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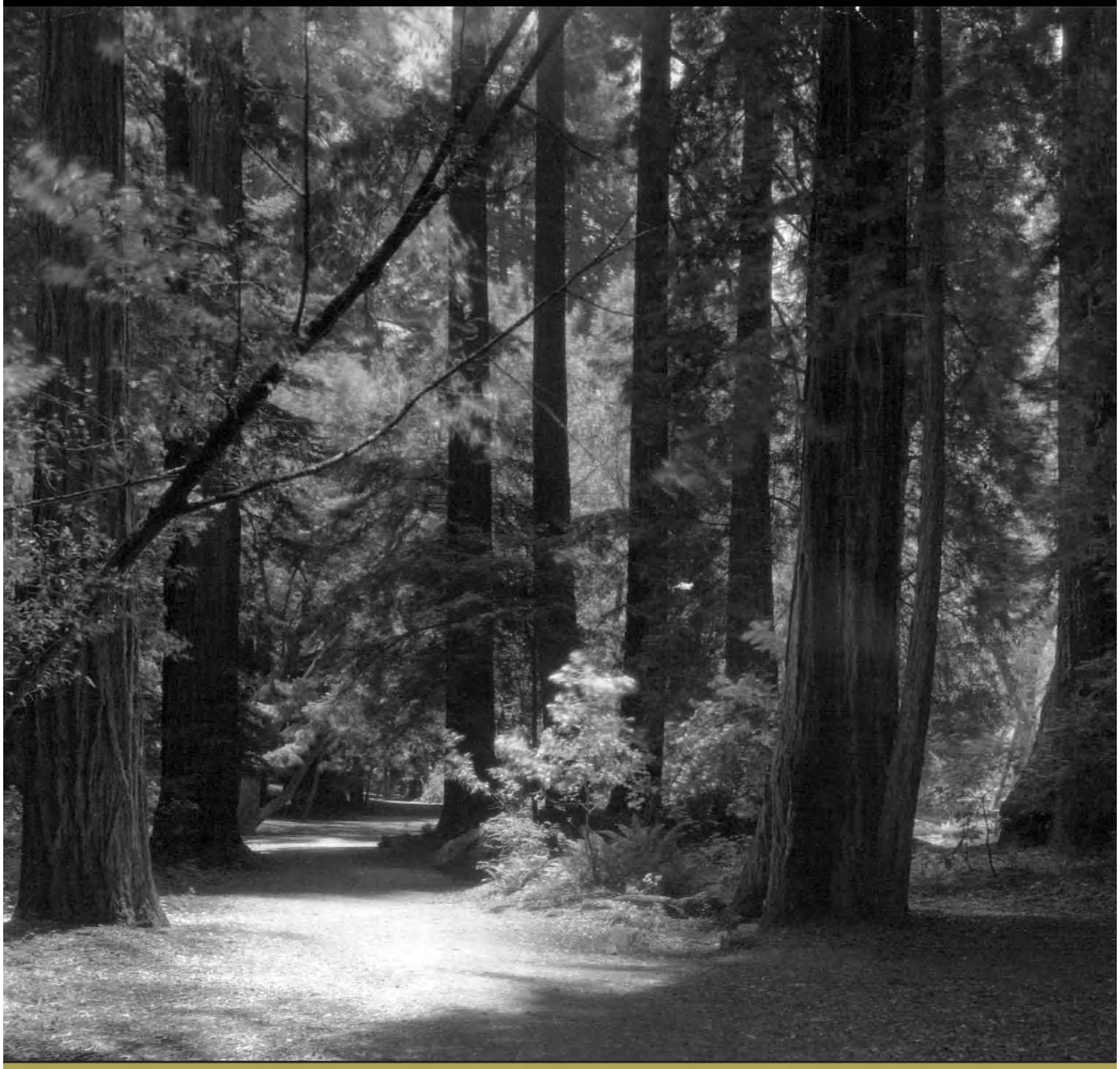

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

Historic Resource Study for Muir Woods National Monument

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

This is the best tree-lover's monument that could possibly be found in all the forests of the world.

