem possible when in 1984, eleven or twelve pups born that year survived to the “weaner” stage, the first young seals thus to survive.³⁷ Soon after the first pup made it past weaning, the survival and reproductive rates of the colony began to increase.

When the elephant seals established a new colony, their behavior prompted changes in research, visitor use, staffing, and budgeting. Researchers from PRBO and park staff have monitored the seals annually since the colony became established, increasing the amount of time surveying and patrolling as the colony grew in size. Observation was done mainly during the December-March breeding season, but surveys also took place during the fall and spring.³⁸ In 1988, PRBO biologists began tagging elephant seals (tags are attached to their flippers) in the breeding season in order to learn more about the seals’ dispersal and

colonization patterns, exchanges between colonies, survivorship, and population numbers.³⁹ Between 1988 and 1995, PRBO staff flipper-tagged a total of fifty adults and more than five hundred seal pups. In the mid-1990s, biologists and students from the University of California-Santa Cruz also began performing seal surveys during the breeding season.⁴⁰

**Natural
Resource
Management
in the
Organization**

Personnel, as well as planning documents, shaped the evolution of natural resource management at Point Reyes. The park lost Richard Brown to retirement in 1979, after he had served nearly a decade as research biologist at the seashore. When he left, the position was not filled; instead, PRNS began to use the services of a biologist from the Cooperative Park Studies Unit at the University of California at Davis.⁴¹ Aho, the natural resource specialist, also departed at that time and was replaced by William Pierce, who arrived from Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Shook described Pierce as “very dedicated” to natural resources, perhaps more so than Aho had been.⁴² Pierce made substantive changes in the program, first by putting more emphasis on data collecting and biological monitoring. Previously, what little research or survey work had been undertaken was done haphazardly, usually performed by interns and volunteers. Pierce started systematically collecting resource data, using fire-suppression money to fund monitoring and data collection projects.⁴³

Pierce also began to initiate changes in preexisting resource management activities, developing adaptive management strategies that included protection of marine mammals via seasonal closure of pupping areas, education, and monitoring program. Not all of his program ideas gained administrative support: Shook recalled that Pierce sometimes “clashed swords” with Sansing over resource management decisions.⁴⁴ One issue Pierce raised that Sansing contested was the status of backcountry trails. Virtually all of the park’s trails had begun as ranch roads. Visitors could no longer drive on the roads but staff continued to use them to haul out garbage, perform trail maintenance, conduct monitoring, and so on. When the huge storms of the 1981–1982 winter washed away portions of nearly every trail, Pierce saw an opportunity to begin treating those areas like true backcountry. He argued that resisting the urge to repair the trails would provide a richer wilderness experience for hikers and improved habitat for wildlife. Sansing, however, refused to budge on the matter, insisting the trails be returned to their former condition. After making a protracted but unsuccessful push for his alternative, Pierce decided he was ready to move on. He transferred to Shenandoah National Park in June 1983.⁴⁵

Russ Lesko, who had worked side-by-side with Pierce on many projects, took over when Pierce left. During Lesko’s tenure from 1983 to 1987, the administration started paying more attention to ranching and its impact on the peninsula environment. According to Shook, Lesko played an “instrumental” role in getting a range conservationist on the staff and in overseeing the reintroduction of tule elk. In the past, range work was a cooperative measure between ranchers and rangers. Shook succeeded Lesko as natural resource specialist in 1987. He described the position as “branch chief,” in charge of all resource management operations but still a fully commissioned law enforcement (LE) ranger, which meant he had to “wear two hats.”⁴⁶

Twenty-five years after an NPS management consultation team had recommended changing the division’s place in the organizational structure, those circumstances were finally remedied. In 1998, administration finally recast Shook’s position as chief of

natural resource management, and in 1999, natural resource management and cultural resource management became separate divisions.⁴⁷

Management Planning in the 1990s

The 1976 NRMP and 1980 GMP guided natural resource management at Point Reyes through the 1980s and early 1990s. The superintendent's "Statement for Management" documents, issued in 1985, 1990, and 1993, generally restated the objectives of the earlier management plans, but included new directives when significant changes in the legal status or research knowledge about a resource had occurred. In 1993, a planning team of regional and park staff began work on a new resource management plan. When Sansing and regional director Stanley L. Albright signed off on the new Resources Management Plan (RMP) in late 1994, it heralded a complete reassessment and a much more systematic approach to future natural and cultural resource management activities. The sweeping breadth of the plan included both solutions to specific problems, and larger theoretical and organizational changes perceived to be prerequisites for accomplishing the new resource management goals.

Four aspects of the 1994 RMP, in particular, stand out. First, the plan gave a scathing assessment of prior research and resource management operations at Point Reyes. Second, the plan outlined a systematic approach to each specific resource task while keeping each task within the context of the whole resource mission, including a prioritization of each issue or task. Third, the plan emphasized research and the necessity of creating a separate research entity within the organization. Fourth, the plan seemed to misinterpret the park's legislative history in regard to agricultural uses.

According to the 1994 RMP, the six most significant natural resource management issues at Point Reyes were: 1) lack of baseline knowledge, 2) protection of water rights, water quality, and riparian and wetland habitats, 3) protection of threatened, endangered, and rare species, 4) range management/erosion control and protection of wetlands and riparian areas, 5) control of nonnative species, and 6) identification and restoration of historic abuses to the Point Reyes environment.⁴⁸ In assessing the present status of the resources and the resource management operations, the NRMP did not pull any punches, and its honest appraisals left few topics untouched. In regard to baseline data, the report stated that the park vegetation map was outdated, plant inventories were incomplete, and there was no accurate count of nonnative species. The 1994 RMP took the park to task for the lack of data regarding the extent and distribution of wildlife on the peninsula, and noted that despite numerous studies of tule elk since their introduction there was "little objective measurement of habitat and range condition."⁴⁹ Baseline measures did not exist for water quality, quantity, and ownership, and many of the peninsula's riparian areas and wetlands remain undocumented. Moreover, the plan reported that the current natural resource management staff was "unable to keep pace with the scope of resource management needs or properly address increasing demands upon or threats to resources."⁵⁰

Surprisingly, the 1994 RMP repeatedly referred to the park's legislative "mandate" to continue agricultural activities within PRNS. The plan's summary regarding agricultural use stated: "Enabling legislation, amendments and the legislative history of the intent of Congress indicate that traditional agricultural activities are to continue within the pastoral zone of Point Reyes National Seashore."⁵¹ This emphasis on a legislative mandate to continue ranching was somewhat inaccurate. Congressional and NPS intent in the creation of the pastoral zone in the founding act was twofold. First, the allowance for continuing agricultural operations was primarily a means of protecting individual

ownership rights and negotiating enough compromises that would enable Marin County residents and the Board of Supervisors to support the seashore proposal. Second, the pastoral zone was the “hole in the doughnut” critical to obtaining appropriations for land acquisition.⁵² At a key point in the 1961 authorization debate, the Point Reyes proposal had become too expensive for Congress to swallow; but by allowing (not mandating) ranchers to retain title to those 20,000 acres, the price tag on the national seashore decreased significantly.⁵³ Moreover, it would keep the county’s tax base—a key sticking point for some opponents—stable for several decades. Although most backers of the seashore proposal certainly wanted to see the peninsula’s ranching landscape, as a visual aesthetic, remain intact, the pastoral zone was originally conceived of political and financial expediency (see Chapter 3, pages 86 to 88, for a more detailed discussion of this issue). As time passed, however, amendments to the national seashore legislation and Sansing’s personal inclinations did begin to redefine the significance of the ranching area, a process that is still underway.



Record No. 4880. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Detail of small squid, one of the marine inhabitants of Point Reyes National Seashore.

The 1999 “Point Reyes National Seashore Resources Management Plan” continued the structure, methodology, and systematic approach to resource objectives found in the 1994 RMP.⁵⁴ In the course of five years, however, dramatic changes in PRNS administration, more subtle shifts in NPS policy, and natural phenomenon such as the Mount Vision fire, have significantly reordered the priorities given to management of many key resources.

SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

One paradox of research in the national parks lies in the fact that resource management requires effective research to make sound decisions, but research must remain separate from the administrative apparatus of resource management. For decades, the NPS was often neglectful and sometimes resistant toward performing and obtaining research. When the agency did employ or contract with researchers, it often failed to give researchers the authority and autonomy they needed to be effective. Soon after Point Reyes National Seashore became a new NPS unit, the National Academy of Sciences Advisory Committee's *Robbins Report* (1963) gave this no-holds-barred assessment of the state of scientific research in the national parks:

Research by the National Park Service has lacked continuity, coordination, and depth. It has been marked by expediency rather than by long-term considerations. It has in general lacked direction, has been fragmented between divisions and branches, has been applied piecemeal, has suffered because of a failure to recognize the distinctions between research and administrative decision-making, and has failed to insure the implementation of the results of research in operational management.⁵⁵

Even more ominously, the *Robbins Report* declared, "Reports and recommendations on this subject will remain futile unless and until the National Park Service itself becomes research-minded and is prepared to support research and to apply its findings."⁵⁶ The report called for the Park Service to make a clear distinction between research and operational management. Despite a litany of subsequent reports and panels over the next forty years calling for this connection/separation arrangement, many NPS sites have failed to make the necessary distinction. Only recently has the separation been realized at Point Reyes, with the creation of a separate science division headed by science advisor Sarah Allen.

Point Reyes, however, fared better than many of its NPS cohorts when it came to obtaining access to scientific research, mainly due to its connections with organizations outside the NPS. Several university programs—Stanford, Sonoma State, Humboldt State, College of Marin, and the University of California at Berkeley and Davis—were conducting research at Point Reyes well prior to the authorization of the national seashore. They continued their research work, either as independent studies under NPS permit or in direct collaboration with the park, after the seashore became established. Biological research at Point Reyes benefited, in particular, from the park's close proximity and long association with the University of California at Berkeley. Starker Leopold, who became a major force in scientific policy and direction for NPS, and his students at UC Berkeley, used Point Reyes as an outside classroom. Two Leopold students working within an early version of a park cooperative studies unit, Reginald Barrett and Pete Gogan, made good use of their research training to play key roles in the reintroduction of tule elk to Point Reyes.

Point Reyes also has had a long history of research connections with the Point Reyes Bird Observatory (PRBO), the California Academy of Science, and the California Plant Society, all of which had been studying various species and habitats at Point Reyes. In the 1960s, PRBO became a complete research station that produced the first research study conducted for the national seashore, the first of many projects PRBO would undertake for PRNS. PRBO's 1965 study of Limantour Estero was a critical step in

building evidence to oppose construction of the outlandish beach recreation center proposed for that area (see complete discussion in chapter 4). The 1965 PRBO study illustrated the benefits to be gained from incorporating scientific research into natural resource management decisions.

In addition to the research work outside organizations performed, PRNS also benefited tremendously from long-term connections with a few individual researchers who dedicated their efforts to expanding the knowledge base and protecting the habitat of the park's flora and fauna. Several people, in particular, among them Richard Brown, Gary Fellers, Sarah Allen, Pete Gogan, and William Shook, conducted or spurred decades of monitoring, testing, and disseminating information about the peninsula's native and nonnative inhabitants to park managers, academic scholars, and the general public. Early on, the park was fortunate to hire research biologist Richard Brown. From 1970, when he was hired, until he departed the park in 1979, Brown spurred new research projects, collaborated with PRBO, synthesized research studies and data for management, and served as scientific advisor to PRNS administration.⁵⁷ The 1974 "PRNS Management Consultation Report" acknowledged that Point Reyes had made progress in creating a research program by hiring a research biologist.⁵⁸ But it also noted that while PRNS was "fortunate" to have Richard Brown on its staff, the seashore's significant research needs were "legion," making it "folly to think that one biologist will be able to undertake all areas in need of investigation."⁵⁹

Although Brown departed in 1979, Gary Fellers's arrival as an in-park scientist enabled the PRNS research program to continue to develop. Fellers became assistant chief scientist for the Western Region in 1979, which began his affiliation with Point Reyes. Fellers assisted Sarah Allen in a harbor seal monitoring project and worked with Pete Gogan and Reg Barrett on tule elk reintroduction. From 1981 to 1987, he was also the research coordinator for the Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary, a marine reserve west of Point Reyes. Although the offshore Farallon Islands and Cordell Bank were the primary focus of that program, Fellers's research studies on intertidal invertebrates, harbor seal ecology, great white shark movements and feeding, humpback and blue whale populations, and seabird breeding were a huge step forward toward improving the previously paltry fund of scientist knowledge about the park's marine biology. Fellers helped organize a collaborative effort by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the National Marine Fisheries Service, and the Gulf of Farallones NMS to fund an inventory and study of Point Reyes harbor seal colonies from 1982 to 1987.⁶⁰

In 1983, Fellers moved into his position as NPS research biologist at Point Reyes. Although he still worked for regional chief scientist Denny Fenn, Fellers set up his office at Bear Valley headquarters, where he has worked under various titles from 1983 until the present.⁶¹ In 1993, his position was transferred to the National Biological Survey, which subsequently became the Biological Resources Division of the United States Geological Survey (USGS). Despite jurisdictional changes, Fellers continued to work out of his Point Reyes office on local and regional research projects, as well as overseeing projects throughout the Western Region. During the course of more than twenty years of work at Point Reyes, he published eighty-five professional reports or articles, most of them related to his work at PRNS. Fellers initiated studies of the peninsula's mountain beaver, Townsend's big-eared bats, black brant, red-legged frogs, rare plants, and nonnative species. He conducted the first thorough inventory of the park's small mammals, amphibians, and reptiles, and put together the first checklist of PRNS plants,

mammals, and butterflies.⁶² His work and his collaborative efforts with other researchers and institutions laid the groundwork for the wide-ranging research program that would emerge at PRNS.⁶³

Sarah Allen was at the heart of the PRNS marine mammal program even before it appeared as part of the park's organizational structure. She began research at Point Reyes in 1976 as a University of California student, performing a study of harbor seals, and subsequently moved on to another harbor seal project for PRBO, working as a volunteer on the Farallon Islands. But her studies of Point Reyes marine life date to well before then. Allen's family, who lived in Marin County, took trips to Drakes Beach when she was a child. She started watching harbor seals there when she was eight years old. While in high school, Allen volunteered to work with a teacher from the College of Marin on a study of the ecology of Bolinas Lagoon, which got her "hooked on the idea of working at the ocean."⁶⁴ Allen began the harbor seal study at Bolinas Lagoon in 1977, and worked on gathering background and inventory information on marine mammals and seabirds, for the proposed national marine sanctuary. She also performed an extensive inventory of the entire peninsula in 1982-86. From 1982 to 1986, she worked on a pinniped harbor seal and elephant seal study at Point Reyes,⁶⁵

Allen's arrival on staff at Point Reyes ensured that the administration and natural resource managers would continue to get rigorous scientific analysis and accurate data collection, methodologies that were extremely valuable for making decisions about the park's most critical resource issues. Allen's scientific discipline and professionalism did not mean, however, that she was merely a dispassionate observer of the marine resources she studied. She has been, in fact, the staunchest possible advocate for marine organisms. Allen was the first to urge Sansing to protect the harbor seals, pointing to the legal mandate for their protection in the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA).

The National Parks Conservation Association's 2002 "State of the Parks" resource assessment of PRNS gave an "A" to the research program at Point Reyes, a higher grade than any other operational or administrative program in the park received. The assessment noted, "In recent years at Point Reyes, the Park Service has emphasized research to improve stewardship of the park's natural and cultural resource. The extent of the research and the establishment of a new learning center make Point Reyes a model for other national parks."⁶⁶

CRITICAL NATURAL RESOURCE ISSUES AT POINT REYES

For the purposes of this administrative history, six key natural resource issues are identified here as most representative of natural resource management and scientific research at PRNS over a forty-year period. The issues are research and monitoring, range management, nonnative plants and animals, species reintroduction, coastal ecosystems, fire management, endangered species, and habitat restoration. They were by no means the only natural resource issues or always the most important issues administrators and staff dealt with during those four decades.

Nonnative Plants and Animals

Natural resource managers at PRNS have, from the very outset, struggled to deal with the abundance of nonnative species that inhabit the peninsula. The list is fairly extensive: two deer species, feral "pets" (dogs and cats), feral hogs and goats, dairy and beef cattle, horses, turkeys, and over 290 species of nonnative invasive plants.⁶⁷ Two of the

groupings, nonnative deer and plants, have attracted by far the most staff attention over the course of the seashore's history. Shook recalled that when he began work at Point Reyes in 1978, and for several years thereafter, the constant battle to contain spreading exotics felt like the proverbial "finger in the dike," as resource managers tried to hold back a building tide of invasive plants and rapidly growing herds of deer. He spent his entire first fall in the park shooting deer for the reduction program that was just getting underway.

A local landowner introduced axis and fallow deer obtained from the San Francisco zoo to Point Reyes during the 1940s, and the herds have grown in size since then.⁶⁸ For decades, peninsula ranchers kept the size of the population in check until new PRNS hunting regulations went into effect in 1967. In the 1960s and 1970s, the nonnative deer population boomed, prompting discussions about strategies for controlling the herds. The park began an initial, two-year study of deer populations in 1973, conducted in cooperation with California Department of Fish and Game. NPS and Fish and Game staff killed five to ten deer of each species (including native blacktail deer in the latter half of the study) per month to necropsy and determine the food sources, parasites, diseases, and reproductive status of the animals. Oscar Brunetti, a Department of Fish and Game pathologist, performed the study's data analysis and recording. A total of 237 nonnative deer were collected over the study period for this purpose.⁶⁹

The 1976 NRMP, described earlier in this chapter, called for the park to undertake further research, including a study to determine optimal carrying capacities on the peninsula for deer and other ungulates, and to determine the extent of the reductions. The research staff and directors of PRBO, the organization best equipped to speak to the science underpinning the question, urged Sansing to remove all axis and fallow deer from PRNS because they were a nonnative species whose continued existence was "detrimental to both the plants and animals of native ecosystems."⁷⁰ At the time, there were an estimated 950 nonnative deer within the seashore boundaries. PRBO scientists believed that introduction of tule elk to the peninsula and the assumed growth of both nonnative and native deer would result in severe overgrazing of available forage, which some of the peninsula cattle also fed upon. PRBO believed that the potential adverse effects to native populations mandated that the park take responsibility to preserve those species; the best way to do it, in their opinion, was complete removal of axis and fallow deer.⁷¹

Given the history of wildlife management in national parks, it should not be surprising that the rationale for deciding the fate of nonnative deer was based on cultural and political considerations rather than biological knowledge. Although PRBO recommended that complete removal would create the most benefit to the PRNS environment, Sansing disavowed that strategy because it would "reduce the aesthetic of the seashore to many visitors."⁷² The feeding habits, unusual appearance, and abundance of both axis and fallow deer made them easy to observe, providing "a memorable experience to almost all visitors."⁷³ Economic factors also played a role in this natural resource management decision. While ranchers favored distributing depredation permits, the California Department of Fish and Game suggested that a public hunt was the better strategy, because hunters would "be willing to pay a higher price to bag" one of the unique-looking animals.⁷⁴ Tule elk reintroduction also held potential economic benefits for Fish and Game, because once the statewide elk numbers surpassed two thousand, the department could begin selling hunting tags for elk, pleasing the state's hunters and increasing the size of the department's coffers.

Social and cultural rationales also influenced decisions about species reintroductions. Public opinion was bound to favor elk reintroduction for the same reason it was opposed to complete elimination of nonnative deer. Visitors enjoyed the experience of seeing large powerful-looking wildlife in a natural setting. Even the NRMP environmental assessment was imbued with cultural bias. It gave the following notably unscientific evaluation of tule elk impact: “Tule elk are magnificent looking animals, and should provide an unforgettable visual and aesthetic experience to park visitors.”⁷⁵

At the close of the NRMP process, the park set the population reduction target at the level of 1973 herd sizes, approximately 350 deer of each species. But resource management also contracted with Henry W. Elliot, an independent investigator who in early 1976 had done his master’s thesis work on the Point Reyes native deer, to make another census of nonnative deer on the peninsula. Resource staff used Elliot’s data to determine the deer reduction target number of 178 axis and fallow deer by April 1, 1977.⁷⁶ In late 1976, park staff and Fish and Game personnel began the first phase of the culling process; they killed a total of 145 deer by the end of the year.⁷⁷

The park stepped up the number of deer killed each year as it began the second phase of the reduction program in 1980. In 1981, park rangers and Fish and Game staff shot nearly 450 deer, and three feral pigs.⁷⁸ The task involved the entire ranger staff in resource management and visitor protection, including seasonal staff members. With the number of deer being killed daily, the park could no longer perform necropsies on each animal. Additionally, disposing of deer carcasses posed a new problem for the resource staff. Pierce, then head of resource management, cannily arranged an agreement with the directors of St. Anthony’s Farm, an organization that ran a free soup kitchen in downtown San Francisco. Pierce told them that if they could have a truck waiting for the rangers at a designated spot in West Marin by 10:00 A.M. each day, the park would provide the organization with fresh venison for their kitchen.⁷⁹ Deer carcasses were also distributed to tribal organizations. The prolific numbers of animals killed temporarily resurfaced the contentious issue of public hunting. Sansing seemed to favor the idea, but the public and media opposition to the hunting proposals kept them from gaining traction. The Citizens’ Advisory Commission recommended firmly against public hunting at the seashore in 1983, just as they had in 1976 and 1981.⁸⁰

In order to keep up with the rate of the reduction plan, the park hired a seasonal ranger in the late 1980s, whose position was dedicated solely to shooting deer. As a result, 541 axis and fallow deer were destroyed in 1989 and 1990. R. Gerald Wright has argued in *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks* that even with the aggressive shooting campaign PRNS conducted during the 1980s, culling activity of this sort represented “little more than holding actions, effectively eliminating the current year’s production while maintaining the overall population at a relatively constant level.”⁸¹ Although this might be an appropriate short-term goal at some NPS sites, for most national park units the expense, potential for negative media attention, and demands on employees make it a poor long-term management strategy. In fact, resource management budget shortfalls and the continued media scrutiny prompted the park to discontinue deer culling as a management strategy in 1994, although staff have collected deer intermittently for research projects since then.⁸²

In the meantime, the natural resources planning team also made determinations about the park’s exotic intruders to the plant community, but without any of the debate or emotional attachment that deer reductions elicited. As R. Gerald Wright has observed in

Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks, “Changes in plant dominance and species composition are factors plant ecologists deal with; they are not things that generally alarm the average visitor.”⁸³ Resource staff continued to tackle nonnative plant control, with little of the attendant environmentalist or media attention. Wright explains that “public support for alien control programs in parks varies considerably depending on the species.”⁸⁴ Removal of nonnative vegetation as a coordinated—rather than haphazard—management task began in 1972 with giant plumeless thistle and “gorse” (scotch broom) removal projects.⁸⁵ Resource staff engaged several different methods, including mechanical removal (pulling or cutting), burning, spraying with chemicals, and introducing natural enemies (insects), with varying degrees of success. After five years, the gorse elimination program was pronounced a success. Thistle proved much more difficult to eradicate, despite extensive pulling, pesticide application, and burning work from 1972 through 1979.⁸⁶ In 1987, resource staff produced a completed nonnative plant management plan, which established categories of nonnative vegetation, ordered according to the threat each species posed to the seashore environment. The next year they removed 1,300 nonnative plants, including pampas grass, thistle, water hyacinth, giant reed, gorse, jimson weed, and kikuyu grass.⁸⁷ Plant removal crews topped that figure in 1989, when they removed 2,412 nonnative plants and began efforts to eradicate capeweed and iceplant, the latter of which remained a continuing target through the 1990s.⁸⁸

Management of nonnative plants and animals were still listed as high priorities in the 1999 NRMP, continued to demand sizable management time and budgets, and presented park managers with difficult decisions regarding proper actions.⁸⁹ More thorough surveys of the park’s plant communities revealed that nonnative species made up roughly one-third of the park’s vascular plant population, including thirty nonnative species that are invasive enough to threaten the survival of native plants. The coastal dune restoration project launched in 2001 was an effort to eliminate two of these exotics, European beachgrass and iceplant, which were taking over large swaths of the peninsula’s dune environment. In 2002, the California Exotic Plant Management Team (EPMT) also mobilized and set up its home base at Point Reyes. A Natural Resource Challenge-funded project, the EPMT tackled invasive plant removal at PRNS and at eleven other NPS sites in California. During its first year, the team removed nonnative species from approximately 2 million square feet of parkland.⁹⁰

Tule Elk Reintroduc- tion

Management of ungulate species has a long history in the national park system; for decades at Yellowstone, Glacier and other national parks, managing deer and elk herds, stocking lakes with fish, and killing predators were the basic elements of wildlife management. In an irony lost on no one in the NPS today, the ill-fated decision to remove natural predators to promote ungulate herds created a much bigger management crisis, as those herds increased until they reached limits imposed by disease and starvation, or until the NPS was forced to reintroduce humans as predators.

One of the first wildlife management strategies that involved directly manipulating (herding) ungulates was the management of the Yellowstone bison herds. Bison are high on the list of America’s charismatic wildlife; they are an icon of the American West, the symbol of wanton environmental destruction, and, of course, the emblematic image on the NPS arrowhead. Administrators at Yellowstone soon encountered a management conundrum with the bison that foretold the problems resource managers at Point Reyes and throughout the park system would face for the rest of the twentieth century. Boiled down, the question at Yellowstone became whether to keep a small “zoo” herd for public

display, or to allow the remaining natural processes to run their course, which could well be to the detriment of the herds, park environment, and NPS public relations. Park resource managers have, ever since then, wrestled with the pull from one end of this continuum to the other.⁹¹

The Park Service also had a lengthy history of haphazardly introducing new species, native or exotic, to the parks. Rocky mountain elk from the Yellowstone herds were introduced to Mount Rainier, Crater Lake, and several other national parks in the 1930s, creating herds that still exist today. Although several species, in addition to tule elk, were mentioned as possible candidates for reintroduction at PRNS, including sea otter, bald eagle, grizzly and black bears, and several insect species for nonnative plant control, none received the attention, research, and budget as did elk. Some received more consideration than others, which were dismissed outright. In 1989, for instance, Point Reyes began a feasibility study and obtained soft financing to begin bald eagle reintroduction. When PRBO and some environmental groups protested that the plan was inappropriate, the park withdrew the proposal.⁹²



Record No. 4560. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Tule elk in enclosure pen; deformed antlers show signs of Johnes disease.

In 1971, an interagency task force named Point Reyes as one of four potential sites in California for tule elk reintroduction.⁹³ This particular subspecies of elk, *Cervus elaphus nannodes*, once inhabited the Point Reyes Peninsula but had disappeared by the mid-1800s because of hunting and habitat loss.⁹⁴ When discussions regarding the possibility of elk reintroduction to Point Reyes began, the biggest concern among locals and park staff was the potential for disrupting peninsula dairy and grazing operations. State Fish and Game officials wanted the reintroduced elk to remain inside an enclosure, because of problems that free-ranging elk had created in the agricultural sector of the Central Valley.⁹⁵

The park proposed releasing the elk at the north end of the peninsula, where they would erect a fence across the approximately three-mile-wide neck of Tomales Point to keep the elk from entering the rest of the national seashore. To do this, the NPS had first to evict

the rancher, a permittee, from the Pierce Point property before the elk were transferred to the area. This rancher was not the original ranch owner, but a tenant rancher who moved in when the park obtained the property. The rancher, however, refused to leave and took the NPS to court, eventually losing the case. Nonetheless, he remained at the ranch until the park finally obtained a writ of assistance to have him removed.

In the midst of the drawn-out legal wrangling in 1978, the state proceeded to deliver the first ten elk to the park from the San Luis reservation in southern California. The elk were placed in a temporary acclimation pen where staff fed them every day. After the elk were introduced, herd growth progressed satisfactorily for the first year. During the second year, however, some of the elk started dying, bulls developed malformed antlers, and some fetuses were aborted.⁹⁶ More studies followed and the park found two causes: a microbacterial disease, and nutritional deficiencies resulting from depleted vegetation and soils, which the ranchers' overgrazing had caused. Once the park removed the cattle from the range, the vegetation began coming back.⁹⁷



Record No. 20290, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Point Reyes staff and University of California at Berkeley scientists conduct research and monitoring on tranquilized elk.

Based on a study by Pete Gogan, a graduate student of Starker Leopold at UC Berkeley, the park estimated that the area's carrying capacity for elk was 140 animals, and theorized that once the elk reached that level, the population would naturally stabilize. The population did stay reasonably small while the peninsula was in the midst of a drought period. Once the drought ended, and as the range recovered further from the effects of cattle grazing, the elk population soared, creating a significant

problem in need of a rapid solution. PRNS received funding to assemble a blue-ribbon scientific panel of experts who came to Point Reyes from all over the country. Shook thought the best thing he ever did as department head was to bring the experts together and collect their recommendations, which led to major funding for a scientific study and a management plan that offered a clear strategy. The study determined that the elk carrying capacity could be anywhere between three hundred and five hundred, but suggested even more research was needed. In 1998, the elk population had risen to approximately five hundred animals. Neubacher and resource management dealt with this in a couple ways over the next few years, physically transporting a herd of roughly forty elk to a different location within the seashore and implementing fertility control, which Shook believed may have contributed to a flattening of the population growth curve since 2000.⁹⁸

The 1998 Tule Elk Management Plan and Environmental Assessment stated five objectives for managing the peninsula's elk: 1) maintain "viable" elk herds on the

peninsula, 2) use the least intrusive methods to regulate the population or altering the habitat, 3) establish a free-ranging elk herd by 2005, 4) continue monitoring and researching of elk, and 5) educate visitors and the local communities about the conservation biology underpinning the elk program.⁹⁹ In 2000, following three years of research by UC Davis scientists, PRNS staff also began using dart rifles to administer an immunocontraceptive to elk cows. The next summer, the park hired a biotechnician to track and dart a total of fifty-one cows prior to the fall rut. The biggest difference in the 1998 elk management plan objectives compared to earlier ones was the park's aim to establish a free-ranging elk herd in the park. Neubacher and Shook took the milestone first step to that end in June 1999, when staff released twenty-seven elk from their temporary quarantine holding pen into the Phillip Burton Wilderness near Limantour Estero.¹⁰⁰ By 2001, a herd of thirty elk, including six calves born that spring roamed freely, closely monitored by park staff by means of radio transmitter collars attached to each animal.¹⁰¹

Coastal Systems

Biological diversity on the Point Reyes Peninsula is represented not only by the large number of terrestrial plants and animals such as the elk mentioned above; the unique biological values are also demonstrated in the abundance of marine organisms and the pristine quality of the coastal ecosystems found on and around the peninsula's shoreline. Soon after PRNS became operational, science organizations, observant PRNS staff, the state of California, and finally NPS administrators recognized the exceptional biological richness of the seashore's ocean, tidal, dune, and estuarine ecosystems. In 1972, the California Department of Fish and Game, in collaboration with the NPS, acknowledged the importance of the Estero de Limantour and Point Reyes Headlands by designating them state marine reserves, in order to preserve them in "a natural condition and to protect the aquatic organisms and wildlife found thereon for public observation and scientific study."¹⁰² More recently, a council of scientists from North and South America identified Drakes Estero a part of the Western Hemisphere Shorebird Reserve Network, indicating its regional importance in maintaining shorebird numbers and diversity. In 1976, the outstanding natural qualities and scarcity of human developments found in Drakes and Limantour areas prompted the NPS and Congress to include them as potential additions to the park's federally designated wilderness area. In 1999, the Department of the Interior authorized the inclusion of a portion of Estero de Limantour within the park's Phillip Burton Wilderness, making it the only coastal wilderness in the state.¹⁰³ The scientific and wilderness values of PRNS marine resources have thus steadily grown throughout PRNS history, attracting more researchers, greater management attention, and keener public interest as they did. By the start of the twenty-first century, it is safe to say that this complex of systems that constitute the coastal environment had become the most significant natural feature at PRNS.