John Muir to William Kent,
February 8, 1908

Historic Resource Study for Muir Woods National Monument

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

Land-Use History of Muir Woods

Muir Woods, William Kent, and the American Conservation Movement

Recommendations

By
John Auwaerter, Historical Landscape Architect
State University of New York
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Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 2006

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY FOR MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

This report has been prepared through a cooperative agreement between the Faculty of Landscape Architecture at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry in Syracuse, New York, and the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, a program of the National Park Service. The Olmsted Center promotes the stewardship of significant landscapes through research, planning, and sustainable preservation maintenance, and accomplishes its mission in collaboration with a network of partners including national parks, universities, government agencies, and private nonprofit organizations. Techniques and principles of preservation practice are made available through training and publications. Established at the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site in Brookline, Massachusetts, the Center perpetuates the tradition of the Olmsted firm and Frederick Law Olmsted's lifelong commitment to people, parks, and public spaces.

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Cover photograph: View along the main trail in Muir Woods National Monument, 1928. Courtesy Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, California, photograph 1639.002.002, Anne T. Kent California History Room.

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PART II: MUIR WOODS, WILLIAM KENT, AND THE AMERICAN CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

SECTION COVER

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PART III: RECOMMENDATIONS

SECTION COVER

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INTRODUCTION

Since first being widely discovered by hikers and tourists in the late nineteenth century, Muir Woods National Monument has become renowned across the country and beyond for its old-growth forest of coast redwoods, *Sequoia sempervirens,* located in the midst of a metropolitan region just eight miles north of San Francisco. Designated the country's tenth National Monument in 1908 by President Theodore Roosevelt, Muir Woods has a remarkable cultural history, if somewhat understandably overshadowed by its natural history. Muir Woods was the first National Monument located close to a major city, and it was the first federal or state park established in the region. The preservation of the old-growth redwood forest was due in large part to the efforts of William Kent, who gifted the property to the federal government, and together with other politically well-connected individuals, local residents, businesspeople, and hikers, formed a remarkably strong local conservation movement. In the years after the designation of Muir Woods, this movement achieved the preservation of much of the rugged coastline north of San Francisco, today encompassed chiefly by Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Mount Tamalpais State Park, the Marin Municipal Water District, and Point Reyes National Seashore. Despite the establishment of these surrounding park areas, Muir Woods National Monument has retained its identity as a distinct unit of the National Park System, visited annually by hundreds of thousands as one of the chief tourist attractions in the San Francisco Bay Area. During the near century since its designation in 1908, boundaries have been expanded, vehicular access has switched from rail to automobile, recreational preferences have shifted, design styles have changed from romantic to modern, and methods of managing natural resources have evolved according to ecological perspectives. Yet throughout its history, management of Muir Woods National Monument has centered on caring for the redwood forest and providing public access to it.

While the monument's history of designation, park development, and boundary expansion is generally known, it has not been studied in much detail, particularly not the development of the park landscape or association with the broader history of conservation both at a national level and regionally in the Bay Area. This report is intended to address these gaps in order to provide park managers, planners, interpreters, and the interested public the information needed to better understand the cultural history and significance of Muir Woods. It is written as a Historic Resource Study (HRS), which the National Park Service defines as providing "…an historical overview of a park and its associated resources, and identifies and evaluates a park's cultural resources within historic contexts. It synthesizes all available cultural resource information from various disciplines. Entailing both documentary research and field investigation to determine and describe the

Figure 0.1: Location of Muir Woods in the San Francisco Bay Area. Detail, Sfgate.com Bay Area map, annotated by State University of New York, College of Envirionmental Science and Forestry (SUNY ESF).

Figure 0.2: Location of Muir Woods within public lands on the Marin Peninsula. Detail, National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area park brochure, 2000, modified by SUNY ESF.

integrity, authenticity, associative values, and significance of resources, the HRS supplies data for resource management and interpretation." [1]

This report is divided into three parts. Part I is a land-use history that provides an overview of the use, ownership, and physical development of Muir Woods and its surrounding lands from its Native American use prior to European settlement in the nineteenth century, through its incorporation into Golden Gate National Recreation Area during the late twentieth century. Part I also explores the historic context of Muir Woods within the American tradition of rustic landscape design and National Park Service management, and the history of agriculture, transportation, public parklands, and suburban development in the surrounding Mount Tamalpais region. Part II of the study provides a contextual history that addresses the relationship of Muir Woods to the development of American conservation in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, emphasizing both national developments as well as those in the San Francisco Bay Area. Using conservation as the primary historic theme for Muir Woods, Part II explores the background and intentions of the individuals and institutions that worked to preserve Muir Woods and make it accessible to the public, most notably William Kent and the National Park Service. Based on the findings of the preceding two parts, Part III of the study provides recommendations on the historic significance of Muir Woods based on the National Register Criteria, along with general treatment recommendations and recommendations for further research.