Serving as the marine counterpoint to the story of the elk at Point Reyes were northern elephant seals, who "reintroduced" themselves to the peninsula's beaches at roughly the same time park administrators began reintroducing the elk. Northern elephant seals were once numerous along the California coast from Baja to Point Reyes, until they were hunted to near-extinction during the 1800s. By the 1880s, the species was reduced to a single breeding colony off the coast of Mexico's Baja Peninsula.¹⁰⁴ As the seal population began to multiply, the animals spread gradually northward, returning to many of their former terrestrial breeding sites along the southern California coast in the 1950s. Point Reyes visitors and staff started reporting scattered sightings of elephant seals on the peninsula's beaches in the 1970s. Elephant seals established a breeding colony, described earlier in this chapter, at Point Reyes headlands in the early 1980s.

Fortunately for the park and for the seals, Sarah Allen was already observing harbor seals in the same areas. In the course of the next decade, Allen mobilized a cadre of dedicated volunteers to monitor the colony from the outset. The National Marine Fisheries Service and PRBO, in conjunction with the park, began tagging seals to obtain more data on their habits when they leave the colony. With the seals' recent high reproductive success, it is likely the colony will continue to expand to other beaches within the national seashore. Elephant seals are another success story at Point Reyes, and they are perhaps the animal most emblematic of the national seashore and the coastal environment, living, as they do, on the boundary between earth and sea.

When Allen began working at the park in 1976 at Double Point, she realized that there were many human-caused disturbances to animals, particularly from abalone divers. She first brought it to attention of Brown, the park's research biologist. She remembered that he was "sympathetic," but unable to get resource management to support such protective steps as closing the area during pupping season. Allen tried to work with the Marine Mammal Commission and the National Marine Fisheries Service to get the park to apply the MMPA. The park did not make an effort, initially, but Allen began to work with the park in 1978 to educate managers and staff about the law and the application of the law. Even though the legislative intent of the MMPA was to protect dolphins from getting snagged in nets and otherwise harmed by commercial fishing boats, the language of the act was very broad, enabling environmental activists and federal agencies to make greater protective steps.¹⁰⁵

In the late 1980s, kayaks became very popular in the waters around the national seashore, with the unfortunate effect of disturbing birthing seals. The seals "haul out" at about nine different places, but Double Point and Drakes Estero, in particular, have extremely high concentrations of them. Allen and her volunteer crew of observers discovered that the approaching kayaks spooked seals into the water. If done repeatedly, this would decrease the chances of pup survival and drive seals to find another area to give birth. Allen and park scientist Gary Fellers were able to convince park administration to introduce a seasonal closure of Drakes Estero from March through June. Volunteer crews were then able to document the success of the closure in increasing survival rates.¹⁰⁶ Over the past twenty-some years, Point Reyes invested considerably more staff time, budget, and emphasis into protection of marine wildlife and preservation of the marine environment. The park developed a long-term monitoring protocol for pinnipeds and began collaborating with the National Oceanic and Marine Fisheries to get better picture of marine resources in the quarter-mile offshore zone, which was still relatively unknown.¹⁰⁷

The healthy ocean ecosystem around Point Reyes Peninsula that provided home and nutrients for a bounty of marine species also supported the single remaining commercial seafood enterprise within the national seashore, the Johnson Oyster Company operation in Drakes Estero. In November 1960, Charles Johnson purchased five acres of Schooner Bay shoreline from the previous commercial operator, along with the rights to more than one thousand acres of sea bottom to run his oyster harvesting enterprise. In 1972, the NPS purchased Johnson's land acreage and granted him a reservation of use and occupancy (ROP) that allowed him to continue his enterprise for a thirty-year period.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the ROP, Johnson maintained the rights to harvest oysters from two sea-bottom parcels regulated by the California Fish and Game Department. For several decades the Park Service viewed the oyster farm as one of the seashore's recreational attractions and as a benign human element of the tidal environment. The first PRNS Natural Resources Management Plan (1976) merely noted that the oyster farm was "a

popular place where visitors can view a unique operation and then buy some oysters, bottled or on the shell.”¹⁰⁹ Only one issue regarding Johnson’s business surfaced in the 1984 revised NRMP; resource managers worried that estuarine pollution from dairy and cattle ranch runoff might eventually create a public health hazard for visitors eating the company’s oysters.¹¹⁰

Up until 1983, Point Reyes administrators addressed how to best manage and monitor Johnson Oyster Company operations; thereafter they had to determine whether they should or could allow oyster farming to continue with the boundaries of the national seashore. Federal regulations prior to 1983 dictated that fishing in national park units should proceed in accordance with the laws of the state within which a particular unit was located, unless some special regulations further restricted it. In July 1983, however, Title 36 of the revised *Code of Federal Regulations* for the first time specifically prohibited commercial fishing in all NPS areas, unless a separate federal statute specified otherwise for a particular site.¹¹¹

By the late 1980s and 1990s, a more sophisticated understanding of the complexities of the coastal environment and complaints about plastic debris from the oyster operation spreading throughout Drakes Bay prompted researchers, California Fish and Game officials, and park resource managers to attempt to prohibit oystering activities that adversely impacted the estuarine ecosystem. A series of research studies published between 1990 and the time of this writing reported how the oyster enterprise could increase sedimentation rates, restrict the growth of eelgrass beds, introduce and support colonization by invasive marine species, reduce the native clam population, and displace other wildlife from the tidal flats.¹¹² Pinniped researchers also pinpointed the oyster farm as another source of human disturbance to birthing seals, although the park was able to work successfully with the operator to reduce that particular problem.¹¹³ Park staff and administrators had a more difficult time getting Johnson to comply with other restrictions the NPS and California Fish and Game placed upon the company. By the late 1990s, Johnson Oyster Company faced a Marin County court-authorized compliance agreement to meet health and safety regulations, while also confronting a California Coastal Commission cease and desist order. In 2005, while this document was under review, Johnson Oyster Company sold its leasehold interest in the business and the rights to the sea bottom allotments to Drakes Bay Oyster Company. As of this writing many of the issues involving the oyster farm remained unresolved.¹¹⁴

For more details on the origins of oyster farming and the legal status of sea bottom allotments in Drakes Bay, see Chapter 4, pages 127-129.

Range Management

Throughout the fairly brief history of PRNS, administrative and legislative decisions dealing with the cattle and dairy ranches have been among the most complex issues. The topic of ranching cuts across each decade of the park’s existence and is tied to virtually every aspect of seashore operations. Natural resource management, cultural resource management, maintenance, interpretation, administration, and community relations all involve making decisions about the ranches, and each division must take the ranches into account when drawing up their management plans.

At the outset, a large segment of the ranches—the pastoral zone, or “hole in the doughnut”—were surrounded by, but excluded from, the national seashore’s boundaries. With escalating real estate prices, taxes, and development pressures, the NPS reconfigured its design of the seashore’s boundaries, and redefined the legal and

figurative position of the ranches within them. Although government purchase of the ranches legally integrated agricultural lands into the seashore, it remained unclear whether conveyance of reservations of use and occupancy to ranchers meant that the park intended to include commercial agriculture within the seashore's long-term management objectives, or whether it was simply a means of respecting the original landowners' property rights.

As the years passed, several factors weighed toward a new definition of Point Reyes ranch lands, a redefinition that eventually made them among the most valued resources found within PRNS. Three contextual shifts brought this about. First, as development pressures and economic realities whittled away the agricultural base elsewhere in west Marin County, local operators, county officials, and open-space advocates saw that the NPS arrangement with Point Reyes ranchers was, in effect, "saving" agriculture there. Second, PRNS administrators and locals alike began to realize that the so-called natural landscape of Point Reyes could not be meaningfully distinguished from its agricultural component, despite the Park Service's early attempts to do so. Both were common elements of the peninsula environment. Third, the Park Service began, on an agency-wide basis, to define and identify rural agricultural landscapes as significant cultural resources within the NPS units where they occurred. As a result, PRNS administrators had to reprogram their plans and management objectives for the ranches.

As for on-the-ground management of rangeland, the 1976 NRMP and the 1980 GMP called for more extensive research studies that would incorporate resource carrying capacity data of the peninsula's range areas, and recommended a more comprehensive monitoring program for grazing practices. But the park took little action on these directives until the mid- to late 1980s.¹¹⁵ When the park did initiate more effective monitoring and systematic management planning, it took place only after the park had borne consistent pressure from the environmental community. As fisheries (in particular, salmon runs) and water quality became larger environmental issues, range management became tied up in questions about the impacts of cattle grazing on water quality, erosion, and loss of habitat. Researchers and staff began paying more attention to fisheries when the populations crashed during the 1970s. The California Department of Fish and Game closed the peninsula's creeks to fishing. A furor erupted among conservation groups and many locals about Sansing's lack of response to the problem, which most of those protesting viewed as caused by poor range practices.

During the mid-1980s, the park began a program of erosion control, started fencing off riparian areas from cattle, and initiated work on a ranch management plan. The park established standards to determine grazing impacts, using as a measure the amount of residual dry matter (RDM) left on the soil to protect it. Resource staff began a long-term RDM monitoring program in 1989.¹¹⁶ But when the time came to release the range management plan, the title was changed, and they became range "guidelines" rather than management plan directives. The range management guidelines called on the PRNS range specialist to develop individual conservation ranch plans for all of the peninsula's ranch operations. They established a cooperative program with the University of California at Davis to evaluate and monitor range resources based on range transects. They also called for monitoring RDM on the range by sampling transects at the close of the grazing season. Moreover, the guidelines specified the need for further erosion control.¹¹⁷

When the rancher's reservations of use and occupancy began expiring in the 1990s, the park once again redefined the legal status of the ranchers, making them lessees of land they once owned. Although individual ranchers had the stability of long-term leases, the long-term future of ranching on the peninsula remained, in some respects, ill defined. When a ranch operator retires or dies, and no family member steps in to succeed them, the park will have decide whether and how to keep that dairy or cattle operation going.

As for the future of ranching at Point Reyes, Neubacher believes that the staff, the agency, the local community, the agricultural preservation groups, and Marin County all have a vested interest in the continuance of these working landscapes. But both Neubacher and Gordon White, chief of cultural resource management, clearly indicated that the NPS was not interested in creating "boutique ranches" at Point Reyes. Neubacher explained that the term referred to an agricultural permit process wherein the high bidder obtains a lease to the property, "throws a few cows out there," and calls it ranching. Although this arrangement might maintain some of the pastoral character of the landscape, it would not be an extension of the historic working landscape the NPS has helped maintain on the peninsula. Instead, the NPS would merely be subsidizing a "gentleman farmer's" lifestyle on a very unique and valued piece of public property. An arrangement of this sort would not be an appropriate use of national seashore land under its current mission, and would not be in keeping with the original legislative mandate that gave legal status to the park.

Fire Management

Despite its typical cool, foggy, coastal climate, Point Reyes experiences a short period in the fall when fire conditions become like those of inland California; that is, dry and windy. The combination of warm, dry weather and high fuel loads, after the grasses and brush have been curing all summer and through the fall, create optimal wildfire conditions. Warm east-wind conditions (known as Diablo winds or northeasterlies), which create the extreme fire conditions of quick drying and low humidity, are present for only four to five days in September or October. On average, Point Reyes forests experience a stand-replacing fire every forty to fifty years; most of these large blazes occur in the fall. This historical fire pattern resulted in the growth of some Point Reyes species, particularly Bishop pines, that are dependent upon fire for effective reproduction and growth.

Point Reyes staff began experimenting with prescribed fire in 1972 with the establishment of test plots to study coastal forest fire dynamics. Plans to proceed with managed burns, however, were postponed pending the completion of the 1976 NRMP. Because of the understandable wariness among local fire officials and residents regarding prescribed burning, the park waited until it obtained the go-ahead from both the NPS Western Region Office and from the GGNRA/PRNS Citizens' Advisory Commission.¹¹⁸ The park did allow human introduction of fire to the peninsula environment before then; cattle ranchers resumed their historical practice of burning sections of their range to check the growth of several unwanted plant species. As soon as the Point Reyes resource staff was able to allay the anxieties of local fire officials, with the support of the Marin County Department of Agriculture, several ranchers were allowed to resume this practice in 1975.¹¹⁹

Between 1962, when Congress authorized the national seashore, and 1994, there were only two fires of several-hundred-or-more acres at Point Reyes, including the 1976 Kelham Beach fire. These burns were in areas along the coast, ignited by beach campfires left burning that spread onto the bluffs pushed by westerly winds. There was no substantial property loss or injuries from those fires. Thus local residents, and perhaps PRNS staff as well, were not overly concerned with the possibility that a peninsula fire could blaze hot and long enough to destroy property or threaten human lives.¹²⁰

Mount Vision Fire

On October 3, 1995, an illegal campfire at a site in Tomales Bay State Park ignited nearby vegetation and began burning upslope. Forty- to fifty-mile-per-hour easterly winds pushed

the fire into surrounding brush and thick forest, flaring into a major conflagration, which eventually burned over 12,000 acres of the peninsula and destroyed forty-eight structures, primarily in the Inverness area. Over the course of five days, more than a thousand firefighters engaged in suppression activities, finally bringing the fire to the containment stage by the night of October 7. Portions of the fire continued to burn for several more weeks, although the park declared the blaze controlled on October 16. Almost all (11,598 acres) of the 12,354 acres that burned were PRNS lands; the other 756 acres were private and state land.¹²¹ Fortunately, the residents of Paradise Ranch Estates, a small development that the fire devastated, had practiced disaster drills with their neighborhood association, helping them safely escape the fire.¹²² Many lost all of their possessions.

During the fire, the park engaged in a few innovative strategies to help assess and suppress the fire's effects. The Office of Emergency Services tracked the spread of the fire daily with helicopters carrying Global Positioning Systems (GPS) data. The park also used GPS to quickly document structures in the path of the blaze. All of this information was entered into a spatial database subsequently available for display, interpretation, and fire-fighting applications.¹²³

The Mount Vision blaze and its aftermath prompted the park to redefine its fire management programs and produced numerous new research studies at Point Reyes. In order to better understand the causes, dynamics, and outcomes of the Vision fire, the park established the Burn Area Emergency Rehabilitation (BAER) team. Before the fire was completely contained, the Department of the Interior had organized this multidisciplinary



Point Reyes ranger performs prescribed burn for park fire management.

Record No. 20360, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

team made up of specialists in natural resources, cultural resources, structures, utilities, roads and trails. It included representatives of the NPS, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Bureau of Land Management, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The team quickly launched into its primary objectives to assess the immediate effects of the fire, produce a report detailing the fire's impact on peninsula resources, evaluate the fire suppression activities and their effect on park resources, and provide recommendations for anticipated mitigation and restoration efforts. The final BAER Report laid the foundation for the subsequent boom at Point Reyes in research, resource monitoring, and resource restoration, and for the creation of a dedicated fire management program at PRNS.¹²⁴

New fire management strategies emerged in the wake of the Vision fire and BAER report. First, the park placed more emphasis on using fire as a management tool, in order to reduce fuel loading and vegetation hazards. Second, the park became involved in the Wildland Urban Interface (WUI) Initiative Program, a category of fire that was burgeoning topic of scrutiny nationwide, of which the Vision fire was a classic example. From 2001 to 2003, the NPS/Fire Safe Marin Fire Protection Partnership provided roughly two million dollars in WUI program funds for fuel reduction work in PRNS and the north district of GGNRA.¹²⁵ The WUI initiative also aimed to foster cooperative working relationships between the NPS and neighboring agencies and communities. As a result of the initiative and earlier collaborations, PRNS developed mutual aid agreements with the Marin County Fire Department, the Bolinas Fire Protection District, the Inverness Public Utility District, and the Nicasio Volunteer Fire Department.¹²⁶ Although the NPS had complete jurisdiction of fires on PRNS lands, the mutual aid agreement effectively “deputizes” Marin County to begin fire suppression work if they are the first on the scene.¹²⁷ In response to the Vision fire, the NPS and other federal organizations funded numerous new research studies and monitoring programs, with the burned area serving as their science laboratory. Furthermore, the park stepped up its fire education efforts in the local communities, where many of the residents were understandably wary about any fires, including NPS management fires, after witnessing the Vision fire. To this end, PRNS hired a fire education specialist, which is currently a permanent position split between PRNS and GGNRA.¹²⁸

Finally, the Vision event and the increased funding that it spurred led to an administrative reorganization, six years later, of fire suppression and fire management operations at PRNS. Whereas fire suppression activities had been, for most of the park's history, part of the visitor protection division, fire management became a separate division in 2002.¹²⁹ Division staffing included an eight-person hand crew (for mechanical fuel reduction crew) and four-person fire engine and suppression crew. Adequate funding usually allows the crews to stay on-site. The devastating effects of the fire have kept PRNS committed to the policy of suppressing all unplanned ignitions, when possible using minimum impact suppression tactics (MIST). Between 1997 and 2002, the park has kept all wildland fires—which occurred an average of three times per year—to less than ten acres.

For several years after the Vision fire, staff aimed to set more prescribed burns, which they were able to achieve when weather conditions were optimal. Despite the clearly identified need for managed burns within the national seashore, events outside of PRNS soon made prescribed burning much more difficult to accomplish. In 2000, strong winds blew up a prescribed burn in Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico, causing the fire to roar onto forest service land and eventually into the city of Los Alamos. Public and

media flagellation of the park superintendent and the Park Service eventually created a government backlash against prescribed burning on federal lands. Several consecutive summers of television and print media hyperbole about western fires and fire policy further exacerbated the political fallout of the Bandelier blaze. Significant changes in NPS and federal fire policies soon followed, including a greater emphasis on using mechanical removal of down and diseased trees instead of managed burns to reduce the fuel loads of federal forestlands.

Since the Bandelier fire, several factors made it more difficult to conduct prescribed burns at PRNS, although they were still part of the management plan. First, the administrative workload to complete even a small, low-complexity, prescribed burn increased dramatically due to stiffened federal regulations.¹³⁰ Second, stringent air quality restrictions in Bay Area and Marin County laws left only a few windows of opportunity to operate a management fire. Roger Wong, chief fire management officer at Point Reyes, reported that it was preferable to burn at night—because of cooler temperatures and less wind—but regional air quality restrictions do not allow it. That typically allows fire staff only six hours to complete a burn during the daytime. Third, restrictions for nesting spotted owl and neotropical birds, red-legged frogs, and other endangered or threatened species further narrow the opportunities for prescribed burns. As a result, the park faced the decision to increase the amount of mechanical fuel reduction (for instance, thinning the expanding eucalyptus groves) they perform as an alternative to prescribed burns.¹³¹

Endangered and Threatened Species

Endangered and threatened species came into the forefront of natural resource policy during the 1970s, culminating in the passage of the Endangered Species Act (ESA) of 1973. Although Congress passed endangered species legislation in 1966 and 1969, the amended statute of 1973 proved to be one of the strongest statutes of the environmental laws passed during this era. It signaled that preventing extinction and protecting biodiversity had become major goals of natural resource policy at the national level.¹³² The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) identified as “threatened” those animals and plants whose populations had dropped so low that they appeared likely to become endangered, and identified as “endangered” those species that appeared in danger of becoming extinct. Called the “pit bull of environmental law,” the ESA established a set of regulations preventing the harvesting, possession, sale, and delivery of threatened and endangered species. It also required the appropriate agencies to develop a plan to recover animal populations listed as threatened or endangered. For the first time, natural resource managers in the public and private sectors had a federal mandate to give high priority to endangered species and their habitat requirements.¹³³

The ESA had far-reaching consequences for the management of natural resources at PNRNS. Two distinct marine provinces—the Oregonian and Californian—overlap at the seashore, resulting in a diversity of species. Also, its location on a peninsula created by a fault line has resulted in many rare and endemic species. By 1999, the seashore included twenty-three federally listed plant species and forty-seven listed animals, such as the brown pelican, northern spotted owl, and western snowy plover. Management of these various species affected a wide range of activities, including ranching, sport and commercial fishing, and visitor use.¹³⁴ For several of these species, Point Reyes contains the last remaining healthy and dense populations, stimulating a tremendous amount of effort and research directed toward their protection and preservation. Species such as the western snowy plover required immediate intervention. The Park Service constructed enclosures around nests, for example, to protect the eggs and chicks from human

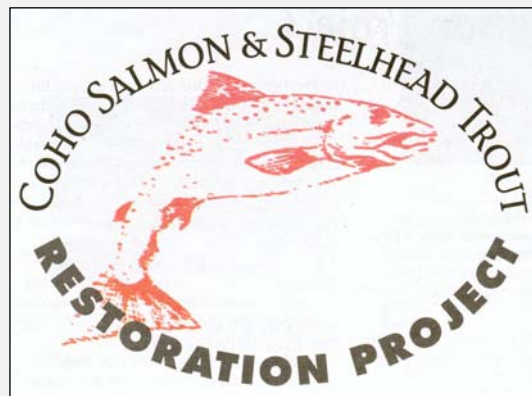
activities as well as from predators. Other species, such as listed plants associated with grazed lands, required study to determine the best management actions to ensure their survival.¹³⁵

Habitat and Species Restoration

Pacific salmon have migrated from the ocean to the coastal streams of California for thousands of years. Every winter at Point Reyes, adult coho salmon and steelhead trout return to the streams of their birth to spawn. During the last half of the twentieth century, however, human activities and development greatly reduced coho and steelhead populations throughout northern California, prompting concern among scientists and environmentalists. The two species are federally protected under the ESA. Dams and culverts restricted access to spawning areas, while logging, road construction, and agricultural practices clogged streams and rivers with sedimentation, choking spawning

COHO SALMON AND STEELHEAD TROUT

Salmon are anadromous fish that hatch in freshwater, swim to the ocean, and then return as adults to freshwater to spawn. The Greek term “anadromous,” which means “running upward,” refers to this migratory behavior. Salmon start out as pea-sized eggs buried in the gravel of cold, swiftly running water. After hatching, juvenile salmon undergo smoltification – a process that enables them to adapt to saltwater. As they move downriver, smolts imprint on the sequence of odors they encounter. After maturing in the ocean, they find their way back to the waters of their birth, where they spawn, by following the reverse sequence. Once they enter freshwater, they do not feed extensively. Salmon generally die after spawning, while steelhead can live to repeat the spawning cycle.



Every winter at Point Reyes, adult coho salmon and steelhead – an anadromous rainbow trout – return to the streams of their birth to spawn. During the last half of the twentieth century, however, human activities and development greatly reduced runs of coho and steelhead throughout northern California, prompting concern among scientists and environmentalists. In 1996 and 1997, populations of coho and steelhead in northern California were listed as threatened under the Endangered Species Act, increasing the urgency of the National Park Service's efforts to restore salmon habitat.

gravels with silt and sand and suffocating eggs.¹³⁶ Coho and steelhead were species of high public interest—and by the 1970s, the Park Service had begun to consider the possibility of restoring salmon habitat on the peninsula.

The 1976 “Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment” was the first administrative document to address this issue. The NRMP directed resource managers to “attempt” habitat restoration by removing earthen dams that ranchers built for freshwater impoundment ponds, which had significantly disrupted salmon spawning runs.¹³⁷ Specific streams targeted for return to free-flowing status included Coast, Bear Valley, Muddy Hollow, Olema, and Pine creeks. Dam removal, however, would not include those streams and impoundment dams “essential to present dairy or beef ranching operations.”¹³⁸ The addition of these restrictions immediately handcuffed the potential for significant restoration, and likely reflected Sansing’s alliances with Point Reyes ranchers. In fact, by the end of the decade Sansing was fielding increasing criticism from environmental groups for his perceived “foot-dragging” on improving stream quality and restoration of salmon stocks. His annual reports indicated no dam removal activity for the five years following the adoption of the NRMP. Salmon habitat remained a low priority

in the 1980s. The 1985 “Statement for Management” did not list salmon habitat as a management objective for natural resources, although that year Sansing reported that “public criticism” and “citizen interest” had led to financing a sedimentation and erosion control study of Olema Creek.¹³⁹

During the 1990s, the restoration of fisheries habitat came into prominence at Point Reyes as the National Marine Fisheries Service petitioned to list runs of coho and steelhead all along the Pacific Coast under the ESA. The 1994 NRMP identified restoration of salmon and steelhead as a top-priority natural resource project.¹⁴⁰ The plan targeted a habitat assessment of historic spawning streams as the recommended action. Subsequently, the Park Service, in coordination with the California Department of Fish and Game and local volunteers, implemented a monitoring program to evaluate restoration and the possibility of supplemental stocking.¹⁴¹ In 1996 and 1997, coho and steelhead populations in northern California were listed as endangered under the ESA, prompting additional funding for restoration efforts.¹⁴² The park launched the five-year Coho Salmon and Steelhead Trout Restoration Program (CSRPT) in 1996, targeting Lagunitas Creek, Olema Creek, Redwood Creek, and Pine Gulch Creek watersheds for habitat restoration and enhancement.¹⁴³ By 2002, resource staff had completed numerous stream and watershed restoration projects to benefit fish and other rare and sensitive aquatic species. A new fish-passage facility constructed on the John West Fork tributary of Olema Creek became the first of the project elements completed in 1999. Monitoring at the site over the next two years showed that the proportion of adult salmon passing through an old culvert there increased from the pre-restoration passage rate of 14 percent to a post-restoration rate of 75 percent.¹⁴⁴ Fish-passage projects were also underway on Cheda Creek and Muddy Hollow Creek, while staff and volunteers continued their monitoring of spawning streams.

Conclusion Entering the twenty-first century, the definition of the national seashore has shifted once more. Since 1995, superintendent Neubacher has devoted an increased level of administrative emphasis, funding, and personnel resources toward scientific research and resource management, preservation of coastal ecosystems, monitoring, restoration, and protection of endangered species and their habitat, managing nonnative species and other external biological threats to the peninsula’s environment, and understanding and managing the impact of coastal fire regimes. Moreover, the Park Service-wide Natural Resource Challenge program, which Neubacher co-chaired, granted \$60-80 million for research and monitoring programs in all the parks. These achievements have helped PRNS “embrace science” as the heart of its mission. In fact, the park’s science, natural resource management, and research programs have such variety, breadth, and complexity that they are beyond the scope of a single chapter, as attempted here.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER SEVEN

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CHAPTER EIGHT
EXPLORING AND TELLING THE POINT REYES STORY:
INTERPRETATION AND EDUCATION FOR PARK VISITORS AND THE
LOCAL COMMUNITY

Those in the regional office who saw his [horse handler's] job sheet now realize that this horse business has more to it than might be first thought.

. . . John L. Sansing

Interpretation at PRNS over the past forty years has been distinguished by development of a strong environmental educational program, reliance on historical demonstration programs, and creation of well-regarded visitor centers, along with an absence of such “traditional” national park interpretive activities as ranger-led campfire talks and guided walks. These characteristics reflect two important elements of the national seashore’s development: time and place. First, the period during which interpretation got off the ground at Point Reyes—the 1960s and early 1970s—marked an ebb in Park Service interpretative planning and programming nationwide. Second, the peninsula’s location near a major metropolis and immediately adjacent to a number of neighboring towns created visitor-use patterns, namely day-use and weekend visitation, that lent themselves more to certain interpretive activities and less so to others. As PRNS managers recognized the significance of these two variables, they set program goals and planned the park’s interpretative operations accordingly.

Whereas the automobile campgrounds of western parks were the usual locations for campfire talks and the starting point for ranger-led walks, the NPS built no auto campgrounds at PRNS because the day-trip pattern of visitation and availability of accommodations in the nearby towns of West Marin made them unnecessary. Early in the interpretive program’s history, NPS officials recognized that stationary exhibits (including living history demonstrations), information booklets, and self-guiding trails would be the types of services most likely to reach the majority of seashore visitors.¹ As a result, programs focused on specific sites that lent themselves to such activities, particularly Point Reyes Lighthouse, Kule Loklo, Bear Valley Visitor Center, and Morgan Horse Farm. By the same token, the education program at PRNS differed from typical operations in other parks. In this case, proximity to the Bay Area urban core and suburban and farm towns of Marin County quickly boosted the size and extent of educational activities at the national seashore.

INITIAL INTERPRETIVE EFFORTS

Although interpretive operations were not in full swing until the Division of Interpretation and Resource Management (I&RM) was split into separate divisions in 1971, the park began offering interpretive services in the mid-1960s. The nascent interpretive program emphasized providing visitor information, orientation, and self-guided exhibits. Early park staff operated the first visitor-information center in a converted ranch building at Bear Valley and opened a small information center at Drakes Beach. They also erected wayside interpretive displays in the Bear Valley area, including the short “Earthquake Trail” where visitors could use self-guided media (waysides or guide booklets) to learn about the geology of the San Andreas Fault. After the seashore

established four walk-in campgrounds, staff experimented with providing campfire talks and other scheduled naturalist programs, but had little success attracting enough visitors to justify making it part of the regular program schedule. Similar interpretive programs given at Olema Ranch Campground (outside the park boundary) and Samuel P. Taylor State Park, however, drew much bigger audiences.²

In 1971, a park maintenance crew moved a house from Limantour Spit to Bear Valley and converted it into a new, larger visitor information center. Without NPS funds for new exhibits in the building, staff and volunteers crafted their own interpretive displays.³ Interpreters and visitor protection rangers of the I&RM division performed information desk duties that included orienting visitors, answering telephone calls, making reservations for the walk-in camps, and scheduling school-group visits. Arranging overnight camp reservations became so time consuming that the park created an “information reception” position in the early 1970s to handle this task.⁴

Development of the interpretive program was hamstrung by several factors: the financial emphasis on land acquisition, the poor quality and lack of organizational direction for interpretation throughout the national park system, and the NPS recreation area management guidelines that designated public recreation as the primary focus for interpretation at PRNS. Moreover, since its inception, general ranger staff at most parks looked at the NPS naturalist/interpreter job as a lower-status position.

During the 1960s, when protection division rangers were seeking a clearer identity for themselves in the organization, the agency paid even less attention to interpretation. NPS reorganization further devalued the interpreter position, by changing their employment status to the GS-026 level, the park technician series. Only division chiefs and assistant chiefs remained on the former GS-025 scale, but their positions were primarily administrative. The job titles of ranger-naturalist and park interpretive ranger were removed from the NPS employment lexicon. Technician positions did not require applicants to hold a college degree and could not advance beyond the GS-09 level, and the professionalism and quality of the average NPS interpreter diminished accordingly. Those who did develop significant skills and expertise had little hope of climbing the organizational ladder.⁵

The NPS decision to include national seashores within the recreation area category likewise hampered the maturation of interpretive programming at Point Reyes. The 1968 NPS administrative policy manual outlined the interpretive program’s objective as being “to inform visitors of recreational opportunities available, provide them a better understanding of, and appreciation for, the natural environment and assist them in their quest for a quality outdoor recreational experience.”⁶ Suggested activities included “programs of instruction in water safety for boaters, swimmers, scuba divers, etc.”⁷ Although few NPS division managers believed they needed to apply these blue book policies across the board, they certainly influenced interpretive planning at PRNS.

In his 1970 “Point Reyes National Seashore Management Objectives,” Superintendent Edward J. Kurtz’s primary objective for PRNS interpretation mirrored those emphasized in the 1968 policy guidebook: namely, “Provide information on recreational pursuits such as swimming, beachcombing, clamming, birdwatching, etc. in a manner that lends to greater visitor enjoyment of these activities.”⁸ While the main thrust for interpreters was to emphasize the seashore’s many recreational opportunities, interpretive staff members were also directed to “take advantage of the important natural and historical resources

where appropriate.” Perhaps ironically, this objective called for programs that would help visitors “discover the many features of the area that truly make it unique.”⁹ It seems odd that Kurtz and the NPS regional officers who approved the plan did not see the contradiction: the elements that made PRNS truly unique were not its recreational resources but its geologic story, life-rich coastal zone, and its array of diverse biological systems and cultural resources.

**Interpretive
Planning**

Within these constraints, the division’s first comprehensive planning document, the 1973 “Interpretive Prospectus, Point Reyes National Seashore,” offered a limited vision for the future of interpretation at Point Reyes. Based on studies William (Bill) Germeraad performed in fall 1972 and drafted by a planning team in spring 1973, the planning document was in keeping with NPS guidelines for interpretive operations management. The main objective was to promote beach recreation that was safe for visitors and which would have the fewest impacts on park resources. Visitor orientation and information services were also highlighted. The prospectus laid out the following objectives for interpretive programming at PRNS:

While a great number of visitors to Point Reyes will be avidly interested in history and natural history, the predominant single use will continue to be beach-oriented recreation. Interpretation must be kept relevant to these visitors. The program will encourage them to extend their recreational pursuits into a broader range of activities. At the same time, it should instill in them an awareness of their impact on the recreation resource.¹⁰

The document’s authors apparently confused visitors’ usage preferences with their desires for certain interpretive activities. In other words, even though many visitors may have reported they came to the park to hike or beachcomb, hiking and beachcombing might not have been their first preference in an interpretive program. Hikers may have preferred information about the types and habits of animals they might encounter, while beachcombers may have been inclined to learn more about the interconnections among the multitude of organisms that inhabited the tidal zone.

In addition to showing little understanding of the park’s audience, the 1972 planning document also revealed low expectations for personal interpretive programming, perhaps reflecting administrators’ lack of confidence in the interpretive line staff’s ability to deliver quality programs. Instead, the prospectus emphasized the need to develop and deliver what are now called nonpersonal services. Of the six specific program proposals described in the document, three indirect services were given highest priority: 1) the increased use of wayside exhibits, 2) the development of static interpretive “shelters” at high-use recreation areas, and 3) the use of radio broadcasts to relay up-to-date visitor information to motorists. Three lower-priority proposals aimed to improve the two information centers, increase park publications, and augment the new “living history” demonstration programs. Only one of the six recommendations, the use of interpretive demonstrations, was a direct-service activity.

Interpretive planners called for expanding or establishing several demonstration sites, which included the new Morgan Horse Farm, a working (modern) dairy operation, a historic dairy demonstration site, and an oyster farm demonstration. For these programs to function effectively, they would rely primarily on residents (ranchers and employees of the Johnson Oyster Company) and volunteers at the heart of the program, instead of

interpretive rangers. Only one proposed program—water recreation demonstrations at Tomales Bay—would rely primarily on the park’s interpretive employees. The Tomales Bay program would include regular canoe, kayak, and sailing lessons, along with classes on water safety, lifeguard skills, and scuba diving.¹¹ In his comments on the draft prospectus, Superintendent John L. Sansing added, almost as an afterthought, that the Tomales Bay program might be hampered by the fact that great white sharks frequented the area.¹²

During the public hearings on the 1972 GMP, a number of organizations and individuals called for a different approach to interpretative activities than the ones the park planning team announced. The Sierra Club’s GMP proposal, for example, called for interpretive and educational programs at PRNS that would enhance each visitor’s “awareness of [their] surroundings” in the natural environment.¹³ Longtime PRNS advocate Katy Miller Johnson urged the planning team to make “teaching about our habitat” the prime objective of interpretation, because she believed the Park Service “uniquely fitted” for this type of teaching.¹⁴

NEED and Education Programs at Point Reyes

In contrast to interpretative programming for general park visitors, the national seashore’s education program got off to a quick start. Whereas the NPS provided little support to interpretive services overall in the 1960s, the agency during that time boosted their commitment and resources for park-based environmental education programs linked to local school districts. NPS officials and the Educational Consulting Service began developing curriculum materials in 1968 for teachers to use in their classrooms and during visits to national park sites. The result was the National Environmental Education Development (NEED) curriculum, which aimed to give elementary-school teachers tools to create greater environmental awareness in students.¹⁵ NEED programs applied particular themes or “strands” of environmental teaching, including several strands—interrelation and interdependence, continuity and change, adaptation and evolution—twenty-first century interpretive rangers would recognize as commonly used themes in their programs.¹⁶ Indeed, one long-term impact of the NEED program was a gradual incorporation of environmental education themes and techniques into general interpretative programming throughout the national park system.¹⁷

In conjunction with the NEED curriculum, national parks created environmental study areas (ESAs) for day visits or overnight camps, to enhance students’ understanding of the environment. PRNS became one of sixty-three NPS units to establish an ESA prior to 1970.¹⁸ Two designated ESAs at Point Reyes utilized the Bear Valley and Chimney Rock trails, which began to attract school groups from Marin County and the larger Bay Area. Park technician Doris Omundson, who helped run the start-up ESA program, attested to the immediate popularity of the concept in area school districts. She reported in April 1970 that she found it difficult to keep up with the demand for the student workbooks and teaching manuals for the Bear Valley ESA. Approximately 650 students, in groups ranging from 25 to 150 in size, had participated in the program during the first three months of the year.¹⁹ By the end of the school year in June, more than three thousand schoolchildren had traveled to Point Reyes to use the ESA.²⁰ The park revised the Bear Valley ESA booklets the following school year and opened the park’s second program site, the Chimney Rock Trail ESA.²¹ With the assistance of the Point Reyes Natural History Association, Germeraad began in 1971 planning to expand the division’s education program by establishing an overnight Point Reyes NEED camp at Laguna Ranch. The park’s creation of the overnight camp and successful expansion of the educational program are discussed later in this chapter.



Record No. 19860. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Students arrive at NEED camp to attend the environmental education program.

“LIVING HISTORY”

Amid the lackluster quality of and subsequent lack of enthusiasm for NPS person-to-person interpretation programs during the 1960s, the Park Service seized onto “living history” programming as a cure-all for the system-wide malaise in interpretive operations. Regional office and Point Reyes administrators eventually established three such demonstration sites at the national seashore: the Morgan Horse Farm, the blacksmith shop in Bear Valley, and the Kule Loklo Coast Miwok Village. Several other demonstration programs were considered but rejected over the next three decades.

Morgan Horse Farm

In May 1970, the Morgan Horse Farm living exhibit went into operation at PRNS with two loaned mares and one donated stallion on sixty acres of pasture in Bear Valley.²² An American breed noted for nimbleness and calm temperament, Morgan horses made excellent mounts for NPS patrol rangers. The park’s goals for the Morgan Horse Farm included breeding and training horses, which could be kept for patrol duty at Point Reyes or sent off for ranger use at other national park sites. The horse farm exhibit, according to the 1972 park brochure on the subject, also gave visitors “a chance to see and relive part of their national heritage,” and to experience the continuing U.S. government’s “tradition” of breeding and using Morgan horses.”²³ In 1969, the NPS had established the model for this type of demonstration site: the Morgan Horse Farm at George Washington Birthplace National Monument, one of several “living farms” within the national park system. But there was a major difference between the George Washington Birthplace program and the fledgling Morgan Farm at Point Reyes. Raising horses, including

Morgans, was part of the historic fabric of George Washington's Mount Vernon, whereas horse breeding—though undoubtedly an element of ranch life brought to Point Reyes by the Shafter family, which was interested in horse breeding—was not a historically significant activity at Point Reyes.

Despite the success of the George Washington Morgan Horse Farm, NPS staff in the Western Regional Office clearly doubted whether PRNS could establish a similarly successful horse farm, which would have to build upon a combination of private organizations, local volunteers, and NPS contributions. Sansing reported, however, the hiring of horse handler Bill Streers had convinced naysayers in the regional office “that this horse business has more to it than might be first thought.”²⁴ Indeed, by the end of 1972, the horse farm had an operation budget of \$33,000 and the site was home to a feed barn, tack room, and exhibit building, as well as a permanent horse trainer on the NPS payroll. Just two years after its inception, the horse farm drew 26,000 park visitors and 4,000 additional guests on group tours.²⁵ Sansing's “horse business” quickly became the central demonstration site at PRNS, a primary point of visitor interpretative contacts, and the focus of visitor interest, a distinction that lasted for several decades.

Sansing described the two objectives of the Morgan Horse Farm at its founding in 1970: 1) to provide “an interpretive experience for youngsters and adults of the Bay Area and the nation of seeing and watching these beautiful animals,” and 2) to raise and provide horses for ranger patrols in the other national parks.²⁶ He soon deemed it “the best accepted and attended interpretive program we have,” an outcome that bred plans for expansion and long-term continuation of the program. Planning and management documents over the next two decades continued to emphasize Sansing's original expectations for the operation. In reality, though, neither the “living history” aspect nor the operational breeding farm objective fit with the seashore's overall mission described in the founding act and subsequent legislation.

Viewed from a twenty-first century perspective, the Morgan Horse Farm seems an out-of-place and ill-fitting interpretive program for PRNS, given the park's legislative mandate and areas of national significance. A horse ranch is not particularly representative of the history, culture, or natural resources of Point Reyes. Of course, horses were raised and used for ranch operations during periods of historical significance there; but the same can be said about human settlement or agricultural activity in virtually every NPS area prior to 1900, because horses were Americans' primary form of transportation before Ransom Olds and Henry Ford came along. Moreover, the centerpiece of the peninsula's agricultural history is dairy farming; an activity that relied less on horses than did cattle ranches or other agricultural endeavors of the American West.

Because the Morgan Horse Farm became, for a time, the centerpiece of interpretive activities at Point Reyes, the story and meaning underpinning its establishment bears further scrutiny. The NPS push for living history programs, which led to the creation of the Morgan Horse Farm, derived from a general dissatisfaction with the state of Park Service interpretative operations. Throughout the national park system, interpretation displayed a paucity of proven and accepted governing principals: it had failed to grow as an independent discipline, despite the fact that park rangers and other staff had been delivering interpretive programs in one form or another, since the 1920s.²⁷ It speaks volumes that Freeman Tilden's *Interpreting Our Heritage*, regardless of how the book reads now, went through three editions and nine printings between 1957 and 1977.²⁸ As

the only published set of guidelines, principals, and goals for NPS interpretive staff, it was “the interpreter’s bible.”



Record No. 27600. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Rangers at Morgan Horse Farm.

As an organization, the NPS had never really made a full investment in interpretation; instead, it had long depended on the donated services of university professors and programs. In the 1930s and 1950s, the Park Service relied heavily on the initiative, ingenuity, and on-the-job experience of individual rangers to carry on traditional naturalist programs. When Congress funded the gigantic Mission 66 project to repair and reinvigorate the parks in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS, it funneled most of its money and planning into repairing park infrastructure and into constructing new tourist facilities, particularly roads, campgrounds, accommodations, and visitor centers. In one fell swoop, the construction of more than one hundred new visitor centers nationwide shifted the focal point of interpretive activities from outdoors to indoors.²⁹ But Mission 66 provided no corollary in funding or program initiatives for the interpretive staff members who would run visitor center operations. Robert G. Johnsson, chief of the Division of Planning and Interpretive Services, observed in 1969 that in-person interpretive programs in the NPS had failed to keep pace with technical enhancements to visitor centers and upgraded audiovisual equipment. He concluded that not only had personal interpretation failed to improve, but it was also slipping further behind and “in serious need of attention.”³⁰

In this state of affairs the NPS grabbed for a “bells and whistles” approach to interpretation that had proved popular at a few NPS sites and, more so, at private-sector tourist destinations such as Colonial Williamsburg. The NPS leaped to fill the void in

interpretive operations with “living history” programs, which agency brass eventually mandated for virtually all NPS units.³¹ In 1966, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall and NPS director George B. Hartzog, Jr., proposed a “living historical farm” program for NPS sites, based on the proposals of Marion Clawson of Resources for the Future, a Washington, D.C., think tank.³² Taking Clawson’s message to heart, Hartzog directed all NPS units in 1969 to report their progress on incorporating living history into interpretive programming.

Living History Programs in the NPS

Living history, as the NPS used the term during this period, encompassed several different interpretive methods, including costumed demonstrations, living history exhibits, and first-person living history. In costumed demonstration, an interpreter dressed in period clothing and performed a task related to a period of history or historical event, but remained in the “present tense” while speaking and acting. “Living history exhibits,” which became ubiquitous at NPS historical sites in the 1970s, also featured ranger staff or volunteers in period dress performing traditional trades and crafts, but acting “as if” they had stepped out of some ambiguous past, associated with (or in the poorest examples, unrelated to) the demonstration site. At the far end of the living history spectrum, were individuals who performed “true” or first-person living history, acting, dressing, and speaking as though they were specific individuals in the historic past. Because this technique required skilled actors, extensive training, and dedicated research, it was beyond the scope of all but a few NPS sites.

These three interpretive methods shared a few common elements. When done well, they could be engaging, entertaining, and instructive about a given period of history. When done poorly, they were still entertaining, but were also likely to be uninspiring, uninformative, and inaccurate. In all cases, whether superbly or poorly done, living history risks misleading visitors about the historical reality or significance of a site and misrepresenting the meaning and mission of a specific NPS unit. Because of these dangers, the least complicated method, costumed demonstration, was determined at the time to be the most effective and accurate one for NPS interpretive programs.

Precedents for living history programs in the national parks date to “living exhibits” presented by members of several southwest Indians tribes at Mesa Verde National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, and other units in the southwest.³³ According to former NPS head historian Barry Mackintosh, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes initiated a historic demonstration program in 1936 at Pierce Mill, Rock Creek Park, Washington, D.C. By the 1950s, “living history” forerunners were in operation at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Mabry Mill on the Blue Ridge Parkway, and several Civil War National Military parks.³⁴ Of course, costumed reenactments of Civil War or Revolutionary War battles had gone on for years, but their abundance and significance puts them in a separate category that will not be treated here.

NPS officials expressed a wide variety of opinions about the new wave of living history programs in the parks. Some officials, apparently including Hartzog and western regional director Edward A. Hummel, believed that living exhibits could redeem the flagging interpretive operations in the national park system. But as the NPS pushed forward with its living history agenda, several historians and park staff called for a more thoughtful approach. NPS historian Robert M. Utley wrote that he feared that the NPS had “let the public’s enthusiasm for living history push us from interpretation of [a] park’s features and values into productions that, however entertaining, do not directly support the central park themes.”³⁵ In fact, Utley argued, living history programs that did not follow a park’s

interpretive objectives were likely to have a “distractive if not actually subversive” effect on the park’s message.³⁶ The Park Service’s own 1970 publication, “Keep It Alive! Tips on Living History Demonstrations,” declared that living history was not, “the beginning and end of interpretation. It is not a panacea for all the ills of anybody’s ailing interpretative program.”³⁷

In the midst of the debate surrounding living history exhibits, the Western Regional office targeted PRNS as an excellent site to implement the living historical farm concept, which they believed would “extend the recreational opportunities at the seashore.”³⁸ A 1968 “Special Report,” prepared by an interpretive planner in the national capital region, suggested the following four possible living history programs at PRNS: a working historic dairy farm at one of the current ranches, a demonstration site at Johnson Oyster Farm, a living dairy demonstration at one of operational dairies, and a Morgan horse farm.³⁹ Point Reyes superintendent Kurtz drafted a full proposal for a demonstration dairy farm, and recommended the Spaletta Ranch as the optimal site. The report pointed to the success of two similar demonstration sites in California’s dairy-heavy Central Valley. Kurtz’s report favored the Spaletta location primarily because the land was in federal hands and James Spaletta, the current lessee, was a willing partner in the plan.⁴⁰

Given that the other three proposed sites held greater historical significance on the Point Reyes peninsula than a horse-breeding farm, it seems surprising that the administration decided to launch the Morgan Horse Farm. Cost, convenience, and local politics undoubtedly became the deciding factors. Cost was the overriding problem with the Pierce Point site; estimates for restoring and operating a living historical ranch there ran from \$150,000 to \$200,000.⁴¹ NPS officials also deemed the living modern dairy too costly because the park would have to undertake a number of repairs and maintenance tasks before the ranch was safe and accessible for visitors. Aesthetics played a role as well: there was a general sense that the horse farm would be more attractive to visitors because it would be tidier, whereas dairies could become “odiferous quagmires.”⁴²

Growth of the Morgan Horse Farm

Implementing the Morgan horse farm, on the other hand, was both economical and convenient. The special report cited no large initial expenditures, because current structures could easily be converted, and breeding stock could be obtained “on loan” from another farm. The site was accessible and in a convenient location for staff to manage and protect. Reflecting the emphasis at PRNS on creating interconnections with nearby communities and partnerships with local organizations, semen (for artificial insemination of the Morgan mares) could be exchanged between Point Reyes and other farms to help “strengthen the blood lines” of the new foals.⁴³

The horse farm proposal also appeared to have the special-interest backing of two important figures; namely, regional director Hummel, and Point Reyes rancher Boyd Stewart, who raised Morgans on his property. Stewart’s interest also ensured political support for the farm. As a measure of that support, Congressman Donald H. Clausen and Senator Alan H. Bible, chair of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, attended the Morgan Horse Farm dedication ceremony. Kurtz also favored the horse farm because it was feasible to implement quickly and seemed compatible with land use at Point Reyes. That a horse farm was incompatible with historic patterns of land use did not carry equal weight for him.⁴⁴



Record No. 20220. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Rangers at the Morgan Horse Farm.

Judged by its popularity with the public and the media, the Morgan Horse Farm was an immediate success. The program garnered positive local attention for PRNS when Morgan farm staff participated as “color guards” in area parades.⁴⁵ Precisely because living history programs could be entertaining, they often made the strongest impressions in the minds of visitors. That, in turn, shaped how visitors defined the park for themselves, and how they described it to their friends and neighbors. According to Sansing, the most commonly asked question from arriving visitors to Point Reyes in the 1970s was “where are the Morgans?”⁴⁶

On the heels of the successful launch of the horse farm, PRNS also established another living history exhibit, a blacksmith shop, apparently to complement the horse program. Again, volunteers were instrumental in keeping the exhibit “living.” The park also altered the shop to function as a self-guiding site, where visitors could read panels about blacksmithing and the history of wrought iron.⁴⁷ As historian Ronald A. Foresta has facetiously pointed out, in *America’s National Parks*, an exhibit’s historical significance had become less important for good interpretation than its “potential for a good show.”⁴⁸ Giving credence to Foresta’s supposition that historic authenticity played but a small part in such living exhibits, Sansing reported that the staff enhanced the “historic scene” by placing various pieces of old machinery around the shop.⁴⁹

Although western regional chief Hummel had proposed the program, his successor, Howard H. Chapman, was less than thrilled with the Morgan Horse Farm. Between 1975 and 1977, the regional office under Chapman’s direction began to “maneuver” to shut down the Morgan farm.⁵⁰



Record No. 27610. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Ranger Strong demonstrates blacksmithing at Morgan Horse Farm.

Sansing acknowledged that the “ranch,” as it was later called, had too many horses, but it was popular and had much political support.⁵¹ Sansing adeptly utilized, again, his Congressional connections to defend the program from regional office attempts to shut it down.

During the mid-1970s, the park began to put more emphasis on interpretation of the horse farm. A large expenditure, by division standards, went into production of a new Morgan Horse Farm exhibit with nine full-sized interpretive panels that chronicled the history of the Morgan, from its Vermont origins to its place in the current

PRNS program. As with the live demonstrations at the ranch, the investment in non-personal media telling the story of Morgan Horses served to detract visitors from the unique qualities of the Point Reyes peninsula. At that time, however, the park placed more emphasis on the ranch’s popularity — 15,000 visitors in 1977, expectations for 25,000 in the future — than the site’s usefulness in interpreting the national seashore.⁵²

Although it went through changes in staffing, programming, and its primary objective, in other ways Morgan Ranch changed little over the next twenty years. An average of ten thousand visitors per year visited the farm, and farm personnel continued to participate in parades, training and shipping horses, and informal interpretation. There was no doubting the popularity of these programs. Throughout the 1970s, the park’s two major living history sites, Morgan Horse Ranch and Kule Loklo, were the highest-use interpretive programs and the park’s most visited destinations, attracting more visitors than the Visitor Center or the Point Reyes Lighthouse.⁵³

Kule Loklo Construction and Development

In the mid-1970s, park and regional office staff began formulating plans for a new, more fitting living history exhibit at Point Reyes. Development of the Kule Loklo demonstration village, a replica of pre-contact Coast Miwok Indian construction, began in 1976, as a joint effort of the NPS bicentennial program, Point Reyes staff, and the Miwok Archaeological Preserve of Marin (MAPOM). The unique arrangement proceeded from the continuing NPS-wide push for living exhibits, and the park increasing willingness to involve local volunteer support and outside organizations in program planning and implementation. Deciding to launch the atypical and complicated Kule Loklo project represented another redefinition of the PRNS interpretive mission.

Creation of Kule Loklo also further defined the importance of the park's interconnections with its surrounding geographic, cultural, and intellectual communities.

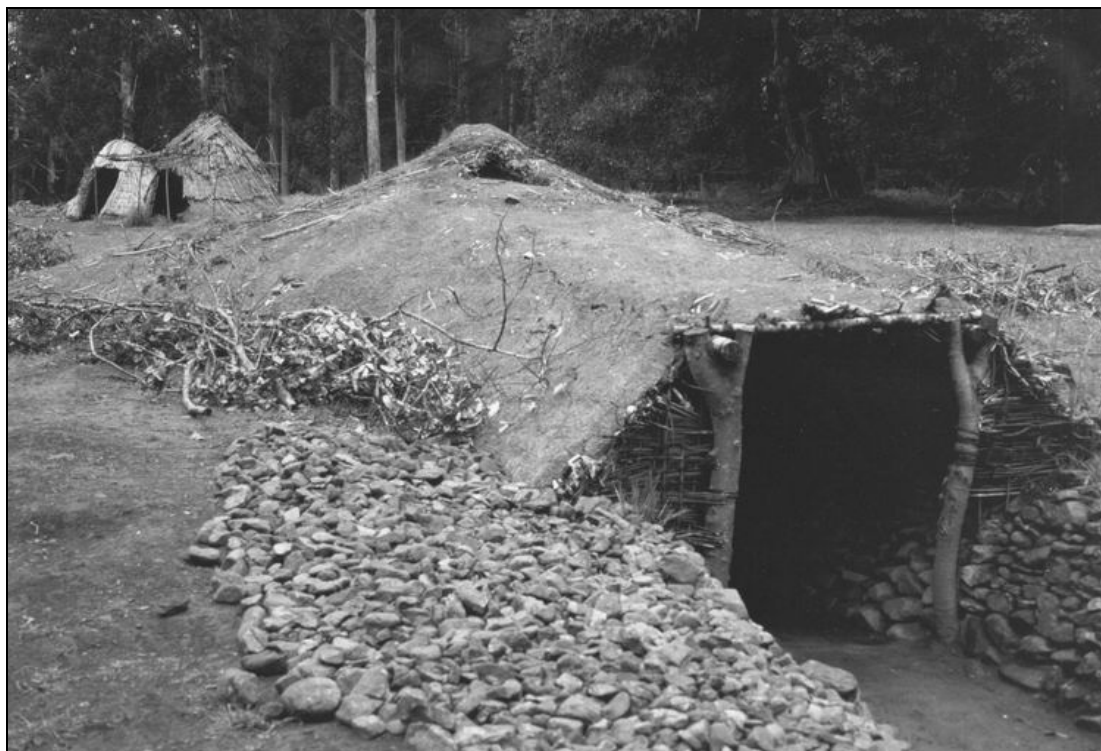


Record No. 26660. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Interpretive ranger Lanny Pinola (center) with MAPOM (Miwok Archaeological Preserve of Marin) founders Don Thieler and Sylvia Thalman, and others at Kule Loklo.

Sansing recalled that it was Ron Thoman, chief of interpretation at the time, who kicked off Kule Loklo planning at Point Reyes and eventually convinced NPS director Hartzog of the project's value.⁵⁴ With funding from the federal bicentennial project that, among other things, emphasized development of "American Heritage" sites, Thoman began organizing the participants and deciding on plans for the site in September 1976; Don Thieler and Sylvia Thalman of MAPOM, and Marilyn Licklider-Goudeau, an archaeology teacher in the Dixie School District (San Rafael), had already come up with a rough design for a recreation of Coast Miwok life. That winter, Thoman met with these individuals to devise more detailed plans for constructing and managing the site. MAPOM and an advisory group of other experts served as technical consultants. A seven-member management board, with seats filled by staff from each of the three organizations, assembled to provide guidance on policy and construction decisions. Meanwhile, the park and its project partners crafted the formal cooperative agreement for Department of the Interior review.⁵⁵

Sansing and the regional office had to address several administrative issues before giving Kule Loklo the final go-ahead. The cooperative agreement with Marin County's Dixie School District and MAPOM covered the planning, construction, operation, and interpretation of the replica village.⁵⁶ Ralph Mihan, the field solicitor for the NPS Western Region, reviewed and commented on the legal authority underpinning the initial joint operating agreement. He reported that the authority to use park land for the site was pursuant to 16 U.S.C. section 1 and 459c, which enabled NPS units to host exhibits that "conform to the primary purpose of the seashore, namely, providing for the conservation of scenery and natural and historic objects for the purposes of public recreation, benefit and inspiration."⁵⁷



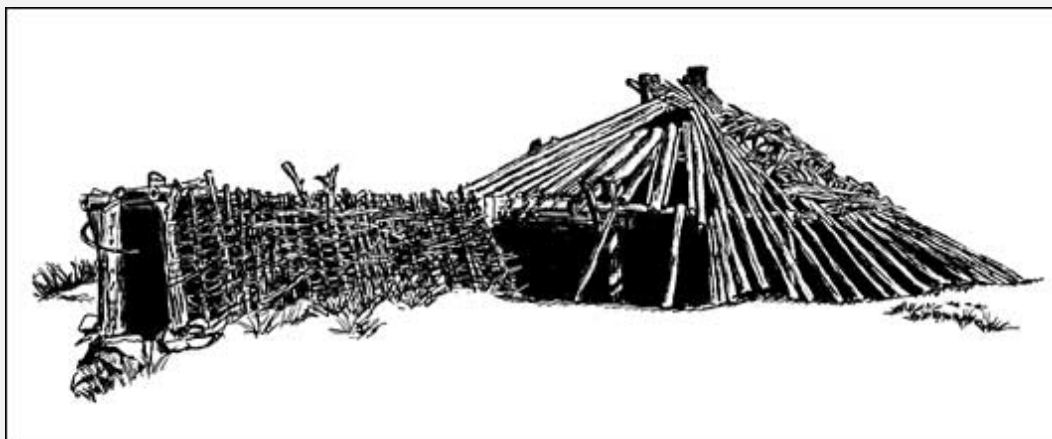
Record No. 26490, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Reconstruction of a Coast Miwok sweathouse at Kule Loklo Reyes. Photograph by Richard Frear.

In creating Kule Loklo, the interpretive division had leapt into a more sophisticated approach to interpretive activities. Two primary objectives covered the construction phase of the site; both were new steps for the interpretive program. First, the staff would use available scientific and historic data to produce an accurate replica of Coast Miwok village. The second, more divergent objective was to involve the public in each step of the construction process.⁵⁸ Members of the “Volunteers in the Parks” (VIP) program would provide much of the labor and most of the personal interpretation while supervised by a staff interpreter on a one-year term of employment. Point Reyes and VIP staff dedicated their attention and care to the creation of an authentic village replica. Crews used materials native to the peninsula and the equivalent of aboriginal tool technology to build the structures. The chosen location, however, did not correspond to a specific prehistoric village site; planners decided on a spot that guaranteed easy visitor access, staff participation, and security, while avoiding damage to an existing nearby archaeological site.

Interpretive objectives for the operational phase at Kule Loklo were fivefold. First, in the broadest terms, the site aimed to present “in a dynamic fashion the rich history of the Coast Miwok Indian culture prior to European contact.” Second, the immediate educational objectives were to increase “environmental and cross-cultural education” of area school children and the general public through live activities and development of curriculum materials and interpretive literature.⁵⁹ Third, the longer-term educational agenda included creating a model that “other agencies, communities, or groups could follow in developing similar exhibits.” Fourth, Kule Loklo should encourage “further historical, anthropological, and archeological research” regarding the Coast Miwok and other native tribes of the region. Fifth, the process of constructing and operating the site would foster “greater liaison between the National Park Service and professional

anthropological resources through re-creation rather than excavation of Indian relics and structures.”⁶⁰



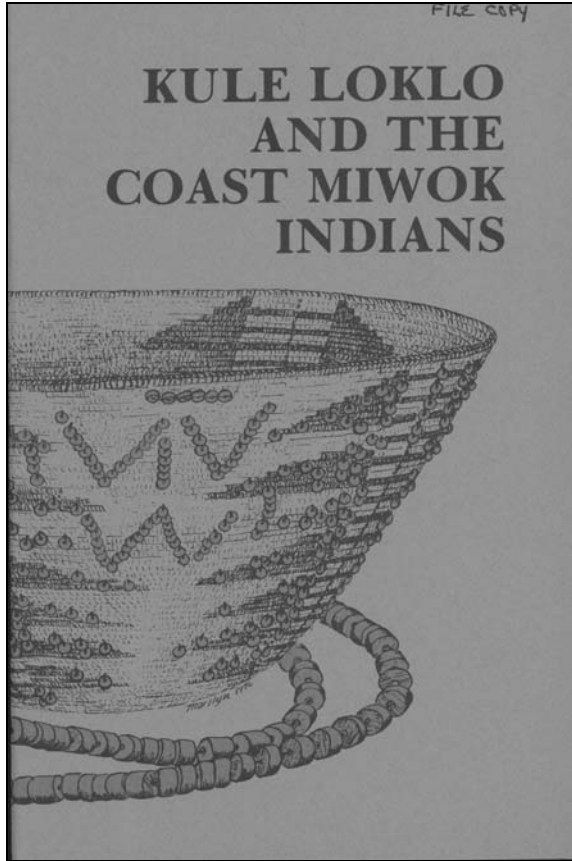
KULE LOKLO

As the first caretakers of Point Reyes, the Coast Miwok people lived in villages with structures similar to the one pictured here, for hundreds of years. These people had an intimate relationship with the land; they developed village communities of seventy-five to several hundred people in sheltered places near fresh water and plentiful food. The Miwok village was a busy place where the daily routine included women pounding acorns into meal with stone mortar and pestle, basket weavers chatting as they worked under the sun shade, cooking fires smoking with mussels baking or deer roasting, children laughing and playing, new dancers learning songs and steps in the dance house, and hunters flaking obsidian for knife blades. Kule Loklo (meaning "Bear Valley") is a recreation of a Coast Miwok village, but not the site of a prior village.

--National Park Service, "History of the Coast Miwok at Point Reyes,"

Kule Loklo opened to the public on July 11, 1976, and as planned, the ongoing construction work became part of site interpretation. Interested visitors could participate in the basic steps of working with building materials and construction. By the end of 1976, four family dwellings, a granary, and a sweathouse had neared or reached completion.⁶¹ PRNS staffed Kule Loklo daily, providing interpretive services to more than 9,000 visitors, including many school groups, during the first year. Ironically, one of the most "alive" activities at Kule Loklo, preparation of Indian tacos for public consumption, was short-lived. Health department officials eventually ordered the park to shut it down because it failed to meet state health standards.⁶²

Attendance at Kule Loklo skyrocketed to 44,000 in 1977, and interpretive activities increased accordingly, including formal talks and demonstrations, continued visitor participation in construction, and informal personal contacts with park visitors.⁶³ VIPs put in a total of 10,000 hours working at the site that year. Yet, these successes still did not ensure the stability of the program. The exhibit coordinator's term of employment ended when funding from the bicentennial program dried up, forcing the division to fill the position temporarily with juggling seasonal staff from positions elsewhere in the park. MAPOM's continued sponsorship and the park's decision in 1978 to create a permanent staff coordinator, secured at least the short-term future of Kule Loklo. Among the new



Kule Loklo visitor brochure produced by the Point Reyes Cooperating Association, 1982.