PROJECT SETTING

Muir Woods National Monument is located on the Marin Peninsula, a large and mountainous spit of land north of San Francisco across the straights of the Golden Gate, bordering the Pacific Ocean to the west and San Francisco and San Pablo Bays to the east. [Figure 0.1] This area occupies the central-western edge of the San Francisco metropolitan area, a region of nine counties generally referred to as the Bay Area, with a population of over seven million. On the Marin Peninsula, development is largely restricted to its eastern half along the bay, a region traversed by highways leading north from San Francisco over the Golden Gate Bridge. The largest and best-known communities in the sub-

urban region include Mill Valley, San Rafael, and Sausalito. Muir Woods National Monument lies to their west, approximately two miles east of the Pacific Ocean and eight miles northwest of the Golden Gate Bridge.

Surrounding Muir Woods on the western or ocean side of the Marin Peninsula is an expansive region of protected public lands, set apart from the heavily developed eastern part by a series of high ridges. [Figure 0.2] The National Park Service (NPS) administers the largest amount of these lands, including Muir Woods, as components of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, a metropolitan park system of natural areas, historic sites, and recreational lands. Most of the Pacific coast north of Muir Woods is separately administered by the National Park Service as Point Reyes National Seashore. Other publicly owned lands in West Marin near Muir Woods include Mount Tamalpais (pronounced Tam'l-pye-iss) State Park and the Marin Municipal Water District.

Muir Woods National Monument is situated approximately one mile west of the City of Mill Valley, on the southern flank of Mount Tamalpais, the highest point on the Marin Peninsula. [Figure 0.3] The monument is entirely surrounded by lands belonging to Mount Tamalpais State Park, which extends northward toward the mountain's prominent peaks, approximately two miles distant. Unless hiking down from one of the surrounding ridges, visitors generally do not get an overall prospect of Muir Woods, which is isolated within a narrow valley, known as Redwood Canyon, and surrounded by grasslands, chaparral, and deciduous woods. Most visitors see only a small part of the monument, primarily from the main trail that runs through the canyon floor along Redwood Creek in the understory of the monument's largest redwood trees.

Figure 0.3: Map illustrating relationship of Muir Woods National Monument to the City of Mill Valley and other private lands (shaded gray), Mount Tamalpais State Park (in green), Marin Municipal Water District (in blue), and other lands of Golden Gate National Recreation Area (in olive). SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993) and Tom Harrison "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003).

Visitors arriving by automobile or bus use Muir Woods Road

(also known as Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road), a winding, two-lane county road that connects on the east with the Panoramic Highway and Mill Valley, and on the southwest with the Shoreline Highway (US Route 1) and the community of Muir Beach on the Pacific coast. The main entrance to the park is located roughly in the middle of Muir Woods Road, at the southern end of Redwood Canyon. [Figure 0.4] Adjoining the entrance are the parking lots, rest rooms, and a visitor center located outside of the redwood forest, within the monument boundary but on lands leased from Mount Tamalpais State Park. A timber gateway at the north end of the parking lot is on the NPS property boundary and marks the entrance into the forest along the main trail. A short distance into the forest is the Administration-Concession Building, with park offices, gift shop, and snack bar.