PRNS Archives

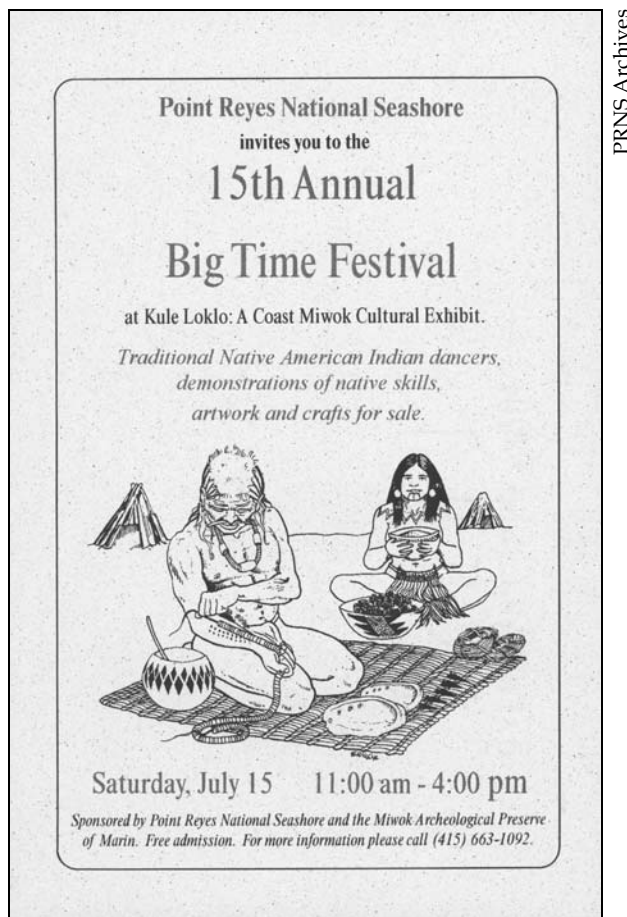
coordinator's tasks was the creation of a reservation system for visiting groups that would help ensure the availability of adequate interpretive activities when each arrived.⁶⁴ The Kule Loklo program seemed to stabilize in 1979, when volunteers built several new structures and repaired or completed others, giving the entire village greater visual integrity. PRNS arranged two two-day training seminars for VIPs to help increase the overall quality and consistency of interpretation. That year, volunteers put in a total of roughly 2,100 hours working at Kule Loklo.⁶⁵ Soon thereafter, the San Francisco Foundation made a \$13,000 grant to PRNS to add another employee at Kule Loklo.⁶⁶ The education program continued to use Kule Loklo heavily for school groups. In 1979, for example, a total of 375 schools participated, bringing more than 8,500 area students to the site.⁶⁷

Program expansion continued in 1981, a watershed year in which staff and volunteers completed construction of twelve new structures in the village. The interpretive program produced and distributed a guide brochure, erected a new exhibit sign, and created a traveling slide program for teachers.⁶⁸ Moreover, a San Francisco Foundation grant funded a seasonal interpreter

position at the site. That summer, PRNS, in conjunction with the Coastal Parks Association and MAPOM, hosted a multi-day event during Native American Celebration Week. The festivities drew more than 1,000 participants and visitors who watched skill and craft demonstrations, native dances, and educational seminars.⁶⁹ Kule Loklo also gained recognition as a significant cultural site for local Indian populations when Don Jose Matsuwa, a shaman of the Huichol tribe, led a ceremony on the grounds.⁷⁰

Despite Kule Loklo's obvious successes—including 50,000 visitors per year, extensive media (including television) coverage, special events sponsored by Indian tribes, and general recognition of the site as significant for Marin and Sonoma County Indians—the program was continually under threat as the pattern of patchwork staffing and underfunding persisted. For a time, in the 1980s, a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) employment program funded salary and benefits for the equivalent of a full-time position. The BIA discontinued its support in 1987, the same time the NPS discontinued the program's supervisory park ranger position. In 1988, regional archaeologist Roger Kelly wrote: "Reduction of funds and shifting of operating hours to fewer days will likely result in employee stress, lowering of quality of interpretation, lessening of volunteer interest, plateauing of program momentum as perceived by public."⁷¹ Nonetheless, the remaining staff involved with Kule Loklo continued to provide in-person interpretation and demonstrations at the site. A key staff member at the site during the 1990s was Lanny Pinola, an interpretive ranger who worked at PRNS until retiring in 2001. Pinola was a Pomo Indian and had married into the Coast Miwok tribe. Pinola, noted one of the staff,

had “a foot in both worlds [Park Service and Coast Miwok],” and as a result he was “both helpful and controversial in managing affairs at Kule Loklo.”⁷²



Promotional brochure for Kule Loklo Big Time Festival.

Redefining Kule Loklo

One of the most significant parts of the Kule Loklo story was its transformation, or redefinition, into a site of cultural significance for the descendants of the Coast Miwok Indians, who gradually appropriated the site as a place to celebrate their present as well as their past. Park Service programs that highlighted the Native American past were not new in the park system; programs that accurately and effectively interpreted a particular tribe’s culture and history, however, were far less common.⁷³ Even fewer in number were places in the park system that became sites of Native American empowerment and ritual, as did Kule Loklo. And yet, Kule Loklo served as a prime example of the problems inherent in living history exhibits within the Park Service.

As mentioned earlier, any living history exhibit, reconstruction, or replica risks misleading the public about the historical past, no matter how well researched or executed. In 1980, Sonoma State University anthropologist David Peri said of Kule Loklo: “The village was a mistake . . . I think it leaves the impression of Miwoks as undeveloped children. To that extent it contributes to the historic prejudice against California Indians as weak-kneed creatures who never got past acorn mush and baskets.”⁷⁴ Peri contended that even the best of such sites generally fail to convey enough of the historic context to visitors. In the case of Kule Loklo, there was no way to show that many pre-contact Coast Miwoks enjoyed better living conditions and a standard of

living higher than their contemporaries did in Europe. Although wayside signs and other interpretive media could draw such comparisons, there would be no equivalent three-dimensional image to counter the impression the mud-and-stick huts made upon park visitors. Even diligent adherence to the authenticity and historical relevance of the site cannot overcome this problem. In this regard, Kule Loklo and Morgan Horse Farm were similar: The NPS, by promoting what they thought would be simple, easy-to-apply patches to cover the failings of the park's interpretive programming in the 1970s, introduced to Point Reyes, and a litany of other sites, living history operations that were complex and easily misunderstood.

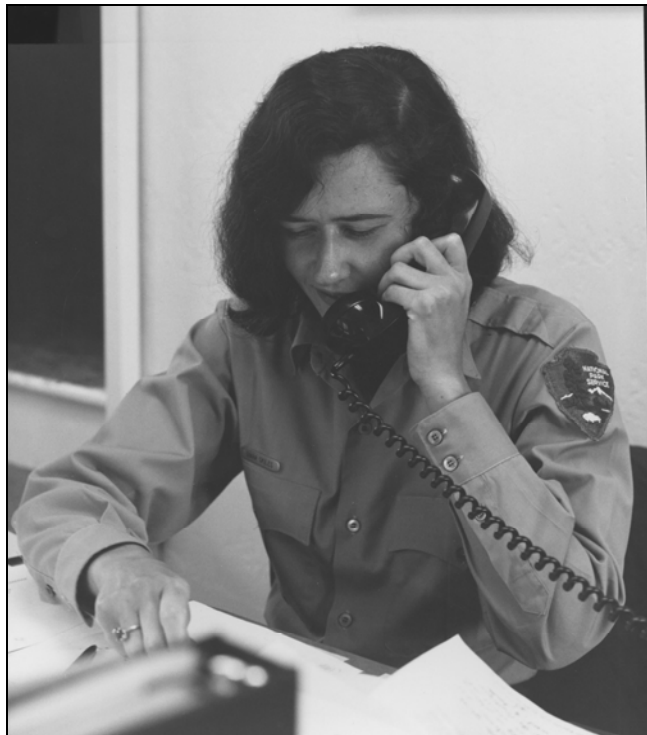
EXPANDING INTERPRETIVE SERVICES AMID THE GROWTH OF RECREATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL TOURISM

In addition to inaugurating development of Kule Loklo, the park administration also began to upgrade the overall interpretive program in 1975. Changes initiated that year and in 1976 included opening Point Reyes Lighthouse to the public, reorganizing the interpretive division, increasing staffing, strengthening financial commitment to the program, and instituting a field-seminar program. While these changes immediately raised staffing levels and increased visitor information services, the quality of field interpretation remained inadequate. Sansing acknowledged that the task of improving the quality of personal interpretation would take longer, but implemented steps to start the process.⁷⁵ In the meantime, the division continued to emphasize living history sites (Morgan Horse Farm, blacksmith shop, and Kule Loklo) and educational programs as the bulwarks of its visitor programs.

Reorganizing Interpretation in the 1970s

Organizational changes began in early 1975 with division chief William Germeraad's departure and the arrival of his replacement, Ronald G. Thoman, from Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site. Soon afterward, the divisional structure underwent an overhaul.⁷⁶ Until 1975, the division of resource management and visitor protection was responsible for running the Bear Valley and Drakes Beach visitor information centers. Those buildings also served as district ranger and interpretive division offices. In 1975, the park added one full-time position at Bear Valley, and an administrative reorganization also helped put more interpretive staff in the centers and in the field. Operations were streamlined into two interpretive districts, with each district ranger reporting directly to the superintendent.⁷⁷ Removing a layer of management and adding a position increased the number of field staff from one interpreter to five.⁷⁸ Diana Skiles, the new GS-11 interpretive specialist who arrived from Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, handled cultural resource management, curatorial duties, and provided interpretive/technical support. Another staff member, a GS-07 park technician, took charge of all cooperating association dealings and coordinated bicentennial planning and other special programs. Another park technician was responsible for the environmental education program. These positions reported directly to Sansing. The reorganization of the interpretive division demonstrated the trend toward specialization within the NPS in general and at PRNS in particular; it was also indicative of Sansing's want to remodel the divisional structures into vertical management lines, in which most of his upper-level managers reported directly to him rather than to intermediaries.

With a larger budget and increased staffing, interpretive staff members were able to keep the visitor centers open daily and provide field program and roving interpretation that previously had been lacking. Staffing levels doubled between 1974 and 1975, and a



Record No. 19940, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Interpretive specialist Diana Skiles, ca. 1970s.

unding windfall for 1976 nearly doubled the budget, from \$80,000 to \$140,000.⁷⁹ Growth allowed an expansion of interpretive activities: staff provided thirteen guided walks and six campfire program at Olema Ranch Campground (just outside the park's eastern boundary), in addition to talks at the Morgan Horse Farm and visitor centers. Moreover, a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) crew, supervised by an interpretive park technician and funded by the Coastal Parks Association, built an auditorium in the Red Barn, which quickly went into use for interpretive orientations and programs and audiovisual displays in 1977.⁸⁰ In addition to launching Kule Loklo in 1976, the division also introduced another new program element, the PRNS field-seminar program. Modeled on the successful Yosemite National Park Program, the seminars provided adult-education sessions, often for college credit, on many of the peninsula's natural features.⁸¹ The Coastal Parks Association ran the fee-based, self-

supporting program. Thus, 1975–1976 marked the start of full-fledged interpretive division operations at PRNS.

Anticipating that funding and staffing would not always remain at 1975–1976 levels, PRNS used the opportunity to revise interpretive division priorities. The first priority was to keep information centers and on-site orientation (usually roving duty) running at full capacity. Because these tasks often occupied the full attention of the field staff in some years, the second priority became the development of additional self-guiding activities, which would enable the staff to meet the first objective, even during lean staffing years. For instance, the park built a new self-guiding trail, Bear Valley's Woodpecker Interpretive Trail, which it completed in 1978. In complementary fashion, the NPS Harpers Ferry Service Center in 1977 instituted a five-year plan to rehabilitate other elements of the interpretive program. In one phase of that project, the NPS hired San Francisco's Hayden Productions, Inc., to create a new park film, *Something Special*, which began showing at the old Bear Valley information center in 1980.⁸² Park staff tackled an in-house redesign and fabrication of exhibits, kindly described as “homemade,” for the Ken Patrick Visitor Center at Drakes Beach and for the small visitor center in the lighthouse compound.⁸³

Opening the lighthouse and the lighthouse visitor center to the public in 1977 created a third focal point for Point Reyes interpretive activities. Although limited financial and technical resources were available to prepare the lighthouse complex for public visits, maintenance staff modified an existing building into a “modest” visitor information center, installed a comfort station, and added safety measures that included fences, handrails, and signage. The lighthouse immediately became a big draw for visitors, significantly increasing visitor travel to the Drakes Bay and Point Reyes Headlands areas. Between mid-August and the end of December, 95,000 visitors traveled to the lighthouse

overlook, including 14,000 who climbed down and back up the 400 steps from the bluff to the lighthouse itself.⁸⁴ In 1978, the first full year of PRNS operation of the lighthouse, 181,000 visitors came to the site, 54,000 of who descended all of the way to the lighthouse.⁸⁵ The decision to open the lighthouse was a success because it made an important historic and scenic resource available to the public, and because travel to the lighthouse increased visitor use of the national seashore's entire north district. The latter outcome helped disperse visitation over a wider extent of seashore roads and facilities, which administrators hoped would remove some of the load from the highest-use areas at Bear Valley and Limantour Beach.

Interpretation in the 1980s Interpretation came into its own at PRNS in the early 1980s, when the construction of a modern visitor center and changes in management and staffing promoted interpretation of a wider range of the peninsula's ecological systems and historical resources. Additional opportunities arose as the NPS and the public redefined the "nature" of nature at Point Reyes. Growing visitor interest in whale watching, seal spotting, and the reintroduction of tule elk, activities which lent themselves to effective interpretation of the diverse seashore environment, made the interpretive program a much larger part of the visitor experience at Point Reyes. Meanwhile, the opening of the well-designed Bear Valley Visitor center and the subsequent national attention showered on the park signaled that PRNS had "come of age" as a nationally recognized unit of the park system. The visiting public seemed to agree: visitation soared from 1.4 million in 1983 to 2.2 million in 1987.⁸⁶

The division's emphasis on providing increasingly diverse programming to visitors indicated that the demonstration programs, though still important, were no longer the primary thrust of interpretation at Point Reyes. Even before the new visitor center opened at Bear Valley, the park's existing centers and interpretive programs were drawing 190,000 visitors per year, compared to the Morgan Ranch and Kule Loklo, which combined attracted 30,000 visitors per year. By 1983, the range of interpretive programs had expanded to include history, marine (whale) interpretive talks at the lighthouse, ranger-led walks in the Tule elk area, tide pool walks, nighttime hikes, and beach campfire programs. The division had responsibility for the shuttle-bus program, which that year carried 4,400 visitors to the lighthouse for whale watching in the winter months. The successful field seminars program hosted ninety college-level courses, some week-long seminars, for 1,800 visitors. Environmental education programs continued to grow and deliver effective services.⁸⁷

Bear Valley Visitor Center Opening the new Bear Valley Visitor Center brought more attention to the interpretive program and park than any single event since the advent of the Morgan Horse Farm in 1970. Large visitor centers had become a common element of national park tourist landscapes in the 1960s, when they emerged as an important element of the Mission 66 program. Because PRNS did not come into being until 1962, Mission 66 did not bestow a large central visitor center on Point Reyes, as it had done for more than one hundred other national park units in the early 1960s. In fact, the Mission 66 project made the (modern) visitor center the mainstay of NPS interpretive operations throughout the park system.

The visitor center concept was one of Mission 66's signature innovations; the Park Service built 114 new visitor centers at sites throughout the park system.⁸⁸ Visitor centers gave tourists a place to stop, obtain pertinent travel information, learn about a park's natural features, and then continue on to other locations. Visitor centers gave testimony to

the ways in which modern motor travel changed NPS management strategies. By the 1970s, park visitors came to expect the interpretive displays, films, slide programs, and ranger talks found in most visitor centers, elements that gave them a brief introduction or understanding to a park and its resources. At many national park sites, a large share of motorists simply stopped at the visitor centers and their attendant gift shops, perhaps took a few photos, and then drove on to another location in or outside of the park.

Historian Dwight F. Rettie has suggested that park visitor centers gradually gained “internal and external significance far beyond their physical features.”⁸⁹ He added: “Superintendents often behave as if they regard the visitor center as critical not only to the success of the park but also as a necessary symbol of their own professional success.”⁹⁰ There was no denying the importance of the new central visitor center, especially at an NPS site like PRNS, where no clear external boundary set the park apart from the surrounding landscape and no grand entrance gate told motorists that they had “arrived” at their destination. Bear Valley Visitor Center has served as a symbolic bridge between the park and the people living, working, and playing in and around it. Donald Neubacher, chief of interpretation when Bear Valley Visitor Center was constructed, observed that a visitor center is “like the front door of a national park.”⁹¹ Indeed, upon entering a visitor center, one quickly apprehends how a park has chosen to represent itself.

Visitors entering the Bear Valley visitor center during the past two decades saw a physical representation of the park’s emphasis on the marine environment; few could miss the enormous gray whale that for two decades “swam,” suspended, from the beams of the forty-two-foot tall ceilings.⁹² However, the building’s exterior—a barn-like structure surrounded by open pastures, reflected the peninsula’s agricultural landscape. Part of the center’s effectiveness lay in its ability to convey, via this juxtaposition, two of the park’s most unique qualities and important interpretive themes. On the one hand, an agricultural landscape long shaped by human activity; on the other, native marine and tidal ecosystems thousands of years in the making. Exhibits within and outside the new visitor center reaffirmed the 1980 general management plan’s redefinition of PRNS as a natural area first, recreation area second, and historical area third, and manifested the park’s longstanding emphasis on the coastal environment as its most unique and significant element.

As with the architectural design of the building, PRNS administrators reached outside the organization to find an exhibitor that could provide the interpretive imagery they wished the new visitor center to project. Neubacher arranged for Dan Quan to design and develop materials for the Bear Valley exhibits, which were based on themes the park’s planning team had developed. The polished interpretive products Quan delivered for the visitor center demonstrated the value of this approach to exhibit design and fabrication. The result was so effective, in fact, that it not only paved the way for similar partnership approaches to exhibit development elsewhere in the NPS system, it also established Dan Quan as a valued contractor who went on to design exhibits for the new Clem Miller Environmental Education Center.



Record No. 10300. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Rear view of new Bear Valley Visitor Center. Photograph by Greg Gnesios.

It was an unusual step to bypass NPS Harpers Ferry Center planners and exhibit designers, who did exhibit work in virtually all the visitor centers NPS built or remodeled in previous decades. The Bear Valley Visitor Center was another example of an administrative approach at Point Reyes that fostered innovation, ingenuity, and connections outside the Park Service family—a style that created both animosity and achievement. In fact, PRNS was far ahead of the NPS shift, which came a decade later, to developing partnerships with outside organizations, in order to improve quality and increase funding options. The entire Bear Valley Visitor Center project—funding, architectural design, location, construction, and exhibits—embodied and foreshadowed the Park Service trend to recruit and engage park partners.

During the 1980s, the interpretive division also began to shift toward incorporating and utilizing interpretive tools and methods to complement and offer alternatives to the established living history sites. At the same time, the park and the regional office continued to propose investigating other sites to use as living history exhibits, with Pierce Ranch being the most commonly mentioned spot. The 1981 “Cultural Resources Management Plan,” for instance, included one possible course of action (though not the recommended one) that would create a living history ranch with farm animals, crops, and demonstrations on the grounds of the Pierce Ranch.⁹³

Environmental Education Interpretive staff began preparing the seashore's first Environmental Study Area (ESA) workbooks and teacher guidebooks in October 1969, making the park one of sixty-three NPS units to establish an ESA program prior to 1970.⁹⁴ The early start of the education program at Point Reyes helped it develop into one of the highest-use and most effective



Record No. 28610, NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

A visiting school group on the Woodpecker Trail, a designated Environmental Study Area (ESA) at Bear Valley, May 1971.

pieces of interpretive programming during the 1970s. School groups from throughout Marin County and the San Francisco Bay Area utilized the two designated ESAs at Point Reyes, the Bear Valley and Chimney Rock trails. Three factors helped the education program blossom. In addition to the early start with NEED, the program benefited from geography and timing. The seashore's proximity to local and Bay Area school districts provided a large and easily accessible audience. Furthermore, in the early 1970s, an explosion of interest in the environment

and a commitment to educating children about their natural surroundings meant schools and teachers in Marin County and elsewhere in the Bay Area were eager to expose students to the seashore's educational resources and varied ecosystems.

The NEED camp opened at Laguna Ranch as the Point Reyes Environmental Education Center in 1974. During its first year, operating out of a converted military Quonset hut from World War II, it hosted 1,085 students, teachers, and chaperones from a four-county area.⁹⁵ Six teacher-training workshops were also held there. In 1975, the center's first full year of operation, thirty-two groups with 1,329 students used the facility.⁹⁶ Realizing that the NEED program was becoming a large piece of the overall interpretive operation, the park shifted responsibility for all education programming to one park technician, Doris Omundson, rather than splitting the functions among several staff. Park maintenance staff, with help from a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) crew, made much-needed improvements to the camp in 1976, constructing five small dormitory buildings to replace half of the original tent structures that had housed students.⁹⁷ In 1976, Congress passed legislation naming the environmental center after former Congressman Clem Miller, in honor of the "vision and leadership . . . [he] gave to the creation and protection of Point Reyes National Seashore."⁹⁸

The environmental center's attendance peaked in 1977, when fifty-nine groups stayed for a total of 10,200 "student-use days."⁹⁹ Thereafter, California's Proposition 13 and the budget cuts it forced on schools throughout the state began to put a dent in program attendance, as several districts cancelled their scheduled camps.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the camp averaged approximately 9,000 student-use days per year from 1978 through 1980. School

participation dipped again the following two years, due to further budget cuts and the murders of four people within the park by California's "trailside killer."

The most significant facility development for the environmental program took place with the construction and exhibit installation of the Clem Miller Environmental Education Center in 1987. Funding, planning, partnerships, and external contracting for the new center closely followed the successful approach Sansing, Neubacher, Williams, and other senior managers had used to build the Bear Valley Visitor Center five years earlier. Repeating that formula, in which the park and the Coastal Parks Association raised private donations, financed construction through the association, and hired an outside design team, enabled Sansing and Neubacher to obtain the modern, comfortable accommodations and classrooms a successful environmental program needed. With two large classrooms, full kitchen, office, and sleeping cabin, the new center was a worthy replacement of the Quonset hut that had long served the center, well beyond the expected call of duty. The Clem Miller Center was completed and opened in 1987. Katy Miller Johnson was among those attending the May dedication honoring her former husband.¹⁰¹ When the division produced its 2003 Comprehensive Interpretive Plan, education programming was deemed an "essential part" of the park's interpretive effort. Educational activities would continue to incorporate many of the park's themes and features, including Kule Loklo, Point Reyes Lighthouse, marine mammals, and more general themes such as habitat or wilderness.¹⁰² Staff from each visiting school handled the indoor and outdoor classroom teaching, while the park also encouraged school groups to join in scheduled ranger talks and walks. In 2002, nearly five thousand area students attended education programs at Point Reyes.¹⁰³

Cooperating Association

The park's cooperating association was launched in March 1964, when the board of directors of the Muir Woods Natural History Association voted to include Point Reyes as a new partner, thus creating the Muir Woods–Point Reyes Association.¹⁰⁴ It incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1965.¹⁰⁵ Some of the association's earliest efforts included publications of information booklets on Muir Woods National Monument and Point Reyes National Seashore, a bird checklist for Point Reyes, self-guiding trail booklets, and book sales at both NPS sites. The association's board of directors also obtained a \$1,500 loan from the Eastern Parks and Monuments Association to help publish a book-length field guide to the flowers of Muir Woods.¹⁰⁶ The association struggled with its finances in the early going, but a 1972 NPS "Operations Evaluation" of Point Reyes commended the improvements the association had instituted in its business operations.¹⁰⁷

Renamed the Coastal Parks Association in 1973, the association published educational materials, sponsored small projects, and bolstered funding for interpretive services. Its initial goals were fairly modest: the association aimed to provide publications and other visual materials that related to the national seashore's qualities to visitors, and to "further the interpretive program of the park."¹⁰⁸ But that role changed dramatically in 1972, when the association board agreed to take on the responsibility of administering the Laguna NEED camp. They worked collaboratively with an advisory board of area school officials, community members, and PRNS staff to set goals and policies for the education center. The association was also able to serve as a conduit for grants and donations made to the center, using its own nonprofit status to insure that the gifts were tax exempt.¹⁰⁹ Grants totaling \$25,000 came in to the association in 1972 for converting Laguna Ranch to a NEED camp.¹¹⁰

The Coastal Parks Association continued to grow, in membership and responsibilities, throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In 1973, Fort Point National Historic Site, John Muir National Historic Site, and Golden Gate National Recreation Area became new participants with the association. To help the increased financial and administrative responsibilities, the association hired Helen Douglas as its first full-time business manager. The number of participating parks continued to fluctuate. By 1985, the Coastal Parks Association had five park partners, including Redwood National Park and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Refuge at Newark.¹¹¹ The following year, the four other units withdrew their affiliation, leaving the cooperating association dedicated solely to Point Reyes. Accordingly, it adopted a new name, the Point Reyes National Seashore Association.¹¹²

Since 1964, the association has funneled twenty to thirty million dollars to park projects and programs.¹¹³ The Point Reyes National Seashore Association, as it is still called today, thus ended up playing a much more important role at Point Reyes than many of the other cooperating associations in the national parks, becoming a financial and administrative partner in a number of large construction projects in the park, including the Bear Valley Visitor Center, and becoming full partner with the park in the administration of the Clem Miller Environmental Education Center.

1989 Interpretive Prospectus

The 1989 “Interpretive Prospectus, Point Reyes National Seashore” heralded the next stage in the evolution of the interpretive division at PRNS. It was the division’s first such planning document since 1973, and it codified many of the new directions and themes established during the 1980s. The Interpretive Prospectus concretely laid out, for the first time, the division’s goals, objectives, and interpretive themes. First and foremost, interpretive and education activities at Point Reyes should “further an awareness and appreciation of the wide diversity of coastal ecosystems their variety and similarity, the interdependence, and their fragile nature.”¹¹⁴ Other objectives focused on the preservation of park resources, recreational opportunities, Coast Miwok culture, public relations, and support of overall park programming, particularly natural and cultural resource management. Interpretive themes listed in the prospectus made evident that the planners who created the document defined PRNS as primarily an ecological resource, rather than a recreational area. Of the thirteen themes, only one was directly related to recreation, whereas six pertained to the seashore’s environment and four others addressed the cultural resources and human history of Point Reyes.¹¹⁵ The number one theme, “The Idea of Ecosystems and Communities,” was tabbed to be “a major focus of the interpretive program” because of the diverse plant and animal communities found at the seashore.¹¹⁶

The first priority the prospectus outlined was improvement of the park’s interpretive media at the two smaller visitor centers at Drakes Beach and the lighthouse, where the exhibits fell short of NPS standards and paled tremendously compared to those at Bear Valley.¹¹⁷ The plan identified other such needs as wayside exhibits, audiovisual films (in particular, the park’s slide program), outreach media, self-guided trails, and publications. Two new thrusts for the division in the 1989 plan were, first, the need to develop strategies that could increase interpretive presence and activities in the seashore’s north district, and, second, the first tangible plan for interpreting the agricultural landscape and history of dairying at Point Reyes.

Enhancing Interpretation in the 1990s

By the time John Dell’Osso stepped into the position of division chief in 1997, PRNS offered visitors superb interpretive facilities and modern interpretive media. Interpretive programming offered a balanced collection of demonstration sites, visitor centers, self-

guided activities, and environmental education. In 1992, the park completed the expansion and installed the new exhibits at the Ken Patrick Visitor Center at Drakes Beach, giving the national seashore three effective sites where visitors could obtain information, orientation, and interpretation. Dell’Osso recognized that, over the previous two decades, these programs had benefited from a decade and a half of investment in “nonpersonal” services. The results were impressive; during that twenty-year span, the park had poured substantial funding, from both federal and non-profit sources, into the creation of the Bear Valley Visitor Center, refurbishment of the Lighthouse Visitor Center and rebuilding of the Ken Patrick Visitor Center, expansion and remodeling of the Clem Miller Environmental Education Center, and the fabrication of numerous new wayside exhibits and trail markers. With the success of these projects, Dell’Osso deemed it time to enhance the quality of personal interpretive programming at Point Reyes.¹¹⁸ His program objectives dovetailed with a new NPS program that sought to improve the quality of interpretive services throughout the national park system.

For the first time in its history, the Park Service launched a truly comprehensive effort to improve the quality and professionalism of its interpretive division. Unlike the quick-fix solution the NPS had employed in the 1970s—attempting to plug in living history demonstrations as a one-size-fits-all patch for the desultory quality of interpreting programming—the 1990s strategy instead went to the heart of the problem, namely creating a means to improve the training, expertise, and professionalism of individual interpretive rangers. Tabled the Interpretive Development Program (IDP), the new approach aimed to produce no less than “the highest standards of professionalism in interpretation.”¹¹⁹ A select group of NPS personnel, operating in conjunction with the Ranger Careers Program, had spearheaded creation and implementation of the IDP in the early 1990s. They used existing research, survey data, and their own program experiences to craft a training program suitable for permanent and seasonal NPS interpretive staff.¹²⁰ At the center of the program were a set of essential competencies, which constituted the basic skills an individual interpreter should master in order to enhance program quality and professional growth. Training took place in a series of graduated steps, called “modules,” that built one upon the other. As the program entered into wider use throughout the park system, many individual parks incorporated module 101 into the annual seasonal interpretive training.

Module 101, the first step in the program, introduced staff to the IDP and to key concepts undergirding the core curriculum. This didactic portion of the program pushed interpretive managers and staff to understand their primary audience, develop greater knowledge of their subject matter, and incorporate universal themes in order to help visitors make meaningful connections to a park’s resources. IDP trainers introduce a methodology tailored to meet that objective, which involves determining and utilizing the tangible and intangible values associated with particular natural, historic, or cultural site. Explained David L. Larson, staff member at the NPS Mather Training Center and a central figure in implementing the IDP: “When interpreters do their jobs well, they meet visitors at the place where resource meanings are relevant to them . . . and then provide additional opportunities for personal emotional and intellectual connections” to that resource.¹²¹

After putting the 101 concepts to use in their own programs, interpretive staff generally tackled the subsequent steps of the IDP program independently. Module 103 required interpreters to plan, research, develop, and perform a guided activity and full-length interpretive program (such as an evening campfire program or slide program), and

arrange for someone to videotape their presentations to a live audience. Interpreters then sent their tapes to IDP trainers for professional assessment of their programs. Point Reyes staff began participating in the IDP training between 1995 and 1997; IDP trainings were held at Point Reyes and at other Bay Area NPS sites.¹²²

Dell'Osso recognized that understanding the audience at Point Reyes, one of the primary components of the IDP training, was key to planning interpretive services for the park. Larson emphasized, "What is relevant to the audience determines the starting point for successful interpretation."¹²³ Dell'Osso steered the division along this path during the late 1990s, and in planning for the future of the interpretive program. Due to the national seashore's geographic location, sitting astride a landscape of dairy and cattle lands, within one of the wealthiest counties in California, and a short drive from one of the country's major metropolitan centers, PRNS visitors were certainly a diverse group, but tended toward a demographic that was wealthier, more educated, and more environmentally aware than the visitors to many national park sites.¹²⁴

Changing political winds that followed a new administration in the White House, eventually forced Dell'Osso to make a pragmatic temporary retrenchment from some of his objectives regarding personal interpretive services. All the while, the division continued to improve the quality of nonpersonal services, as evidenced such projects as the "Coast and Ocean" section of Bear Valley Visitor Center, Earthquake Trail, and Lifeboat Station exterior wayside panels, and redesign of the Lighthouse Visitor Center interior panels. Budget cuts soon reduced staffing levels to the extent that the division had to, once again, depending on such nonpersonal services as Visitor Center contacts, information kiosks, wayside exhibits, publications, and electronic media to interpret the park's resources effectively.¹²⁵

Extending the Reach of Interpretive Programming In addition to improving the quality of interpretive programs, throughout the 1990s, the interpretive division also utilized mass media technology to expand its audience beyond the park's boundaries. PRNS interpreters hosted a weekly radio show on a local station, helping the park reach community members in their homes. Park staff produced new audiovisual programs, including a CD-ROM for use in elementary and middle school classrooms. The division also began doing all of its own desktop publishing, creating brochures and other print materials. Dell'Osso used e-mail as another outreach tool. He created a mailing list of the more than one hundred bed and breakfast inns throughout West Marin, and sent them e-mail announcements about new or continuing interpretive programs, which the owners could use to offer activities for their guests and to promote their businesses during the slow tourist seasons.¹²⁶

In 1998, the division turned to a new interpretive medium, the internet, to further expand and educate the park's audience. Park ranger Lynda Doucette coordinated the design work, assisted by a number of interpretive staff that contributed to the writing and the overall "look" of the webpages. Dell'Osso funded the website with money from the existing staff budget. The park's website quickly became a popular means for visitors and nonvisitors to obtain educational, orientation, and interpretive information before arriving at the park. During its first few years in use, the site averaged over one million hits. Thereafter, public use of the site leveled off at about 750,000 hits per year.¹²⁷

Collaboration became a byword for interpretive planning, mirroring the PRNS administration's greater emphasis on community and organizational connections during the late 1990s. Dell'Osso and his staff, for example, initiated work on a new interpretive

management plan by inviting forty-five park partners to participate in a three-day workshop to develop new interpretive themes. Dave Dahlen, trainer at the NPS Mather Training Center, facilitated the workshop in 2000. During the next phase of planning, the PRNS core team of Dell'Osso, Neubacher, Lynne Dominy, John Golda, regional Chief Deanne Adams, and Interpretive Specialist Lynn Nakata sponsored another workshop that included the interpretive chiefs and specialists from several other NPS units (Redwood, Golden Gate, Channel Islands, and Olympic) in the Pacific West Region. The three-year effort finally produced the 2003 Point Reyes National Seashore Comprehensive Interpretive Plan, the division's first in-depth management document. It catalogued the state of current interpretive operation, and devoted considerable attention to future directions for interpretation at PRNS. Interpretive staff produced the entire document in-house, including a limited printing of color copies.¹²⁸

Conclusion The Point Reyes Peninsula offers a wealth of ecological diversity, an abundance of native species representative of coastal California, a complex history of past and current human use, and a tumultuous geologic story. Interpretive program managers at the park faced the challenge of how best to represent these complex and varied topics in a way that helped visitors grasp some understanding of their importance, and spurred visitors to experience these features for themselves. After an initial dependence on living history demonstration areas, which was a response to an NPS-wide agenda, PRNS interpretive programming broadened considerably in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1990s, the NPS finally invested—via the Interpretive Development Program—the planning, money, and, most importantly, training that enabled a much larger percentage of interpretive staff throughout the Park Service to provide the public with that sort of experience.

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CHAPTER NINE

CHAPTER NINE
A HERITAGE LOST AND REGAINED: UNDERSTANDING,
EVALUATING, AND PRESERVING THE PARK'S CULTURAL
RESOURCES

“... for God’s sakes let’s get rid of some of these old traps before the historians discover them.”

... attributed to Superintendent Les Aramberger

The rugged, seemingly isolated coastline of Point Reyes peninsula has supported a constant stream of human occupation, which has left the park with a rich history. Resources in the area range from countless prehistoric Native American middens and settlement sites, which attest to the Coast Miwok population that once lived on the peninsula, to the grazing lands and barns peppering the countryside, which are the legacy of two centuries of dairy and cattle ranching. Historic buildings, such as the iconic Point Reyes lighthouse and decaying remains of early extractive industries, such as the Olema Lime Kilns, suggest the unique and varied historic resources within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore. Some of the park’s cultural resources, such as the 1595 wreck of the *San Agustín*, lie offshore, unseen under the pounding surf; others, such as the radio transmitters and receivers of communications companies that once operated here, still dot the horizon, giving visual testimony to the complex history of the region. When the National Park Service acquired peninsula lands and the historic structures, landscapes, and sacred sites on them, park managers and regional officials struggled to define the cultural resources that had come under their auspices, and determine how best to inventory, preserve, and protect them. As decades passed, federal laws, agency policies, and public opinion regarding historic properties and cultural resources evolved, forcing Point Reyes administrators to redefine management objectives and strategies in order to adequately honor and protect the peninsula’s wide-ranging human history.

The 1916 NPS Organic Act outlined the Park Service’s mission not only as conservation of scenery, wildlife, and natural objects, but also as preservation of historic resources.¹ The founding act, however, also set up a dichotomy between preservation and use of natural, cultural, and historic features that continues to vex park service administrators today. Is the NPS mission to preserve natural beauty and historic structures or to foster recreational use? To preserve natural or cultural resources or to promote active human use of those sites, which could negatively impact their natural or historic integrity?

Accordingly, management of cultural and historic resources at Point Reyes National Seashore has been inextricably tied to policy developments within the National Park Service and federal government, and to the local structures, financial concerns, and even the plate tectonics and weather patterns that shape the Point Reyes Peninsula. Over the national seashore’s first forty years, the NPS gradually increased its attention to cultural resources expanding, redefining, and complicating preexisting management objectives. Compliance with federal regulations undoubtedly became the main impetus for the NPS to look more closely at its unique historic sites, cultural landscapes, and ethnographic resources. However, the growing emphasis on material resources in the park system at large and Point Reyes in particular also derived from increasing public awareness of and desire to protect the finite number and unique qualities of cultural resources in each park unit. Historians, archaeologists, park management, members of local communities, and

the general public have all had a hand in attempting to define and protect material objects and landscapes that are the legacy of the peninsula's prior inhabitants.

The NPS master plans, general management plans, and administrative strategies for Point Reyes written in the 1960s and 1970s did not overtly address cultural resource management (CRM), a phrase that had yet to be applied to parks administration although the concept had been in circulation in academic circles for a half century.² By the early 1980s, however, park administrators at every type of NPS unit had begun to change their approach to the cultural and historic legacies in their charge, reflecting twenty years of slow but inexorable change and a more articulated concern about preserving monuments to human history and prehistory in the national park system. Cultural resource management gradually became a more important aspect of the Park Service mission, prompting park managers to pay closer attention to federal regulations and NPS directives. In response to this new emphasis on cultural resources, NPS officials and staff built the discipline of cultural resource management on the foundation of the Park Service's Organic Act of 1916, sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), and President Richard Nixon's Executive Order 11593 in 1971, all of which placed historic preservation on par with natural resource protection and visitor access as essential park functions.³

NHPA, in particular, and the subsequent National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA), brought about a larger focus on cultural resources at all Park Service units. Even those that had originally been set aside to preserve their distinctive natural features and outstanding recreational opportunities, as the national seashores had been, did not escape the trend. Understanding how redefining the character and value of cultural resources in the national parks affected the administration of Point Reyes requires a summary of the national developments in CRM in the National Park Service and Point Reyes administrators' responses to those changes.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT OF 1966

The most comprehensive national policy on historic preservation was established by Congress with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). Amended in 1970 and 1980, this federal law defined historic preservation to include districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture. The act led to the creation of the National Register of Historic Places, a file of cultural resources of national, regional, state, and local significance. NHPA also established the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (the Council), an independent federal agency responsible for administering the protective provisions of the act.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN THE NATIONAL PARKS

Although the organic act outlined historic resources as important to the parks, cultural resource management, as we know it today, was not at the top of the list when Congress created the Park Service. Yet prior to that, federal legislators and several presidents designated a number of sites in the American Southwest as worthy of federal protection and admission to the nascent national park system because of their significant archaeological or historic qualities. In 1892, President Benjamin Harrison created by Executive Order the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, in Arizona. Harrison had established the nation's first archaeological preserve to protect the prehistoric "big house" ruin left

by the ancient Hohokam civilization. The Secretary of the Interior held the authority and responsibility for managing the site; Department of the Interior reports usually lumped Casa Grande Ruin in a category with small national park units, such as Sullys Hill and Platt national parks. Casa Grande Ruin Reservation—today Casa Grande Ruins National Monument—was thus the first “cultural” resource site in the national park system.⁴

Antiquities Act of 1906

When President Theodore Roosevelt established the first four national monuments under the authority of the recently passed Antiquities Act of 1906, two of them, Montezuma Castle and El Morro, gained protection primarily because they contained significant prehistoric and historic values.⁵ Congress created the Antiquities Act to preserve prehistoric ruins and historic structures, archaeological sites, historic landmarks, and other “objects of historic or scientific interest” by setting those lands aside under federal protection, in order to prevent souvenir hunters, museum collectors, and vandals from pillaging and destroying them.⁶ In 1907, Congress authorized Mesa Verde National Park, the first full-fledged national park site established to protect one of the country’s most important archaeological treasures.

Although these early sites set the precedent for protecting areas of national historic or archaeological significance within the park system, by the time Congress established the NPS its leadership clearly emphasized recreational opportunities and conservation of natural resources over preservation of such resources. Indeed, the first NPS policy statement, a 1918 letter written under the auspices of Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane (but authored by Horace M. Albright) to NPS director Stephen T. Mather, ignored cultural resources altogether when discussing the Park Service’s mission to preserve, develop, and expand the national park system.⁷

Albright was an avid historian with a personal interest in creating parks that highlighted historic resources. When he succeeded Mather as NPS director in 1929, he turned immediately to incorporate East Coast monuments, memorials, and battlegrounds into the park system, supporting a bill to transfer to NPS control sites over which the War Department and the Department of Agriculture had previous jurisdiction.⁸ Although the initial transfer legislation stalled, in 1933, Albright convinced newly inaugurated president Franklin D. Roosevelt to use his powers of executive branch reorganization to transfer authority over fifty-two areas from other federal departments to the NPS. Of these new acquisitions, forty-four were sites established because of their cultural or historical significance. As Park Service historian Barry Mackintosh has explained, “what had initially been a western park service and system became truly national.”⁹

Pre-1930s protection of cultural resources was rooted in the 1906 Antiquities Act, but little attention was paid to actual preservation or interpretation of such sites. After the 1933 consolidation, however, the NPS hired historians, architects, archivists, and curators to research, document, and preserve cultural resources in the park units. Benefiting from Works Progress Administration (WPA) and other New Deal programs, the NPS employed out-of-work professionals to engage in much of this early documentation, setting the stage for policy and program development throughout the century. Indeed, the first significant historical documentation program implemented in the NPS was the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), which was launched in 1933, joined by the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) in 1969, and still functions today.¹⁰

Legal authority to continue such undertakings was consolidated in the 1935 Historic Sites Act, which declared preservation of historic sites, buildings, and objects a project of

“national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States,” and called for a national survey of possible sites in need of preservation as part of the park system. For three decades, the focus remained on historic structures, and the NPS possessed adequate authority to preserve structures designated as having historical significance. The post-World War II era revealed a different milieu, however, in which industrial expansion, urban renewal, and technological advancements began leaving indelible imprints on the land in the form of interstate highways, dams, airports, and the like. While many Americans viewed these new developments as in the nation’s best interest, many people also worried that rampant destruction of natural and historic sites would result.

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) responded to this growing concern, reinforcing and expanding not only federal regulations regarding preservation but also broadening them to include sites of state and local significance.¹¹ The act created the National Register of Historic Places and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, which the Park Service administered. Section 106 of the NHPA mandated the NPS (in concert with state, local, and tribal officials) to identify and evaluate historic properties in their jurisdiction for inclusion in the National Register, and to assess and attempt to resolve adverse effects proposed federal undertakings might have on those properties. In a reversal of usual roles, the NHPA directed the federal agency in question to report and respond to the proper state authority. Thus, PRNS or the Western Regional Office reported their assessment findings to the California State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO).

In response to what seemed like foot-dragging on the part of some agencies, President Richard M. Nixon in 1971 issued Executive Order No. 11593, reiterating the importance of NHPA compliance and requiring federal agencies again to “locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of the Interior all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.” Furthermore, Nixon’s executive order (made with a keen eye on the political cachet to be gained among the growing environmentalist constituency) demanded that agencies complete their respective inventories no later than July 1, 1973. Administrators were to “exercise caution during the interim period to assure that any federally owned property that might qualify for nomination is not inadvertently transferred, sold, demolished, or substantially altered.”¹² In 1976, Congress made the NHPA-originated Advisory Council on the Act an independent agency. Amendments to NHPA provided tax incentives for preservation and further honed standards and guidelines for effective application of the law. Federal, state, and local agencies have worked hard to comply (albeit with varying levels of financial support and at different levels of effectiveness) ever since.¹³

Both NHPA and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) were changing the tenor within the Park Service regarding cultural resources. The changes occurred in two distinct stages. First, the environmental movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s fostered greater awareness of America’s dwindling wild places and rampant destruction of natural resources and habitats. This focus on ecology and “wilderness,” which influenced a generation of superintendents, among them John Sansing, led many park administrators to advocate returning improved and agricultural lands to their “natural” state at the expense of valuable cultural resources in their midst.¹⁴ Second, the cultural and countercultural movements of the 1970s sparked greater interest not only in historic monuments and heritage sites pertaining to the history of the nation but also sites of

importance to Native Americans both archaeological and extant. This second wave of changing perceptions about cultural resources in the national parks helped foster the more balanced and integrated approach to natural and cultural resources found in the park system today.¹⁵

Within these evolving trends in park management, and under the direction of NHPA and NEPA, were various restatements of Nixon's 1971 order that federal officials should at all times, "provide leadership in preserving, restoring, and maintaining the historic and cultural environment of the nation."¹⁶ Despite grand and no doubt honorable intentions to preserve the environment and cultural resources, budgetary and staff shortfalls continued to plague park units, making forced compliance often a burden and sometimes a fanciful wish. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Point Reyes administrators battled constantly to balance federal requirements with local realities. What follows is a short history of the growth and evolution of cultural resource management at Point Reyes National Seashore.

EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AT POINT REYES

Initial debates in Congress and in Bay Area communities about creating a national seashore at Point Reyes centered on whether the park should be created in the first place more so than whether the park's mission would be to preserve natural landscapes, recreational opportunities, or historic sites. That the seashore was created "in order to save and preserve [the area], for purposes of public recreation, benefit, and inspiration," does not mean, however, that people did not recognize the historic value of the peninsula.¹⁷ Indeed, congressional debate during the authorization campaign invoked the importance of Point Reyes as Sir Francis Drake's probable landing spot.¹⁸ Although the specific language of the founding act did not emphasize the historic resources of the new seashore, the legislative intent of Congress included recognition of the peninsula's historic legacy as a contributing element in the seashore's creation. The final Senate report on the Point Reyes bill (S. 476) called for the NPS to plan seashore developments "in a manner which would leave important known historic and archaeological sites undisturbed so that specialists would have opportunity to study them further and recommend a course of action for preservation of important sites."¹⁹

It took a full decade, from 1963 to 1972, for the NPS to finally secure the park's land base and create boundaries that approximated the parameters outlined in the park's founding legislation. Those decades prior to and following the national seashore's consolidation were groundbreaking years for the development and implementation of new cultural resource management policies in the national park system. As the NPS struggled to acquire peninsula land, the park's superintendents watched with increasing concern as cultural resource protection policies became manifest in federal law and NPS policy. Superintendents like Arnberger, however, were not thrilled at the thought of having to manage all of the archaeological and historical sites on the peninsula on top of what he believed to be far more pressing management concerns at the time, such as lost backpackers, drug-using hippies, fighting fires, and simply trying to organize facilities, services, and safety measures for the rapidly increasing numbers of visitors to the seashore. According to Robert Barbee, one of the first park rangers to serve at Point Reyes, Superintendent Les Arnberger's response to acquiring old decaying barns on properties during the land acquisition period at Point Reyes was "for God's sakes let's get rid of some of these old traps before the historians discover them." According to Barbee,

they did just that: “We burned some of them down,” he reported.²⁰ This pragmatic disdain toward historic preservation (and the people who worked in its service) would permeate the administration of Point Reyes, and to some extent the entire NPS, throughout the 1970s.²¹

Park Service Historian Stephanie S. Toothman has explained that in parks valued for their natural qualities, a number of factors worked de facto to devalue cultural resources: lack of park-specific mandates to manage cultural resources, failure to recognize cultural resources in the unit, the presence of cultural resources that seem to contradict the park’s primary mandate, lack of staff with appropriate CRM training or interest, staff with philosophical or professional interests at conflict with CRM goals, and little to no budgetary concern for CRM.²² All of these conditions to a certain degree existed at Point Reyes National Seashore, as they did in other natural and recreational park units; thus it should come as no surprise that cultural resources were not given top priority at the park despite national directives that all park units, no matter what their emphasis, to do more to protect them. The park administration spent much of the decade in avoidance of the cultural resources in the park and the national responsibility to inventory, document, and protect those resources.

Resistance and Pragmatism: The 1970s

Although some resisted these developments, park administrators like Sansing, who came to his post in the midst of the transition, knew they would have to confront the realities and tough choices compliance would force upon them. It would not, however, be an easy period at PRNS. As did many other administrators and Park Service staff who were, as one park service official described it, “of a different generation,” Sansing dragged his feet where compliance with national historic preservation legislation was concerned.²³ This was especially true in parks that were established to protect scenic and biological values, as opposed to those that preserved areas of historical significance. Although the new classification of national seashores initially fell under a recreational rubric, debates about how to define Point Reyes’ importance focused on its natural beauty and many people both inside and outside the park in the 1970s saw its significance in its “wildness” and natural features.

In 1970, when Sansing and fellow NPS administrators Douglas Nadeau, Glenn O. Hendrix, and Joseph C. Rumburg, Jr., formed a General Management Plan (GMP) planning team, they addressed questions the 1964 PRNS master plan had raised but never answered. Point Reyes possessed unique natural features and yet was a huge piece of federal land located within easy reach of millions of Bay Area citizens who wished to use the park. Worried that recreation would get prime billing to the detriment of its natural resources, the report asked rhetorically, “Is Point Reyes just a place to play?”²⁴ How to provide the benefits that access conferred while preserving the park’s singular beauty and irreplaceable resources was the issue. The committee worked to create a general management plan that would resolve this conundrum and could respond to the problems at hand.

Just as revealing about priorities in 1970 is the absence of cultural resources from the final GMP document. The committee was far more concerned with finding a compromise between preservation and promoting recreation than it was in melding the two with cultural resource management, despite Congress’s recent directive that such should be the case in the national parks. The report’s single mention of a historic or cultural resource regards the request of the owner of an oyster facility on Drakes Estero who had expressed his desire to keep the operation running and had asked that the park interpret the site.

Even the ranches, which the committee considered in a full paragraph and explicitly recognized as having importance to the seashore for the “pastoral scene” presented to visitors, were only referred to as possible lands that might be freed for recreational use.²⁵

Administrators responded differently to the National Historic Preservation Act based on the unique resources of their individual parks and the challenges each faced in terms of budgetary constraints and local pressures. In 1972, Sansing was administering PRNS with a small budget and limited, deteriorating facilities. He was also trying to reconcile the park’s mission to “save and preserve” with the 1960s national recreation area mindset and the new administrative shift to greater emphasis on historic preservation.²⁶ A 1972 PRNS “Operations Evaluation” stated that the seashore administration had prioritized (natural) resources management and to aid that effort had hired a “Resource Management Specialist” to complement the research biologist already on staff.²⁷ The report does refer briefly to historic resources such as the Coast Guard lifesaving station, but discusses them solely within the interpretation rubric.²⁸

The 1972 GMP’s emphasis on natural resources fit the the NPS administrative thinking of the time, which advocated obliterating dilapidated old shacks in favor of returning the environment to some “natural” state. In 1970 and 1971, prior to upcoming public hearings on the park’s general management plan and wilderness proposal, local citizens’ organizations, which included the Bolinas Future Studies Center, Environmental Action Committee of West Marin, Inverness Improvement Association, Marin Conservation League, and Tomales Bay Association, and national groups (National Parks and Conservation Association and Sierra Club), outlined their vision for the park’s future.²⁹ With some variation in their specific recommendations, the position statements were uniformly vehement in calling on Sansing and his superiors, as one report stated, “to plan and manage Point Reyes with the priority objective of preserving and restoring it as a Natural Area.”³⁰ The emphasis on restoration here is worth noting. These groups did not simply wish PRNS to preserve the seashore in its current state, they were calling for the Park Service to return substantial portions of the peninsula to a “wilderness” state, much in the same vein as the 1963 “Leopold Report.”³¹ Caught between the proverbial rock and hard place, as were many of his peers in superintendent positions, Sansing filtered the needs and demands of wilderness advocates, federal historic preservation directives, and rapidly increasing public use of the park through his own lens of the park’s mission. Sansing did what he perceived necessary to maintaining a fiscally sound unit that worked in concert with local landowners. In the meantime, historic preservation took a backseat.

**Sansing’s
D-8 Policy**

Sansing’s disregard for historic preservation at PRNS is evidenced in his on-the-ground management of historic properties governed by section 106 guidelines. Sansing implemented or quietly endorsed practices that would make contemporary historic preservationists, scientists, and academics cringe even as they pleased environmentalists at the time who wished to see nature “restored.” LeeRoy Brock, Sansing’s chief ranger from 1974 to 1995, noted that the park took over a lot of old ranches that had “the remains of facilities, milking sheds, and buildings, with the remains of falling down barns and everything,” which Sansing dealt with by utilizing his “D-8 policy,” referring to a particular model of Caterpillar tractor in use at the time. Brock explained: “That was to go in, dig a pit, knock ‘em down, and haul ‘em out policy.”³² Gordon Chappell, who has been the western regional historian since the NPS reinstated the position in 1974, remembered having a difficult time trying to get the Point Reyes administration and staff more involved with cultural resource management in the 1970s.³³ Thomas Mulhern, who



Record No. 42090b. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Dilapidated barn on the Nunes Ranch.

worked in cultural resource management at the San Francisco (now Oakland) support office in the 1970s, similarly perceived that cultural resource and historic preservation work were not well accepted when first proposed at Point Reyes, and that park administrators ignored these elements of resource protection for a number of years.³⁴ According to Chappell, the primary focus of cultural resource work at Point Reyes during this time was the lighthouse and lifesaving station, iconic features of the park that were popular with visitors and locals alike.³⁵

Sansing's D-8 approach, along with more benign neglect, made sense from an administrative and fiscal point of view as a way to deal with structures beyond reasonable repair, structures that to the older generation of park superintendents were viewed as management problems rather than cultural resources per se.³⁶ Chappell, for example, did survey work for a historic resource report on the ruins of the Olema Lime Kilns in the mid-1970s. When he informed Sansing of the historic significance of the kilns, Sansing suggested they "keep them secret" because the park had no money in the budget to manage the site.³⁷

This is not to say that Sansing entirely disregarded cultural resources in the park. He understood the implications of the NHPA legislation and that he would have to consider its dictates in his policy toward historical and archaeological resources under his watch. As early as February 1973, Sansing approached the Western Region Director asking for a team to come out and evaluate a number of recently acquired ranch properties—some of which dated to the 1850s. "In the past, the ranchers spent a considerable amount of time and money on maintenance of buildings in this damp and windy climate," he noted. Asking for help in determining which structures to save and maintain, he also made clear his assessment of the potential financial costs involved. "At this point it certainly doesn't seem practical to save every building and burden ourselves with the heavy maintenance costs of preserving all the structures."³⁸

Historical Structures

Immediately upon starting his job with the NPS in 1974, regional archaeologist Roger Kelly was called out to Point Reyes as part of just such a team. Again, Sansing wanted some advice: Could he tear this particular structure down? Was it historically significant? Did it have any restoration or reuse value? Visible from the road and in an obvious state of disrepair, anything the Park Service would decide to do to the building would be obvious to passersby. According to Kelly, this was the first field problem Sansing attempted to address using experts in cultural resource fields as architecture, archaeology, and history—a definite step forward for cultural resource management at Point Reyes

National Seashore. However, to Sansing, there was nothing “exciting” about the building. Rather, the potential repercussions he might face because of the high profile of the site was what made it problematic. As Kelly explained, “It was a management problem,” as opposed to a preservation problem.³⁹

Certainly, Sansing realized the importance of high-profile historic resources at the park. Visible landmarks like the lighthouse, Coast Guard buildings, and intact ranching complexes he could appreciate. However, Kelly believes, “He probably had some difficulty in trying to understand why some of the more minor things, such as some of the not-so-pretty archaeological sites, were so important.” Sansing’s conceptual difficulties in seeing the relative importance of high-profile versus seemingly minor resources was no doubt endemic in many NPS administrators of his generation. Having begun his career many years before the wave of historic preservation, cultural awareness, and environmental protection legislation that swept the late 1960s and 1970s, “he was probably quite accustomed to not even thinking a lot of things in a pretty run-down condition, except as they might be safety hazards or something like that.”⁴⁰



Point Reyes Lighthouse.

Historic American Buildings Survey no. CA 2280-2

By the mid-1970s, maintenance of many of the historic buildings in the park had simply become impossible, yet tearing them down had begun to spark debate among locals who were concerned about these resources. As Brock noted, “There’s a certain segment of the population that wants to maintain and restore . . . these structures, but there’s no money. . . . I can tell you right now we fought with money.” Budgetary concerns were no small matter. Mulhern reported that while doing survey work to create a List of Classified Structures (LCS) for the park, Sansing asked historians involved in the project to keep him up to date with new additions to the LCS, because of his concerns about how much money

protection of the buildings might cost the park. Mulhern remembered that the projected cost to stabilize or repair all of the structures on the preliminary LCS for Point Reyes would have been equivalent to 80 percent of the historic preservation resource budget for the entire Western Region, which included all the parks in California, Arizona, Nevada, and Hawaii.⁴¹

In light of such impossible situations, Sansing performed a sort of cultural resources triage. Indeed, these decisions presaged later NPS guidelines that articulated the necessity of balancing the relative historical significance of a site with the fiscal impracticality of preserving every fifty-plus year old structure or landscape in a given area. NPS-28 states that CRM “decisions should recognize variations in meaning, integrity, and threats” but “must be integrated with natural resource management, education, and visitor experience

as the primary concerns of park management.” In other words, triage is both necessary and acceptable in areas where relative values of properties are low or where lack of funds and/or staff is a pressing concern.⁴²

Park administration tried to address public concerns, but often felt that local activists’ demands were at best financially impossible and at worst ludicrous. In contradiction to voices calling for “restoration” of the peninsula to wilderness, others wanted every historic structure in the park inventoried, preserved, and restored. As Brock explained, “we had public meetings where certain sectors of the population wanted to turn [these ranches] into tea houses or [use them] for backpacking . . . they used the Adirondacks as an example.” Brock’s candid assessment of such ideas was that they would prove to be an “administrative nightmare,” a characterization that was no doubt also clear in the minds of Sansing and other park staff.⁴³

Given the realities of park finances and simple logistics, park administration realized a trade-off must be made. Brock noted that Sansing cleaned up “the old trash and garbage from a lot of these old ranches. In return, he . . . together with the interpreters and with the advisory commission . . . selected certain ranches to be maintained.”⁴⁴ The regional office supported Sansing’s compromise measures.⁴⁵ The decision was made to focus preservation effort on the Pierce Point Ranch, because it had the largest number of intact historic buildings (the barns, schoolhouse, carriage house, and main ranch dwelling were still in relatively good shape), it was easily accessible to renovation crews and park visitors, and it was not tied up in a reservation of use.⁴⁶ According to Brock, however, there simply was no easy access to many of the other historic ranch sites.⁴⁷ With funding scarce and such divergent views of the park’s mission at hand, Sansing realized that no one would be completely satisfied with whatever final policy was decided upon.

Archaeological Resources Under Sansing, according to Kelly, historical resources took precedence over archaeological, simply because so much work had already been done by outside sources and because the historic resources were much more visible and prominent in local memory than the prehistoric resources. “The thought at the time was ‘well-look, we can’t stop mother nature from eroding these shell middens,’” Kelly recalled. Given the relative lack of budget for CRM overall, “the budget went mostly to historic structures.”⁴⁸

However, a number of sites at Point Reyes had already been excavated prior to the park’s authorization. Excavations in Native American midden sites by University of California archaeologists in the 1940s were conducted to develop a prehistoric chronology. In addition to a wealth of prehistoric finds, sixteenth-century historic artifacts were also uncovered that included Chinese porcelain shards and iron spikes. The shards are generally attributed to the shipwreck of the *San Agustín* in 1595, but it has also been proposed that many of the shards originated from contact with Drake and his crew in 1579.⁴⁹ It is notable that Native Americans chipped and drilled a number of shards for their own purposes. Further excavations and field surveys were undertaken in the 1950s by archaeologists from the University of California, San Francisco State College, and the private Drake Navigators Guild, primarily to find additional artifacts and features they might be able to associate with Drake. Robert Barbee, protection ranger during the Binniwies and Arnberger administrations, related that in the mid- to late 1960s, a good deal of archaeological work was being conducted at Point Reyes. At that time, Aden E. Treganza and his students from San Francisco State College, in cooperation with Santa Rosa Junior College, were conducting several archaeological excavations and a field survey for the National Park Service. According to Barbee, Treganza’s field crews

uncovered multiple human skeletons during his archaeological surveys, which piqued the interest of scientists, staff, and local residents at that time.⁵⁰

More recent archaeological work at Point Reyes focused on the Coast Miwok people who inhabited the peninsula from approximately the first century onward, and probably earlier. Faunal remains found at the Limantour Spit in 1970 provide material evidence that aboriginal people inhabited the area. Other peninsula sites contained large quantities of broken clamshells, bead blanks, and finished beads, as well as numerous chert and obsidian tips with which natives drilled the disks. These finds indicate that Coast Miwok used Point Reyes extensively as a source for the shell beads used as ornamentation and currency.⁵¹



Record No. 253280. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Interpretive ranger Margaret Johnson stands with a couple at the monument commemorating the Drake landing site at Drakes Beach.

Despite the obvious concentration of important archaeological sites within park boundaries, strong indications that numerous additional sites awaited evaluation, and a large number of historic structures potentially eligible for nomination to the register, the 1970s were not an especially fruitful period where emphasis of cultural resources at Point Reyes was concerned. In 1979, however, Sansing's annual report listed, for the first time, historic preservation as a separate category deserving of mention and noted that the park was in the first stages of preparing a cultural resource management plan.⁵²

Moreover, in the late 1970s, an NPS historian at the Denver Service Center was

preparing the first extensive report on the archaeological and historic resources of Point Reyes.

Toogood's Civil History

In June 1980, Anna Coxe Toogood presented her "Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore," a comprehensively detailed report on the history of both areas from prehistoric times to the mid-twentieth century.⁵³ Toogood pointed to a "wealth of historic sites" in PRNS related to commerce, industry, and recreation of the Bay Area and the peninsula.⁵⁴ Although no structures remained to represent the periods of exploration, Spanish and Mexican rule, and early American occupation, Toogood recommended that the park support excavation and further interpretation of areas associated with these time periods, most notably the brief incursions on the peninsula by the *San Agustín's* crew, Sebastian Vizcaino's exploration

party, and Rafael Garcia's rancho, whose site had been located but not yet excavated.⁵⁵ For the prehistoric period and from the 1850s on, a number of archaeological sites and historic buildings and districts were extant and recommended for preservation, restoration, and, in rare instances, reconstruction.

With just a handful of exceptions, Toogood pointed to structures and sites in 1980 that fell into one of four overarching groups: Native American, extractive industries, maritime, and ranching. As outlined above, archaeologists had located a significant number of Coast Miwok sites by the late 1970s and anticipated that hundreds more existed on the peninsula. A reconstructed Coast Miwok village, Kule Loklo, had been established at the park in July 1976, and was attracting increasing numbers of school children (See chapter 8).⁵⁶ Although no Coast Miwok structures remained, Toogood recommended the park work with surviving members of the tribe to assess how best to interpret aboriginal archaeological sites (a number of which had been nominated to the register) and prehistoric culture, as well as to determine appropriate excavations and preservation of native history in the area.⁵⁷

Since the first white settlers arrived in Marin County in the nineteenth century, extractive industries played an integral role in the area. As Toogood described in 1980, the vestiges of these industries pepper the land. The Olema Lime Kilns, first erected in the 1850s, were a striking example of pioneer American industry in the area and ruins of three of the original four kilns had already been listed in the National Register. Granite quarries were also an early industry in the area, and Point Reyes granite apparently had been used to construct Fort Point in the mid-1850s. Although no one knew the exact location of this quarry, Toogood recommended that park officials be on the lookout for its location for future interpretive purposes. Copper mining near Bolinas was also a moderately successful, although short lived, venture in the area. Toogood believed that the remaining ruins of Copper Mine Gulch were eligible for listing in the National Register.⁵⁸

In addition to mining operations on the peninsula, timber and fishing have played essential roles in the area's extractive economy, especially in its relationship to more urban areas of the state. Although Toogood did not mention it specifically in her inventory or recommendations, historian Robert S. Lange documented for HABS in September 1980 the F. E. Booth Company Pier, constructed in 1919, which was determined to be "the oldest and least altered of the four commercial fishing piers erected at Point Reyes." Although the pier was at that time slated for demolition and the era of shipping goods by sea had long since passed, the pier represented nonetheless an important feature of local industrial history.⁵⁹

Of the four main categories of historic sites of importance at Point Reyes, Toogood devoted the most attention to those related to the sea and ranching. The maritime influence on the human history and cultural landscape of Point Reyes was and still is expressed most dramatically in the Point Reyes Lighthouse, which since 1870 has been the icon of the peninsula. Located on its original site and still in operation, the lighthouse building itself possesses an unusual architectural design, with a squat sixteen-sided iron tower and high-powered, first-order Fresnel lens. The oldest first-order light in the U.S. Coast Guard's twelfth district, stretching from San Luis Obispo in the south to Washington State in the north, and second oldest on the West Coast, Toogood noted that even though many of its original supporting structures had been altered or demolished Point Reyes was thus of national significance both architecturally and historically and had been determined eligible for register nomination. She recommended complete

restoration for the lighthouse.⁶⁰ Additionally, Toogood recommended for preservation, interpretation, and nomination to the register six remaining structures of the Point Reyes lifeboat station at its Drakes Bay location (it had been moved in 1927 due to the dangerous and isolated original Ocean Beach location, erected in 1890).⁶¹

Although she was not yet using such terms as *rural historic district* or *cultural landscape* when she authored the Point Reyes historic resources study, Toogood appears to have been cognizant of the increased recognition cultural landscapes were receiving in the late-1970s. She strongly emphasized the impacts ranching had had on the peninsula and surrounding environment. She suggested that the entire Olema Valley was worthy of maintenance as a working ranch area, noting that it was “near pristine ranching country in its historic setting, [and] a historic district of local significance.” The district Toogood proposed stretched eight miles down the valley and encompassed seven individual ranches that she thought presented the “best remaining examples of nineteenth century dairy ranches” in the area. In today’s parlance, the Olema Valley ranches were to be preserved as a vernacular landscape—Toogood recommended that the existing leases to ranches be renewed and that, if they were discontinued in the future, the NPS “maintain working ranch(es) in the valley.”⁶²

The Park Service had already demolished a number of structures in PRNS, mostly dilapidated remnants of Shafter-Howard tenant ranches (quite possibly those that Brock referred to having knocked down a few years earlier), and although a number of other buildings remained, these were not perceived to have enough historic integrity or significance to be worth considering. However, based on the pervasive importance of dairying to the area, and the good condition in which certain ranching complexes remained, Toogood noted that Home and Pierce Point ranches already had been recommended for nomination to the National Register.⁶³

Although a cause-and-effect relationship between the two cannot be proved, the September 1980 GMP echoed Toogood’s findings and stressed that increased visitation posed a threat to not only natural resources but also prehistoric and historic ones as well. For the first time, the administration outlined the park’s goals for and accomplishments in “cultural resource preservation.”⁶⁴ The directive furthermore contained a list of historic structures in the park along with management proposals for each.⁶⁵ PRNS administrators were beginning to understand and accept cultural resource management as an integral part of park supervision. For Point Reyes’ many long-neglected cultural resources, the tide was beginning to turn.

The Turning Tide: 1980–1995

If federal regulation and public policies in the 1960s and 1970s pushed the NPS to define its conception of park resources as inclusive of the historic and cultural, the 1980s saw the NPS redefine cultural resources to include additional elements and new methodologies. This period ushered in a more nuanced understanding of the varieties of cultural resources found in the park system, prompting the study and protection of previously “hidden” or ignored features. At Point Reyes, this turning tide introduced new programs that included surveys of the park’s submerged cultural resources, investigations of Coast Miwok prehistory, and the assessment and documentation of the peninsula’s cultural and historic landscapes. On the one hand, the new programs helped the NPS further its mission of protecting significant park resources; on the other hand, the changes gave park managers a larger and more complex workload in an arena already suffering because of administrative inattention and inadequate funding.

By 1980, a transformation in cultural resource management was beginning to take place at Point Reyes, which was spurred by preservation-minded legislation and reflected larger developments throughout the national park system. In 1980, Congress amended NHPA to help preserve a broader range of historical and cultural properties. Section 110 of the amended act made more explicit the federal responsibilities for historic sites on NPS lands. With additional amendments in 1992, section 110 expanded the agency's responsibilities to consult with relevant outside groups and organizations in planning preservation efforts, which could include even affected cultural properties beyond the boundaries of an NPS unit. The new regulations spelled out specific objectives that federal agencies must meet to demonstrate compliance.⁶⁶

In 1980, a new park General Management Plan emphasized that Point Reyes was “a relic of the aboriginal California coast” and as “a last frontier . . . yet unviolated by the symbols of contemporary life.” Thus it stressed the prehistoric past and the park's importance as an escape for city dwellers stressed out by modern life. Striking in the 1980 GMP is obvious distaste for the impact that two hundred of years of non-aboriginal inhabitation had wrought on the land. Whether it was a personal belief or not, Sansing again emphasized the “save and preserve” mantra he had turned to before. In calling the ranch roads “scars” on the earth that rendered the peninsula less than “pristine,” he invoked the return to the wilderness that so many local environmentalists wished to see occur. By nodding to the park's prehistoric past he responded to voices calling for reemphasis on Native Americans as part of United States history, but by ignoring or downplaying European settlement he upheld the decade of pragmatic decisions he had made to ignore or thwart attempts to preserve structures on the peninsula. The 1980 GMP answered the question posed a decade earlier when Sansing arrived at the park. Sansing recognized in 1980 that Point Reyes was “more than simply a place to play,” but it was the peninsula's natural beauty and ecological resources, not its human history, that he (and many others) believed distinguished Point Reyes from a playground.⁶⁷

The GMP outlined the primary cultural resources at PRNS: five Native American archaeological districts with sixty-five significant sites to be nominated to the register; the exploration history of European navigators, traders, whalers, and fur traders; shipping trade and shipwrecks, and the related lighthouse and lifeboat stations structures, which had been nominated to the register; the dairy industry and ranches, some of which appeared eligible for register listing; and the fishing industry of the region.⁶⁸ “All sites, objects, and structures of historic or architectural significance will be maintained and preserved,” the new GMP promised. However, the administration left itself a bit of wiggle room, hedging, “No removal of historic structures is envisioned.”⁶⁹ Of course, no mention was made about the “D-8 policy,” which had already removed many buildings that might have qualified for register status, or the compromises Sansing had made in determining which properties were most worthy of preservation.

A year after the GMP was implemented a cultural resource management program was published as an addendum to the 1980 report. This document, which was updated in 1987, outlined a more detailed five-year plan for cultural resources in the park, taking into consideration threats to specific resources and providing recommendations for stabilization and a budget with which to accomplish the outlined goals.⁷⁰ Authors of the 1981 CRMP reported that the park still faced “monumental problems” in trying to adequately stabilize and protect the area's cultural resources, particularly in light of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979. As well as increasing funding and staffing dedicated to halting deterioration of known resources, the CRMP observed that

upgrading the documentation and furthering research on the park's material culture were "essential to responsible management of these resources."⁷¹ Planners of the 1987 CRMP identified ten different areas in need of immediate attention, including some locations, such as Pierce Ranch, that required more than one maintenance or protection action. Recommended projects, in order of priority status, were the following: 1) rehabilitation and preservation of lighthouse, 2) stabilization, restoration, and protection of lifeboat station, 3) replacement of red barn roof, 4) stabilization, rehabilitation, and protection of Pierce Ranch complex, 5) production of historic resource study with National Register nominations for unlisted historic structures and sites, 6) upgrade park museum collection, 7) conduct submerged cultural resources study, 8) conduct oral history interviews, 9) conduct or complete archaeological surveys, and 10) conduct archaeological survey of the Garcia Adobe site.⁷²

Submerged Cultural Resources

More ephemeral and less visible aspects of Point Reyes maritime cultural resources Toogood outlined were the Drake landing and other early contact with the area initiated by European sea vessels. By 1980, when Toogood was completing her report, the NPS



Record No. 10130. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

NPS staff on a diving trip for the Submerged Archaeological Inventory Survey, 1983.

had decided not to pursue further investigation of the Drake landing at Point Reyes. However, the 1595 *San Agustín* wreck and Vizcaino's 1602 visit both warranted further investigation and interpretation, according to Toogood.⁷³ Research into maritime resources continued in the early 1980s with the "Submerged Archaeological Inventory Survey" conducted at Drakes Bay in 1982 and 1983. The survey's special attention to locating the wreck of the *San Agustín* was unsuccessful, but the

researchers were able to map a number of other ships that had wrecked in the area.⁷⁴

Cultural Landscapes

In 1980, for instance, the NPS determined that guidelines needed to be developed regarding cultural resources in national parks, which many within the service feared were being lost along with the archaeological sites. Robert Z. Melnick, a historical landscape architect who helped pioneer the field of cultural landscape studies, took leave from his academic duties to work with the NPS Chief Historical Architect on developing standards and evaluation protocols for park managers and NPS landscape architects to use. The collaboration produced *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System*, published in 1984 and then updated in 1987 by National Register Bulletin #30.⁷⁵ Melnick described cultural landscapes as places that "clearly represent or reflect the patterns of settlement or use of the landscape, as well as the continuum and evolution of cultural attitudes, norms, and values towards the land."⁷⁶

As cultural geography as a field of study gained visibility among park service staff and researchers, an increased appreciation began to develop for what are now known as vernacular landscapes. Although the National Park Service had been managing agricultural landscapes since the 1930s, the farming aspect of most of these early parks had taken a backseat to whatever resource was emphasized in the park, most typically a battlefield or war memorial of some kind.⁷⁷ In the late 1970s, though, the National Park Service officially acknowledged this aspect of its mandate through the creation in 1978 of the first protected working (vernacular) landscape in the national park system, Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve, on Whidbey Island, Washington.⁷⁸

By the late 1980s, cultural landscape reports (CLRs) had become the prescribed tool of the trade. However, many park service units struggled to comply with the guidelines for identifying, evaluating, registering, and managing rural historic districts and other cultural resources that Melnick and others outlined.⁷⁹ This is in part because of the extent and complexity of the work involved; they had to take into account a large area and the spatial relationships within it, including documenting of such items as buildings, fences, trees, walkways, and other related objects.⁸⁰

During the 1990s, Congress passed new national legislation and cultural resource staffs recognized important trends in ideas about the definitions and value of cultural landscapes. With passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, for example, much attention in the western regional office of the Park Service returned with urgency back to archaeological resources in the park, specifically the repatriation of human remains.⁸¹ In addition, broader discussions about the meaning of cultural landscapes within the park system, focus shifted from concentration on static structures to increased awareness of landscapes as dynamic places where humans interact with the environment over time. Agricultural and other vernacular landscapes were increasingly recognized as dynamic realms, requiring constant change to maintain their viability in the marketplace.

Although it recognized that it needed to update its policies regarding cultural landscapes and ethnographic resources under its purview, the need to do so created a conundrum for the Park Service, which had previously attempted to maintain historic land use (in a much more static fashion—almost “freezing” time in these places) while also protecting the natural environment and providing access to the public. How would the Park Service provide such stewardship in an agricultural landscape that necessarily needed to respond effectively to the vagaries of the agricultural market? This was the dilemma park superintendents faced in the late 1980s and early 1990s in such places as Point Reyes, where farming and ranching had played an integral role alongside the natural beauty and archaeological richness of the place.⁸²

The answer to the question came in 1988, when NPS formally designated cultural landscapes as park system resources. Soon thereafter, in 1992, the Park Service created the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation to provide training and technology development as a means to enhance the preservation of cultural landscapes in partnership with parks, universities, nonprofit agencies, and other federal units.⁸³ Two years later, another important step toward recognizing and preserving cultural landscapes was taken with Charles A. Birnbaum's seminal *Preservation Brief 36*, which provided a detailed outline for park administrators about how to manage cultural landscapes in their park units.⁸⁴ A new generation of park administrators has since relied on this comprehensive source when creating and implementing cultural resource management plans.

One of Toogood's recommendations in her 1980 study was the nomination to the National Register of an Olema Valley historic district.⁸⁵ At the time, Sansing was unable at that time to allocate a budget line to such a comprehensive endeavor.⁸⁶ However, in 1991, a task directive was issued to evaluate the ranches at Point Reyes and Olema Valley, nominate them to the National Register, and create management alternative guidelines for preserving the resources "within the context of current ranching needs and the historic scene."⁸⁷ Although it took longer than originally directed, by 1995, park historian Dewey Livingston had completed two voluminous studies of ranching in the area.⁸⁸ In December 1994, the register nomination was submitted and, in April 1995, the park received California State Historic Preservation Officer Cheryl Widell's concurrence with Livingston's recommendation that the Point Reyes peninsula in its entirety be considered eligible for listing in the National Register as a rural historic landscape district. Widell noted that the contributing resources in the district "convey to the visitor a strong sense of the feeling, setting, and appearance of the Point Reyes area during the historical period of significance," which was determined to be between 1857 and 1939. Even buildings constructed after that period continued the "architectural legacy of their predecessors." Widell also encouraged park staff to create a map of the district with the aid of her office, for future submission to the Keeper of the National Register.⁸⁹ Although deemed eligible, the park has not yet completed the required submission process to get the Point Reyes rural historic landscape listed on the National Register.

**A Sea
Change:
1995–2002**

The 1990s continued to be years of transformation regarding cultural resource management in the Park Service as a whole and at Point Reyes National Seashore more specifically. At PRNS, by the middle of the decade, the old guard was gone, replaced by new administrative blood. With Donald Neubacher's appointment as superintendent in 1995, a sea change had occurred. Although emphasis on natural resources and recreation stayed strong, park administration was increasingly interested in cultural resources, especially as they related to new NPS goals of promoting scientific research within the park system.

By 1994, Sansing's last year at PRNS, cultural resources had moved to a position of relative importance in park administration, at least in comparison to where they had been twenty years previous. The 1994 Resources Management Plan detailed eighteen specific cultural resource projects and listed them in order of their management priority. At the top of the list were emergency stabilization of Pierce Ranch (with a budgeted price tag of \$640,000), updating the archaeological survey and completion of the park administrative history and historic resources study of the Olema Valley ranches. Maintenance of historic structures was still important but was at the bottom of the priority list in 1994; similarly, submerged resources, which had been so important in the 1980s, had also dropped in the hierarchy of priorities.⁹⁰ No matter where each item fell on the list or how many dollars they were allocated, however, a significant shift had taken place.



Record No. 55850. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Aerial view of the Pierce Ranch on the upper Point Reyes peninsula shows the distinctive layout of a dairy operation, the visible human imprint on the “natural” landscape of the ranch.

At Point Reyes National Seashore, new superintendent Donald Neubacher declared 1995 to be the “year of change” at Point Reyes. After almost fifty years of collective service, both Sansing and Brock retired in January of that year; in their stead came Neubacher and chief ranger Frank Dean, both of who brought to the park a very different vision of what the park should be—a vision that specifically included cultural resources.⁹¹ The 1995 Superintendent’s Annual Report reflected this new emphasis and forecast change on a number of levels, especially where cultural resources were concerned. In

1996, Neubacher created a nascent CRM team, consisting of cultural landscape architect Rick Dorrance and historian Douglas “Dewey” S. Livingston, who had completed the surveys of the dairy ranches on Point Reyes just three years earlier.⁹² With Livingston’s 1993 study came growing interest in and understanding of the importance of the ranches as cultural landscapes integral to PRNS, specifically; Dorrance worked for three years on an initial cultural landscape inventory.⁹³

With the creation of this new, albeit small, CRM “department,” a flurry of activity commenced that centered on inventory, preservation, and management of cultural resources in the park. The team quickly completed HABS/HAER reports and section 106 documentation for a number of structures within PRNS, including the Pierce Ranch horse barn, Laird’s Landing, and the former Jensen oyster farm buildings, and secured contracts and funding for structure stabilization at a number of the historic ranches. Livingston initiated a historic resource study on the Marconi/RCA receiving and transmitting facilities and the team accepted responsibility for oversight and coordination of compliance with federal guidelines on archaeological and historical sites. More generally, but specifically indicative of the new administration’s greater emphasis on CRM, PRNS and Golden Gate Recreational Area staff received training in section 106 compliance.⁹⁴

It was not until Gordon White arrived at the park in 1999, however, that supervision of the seashore’s myriad cultural resources came under the administration of a Cultural Resources division. Toogood, Livingston, Dorrance, and others working on specific projects and sites in the park had made significant strides toward developing a positive administrative atmosphere toward cultural resources there, but their work had always come under the purview of other divisions. The submerged cultural resources surveys begun at Drake’s Bay in 1982-83 and resumed in 1997-98, for example, were the bailiwick of John Dell’Osso’s interpretive division, along with the archaeology and museum collections.⁹⁵ Other kinds of cultural inventories and historical documentation fell under the ranger protection division and structural preservation was a concern of the

maintenance division.⁹⁶ As such, White's position as chief of this division had no predecessor at PRNS, and the creation of such a post was part of a national trend within the Park Service in the 1990s to remove cultural resource management from under the rubric of natural resource management or interpretation.



Record No. 40720. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS Archives

Park maintenance staff performs rehabilitation work on a building at upper Pierce Ranch, listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

According to White, before he arrived at Point Reyes from his post at the Presidio, "there had been some criticism for how cultural resources had been treated in the park." Neubacher hired White to establish a full-fledged CRM program that would bring together the various different threads; in addition, White was tasked to find some money to carry it out. White agreed to do this, but expected to be given "a seat at the table" in terms of park management. White was quickly able to find and develop substantial funding

sources, not only successfully arguing for a sizeable base fund, but also receiving a portion of ranching fees, and continued soft money for CRM projects at the park.⁹⁷

The first big project conducted under White's new division was a massive structural preservation program. In 1999, PRNS created a historic preservation crew to maintain over three hundred historic structures (sixty of which are on the federal register) within its boundaries. For the first two years, White reported, he had only one full-time employee, Dan Brown, and summer crews.⁹⁸ Now, the project supports three full-time structural crewmembers in addition to Brown. By 2001, the crew had completed thirty projects, including repairs at the Spaletta Dairy ("C" Ranch), Pierce Ranch, and Giacomini Ranch, as well as hosting fieldwork conducted by the University of Oregon's Historic Preservation Field School. Ongoing was rehabilitation of the Murphy (Home) Ranch main house and designs for a major rehabilitation project at the lighthouse.

Second in importance was the completion of a cultural landscape inventory (CLI) and a cultural landscape report (CLR). Neubacher initiated a project to complete the CLR begun by the NPS central office in 1996. Cultural resource staff at the Pacific West Regional office (formerly West Region) completed a Point Reyes CLR that another NPS landscape architect began years earlier.⁹⁹ The finished report was under review by the park. Other projects included the restoration in 2002 of the Red Barn at Bear Valley headquarters and completion of a curatorial facility housing a museum collection, archive, and research center in the building. White considers this the division's biggest accomplishment to date.¹⁰⁰

One of the most significant new projects in the early twenty-first century has been the inventory and preservation of structures, documents, and artifacts related to the historic RCA/Marconi facilities at Bolinas and on Point Reyes. Dating back to 1913, these

receiving and transmitting stations (along with the Marshall Marconi receiving station outside the park's boundaries on state park land) are the only remaining intact Marconi-era coast stations in the United States. Their historical significance for the earliest days of wireless communication is enormous.¹⁰¹ White noted that although a dedicated volunteer group supports the project, the park has very little in the way of resources to develop, preserve, and interpret the sites. If White has his way, the park will incorporate the resource into larger general management plans and provide a base funding increase in recognition of the sites' historical importance. Getting approval for such an increase will likely be an uphill battle, though, according to White. Under the current administration, and especially since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., most base funding increases have been granted only for homeland security purposes and it is unlikely that the Marconi/RCA sites will find many sympathizers on a national level.¹⁰²

In the Park Service today, comparatively scant funding exists for cultural resources aside from traditional small pots of money set aside, for example, for National Register nominations. Money for interpretation or site development is limited. In response to ubiquitous budgetary shortfalls, White and his staff have gotten creative, searching for outside funding sources, for example, working with nonprofit associations, who apply for grants that will then be used in conjunction with pet projects in the park. Local and national foundations and nonprofit organizations, such as the National Park Foundation and the Marin Community Foundation also have collaborated with White and his employees to write grants and further develop outside money streams.¹⁰³

Federated Tribe of Graton Rancheria

One of the biggest challenges Point Reyes administrators have faced in the past twenty or thirty years has been in negotiating relationships with the Coast Miwok in regards to Native American artifacts, remains, and sacred spaces. The relationship between the Park and the tribe, which was not federally recognized until the year after White arrived at the park, has been an ambivalent one. On the one hand, Kule Loklo has been a resounding success. According to White, to its credit, "the Park stuck its neck out ... to ensure [it] had a good relationship with the tribe even though [the tribe was not yet] federally recognized." The building of Kule Loklo was "a big community thing in the 1970s" and, over time, became a "sacred site for the tribe," where annual festivals celebrated native culture and served as a touchstone to bring together native people. Indeed, when the Federated Tribe of Graton Rancheria (Coast Miwok) regained the federal recognition they had lost in 1958, they celebrated their victory at the Kule Loklo roundhouse.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, although Kule Loklo can be considered a success story, a much darker story had been playing out simultaneously during the 1970s and 1980s, one about which the Miwok people were very disturbed. According to White, park administrators had been neglecting reports for twenty-five years that archaeological sites were in need of immediate stabilization. Skeletal remains were literally "falling out" of burial sites, many of which were located on cliff sides.¹⁰⁵ Archaeologists were called out during this time to exhume and study the remains, a decision that was subsequently criticized because the actions took place without informing tribal members and with little respect for the impact such studies might have on Coast Miwok people who viewed these as the burial sites of their ancestors.¹⁰⁶ This negative history of the park's relationships created serious tensions among park staff, local residents, and members of the newly formed tribe over the past three decades.¹⁰⁷



Record No. 26550. NPS Photo Collection, PRNS

Lanny Pinola, a Pomo Indian who worked as an interpretive ranger at Kule Loklo, strips willow for construction of willow kotcha.

Out of this checkered past, the park more recently has taken a proactive approach to fostering communication and policy development that includes Native American input and ensuring the protection of Native American sites and interests. Under White, the Archaeology Site Steward program was created wherein stewards are dispatched to assess different archaeological sites and report their findings and recommendations to administrators.¹⁰⁸ Coast Miwok members Frank Ross

and Nick Tipon have been an integral link in this program, fostering a better working relationship between the tribe and the park. As both a site steward interested in the archaeology and a tribal member with spiritual ties to these sites, Ross represents the middle ground between tribal members who wish to see no scientific study or park intervention with native sites and scientists who may have little sympathy for the sacredness of such sites to the native people.¹⁰⁹

**Assessing
Cultural
Resource
Management**

The management of cultural resources at Point Reyes has proven controversial, perhaps because CRM is a relatively recent field—one that has developed and changed rapidly during the last two decades. The Park Service has come under fire for failing to realize that the post-aboriginal history of the area was as important to understanding and interpreting the peninsula as was its geographical location, geological past, or prehistoric population. The agency's early emphasis on the distant past of Sir Francis Drake and on single structures that reflected maritime history, such as the lighthouse, made its staff less inclined to appreciate evidence of recent human activity. Environmental policy scholar Laura Watt, for example, views the Park Service as a bureaucracy that has treated landscapes as static and unchanging relics of the past, rather than evolving resources. Moreover, she claims that under the agency's care, the landscapes at Point Reyes took on a homogenous character, losing their local flavor.¹¹⁰ Evidence for her claim, however, appears limited to signage the park used to identify the historic ranches. The ranch signs, as at all NPS sites, conform to traditional Park Service conventions for wayside signs and exhibits.

In the 1970s, the environment still reigned supreme in the mind of many “progressives.” While this emphasis on the environment was gaining momentum in the Park Service, however, the tide had turned in society. During the first decade of Sansing’s tenure at Point Reyes, a major cultural change was occurring in the United States. Multiculturalism sprang from new “progressive” movements, which emphasized the unique heritage of a variety of cultural and ethnic identities. Spearheaded by the feminist, black power, gay liberation, and American Indian movements, and shored up in the academy by social history, archaeological research, and labor and ethnic studies programs, cultural differences were becoming something to be valued on par with the natural environment.

Again, social and academic changes preceded legislation and the response in such agencies as the NPS was delayed.

Because of funding concerns, personal agendas, and the inevitable local variations inherent in a large national system, application of and compliance with new legislation at the individual park units within that system takes time. On the ground at Point Reyes, Sansing paid close attention to local sensibilities and fostered a strong relationship with the ranching community, factors that may have led him to resist implementing changes coming from what he perceived to be a bureaucratic monolith that did not understand the particular vagaries he faced at PRNS. Thus it is not surprising that PRNS's administration came late to the game of protecting cultural resources at the level legislation mandated and academics advocated.

Into the Twenty-first Century

A number of historic structures, collections and archives, archaeological sites, and ethnographic and cultural landscapes have been designated at Point Reyes National Seashore. As of this writing, Point Reyes administers 197 historic structures within seashore boundaries, sixty of which are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹¹¹ Another ninety-six historic structures on Golden Gate National Recreation Area lands fall under PRNS jurisdiction. The independent NPS watchdog group National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) concluded in 2002 that the Park Service was "adequately protecting" its historic structures and commended the work of the preservation crew. NPCA, however, also found that at least six of the National Register eligible historic structures at the park were being "severely impacted by structural deterioration, neglect, and inappropriate use," in addition to four others that were in poor condition.¹¹²

In 2000, White hired the park's first professional museum staff, archivist Carola DeRooy, to manage and guide the transformation of the extensive PRNS museum and archival holdings. The park completed in 2002 the construction of a state-of-the-art curatorial facility inside the renovated 1870s Red Barn at Bear Valley headquarters. When staff moved the collections and operations into the new facility, it improved the collection conditions greatly, and gave staff, academic researchers, and the public improved access to the primary resources held there. The structure now contains a research library, reference room, collection processing lab, and staff offices, in addition to housing over half a million artifacts and archives in state-of-the-art shelving and storage units. Additionally, the park commenced a wide-ranging oral history project in 2002 to collect, catalog, and foster access to oral histories pertaining to Marin County and Point Reyes history housed in various regional repositories.¹¹³

To help provide further access to the park's archival and museum collections, DeRooy fostered the development of professional partnerships with Bay Area research institutions and a number of universities, including Stanford, Sonoma State, and the University of California campuses at Berkeley and Davis. The new facility and research partnerships have helped double the number of research requests in a two-year period.¹¹⁴

Although these were long strides in the right direction, the work was just beginning. Because the CRM division, and specifically the curatorial program, have only recently emerged within the park's administrative structure, a significant backlog of inventory and preservation work remains. In its 2002 assessment of the seashore, the NPCA found that Point Reyes staff had cataloged only 35,291 out of 498,648 items held in its collection, which has limited researchers' access to particular records.¹¹⁵ Lack of additional

permanent staff and the recent acquisition of a huge volume of materials pertaining to the Marconi/RCA receiving and transmitting stations contributed to this less-than-ideal situation.¹¹⁶

NPCA could not accurately determine the condition of Point Reyes' numerous archaeological sites, but noted that at least 20 percent of the seashore's 124 known sites were threatened by severe erosion and ranching.¹¹⁷ NPCA noted that the Park Service had "done well to maintain a working relationship with the Coast Miwok people and preserve the cultural resources that reflect occupation and use by others at Point Reyes, including the rancho heritage." Nonetheless, the park's lack of an ethnographic overview or guidance plan served to undermine these important efforts.¹¹⁸



Photo by Paul Sadin

The renovated 1870s Red Barn at Bear Valley headquarters houses the park archives, library, and collections, as well as a research center and conference room.

Among the thirteen cultural landscapes identified in a recent cultural inventory of the seashore are examples of all the various permutations and combinations of cultural landscapes, historical, historic designed, vernacular, and ethnographic.¹¹⁹ They range from small sites (such as the Olema Lime Kilns) to large districts (such as the 22,000-acre Point Reyes Ranches Historic District), and include ranches, coastal defense sites, and the communications facilities. Vernacular landscapes include the ranching districts, comprising well over 20,000 acres of coastal plains, ranch buildings, and supporting structures and views. Ethnographic landscapes range from the replica Coast Miwok village of Kule Loklo and other archaeological sites that dot the peninsula to structures and the lore surrounding them such as they I.D.E.S. Hall of the Portuguese ranching community and the cemetery where are buried the remains of four Scandinavian sailors who died while serving at the U.S. Coast Guard lifesaving station.¹²⁰ The former Marconi/RCA stations and their transmitters and receivers represent a historic designed landscape, while the remaining cabins and bridge spanning Lagunitas Creek, both of which are part of the Tocaloma resort district, indicate the development of Marin County tourism in the early twentieth century.¹²¹ These represent just some of the wide array of important cultural resources found within PRNS boundaries. But researching, managing, and preserving these sites was not fully possible until PRNS administration and the NPS

provided adequate funding and recognition for cultural resources at Point Reyes, and throughout the national park system.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER NINE

¹ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 41.

² For example, cultural geographer Carl Sauer is thought to have been the originator of the phrase "cultural landscape" in the 1920s and spearheaded the study of geographical study and mapping of land utilization. Sauer supposedly said, "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result." Carl Sauer, quoted in a slide presentation given by Arnold Alanen, "Cultural Landscapes Preservation in the National Park Service," videotaped October 7, 2000, at Point Reyes National Seashore.

³ A solid overview of legislation pertaining to cultural resources in the National Park Service (NPS) is Barry Mackintosh, "The National Park Service and Cultural Resources," *CRM* 4 (1999): 41–44. For a legislative timeline, see, National Park Service, NPS-28, Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Appendix B, "Laws, Regulations, and Orders,"

http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28appenb.htm (accessed June 1, 2005).

⁴ Department of the Interior, "Report on Wind Cave, Crater Lake, Sullys Hill, Platt, and Mesa Verde National Parks, and Casa Grande Ruin," in *Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1907*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1907), Serial 5295. President Woodrow Wilson designated Casa Grande Ruin National Monument in 1918. It was redesignated Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in 1926.

⁵ Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 72.

⁶ Hal K. Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 34–49.

⁷ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 41.

⁸ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 41.

⁹ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," quotation on 42.

¹⁰ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 42.

¹¹ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 43. Additional legislation passed over the next decade reflected similar concerns and consolidated federal protection over cultural resources in different areas. For example, the Department of Transportation Act of 1966, National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (which amended the 1960 Reservoir Salvage Act), Mining in the Parks Act of 1976, Tax Reform Act of 1976, and General Authorities Act of 1976. For an up-to-date overview and timeline of these laws, see "NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Appendix B."

¹² "Executive Order 11593—Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," http://www.archives.gov/federal_register/codification/executive_order/11593.html (accessed March 24, 2005).

¹³ Mackintosh, "National Park Service and Cultural Resources," 41–44, 43.

¹⁴ Melody Webb, "Cultural Landscapes in the National Park Service," *Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (1987): 81–83, as summarized in Rebecca Conard, "Spading Common Ground: Reconciling the Built and Natural Environments," in *Public History and the Environment*, ed. Martin V. Melosi and Philip Scarpino (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Co., 2004), 3–22, 7.

¹⁵ Conard, "Spading Common Ground," 7.

¹⁶ "Executive Order 11593—Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," http://www.archives.gov/federal_register/codification/executive_order/11593.html (accessed March 24, 2005).

¹⁷ *An Act To Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore*, Public Law 657, 87th Congress, 2^d sess., (September 13, 1962); *U.S. Code*, Vol. 16, secs. 459c-459c-7 (1962).

¹⁸ “The Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore,” joint statement of U.S. Senator Clair Engle and U.S. Representative Clem Miller, July 23, 1959, Box 2, National Seashore Foundation Records, Bancroft Library, Manuscripts Division, University of California, Berkeley, 1.

¹⁹ Congress, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Point Reyes National Seashore, California: Report to Accompany S. 476*, 87th Congress, 1st sess., 1961, S. Rept. 807, 4.

²⁰ Barbee, interview. Stephanie S. Toothman sees this perception of historic structures as public safety hazards rather than cultural resources as part of a “familiarity breeds contempt” attitude toward structures that are seen as difficult to maintain and a drain on park resources. Stephanie S. Toothman, “Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas of the National Park System,” *Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 65–76, 68.

²¹ Such disdain for historians (and history) was not unique to Point Reyes administrators. NPS planners and administrators service-wide viewed historians and CRM people as outsiders and as obstructionist. For more on this conflicted relationship, see Ronald A. Foresta, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), esp. 160–61.

²² Toothman, “Cultural Resource Management,” 66.

²³ Roger Kelly, telephone interview by Heather Lee Miller, May 9, 2005, audiotape recording, HRA Administrative History Project Files (hereafter HRA Files), Point Reyes National Seashore Archives (hereafter PRA).

²⁴ Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC, “Planning Directive, Point Reyes National Seashore,” May 1, 1970, Folder D18 Planning Program and Master Plans, Box 2, PORE Files, Accession 76A713, RG 79, National Archives and Records Administration-Pacific West Region, San Bruno, California (hereafter NARA-SB), 1.

²⁵ Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC, “Planning Directive, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2.

²⁶ NPS, “Operations Evaluation, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1. Interestingly, Sansing emphasized “save and preserve” but downplayed the next phrase “for the purposes of public recreation, benefit, and inspiration.” Public Law 87-657, 87th Cong., S. 476, (September 13, 1962).

²⁷ National Park Service, “Operations Evaluation, Point Reyes National Seashore,” May 1972, Box 1 of 2, Accession 79-78-0001, PORE Correspondence Files, RG 79 Records of the National Park Service (hereafter PORE Files), NARA-SB, 2, 64.

²⁸ NPS, “Operations Evaluation, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 11–12, 62. Indeed, interpretive exhibits like the Morgan Horse Farm and blacksmith shop do not fall under the contemporary rubric of a cultural landscape or resource because neither played a particularly significant role in creating Point Reyes. The proposed lifeboat station is more in line with the current notion, as would be a working dairy or “living history” of the receiving or transmitting stations on the peninsula in the 1920s or 1950s.

²⁹ Bolinas Future Studies Center, Environmental Action Committee of West Marin, Inverness Improvement Association, Marin Conservation League, and Sierra Club, and Tomales Bay Association, “A Joint Statement on the National Park Service’s Master Plan and Preliminary Wilderness Proposal for Point Reyes National Seashore,” n.d., D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, 1971, Box 2, Accession 79-76A713, PORE Files, RG79, NARA-SB; National Parks and Conservation Association, “Pt. Reyes National Seashore, California, A Preliminary Master and Wilderness Plan,” n.d., D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, 1965–1970, Box 2, Accession 79-76A713, PORE Files, RG79, NARA-SB; and Marin Conservation League, “Position Statements of Marin Conservation League on Preliminary Master Plan for Point Reyes National Seashore,” April 1971, D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, 1971, Box 2, Accession 79-76A713, PORE Files, RG79, NARA-SB.

³⁰ Bolinas Future Studies Center, et al., “A Joint Statement,” n.d., 1.

³¹ Marin Conservation League, “Position Statements,” April 1971, D1815 Suggestions for Master Plan, 1971, Box 2, Accession 79-76A713, PORE Files, RG79, NARA-SB, 1, 4. In 1963, the NPS Advisory Board on Wildlife Management released its landmark, “Wildlife Management in the National Parks: The Leopold Report,” that gave A. Starker Leopold, the advisory board chair and primary author, and his fellow contributors the political auspices to define the “natural” landscapes of the national parks, views which would influence park administrators’ approach to nature for several decades. A. S. Leopold, S. A. Cain, C. M. Cottam, I. N. Gabrielson, and T. L. Kimball,

- “Wildlife Management in the National Parks: The Leopold Report,” produced for the Department of the Interior Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, March 4, 1963, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/Leopold.htm> (accessed April 2005).
- ³² LeeRoy Brock, interview by Paul Sadin, August 12, 2004, Point Reyes Station, California, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
- ³³ Gordon Chappell, interview by Paul Sadin, November 18, 2003, NPS Pacific West Region Office, Oakland, unrecorded, notes in HRA Files, PRA.
- ³⁴ Thomas Mulhern, telephone interview by Paul Sadin, October 8, 2004, Sequim, Washington, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
- ³⁵ Chappell, interview.
- ³⁶ Kelly, interview.
- ³⁷ Chappell, interview.
- ³⁸ John L. Sansing to Director, Western Region, memorandum, February 2, 1973, Point Reyes–Evaluation of Historic Structures, 1972–1973, Accession B.F104.E, Park Reference and Research Collection–Point Reyes NS, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, California (hereafter PWRO).
- ³⁹ Kelly, interview.
- ⁴⁰ Kelly, interview.
- ⁴¹ Mulhern, interview.
- ⁴² “NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Chapter 1,” http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28chap1.htm (accessed March 25, 2005).
- ⁴³ Brock, interview.
- ⁴⁴ Brock, interview.
- ⁴⁵ Mulhern, interview.
- ⁴⁶ Mulhern, interview; Brock, interview.
- ⁴⁷ Brock, interview.
- ⁴⁸ Kelly, interview.
- ⁴⁹ Michael J. Moratto, *California Archaeology* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1984), 270–71.
- ⁵⁰ Robert (Bob) Barbee, telephone interview by Paul Sadin, May 24, 2005, Wyoming, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.
- ⁵¹ Moratto, *California Archaeology*, 272.
- ⁵² Point Reyes National Seashore (hereafter PRNS), “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1979,” shelved materials, PWRO, 9.
- ⁵³ Anna Coxe Toogood, “A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore,” Historic Resource Study, Historic Preservation Branch, Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1980.
- ⁵⁴ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:223.
- ⁵⁵ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:225–26.
- ⁵⁶ Kelly, interview; and Roger Kelly, “Kule Loklo Demonstration Village, Point Reyes National Seashore,” January 8, 1988, Point Reyes Indian Village, 1978–1992, Accession BF080.C, Tom Mulhern Records, PWRO.
- ⁵⁷ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:226.
- ⁵⁸ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:239–40.
- ⁵⁹ Robert S. Lange, “F. E. Booth Company Pier, Point Reyes National Seashore, Marin County, California,” HABS Report, CAL. 21-BOLI, 1-, HABS No. CA-2073, September 1980.
- ⁶⁰ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:243–45.
- ⁶¹ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:245–47.
- ⁶² Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:230–39.
- ⁶³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:229–34.
- ⁶⁴ United States, Department of the Interior, *Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Point Reyes National Seashore, Assessment of Alternatives for the General Management Plan*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1977); Point Reyes National Seashore, California, “Statement for Management” (1978), PRA Library, esp. 15, 20–21; and National Park Service, *General Management Plan: Point Reyes National Seashore, California*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1980), esp. iii–iv, 1–3, 15–17. Roger Kelly felt that no direct connection could be drawn between Toogood’s

recommendations and the GMP, but he felt certain that the administration knew of her findings and recommendations. Apparently, administrators often commissioned such studies before writing up a GMP so they understood exactly what resources existed within their park and how they should consider them in their planning and management policies. Kelly, interview.

⁶⁵ “General Management Plan: Point Reyes National Seashore, California,” 1980, 15–17.

⁶⁶ Additional legislation passed during this period includes the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, Mining in the Parks Act of 1976, Tax Reform Act of 1976, General Authorities Act of 1976, Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act of 1976, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979. For more on these laws, see, “NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Appendix B: Laws, Regulations, and Orders,”

http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28appenb.htm (accessed March 25, 2005).

⁶⁷ “General Management Plan: Point Reyes National Seashore, California,” 1980, iii–iv.

⁶⁸ “General Management Plan: Point Reyes National Seashore, California,” 1980, 13–14.

⁶⁹ “General Management Plan: Point Reyes National Seashore, California,” 1980, 14.

⁷⁰ Point Reyes National Seashore, California, “Cultural Resources Management Program. An Addendum to the Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1981 (hereafter CRM Program 1981); and Point Reyes National Seashore, California, “Cultural Resources Management Program. An Addendum to the Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1987 (hereafter CRM Program 1987).

⁷¹ CRM Program 1981, 7.

⁷² CRM Program 1987, 17–51.

⁷³ Toogood, “Civil History,” 2:225–26.

⁷⁴ “Marine Archaeological Survey, Drakes Bay,” 1982, Tom Mulhern files, PRNS, General Correspondence, 1964–, PWRO; Toni Carrell, Submerged Cultural Resources Inventory, Portions of Point Reyes National Seashore and Point Reyes–Farallon Islands National Marine Sanctuary: Field Research Results, Sessions 1, 1983 (Santa Fe, N.M.: National Park Service, 1984); James P. Delgado and Stephen A. Haller, *Submerged Cultural Resource Assessment, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary, and Point Reyes National Seashore*, 1989, Tom Mulhern files, PRNS, General Correspondence, 1964–, PWRO; and Kelly, interview.

⁷⁵ Robert Z. Melnick, with Daniel Spohn and Emma Jane Saxe, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Park Historical Architecture Division, 1984); Laura A. Watt, “Managing Cultural Landscapes: Reconciling Local Preservation and Institutional Ideology in the National Park Service” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001), 104.

⁷⁶ Robert Z. Melnick, “Preserving Cultural and Historic Landscapes: Developing Standards,” National Park Service, *Cultural Resources Management Bulletin* 3, no. 1, March 1980, 2.

⁷⁷ For an overview of agriculture in the park system, see Marla McEnaney, “Working the Land: Understanding and Managing our Nation’s Agricultural Legacy,” *Cultural Resource Management* 24, no. 7 (2001): 41–43.

⁷⁸ Although McEnaney points to Robert Melnick’s Boxley Valley (Arkansas) study as the beginning of a focus on agriculture in the park system (*ibid.*, 42), Ebey’s Landing should be given its proper due as the first working agricultural park unit created in 1978. For a history of the creation of Ebey’s Landing National Historic Reserve, see Laura McKinley, “An Unbroken Historical Record: An Administrative History of Ebey’s Landing National Historical Reserve (1993),” <http://www.nps.gov/ebla/adhi/adhi.htm> (accessed May 31, 2005).

⁷⁹ Stephen Mark, “Writing Environmental and Park Histories,”

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/hisnps/NPSHistorians/mark1.htm> (accessed March 22, 2005). This article first appeared in C. Michael Hall and Simon McArthur, eds., *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand: The Human Dimension*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁸⁰ Thanks to David Louter, NPS Regional Historian, for pointing this out.

⁸¹ Kelly noted that one of his largest responsibilities during the 1990s at Point Reyes was implementing NAGPRA policies and repatriating Native American remains. Kelly, interview.

⁸² McEnaney, “Working the Land,” 41–43.

⁸³ “Cultural Landscapes Program,” <http://www.cr.nps.gov/phscl/cl.htm> (accessed March 24, 2005).

⁸⁴ Charles A. Birnbaum, *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment, and Management of Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994). For an updated, online version, see <http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm> (accessed June 1, 2005).

⁸⁵ CRM Program 1981.

⁸⁶ CRM Program 1981.

⁸⁷ “Task Directive, Cultural Landscape Evaluation, Nomination, and Treatment Plan/Guidelines, Point Reyes and Olema Valley Ranches,” (1991), Point Reyes—Cultural Landscape, 1991, Cultural Landscape Inventory Records, Accession O.F044B, PWRO.

⁸⁸ The task directive called for the historic resource study or studies to be completed by early 1992. “Task Directive, Cultural Landscape Evaluation, Nomination, and Treatment Plan/Guidelines, Point Reyes and Olema Valley Ranches,” (1991), Point Reyes—Cultural Landscape file, PWRO; D. S. (Dewey) Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula: A History of the Dairy and Beef Ranches within Point Reyes National Seashore, 1834–1992,” Historic Resource Study, National Park Service, Point Reyes National Seashore, July 1993, and D. S. (Dewey) Livingston, “A Good Life: Dairy Farming in the Olema Valley. A History of the Dairy and Beef Ranches of the Olema Valley and Lagunitas Canyon,” Historic Resource Study, San Francisco, National Park Service, 1995.

⁸⁹ Cheryl Widell to LeeRoy Brock, April 3, 1995, CLI-PORE-Ranches Historic District, Cultural Landscape Inventory Records, Accession O.F044B, PWRO.

⁹⁰ National Park Service, “Resources Management Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 1994, PRA, 5–1–5–34.

⁹¹ “Point Reyes National Seashore, 1995,” Annual Report, File A2621–Superintendent’s Annual Reports, Central Classified Files, Administration Building (hereafter CCF), PRNS, 1. Kelly described Dean as being “very interested” in cultural resources. Kelly, interview.

⁹² PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1996,” File A2621–Superintendent’s Annual Reports, CCF, PRNS, 3; Kelly, interview; and Livingston, “Ranching on the Point Reyes Peninsula.”

⁹³ Gordon White, interview by Paul Sadin, April 30, 2004, PRNS, unrecorded, notes in HRA Files, PRA; and, for example, (Rick Dorrance) “‘A’ Ranch” and “‘C’ Ranch,” CLI Coordinator Review Reports, 1997, CLI-Point Reyes National Seashore, 1997, Cultural Landscape Inventory Records, Accession O.F044B, PWRO.

⁹⁴ PRNS, “Superintendent’s Annual Report, 1996,” File A2621–Superintendent’s Annual Reports, CCF, PRNS, 3.

⁹⁵ John Dell’Osso, “Submerged Cultural Resource Survey of Drake’s Bay,” Press Release, October 13, 1997, http://www.nps.gov/pore/Press/1997/19971013_sanagustin.pdf (accessed March 22, 2005); and White, interview.

⁹⁶ White, interview.

⁹⁷ White, interview.

⁹⁸ White, interview; and National Park Service, “Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001 Year in Review,” (Point Reyes: Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001), accessed April 4, 2005, http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/home_mngmntdocs/yearinreview2001.pdf.

⁹⁹ David Louter, written communication with Paul Sadin, October 6, 2005.

¹⁰⁰ White, interview; and National Park Service, “Point Reyes National Seashore, 2002 Year in Review,” (Point Reyes: Point Reyes National Seashore, 2002), accessed June 1, 2005, http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/home_mngmntdocs/yearinreview2002.pdf.

¹⁰¹ NPS, “Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001 Year in Review,” (Point Reyes: Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001), http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/home_mngmntdocs/yearinreview2001.pdf.

¹⁰² White, interview.

¹⁰³ White, interview.

¹⁰⁴ White, interview; “California’s Miwok Indians Fight to Reclaim Official Tribal Status,” <http://archives.cnn.com/2000/US/07/12/miwok.reservation/> (accessed March 21, 2005); and “Our People,” <http://www.gratonrancheria.com/ourpeople.htm> (accessed March 21, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ At least seven such examples of such exposures were reported and studied between 1982 and 1991. See, for example, Roger Kelly to Robert Germain [*sic*], March 18, 1982; Robert D. Jurmain, “Osteological Report, Human Cranium from 4-Mrn-232 (Point Reyes National Seashore); Jurmain to Kelly, May 6, 1985; Kelly to Chief, Park Historic Preservation, Western Region, Jul 9, 1986; Jurmain to Kelly, November 20, 1986; Robert Jurmain, “Report on Human Skeletal Remains, MRN-269”; Kelly to Chief, July 27, 1989; Jurmain to Kelly, November 13, 1989; “Assessment of Discovery and Recommendations, Exposure of Prehistoric Remains, Tomales Point, Point Reyes National Seashore”; and other miscellaneous material in PRNS, General (NAGPRA) 1982–1991, Accession B.F132.B, PWRO.

¹⁰⁶ For an interesting exploration of the meaning of sacred places in the Point Reyes area to Coast Miwok people, see Greg Sarris, “On Sacred Places,” *Bay Nature*, April-June 2003, http://www.baynature.com/2003apriljune/firstperson_2003apriljune.html (accessed March 21, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ White, interview.

¹⁰⁸ Point Reyes National Seashore, “Historic Preservation Projects Underway,” September 26, 2003, <http://www.nps.gov/pore/pphtml/newseventsdetail8216.html> (accessed November 10, 2003); and White, interview.

¹⁰⁹ White, interview.

¹¹⁰ Watt, “Managing Cultural Landscapes.”

¹¹¹ National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA), “State of the Parks, Resource Assessment, Point Reyes National Seashore,” 2002, http://www.npca.org/across_the_nation/park_pulse/point_reyes/ptreyes.pdf (accessed June 1, 2005), 13.

¹¹² NPCA, “State of the Parks, Point Reyes, 2002,” 14.

¹¹³ National Park Service, “Point Reyes National Seashore, 2002 Year in Review,” (Point Reyes: Point Reyes National Seashore, 2002), accessed April 4, 2005, http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/home_mngmntdocs/yearinreview2002.pdf, 9.

¹¹⁴ Carola DeRooy, interview by Paul Sadin, April 29, 2004, Point Reyes National Seashore, audiotape recording, HRA Files, PRA.

¹¹⁵ By 2005, curatorial staff had cataloged 35 percent of the collection. Carola DeRooy, written communication with Paul Sadin, October 19, 2005.

¹¹⁶ NPCA, “State of the Parks, Point Reyes, 2002,” 14–16.

¹¹⁷ NPCA, “State of the Parks, Point Reyes, 2002,” 14–16.

¹¹⁸ NPCA, “State of the Parks, Point Reyes, 2002,” 16.

¹¹⁹ NPCA, “State of the Parks, Point Reyes, 2002,” 17; and Mark, “Writing Environmental and Park Histories.”

¹²⁰ I.D.E.S. is the acronym for *Irmandade Do Divino Espirito Santo* (Brotherhood of the Divine Holy Spirit), a Luso-American fraternal organization. For more on the history of this group (and other such secret societies) in Marin County, see <http://mill-valley.freemasonry.biz/marin-fraternities-03.htm> (accessed June 8, 2005).

¹²¹ NPS, “Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001 Year in Review,” (Point Reyes: Point Reyes National Seashore, 2001), http://www.nps.gov/pore/pdf/home_mngmntdocs/yearinreview2001.pdf accessed April 4, 2005), 7.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Point Reyes has many faces. The peninsula encompasses shoreline, grassland, estuary, forest, pasture, and wetland; the land supports agriculture, tourism, recreation, scientific study, and residential living. Despite being a highly manipulated landscape that logging, dairy, and cattle operations have shaped since the mid-1800s, Point Reyes also contains a designated wilderness area. Although renowned for its scenic beauty and biological diversity, Point Reyes also became a local workplace and a national playground. The 1962 founding legislation, which laid out the legal authority and physical boundaries for the new national seashore, left many additional ambiguities. No wonder, then, that much of the park's administrative history has involved defining and redefining the meaning and proper management of that land.

The creation of Point Reyes National Seashore and its sister seashores at Cape Cod and Padre Island in 1961–62 introduced a new type of unit to the national park system—a new name and a new idea within the Park Service's existing organizational structure. PRNS and its sister sites did not fit the mold of the established NPS categories of national park, national monument, national recreation area, etc. Because their status diverged from the earlier models, and despite the NPS decision to deposit them in the Recreation Area management category in the mid-1960s, Point Reyes administrators, NPS officials, local residents, the visiting public, and eventually Congress struggled to define the type of park PRNS was to become.

Perhaps because the Point Reyes peninsula is on the move, it is difficult to fix one set of definitions to it. While keeping in mind that Point Reyes—the landform and the NPS unit—is still in motion, this history has attempted to keep several important processes in focus throughout its description of the forty years of NPS management at Point Reyes. The most prominent process investigated here involved how and why the park and public perceptions and definitions of the peninsula's "natural" environment evolved and management practices changed over the course of those four decades. In a similar vein, but perhaps less visibly, NPS officials and Point Reyes staff also transformed their definitions, management, and public interpretation of the park's cultural and historic resources.

While PRNS management responded in different ways to each new construction of the Point Reyes landscape, one administrative process charted a steady course throughout the park's history. From the early days of the national seashore, there has been an inexorable trend away from the peninsula's historically isolated and insular character toward an organizational motif of collaboration, partnership, and community connections. A plethora of events documented in this history, including the first research agreement with the Point Reyes Bird Observatory in 1966, the SOS campaign that rescued the park from dismantlement, the 1970 San Francisco oil spill, Ken Patrick's murder, shared jurisdiction with sections of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, collaborative efforts to create and run the Kule Loklo Coast Miwok site, financial partnerships involved in building the Bear Valley Visitor Center and other new facilities, research partnerships with universities and institutes throughout California, and ongoing intersections among community members and Park Service staff as they share life on the peninsula, gave clear notice of that path.

Although future fractures along the San Andreas Fault might yet make Point Reyes an island landform, that place is no longer a figurative island from the social, economic, and political forces beyond its boundaries. As the park entered the fifth decade of its existence, the theme of collaboration and connection has continued to manifest. Several recent programs aimed at promoting environmental sustainability on the peninsula, such as the Tomales Bay Biodiversity Partnership, the regional urban and wildland fire interface, the Pacific Coast Learning Center, and the 2003 Greening Charrette, represent the continuation of that pattern.

Certainly, the redefinition of PRNS—of its meaning, national significance, landscape, and purpose—will continue. Just as tectonic forces continue to exert pressure along the San Andreas Fault, the buildup of political, economic, social, and environmental pressures will eventually create tremors that shift the park’s administrative landscape. Future park managers, researchers, local residents, and the public will encounter and define the altered features of that landscape, just as they have done over the previous four decades.

APPENDIX A
KEY PERSONNEL

APPENDIX A
KEY PERSONNEL

POINT REYES CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL:

Superintendents:	
James E. Cole, Project Manager	9/16/62 – 6/30/63
Fred W. Binnewies, Superintendent	7/07/63 – 5/08/65
Leslie P. Arnberger, Superintendent	7/12/65 – 1/28/67
Edward J. Kurtz, Supervisor	1/29/67 – 3/21/70
John L. Sansing, Superintendent	4/05/70 – 1/04/95
Don Neubacher, Superintendent	3/05/95 – present

Chief Ranger:	
Gordon Patterson	1964–1968
Phil Ward	1968–1971
Ray Murphy	1971–1974
LeeRoy Brock	1974–1995
Frank Dean	1995–2002
Colin Smith	2002–present

Chief of Maintenance:	
Donald Cameron (Foreman/Chief)	1965–1980
Jack Williams	1980–1993
Larry Harris	1995–2001
Ed Walls	2001–present

Chief of Interpretation (Chief Naturalist):	
Art Volz, Acting	
Harry Wills	1966–1969
William Germeraad	1970–1974
Ronald Thoman	1975–1977
Dave Pugh	1977–1985
Don Neubacher	1986–1992
John Dell'Osso	1997–present

Appendix A: Key Personnel

Natural Resource Management Specialist/Chief of Resource Management:

John Aho	1973–1979
William Pierce	1980–1983
Russ Lesko	1983–1987
William Shook (Resource Specialist)	1987–1998
William Shook (Chief)	1998–present

Chief of Administration:

Linda Hahn	1984–1996
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Chief of Cultural Resource Management:

Gordon White	1999–present
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Science Advisor/Chief of Science Coordination and Research:

Sarah Allen	1997–present
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Fire Management Officer:

Roger Wong	2002–present
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APPENDIX B
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY TIMELINE

APPENDIX B
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY TIMELINE

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE ACT - LEGISLATIVE HISTORY TIMELINE, 1935–1962

1935	NPS Branch of Planning prepares survey of Point Reyes
1937	Congress authorizes Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina
1954-57	NPS conducts surveys of Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts and the Great Lakes shorelines
1956	NPS releases <i>Our Vanishing Seashore</i>
April 24, 1958	Dedication of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area
April 1958	Advisory Board on National Parks recommends Point Reyes for national seashore status
June 29, 1958	First public notice of proposed Point Reyes National Seashore in local press
July 16, 1958	Rep. Clem Miller introduces H.R. 634, calling for report on proposed Point Reyes National Seashore
Aug. 5, 1958	House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reports favorably on H.R. 634
Sept. 30, 1958	1 st general meeting of the Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation
Nov. 23, 1958	NPS staff and conservation group leaders make field trip to Point Reyes
Feb. 20, 1959	NPS Director Conrad Wirth makes field visit to area
May 20, 1959	Senator Richard L. Neuberger (OR) introduces S. 2010 to authorize three National Seashore Recreation Areas
June 1959	Congress grants \$15,000 for Point Reyes Land Use Planning Survey
July 23, 1959	Rep. Miller and Sen. Clair Engle jointly introduce H.R. 8358 and S. 2428, to establish a Point Reyes National Seashore
July 29, 1959	Senator Murray (MT) et al., introduce S. 2460 to establish ten Shoreline Recreation Areas, and fund survey to identify ten additional sites
Feb. 17, 1960	A revised PRNS Act (H.R. 10519) introduced, increases national seashore area to 55,000 acres
April 14, 1960	Senate Subcommittee Hearing on S. 2428, Kentfield, CA
August 11, 1960	NPS submits an altered Seashore bill to Senate for a 53,000-acre area

Appendix B: Key Personnel

Jan. 16, 1961	Rep. Miller introduces H.R. 2775 to establish a Point Reyes National Seashore
Jan. 17, 1961	Senators Clair Engle and Thomas H. Kuchel introduce S. 476 to establish a Point Reyes National Seashore
Jan. 25, 1961	Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan introduces H.R. 3244
March 1961	Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands on S. 476
Mar.-Aug. 1961	Hearings before the House Subcommittee on National Parks on H.R. 2775 and H.R. 3244
August 7, 1961	President Kennedy signs Cape Cod National Seashore Act.
August 29, 1961	Senate Committee reports favorably on S. 476 (S. Rept. 807)
Sept. 7, 1961	Senate debates and passes S. 476 with amendments, sends to House
April 19, 1962	House Committee reports favorably on S. 476 (H. Rept. 1628)
July 23, 1962	House debates and passes S. 476, returned to Senate
August 31, 1962	Senate concurs with House amendments on S. 476, sends to President
Sept. 13, 1962	President Kennedy signs Public Law 87-657, creating Point Reyes National Seashore

APPENDIX C
KEY LEGISLATION

APPENDIX C
KEY LEGISLATION

538

PUBLIC LAW 87-657—SEPT. 13, 1962 [76 STAT.]

Public Law 87-657

AN ACT

September 13, 1962
[S. 476]

To establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California, and for other purposes.

California.
Point Reyes Na-
tional Seashore.
Establishment.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to save and preserve, for purposes of public recreation, benefit, and inspiration, a portion of the diminishing seashore of the United States that remains undeveloped, the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is hereby authorized to take appropriate action in the public interest toward the establishment of the national seashore set forth in section 2 of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) The area comprising that portion of the land and waters located on Point Reyes Peninsula, Marin County, California, which shall be known as the Point Reyes National Seashore, is described as follows by reference to that certain boundary map, designated NS-PR-7001, dated June 1, 1960, on file with the Director, National Park Service, Washington, District of Columbia.

Beginning at a point, not monumented, where the boundary line common to Rancho Punta de los Reyes (Sobrante) and Rancho Las Baulines meets the average high tide line of the Pacific Ocean as shown on said boundary map;

Thence southwesterly from said point 1,320 feet offshore on a prolongation of said boundary line common to Rancho Punta de los Reyes (Sobrante) and Rancho Las Baulines;

Thence in a northerly and westerly direction paralleling the average high tide line of the shore of the Pacific Ocean; along Drakes Bay, and around Point Reyes;

Thence generally northerly and around Tomales Point, offshore a distance of 1,320 feet from average high tide line;

Thence southeasterly along a line 1,320 feet offshore and parallel to the average high tide line along the west shore of Bodega Bay and Tomales Bay to the intersection of this line with a prolongation of the most northerly tangent of the boundary of Tomales Bay State Park;

Thence south 54 degrees 32 minutes west 1,320 feet along the prolongation of said tangent of Tomales Bay State Park boundary to the average high tide line on the shore of Tomales Bay;

Thence following the boundary of Tomales Bay State Park in a southerly direction to a point lying 105.4 feet north 41 degrees east of an unimproved road heading westerly and northerly from Pierce Point Road;

Thence south 41 degrees west 105.4 feet to a point on the north right-of-way of said unimproved road;

Thence southeasterly along the north right-of-way of said unimproved road and Pierce Point Road to a point at the southwest corner of Tomales Bay State Park at the junction of the Pierce Point Road and Sir Francis Drake Boulevard;

Thence due south to a point on the south right-of-way of said Sir Francis Drake Boulevard;

Thence southeasterly along said south right-of-way approximately 3,100 feet to a point;

Thence approximately south 19 degrees west approximately 300 feet;

Thence south approximately 400 feet;

Thence southwest to the most northerly corner of the Inverness watershed area;

Thence southerly and easterly along the west property line of the Inverness watershed area approximately 9,040 feet to a point near the

intersection of this property line with an unimproved road as shown on said boundary map;

Thence southerly along existing property lines that roughly follow said unimproved road to its intersection with Drakes Summit Road and to a point on the north right-of-way of Drakes Summit Road;

Thence easterly approximately 1,000 feet along the north right-of-way of said Drakes Summit Road to a point which is a property line corner at the intersection with an unimproved road to the south;

Thence southerly and easterly and then northerly, as shown approximately on said boundary map, along existing property lines to a point on the south right-of-way of the Bear Valley Road, approximately 1,500 feet southeast of its intersection with Sir Francis Drake Boulevard;

Thence easterly and southerly along said south right-of-way of Bear Valley Road to a point on a property line approximately 1,000 feet west of the intersection of Bear Valley Road and Sir Francis Drake Boulevard in the village of Olema;

Thence south approximately 1,700 feet to the northwest corner of property now owned by Helen U. and Mary S. Shafter;

Thence southwest and southeast along the west boundary of said Shafter property to the southwest corner of said Shafter property;

Thence approximately south 30 degrees east on a course approximately 1,700 feet to a point;

Thence approximately south 10 degrees east on a course to the centerline of Olema Creek;

Thence generally southeasterly up the centerline of Olema Creek to a point on the west right-of-way line of State Route Numbered 1;

Thence southeasterly along westerly right-of-way line to State Highway Numbered 1 to a point where a prolongation of the boundary line common to Rancho Punta de los Reyes (Sobrante) and Rancho Las Baulines would intersect right-of-way line of State Highway Numbered 1;

Thence southwesterly to and along said south boundary line of Rancho Punta de los Reyes (Sobrante) approximately 2,900 feet to a property corner;

Thence approximately south 38 degrees east approximately 1,500 feet to the centerline of Pine Gulch Creek;

Thence down the centerline of Pine Gulch Creek approximately 400 feet to the intersection with a side creek flowing from the west;

Thence up said side creek to its intersection with said south boundary line of Rancho Punta de los Reyes (Sobrante);

Thence southwest along said south boundary line of Rancho Punta de los Reyes to the point of beginning, containing approximately 53,000 acres. Notwithstanding the foregoing description, the Secretary is authorized to include within the Point Reyes National Seashore the entire tract of land owned by the Vedanta Society of Northern California west of the centerline of Olema Creek, in order to avoid a severance of said tract.

(b) The area referred to in subsection (a) shall include also a right-of-way, to be selected by the Secretary, of not more than 400 feet in width to the aforesaid tract from the intersection of Sir Francis Drake Boulevard and Haggerty Gulch.

Sec. 3. (a) Except as provided in section 4, the Secretary is authorized to acquire, and it is the intent of Congress that he shall acquire as rapidly as appropriated funds become available for this purpose or as such acquisition can be accomplished by donation or with donated funds or by transfer, exchange, or otherwise the lands, waters, and other property, and improvements thereon and any interest therein, within the areas described in section 2 of this Act or which lie within

the boundaries of the seashore as established under section 5 of this Act (hereinafter referred to as "such area"). Any property, or interest therein, owned by a State or political subdivision thereof may be acquired only with the concurrence of such owner. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any Federal property located within such area may, with the concurrence of the agency having custody thereof, be transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for use by him in carrying out the provisions of this Act. In exercising his authority to acquire property in accordance with the provisions of this subsection, the Secretary may enter into contracts requiring the expenditure, when appropriated, of funds authorized by section 8 of this Act, but the liability of the United States under any such contract shall be contingent on the appropriation of funds sufficient to fulfill the obligations thereby incurred.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to pay for any acquisitions which he makes by purchase under this Act their fair market value, as determined by the Secretary, who may in his discretion base his determination on an independent appraisal obtained by him.

(c) In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property located within such area and convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under the jurisdiction of the Secretary within California and adjacent States, notwithstanding any other provision of law. The properties so exchanged shall be approximately equal in fair market value, provided that the Secretary may accept cash from or pay cash to the grantor in such an exchange in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged.

SEC. 4. No parcel of more than five hundred acres within the zone of approximately twenty-six thousand acres depicted on map numbered NS-PR-7002, dated August 15, 1961, on file with the director, National Park Service, Washington, District of Columbia, exclusive of that land required to provide access for purposes of the national seashore, shall be acquired without the consent of the owner so long as it remains in its natural state, or is used exclusively for ranching and dairying purposes including housing directly incident thereto. The term "ranching and dairying purposes", as used herein, means such ranching and dairying, primarily for the production of food, as is presently practiced in the area.

"Ranching and dairying purposes."

In acquiring access roads within the pastoral zone, the Secretary shall give due consideration to existing ranching and dairying uses and shall not unnecessarily interfere with or damage such use.

Publication in F. R.

SEC. 5. (a) As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act and following the acquisition by the Secretary of an acreage in the area described in section 2 of this Act, that is in the opinion of the Secretary efficiently administrable to carry out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary shall establish Point Reyes National Seashore by the publication of notice thereof in the Federal Register.

Notification of Governor, etc.

(b) Such notice referred to in subsection (a) of this section shall contain a detailed description of the boundaries of the seashore which shall encompass an area as nearly as practicable identical to the area described in section 2 of this Act. The Secretary shall forthwith after the date of publication of such notice in the Federal Register (1) send a copy of such notice, together with a map showing such boundaries, by registered or certified mail to the Governor of the State and to the governing body of each of the political subdivisions involved; (2) cause a copy of such notice and map to be published in one or more newspapers which circulate in each of the localities; and (3) cause a certified copy of such notice, a copy of such map, and a copy of this Act to be recorded at the registry of deeds for the county involved.

SEC. 6. (a) Any owner or owners (hereinafter in this subsection referred to as "owner") of improved property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary may, as a condition to such acquisition, retain the right of use and occupancy of the improved property for noncommercial residential purposes for a term of fifty years. The Secretary shall pay to the owner the fair market value of the property on the date of such acquisition less the fair market value on such date of the right retained by the owner.

(b) As used in this Act, the term "improved property" shall mean a private noncommercial dwelling, including the land on which it is situated, whose construction was begun before September 1, 1959, and structures accessory thereto (hereinafter in this subsection referred to as "dwelling"), together with such amount and locus of the property adjoining and in the same ownership as such dwelling as the Secretary designates to be reasonably necessary for the enjoyment of such dwelling for the sole purpose of noncommercial residential use and occupancy. In making such designation the Secretary shall take into account the manner of noncommercial residential use and occupancy in which the dwelling and such adjoining property has usually been enjoyed by its owner or occupant.

"Improved property."

SEC. 7. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the property acquired by the Secretary under this Act shall be administered by the Secretary, subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented, and in accordance with other laws of general application relating to the national park system as defined by the Act of August 8, 1953 (67 Stat. 496), except that authority otherwise available to the Secretary for the conservation and management of natural resources may be utilized to the extent he finds such authority will further the purposes of this Act.

16 USC 1.

16 USC 1c.

(b) The Secretary may permit hunting and fishing on lands and waters under his jurisdiction within the seashore in such areas and under such regulations as he may prescribe during open seasons prescribed by applicable local, State, and Federal law. The Secretary shall consult with officials of the State of California and any political subdivision thereof who have jurisdiction of hunting and fishing prior to the issuance of any such regulations, and the Secretary is authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with such officials regarding such hunting and fishing as he may deem desirable.

SEC. 8. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, except that no more than \$14,000,000 shall be appropriated for the acquisition of land and waters and improvements thereon, and interests therein, and incidental costs relating thereto, in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Appropriation.

Approved September 13, 1962.

Public Law 87-658

AN ACT

To provide authority to accelerate public works programs by the Federal Government and State and local bodies.

September 14, 1962
[S. 2965]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Public Works Acceleration Act".

Public Works
Acceleration Act.

Assembly Bill No. 1024

CHAPTER 983

An act to convey certain tide and submerged lands to the United States in furtherance of the Point Reyes National Seashore.

[Approved by Governor July 9, 1965. Filed with Secretary of State July 9, 1965.]

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. There is hereby granted to the United States, subject to the limitations which are described in Section 2 of this act, all of the right, title, and interest of the State of California, held by the state by virtue of its sovereignty in and to all of the tide and submerged lands or other lands beneath navigable waters situated within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore which the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish by authority of Public Law 87-657, 76 Stat. 538, and as such boundaries exist on the effective date of this act.

SEC. 2. There is hereby excepted and reserved to the State all deposits of minerals, including oil and gas, in the lands, and to the state, or persons authorized by the state, the right to prospect for, mine, and remove such deposits from the lands; provided, that no well or drilling operations of any kind shall be conducted upon the surface of such lands.

SEC. 3. There is hereby reserved to the people of the state the right to fish in the waters underlying the lands described in Section 1.

SEC. 4. If the United States ceases to use the lands for public purposes, all right, title and interest of the United States in and to such lands shall cease and the lands shall revert and rest in the state.

SEC. 5. The United States shall survey and monument the granted lands and record a description and plat thereof in the office of the County Recorder of Marin County.

Public Law 89-666

AN ACT

To amend the Act of September 13, 1962, authorizing the establishment of the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California, and for other purposes.

October 15, 1966
[S. 1507]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538) is hereby amended as follows:

Point Reyes
National Sea-
shore, Calif.
16 USC 459c-1.

(a) Strike subsection (b) of section 2 and substitute therefor: "The area referred to in subsection (a) shall also include a right-of-way to the aforesaid tract in the general vicinity of the northwesterly portion of the property known as 'Bear Valley Ranch', to be selected by the Secretary, of not more than four hundred feet in width, together with such adjoining lands as would be deprived of access by reason of the acquisition of such right-of-way."

(b) In section 8 strike out "\$14,000,000" and substitute "\$19,135,000".

16 USC 459c-7.

Approved October 15, 1966.

Public Law 91-223

April 3, 1970
H. R. 3786

AN ACT

To authorize the appropriation of additional funds necessary for acquisition of land at the Point Reyes National Seashore in California.

Point Reyes
National Sea-
shore, Calif.
Appropriation,
80 Stat. 919.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 8 of the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), as amended (16 U.S.C. 459c-7), is amended (a) by deleting "\$19,135,000" and inserting "\$57,500,000", and (b) by changing the period at the end of the section to a colon and adding: "*Provided*, That no freehold, leasehold, or lesser interest in any lands hereafter acquired within the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore shall be conveyed for residential or commercial purposes except for public accommodations, facilities, and services provided pursuant to the Act of October 9, 1965 (Public Law 89-249; 79 Stat. 969).".

16 USC 20.

16 USC 459c-2.

SEC. 2. (a) Section 3(a) of the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), is amended by striking out the words "Except as provided in section 4, the," in the first sentence and inserting the word "The" in lieu thereof.

Repeal,
16 USC 459c-3.

(b) Section 4 is hereby repealed.

(c) The remaining sections of the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), are renumbered accordingly.

Approved April 3, 1970.

1744

PUBLIC LAW 93-550—DEC. 26, 1974

[88 STAT.]

Public Law 93-550

December 26, 1974
[H. R. 11013]

AN ACT

To designate certain lands in the Farallon National Wildlife Refuge, California, as wilderness; to add certain lands to the Point Reyes National Seashore; and for other purposes.

Farallon Wilderness, Calif., designation; Point Reyes National Seashore, Calif., additional lands.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I

SEC. 101. In accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964 (78 Stat. 890, 892; 16 U.S.C. 1132(c)), certain lands in the Farallon National Wildlife Refuge, California, which comprise about one hundred and forty-one acres and which are depicted on a map entitled "Farallon Wilderness—Proposed" and dated October 1969, and revised March 1970, are hereby designated as wilderness. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the Bureau of Sport-Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of the Interior.

Administration.

SEC. 102. The area designated by this Act as wilderness shall be known as the Farallon Wilderness and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act.

16 USC 1131 note.

TITLE II

16 USC 459c-1.

SEC. 201. Subsection (a) of section 2 of the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), describing the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore, California, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. (a) The area comprising that portion of the land and waters located on Point Reyes Peninsula, Marin County, California, which shall be known as the Point Reyes National Seashore, is described as the area within the boundaries generally depicted on the map entitled 'Boundary Map, Point Reyes National Seashore, Marin County, California', numbered 612-80,008-B, and dated August 1974, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior."

Publication in Federal Register.

SEC. 202. The Secretary of the Interior shall, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this title, publish an amended description of the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore in the Federal Register, and thereafter he shall take such action with regard to such amended description and the map referred to in section 201 of this title as is required in the second sentence of subsection (b) of section 4 of the Act of September 13, 1962, as amended.

16 USC 459c-4.

Approved December 26, 1974.

PUBLIC LAW 94-389—AUG. 14, 1976

90 STAT. 1189

Public Law 94-389
94th Congress

Joint Resolution

Providing for Federal participation in preserving the Tule elk population in California.

Aug. 14, 1976

[H.J. Res. 738]

Whereas, although Tule elk once roamed the central valleys of California in vast numbers, the species became nearly extinct during the latter part of the last century as a result of its native habitat being developed for agricultural purposes and urban growth; and

Whereas, although around 1870 the Tule elk population reached a low of approximately thirty animals, through the dedicated efforts of various citizen groups and individual cattlemen, the population has slowly recovered to a total of approximately six hundred animals, the majority of which may be found in free-roaming herds in the Owens Valley, at Cache Creek in Colusa County, California, a small number which are captive in the Tupman Refuge in Vern County, California; and

Whereas in 1971 the California Legislature, recognizing the threat to the Tule elk as a species, amended section 332 and enacted section 3951 of the Fish and Game Code which provide for the encouragement of a statewide population of Tule elk of not less than two thousand, if suitable areas can be found in California to accommodate such population in a healthy environment, and further fixed the population of the Tule elk in the Owens Valley at four hundred and ninety animals, or such greater number as might thereafter be determined by the California Department of Fish and Game, in accordance with game management principles, to be the Owens Valley holding capacity; and

Whereas the Tule elk is considered by the Department of the Interior to be a rare, though not endangered, species by reason of the steps taken by the State of California; and

Whereas the protection and maintenance of California's Tule elk in a free and wild state is of educational, scientific, and esthetic value to the people of the United States; and

Whereas there are Federal lands in the State of California (including, but not limited to, the San Luis National Wildlife Refuge, the Point Reyes National Seashore, various national forests and national parks, and Bureau of Land Management lands located in central California, as well as lands under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Defense such as Camp Pendleton, Camp Roberts, and Camp Hunter Liggett) which, together with adjacent lands in public and private ownership, offer a potential for increasing the Tule elk population in California to the two thousand level envisioned by the California Legislature: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of Congress that the restoration and conservation of a Tule elk population in California of at least two thousand, except that the number of Tule elk in the Owens River Watershed area shall at no time exceed four hundred and ninety or such greater number which is determined by the State of California to be the maximum holding capacity of such area, is an appropriate national goal.

California.
Tule elk
population,
preservation.
16 USC 673d.

90 STAT. 1190

PUBLIC LAW 94-389—AUG. 14, 1976

Cooperation.
16 USC 673e.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Defense shall cooperate with the State of California in making the lands under their respective jurisdictions reasonably available for the preservation and grazing of Tule elk in such manner and to such extent as may be consistent with Federal law.

Report to
Congress.
16 USC 673f.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall submit, on or before the first of March of each year, a report to the Congress as to the estimated size and condition of the various Tule elk herds in California and the nature and condition of their respective habitats. The Secretary shall include in such report his determination as to whether or not the preservation of the Tule elk herd at its then-existing level is, or may be, endangered or threatened by actual or proposed changes in land use or land management practices on lands owned by any Federal, State, or local agency, together with his recommendations as to what Federal actions, if any, should be taken in order to preserve the Tule elk herds at the then-existing level or such other level as may be determined from time to time by the State of California.

Tule elk
restoration and
conservation
plan.
16 USC 673g.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior, in coordination with all Federal, State, and other officers having jurisdiction over lands on which Tule elk herds are located or lands which would provide suitable Tule elk habitat, shall develop a plan for Tule elk restoration and conservation, including habitat management, which shall be integrated with the comparable plans of State and local authorities in California. The Secretary's annual report to Congress shall describe the development and implementation of such plan.

Approved August 14, 1976.

PUBLIC LAW 94-544—OCT. 18, 1976

90 STAT. 2515

Public Law 94-544
94th Congress

An Act

To designate certain lands in the Point Reyes National Seashore, California, as wilderness, amending the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), as amended (16 U.S.C. 459c-6a), and for other purposes.

Oct. 18, 1976
[H.R. 8002]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in furtherance of the purposes of the Point Reyes National Seashore Act (76 Stat. 538; 16 U.S.C. 459c), and of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 890; 16 U.S.C. 1131-36), and in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act, the following lands within the Point Reyes National Seashore are hereby designated as wilderness, and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act: those lands comprising twenty-five thousand three hundred and seventy acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising eight thousand and three acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore", numbered 612-90,000-B and dated September 1976, to be known as the Point Reyes Wilderness.

Point Reyes
National
Seashore, Calif.
Certain lands
designated as
wilderness areas.
16 USC 1132
note.
16 USC 1132.
16 USC 1131
note.

SEC. 2. As soon as practicable after this Act takes effect, the Secretary of the Interior shall file a map of the wilderness area and a description of its boundaries with the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and such map and descriptions shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided, however, That correction of clerical and typographical errors in such map and descriptions may be made.*

Map and
description, filing
with
congressional
committees.

SEC. 3. The area designated by this Act as wilderness shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act governing areas designated by that Act as wilderness areas, except that any reference in such provisions to the effective date of this Act, and, where appropriate, any reference to the Secretary of Agriculture, shall be deemed to be a reference to the Secretary of the Interior.

Administration.

SEC. 4. (a) Amend the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538), as amended (16 U.S.C. 459c-6a), as follows:

16 USC 459c-6.

In section 6(a) insert immediately after the words "shall be administered by the Secretary," the words "without impairment of its natural values, in a manner which provides for such recreational, educational, historic preservation, interpretation, and scientific research opportunities as are consistent with, based upon, and supportive of the maximum protection, restoration, and preservation of the natural environment within the area,".

(b) Add the following new section 7 and redesignate the existing section 7 as section 8:

16 USC 459c-7.

"SEC. 7. The Secretary shall designate the principal environmental education center within the seashore as "The Clem Miller Environ-

The Clem Miller
Environmental
Education Center,
designation.
16 USC 459c-6a.

90 STAT. 2516

PUBLIC LAW 94-544—OCT. 18, 1976

mental Education Center', in commemoration of the vision and leadership which the late Representative Clem Miller gave to the creation and protection of Point Reyes National Seashore.'.

Approved October 18, 1976.

90 STAT. 2692

PUBLIC LAW 94-567—OCT. 20, 1976

Public Law 94-567
94th Congress

An Act

Oct. 20, 1976
[H.R. 13160]

To designate certain lands within units of the National Park System as wilderness; to revise the boundaries of certain of those units; and for other purposes.

<p>Wilderness areas. Designation. 16 USC 1132 note.</p>	<p><i>Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 890; 16 U.S.C. 1132(c)), the following lands are hereby designated as wilderness, and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act:</i></p>
<p>Bandelier National Monument, N. Mex.</p>	<p>(a) Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico, wilderness comprising twenty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-seven acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico", numbered 315-20,014-B and dated May 1976, to be known as the Bandelier Wilderness.</p>
<p>Gunnison National Monument, Colo.</p>	<p>(b) Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument, Colorado, wilderness comprising eleven thousand one hundred and eighty acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument, Colorado", numbered 144-20,017 and dated May 1973, to be known as the Black Canyon of the Gunnison Wilderness.</p>
<p>Chiricahua National Monument, Ariz.</p>	<p>(c) Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona, wilderness comprising nine thousand four hundred and forty acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising two acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona", numbered 145-20,007-A and dated September 1973, to be known as the Chiricahua National Monument Wilderness.</p>
<p>Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Colo.</p>	<p>(d) Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Colorado, wilderness comprising thirty-three thousand four hundred and fifty acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising six hundred and seventy acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Colorado", numbered 140-20,006-C and dated February 1976, to be known as the Great Sand Dunes Wilderness.</p>
<p>Haleakala National Park, Hawaii.</p>	<p>(e) Haleakala National Park, Hawaii, wilderness comprising nineteen thousand two hundred and seventy acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising five thousand five hundred acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Haleakala National Park, Hawaii", numbered 162-20,006-A and dated July 1972, to be known as the Haleakala Wilderness.</p>
<p>Isle Royale National Park, Mich.</p>	<p>(f) Isle Royale National Park, Michigan, wilderness comprising one hundred and thirty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising two hundred and thirty-one acres, depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Isle Royale National Park, Michigan", numbered 139-20,004 and dated December 1974, to be known as the Isle Royale Wilderness.</p>
<p>Joshua Tree National Monument, Calif.</p>	<p>(g) Joshua Tree National Monument, California, wilderness comprising four hundred and twenty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising thirty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty acres, depicted on a map entitled</p>

“Wilderness Plan, Joshua Tree National Monument, California”, numbered 156-20,003-D and dated May 1976, to be known as the Joshua Tree Wilderness.

(h) Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, wilderness comprising eight thousand one hundred acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado”, numbered 307-20,007-A and dated September 1972, to be known as the Mesa Verde Wilderness.

(i) Pinnacles National Monument, California, wilderness comprising twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-two acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising nine hundred and ninety acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Pinnacles National Monument, California”, numbered 114-20,010-D and dated September 1975, to be known as the Pinnacles Wilderness.

(j) Saguaro National Monument, Arizona, wilderness comprising seventy-one thousand four hundred acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Saguaro National Monument, Arizona”, numbered 151-20,003-D and dated May 1976, to be known as the Saguaro Wilderness.

(k) Point Reyes National Seashore, California, wilderness comprising twenty-five thousand three hundred and seventy acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising eight thousand and three acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Point Reyes National Seashore”, numbered 612-90,000-B and dated September 1976, to be known as the Point Reyes Wilderness.

(l) Badlands National Monument, South Dakota, wilderness comprising sixty-four thousand two hundred and fifty acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Badlands National Monument, South Dakota”, numbered 137-29,010-B and dated May 1976, to be known as the Badlands Wilderness.

(m) Shenandoah National Park, Virginia, wilderness comprising seventy-nine thousand and nineteen acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising five hundred and sixty acres, depicted on a map entitled “Wilderness Plan, Shenandoah National Park, Virginia”, numbered 134-90,001 and dated June 1975, to be known as the Shenandoah Wilderness.

SEC. 2. A map and description of the boundaries of the areas designated in this Act shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and in the office of the Superintendent of each area designated in the Act. As soon as practicable after this Act takes effect, maps of the wilderness areas and descriptions of their boundaries shall be filed with the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and such maps and descriptions shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided*, That correction of clerical and typographical errors in such maps and descriptions may be made.

SEC. 3. All lands which represent potential wilderness additions, upon publication in the Federal Register of a notice by the Secretary of the Interior that all uses thereon prohibited by the Wilderness Act have ceased, shall thereby be designated wilderness.

SEC. 4. The boundaries of the following areas are hereby revised, and those lands depicted on the respective maps as wilderness or as potential wilderness addition are hereby so designated at such time and in such manner as provided for by this Act:

Mesa Verde
National Park,
Colo.

Pinnacles
National
Monument, Calif.

Saguaro National
Monument, Ariz.

Point Reyes
National
Seashore,
Calif.

Badlands
National
Monument,
S. Dak.

Shenandoah
National Park,
Va.

Map and
description,
public inspection.

Publication in
Federal Register.
16 USC 1131
note.

Boundary
revision.

PUBLIC LAW 95-625—NOV. 10, 1978

92 STAT. 3467

Public Law 95-625
95th Congress

An Act

To authorize additional appropriations for the acquisition of lands and interests
in lands within the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho.

Nov. 10, 1978
[S. 791]

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America in Congress assembled,*

National Parks
and Recreation
Act of 1978.

SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978". 16 USC 1 note.

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 - Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
 - Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.
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 - Pecos National Monument.
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92 STAT. 3468

PUBLIC LAW 95-625—NOV. 10, 1978

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 Gulf Islands National Seashore.
 Hawaii Volcanoes National Park.
 John Day Fossil Beds National Monument.
 Monocacy National Battlefield.
 Montezuma Castle National Monument.
 Oregon Caves National Monument.
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- Sec. 316. Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area.
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92 STAT. 3486

PUBLIC LAW 95-625—NOV. 10, 1978

- Management.** “(n) The Secretary shall accept and shall manage in accordance with this Act, any land and improvements adjacent to the recreation area which are donated by the State of California or its political subdivisions. The boundaries of the recreation area shall be changed to include such donated lands.
- Payment deferral, scheduling, and interest rate.** “(o) In acquiring those lands authorized by the Ninety-fifth Congress for the purposes of this Act, the Secretary may, when agreed upon by the landowner involved, defer payment or schedule payments over a period of ten years and pay interest on the unpaid balance at a rate not exceeding that paid by the Treasury of the United States for borrowing purposes.”
- 16 USC 460bb-3. Fees or admission charges.** (f) Section 4 of such Act is amended by adding the following at the end thereof:
“(e) No fees or admission charges shall be levied for admission of the general public to the recreation area except to portions under lease or permit for a particular and limited purpose authorized by the Secretary. The Secretary may authorize reasonable charges for public transportation and, for a period not exceeding five years from the date of enactment of this legislation, for admission to the sailing vessel *Balclutha*.
- Certain rental proceeds, crediting.** “(f) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, in the administration of those parcels of property known as Haslett Warehouse, Cliff House Properties and Louis’ Restaurant, the Secretary shall credit any proceeds from the rental of space in the aforementioned properties to the appropriation, if any, bearing the cost of their administration, maintenance, repair and related expenses and also for the maintenance, repair and related expenses of the vessels and the adjacent piers comprising the National Maritime Museum, for major renovation and park rehabilitation of those buildings included in the Fort Mason Foundation Cooperative Agreement, and for a coordinated public and private access system to and within the recreation area and other units of the national park system in Marin and San Francisco Counties: *Provided*, That surplus funds, if any, will be deposited into the Treasury of the United States: *Provided further*, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the administration of said parcels the Secretary may, if he deems appropriate, enter into a contract for the management of said parcels of property with such terms and conditions as will protect the Government’s interest, with excess funds being used as set forth above.”
- Management contract.**
- 16 USC 460bb-4.** (g) Section 5(b) of such Act is amended by changing the word “fifteen” to “seventeen”.

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

- Area description.** **16 USC 459c-1.** SEC. 318. (a) Section 2(a) of the Act of September 13, 1962 (76 Stat. 538) as amended (16 U.S.C. 459) is further amended as follows:
“SEC. 2. (a) The Point Reyes National Seashore shall consist of the lands, waters, and submerged lands generally depicted on the map entitled ‘Boundary Map, Point Reyes National Seashore’, numbered 612-80,008-E and dated May 1978.
- Map, availability.** “The map referred to in this section shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, District of Columbia. After advising the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and

Natural Resources of the United States Senate in writing, the Secretary may make minor revisions of the boundaries of the Point Reyes National Seashore when necessary by publication of a revised drawing or other boundary description in the Federal Register.”

(b) Section 5(a) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 5. (a) The owner of improved property or of agricultural property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary under this Act may, as a condition of such acquisition, retain for himself and his or her heirs and assigns a right of use and occupancy for a definite term of not more than twenty-five years, or, in lieu thereof, for a term ending at the death of the owner or the death of his or her spouse, whichever is later. The owner shall elect the term to be reserved. Unless the property is wholly or partly donated to the United States, the Secretary shall pay to the owner the fair market value of the property on the date of acquisition minus the fair market value on that date of the right retained by the owner. A right retained pursuant to this section shall be subject to termination by the Secretary upon his or her determination that it is being exercised in a manner inconsistent with the purposes of this Act, and it shall terminate by operation of law upon the Secretary’s notifying the holder of the right of such determination and tendering to him or her an amount equal to the fair market value of that portion of the right which remains unexpired. Where appropriate in the discretion of the Secretary, he or she may lease federally owned land (or any interest therein) which has been acquired by the Secretary under this Act, and which was agricultural land prior to its acquisition. Such lease shall be subject to such restrictive covenants as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act. Any land to be leased by the Secretary under this section shall be offered first for such lease to the person who owned such land or was a leaseholder thereon immediately before its acquisition by the United States.”

Use and
occupancy rights,
retention.
16 USC 459c-5.

Payment.

Termination and
notification.

Federally-owned
lands, lease.

(c) In subsection 5(b) of such Act, following “September 1, 1959,” insert “or, in the case of areas added by action of the Ninety-fifth Congress, May 1, 1978,”; and at the end of the subsection, add the following new sentence: “The term ‘agricultural property’ as used in this Act means lands which were in regular use for, or were being converted to agricultural, ranching, or dairying purposes as of May 1, 1978, together with residential and other structures related to the above uses of the property.”

“Agricultural
property.”

(d) Section 5 of such Act is amended by adding the following new subsection (c) to read as follows:

Payment
deferral,
scheduling, and
interest rate.

“(c) In acquiring those lands authorized by the Ninety-fifth Congress for the purposes of this Act, the Secretary may, when agreed upon by the landowner involved, defer payment or schedule payments over a period of ten years and pay interest on the unpaid balance at a rate not exceeding that paid by the Treasury of the United States for borrowing purposes.”

(e) Section 8 of such Act is renumbered section 9 and the following new section is inserted after section 7:

16 USC 459c-7.

“SEC. 8. The Secretary shall cooperate with the Bolinas Public Utilities District to protect and enhance the watershed values within the seashore. The Secretary may, at his or her discretion, permit the use and occupancy of lands added to the seashore by action of the Ninety-fifth Congress by the utilities district for water supply purposes, subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary deems are consistent with the purposes of this Act.”

Cooperation.
16 USC 459c-6b.
Land use and
occupancy, terms
and conditions.

PUBLIC LAW 96-199—MAR. 5, 1980

94 STAT. 67

Public Law 96-199
96th Congress

An Act

To establish the Channel Islands National Park, and for other purposes.

Mar. 5, 1980
[H.R. 3757]*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America in Congress assembled,*National Parks
and Recreation
Act of 1978,
amendment.

TITLE I

SEC. 101. The National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, approved
November 10, 1978 (92 Stat. 3467), is amended as follows:

(a) Section 318, re: Point Reyes National Seashore is amended by:

16 USC 1 note.
Point Reyes
National Sea-
shore, area
description.
16 USC 459c-1.(1) in subsection (a), change the period following "May 1978" to
a comma and insert "plus those areas depicted on the map
entitled 'Point Reyes and GGNRA Amendments, dated October
25, 1979'";(2) in subsection (b), changing the word "The" at the beginning
of section 5(a) to "Except for property which the Secretary
specifically determines is needed for interpretive or resources
management purposes of the seashore, the";

16 USC 459c-5.

(3) in subsection (c), after "May 1, 1978", inserting "or, in the
case of areas added by action of the Ninety-sixth Congress, May
1, 1979", and at the end of the subsection, following the word
"property", inserting "that were in existence or under construc-
tion as of May 1, 1978";(4) in subsection (d), changing the phrase "subsection (c)" to
read "subsections (c), (d), and (e)" and adding the following at the
end thereof:"(d) The Secretary is authorized to accept and manage in accord-
ance with this Act, any lands and improvements within or adjacent to
the seashore which are donated by the State of California or its
political subdivisions. He is directed to accept any such lands offered
for donation which comprise the Tomales Bay State Park, or lie
between said park and Fish Hatchery Creek. The boundaries of the
seashore shall be changed to include any such donated lands.Lands and
improvements,
acceptance and
management."(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no fee or admis-
sion charge may be levied for admission of the general public to the
seashore."

(5) adding a new subsection (f) as follows:

"(f) Section 9 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof:
'In addition to the sums heretofore authorized by this section, there is
further authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000 for the acquisition of
lands or interests therein.'"Appropriation
authorization.
16 USC 459c-7.

(b) Section 551, re: the National Trails System Act is amended by:

North Country
National Scenic
Trail.
16 USC 1244.

(1) in paragraph (9), add the following at the end thereof:

"(8) The North Country National Scenic Trail, a trail of approxi-
mately thirty-two hundred miles, extending from eastern New York
State to the vicinity of Lake Sakakawea in North Dakota, following
the approximate route depicted on the map identified as 'Proposed
North Country Trail-Vicinity Map' in the Department of the Interior
'North Country Trail Report', dated June 1975. The map shall be on

99 STAT. 166

PUBLIC LAW 99-68—JULY 19, 1985

Public Law 99-68
99th Congress

An Act

July 19, 1985
[H.R. 1373]

To designate the wilderness in the Point Reyes National Seashore in California as the Phillip Burton Wilderness.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,***SECTION 1. PHILLIP BURTON WILDERNESS.**16 USC 1132
note.

(a) In recognition of Congressman Phillip Burton's dedication to the protection of the Nation's outstanding natural, scenic, and cultural resources and his leadership in establishing units of the National Park System and preserving their integrity against threats to those resources and specifically his tireless efforts which led to the enactment of the California Wilderness Act of 1984, the designated wilderness area of Point Reyes National Seashore, California as established pursuant to law, shall henceforth be known as the "Phillip Burton Wilderness".

98 Stat. 1619.

(b) In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to provide such identification by signs, including, but not limited to changes in existing signs, materials, maps, markers, interpretive programs or other means as will adequately inform the public of the designation of the wilderness and the reasons therefor.

(c) REFERENCES.—Nothing in this Act shall affect the management of (or the application of any rule, regulation, or provision of law to) any area within the Point Reyes National Seashore, except that all references to the "Point Reyes Wilderness" or to "the wilderness in the Point Reyes National Seashore" which appear in any rule, regulation, provision of law or other official document shall hereafter be deemed to be references to the Phillip Burton Wilderness Area.

Appropriation
authorization.

(d) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Approved July 19, 1985.

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