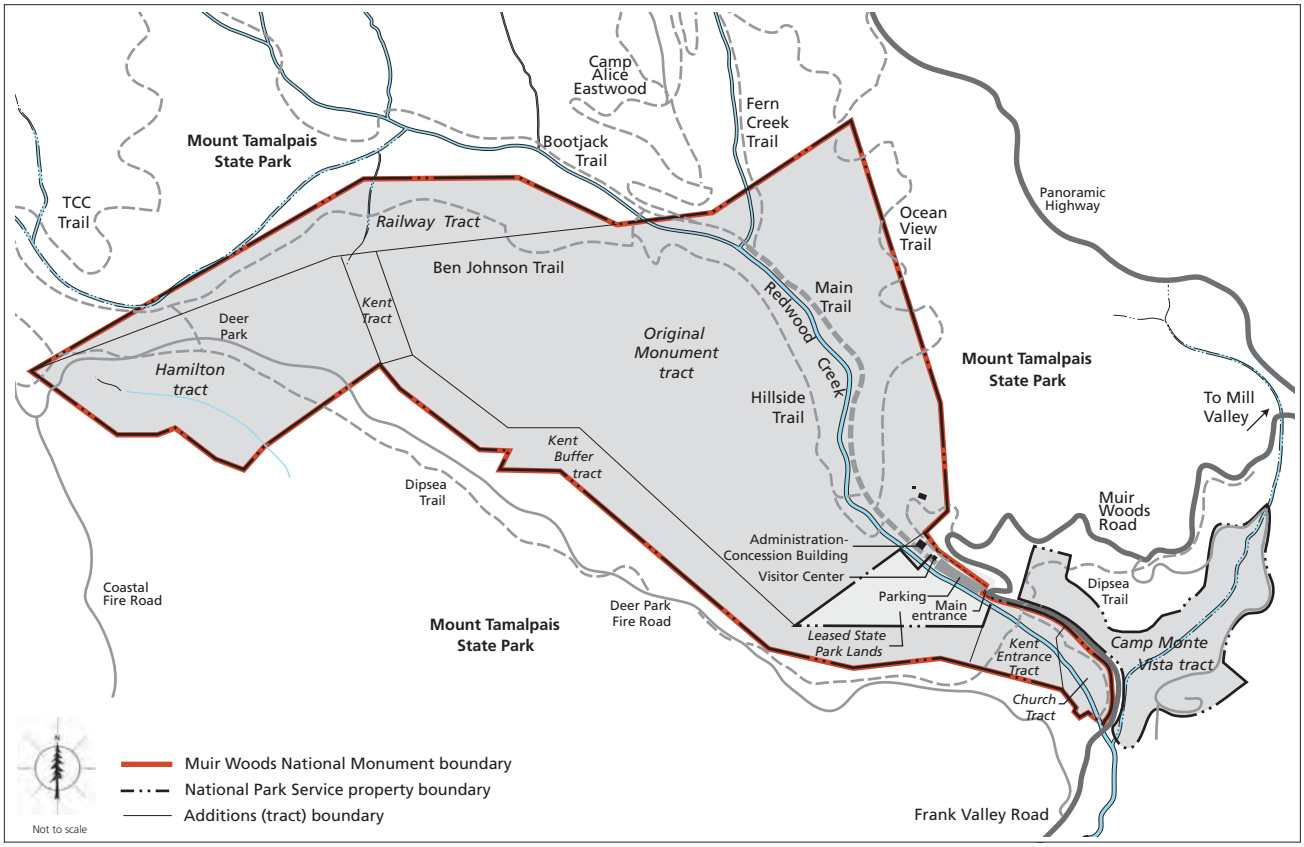


Figure 0.4: Map of the existing boundaries, tracts, trails, roads, and primary buildings in Muir Woods National Monument. SUNY ESF.

Visitors can also enter the monument from adjoining state park lands on foot from several side trails that lead to the canyon floor, notably the Bootjack, Ben Johnson, Dipsea, Fern Creek, and Ocean View Trails. These trails generally follow the tributaries of Redwood Creek, and the ridges to either side of the canyon.

The original part of Muir Woods National Monument designated in 1908 [see Figure 0.4] consists of 295 acres and incorporates most of the old-growth redwoods concentrated along the floor and northeast-facing wall of the canyon. Several additions were made by Presidential proclamation through 1958, and a fifty-acre tract was legislatively added to the Muir Woods unit, without National Monument

designation, in 1974, bringing the total size of the park unit to 560 acres. The parcel leased from the state at the monument entrance encompasses approximately nineteen acres. Although owned by the state, the parcel functions as a part of Muir Woods and is not distinguished from NPS-owned property. South and west of the main entrance, the park extends along Frank Valley Road for approximately 1,200 feet to where it crosses Redwood Creek. This area, unlike Redwood Canyon, for the most part does not contain redwood forest, but was added for park operational support purposes.

SCOPE, ORGANIZATION, AND METHODOLOGY

Part I, "Land Use History of Muir Woods," focuses on the site-specific history of Muir Woods National Monument, and secondarily on the adjoining lands and larger Mount Tamalpais region. This section of the report is organized into six chapters, the first (pre-1883) providing an introduction to the natural environment and an overview of settlement and land-use during the rancho era, when Redwood Canyon was part of a larger land holding known as Rancho Sausalito; the second chapter (1883-1907) covers the period when Redwood Canyon became a quasi-public park and was purchased by William Kent; the third chapter (1907-1928) covers the establishment and early administration of Muir Woods National Monument by the General Land Office and National Park Service under the oversight of William Kent through his death in 1928; the fourth chapter (1928-1953) covers the period of substantial park development through the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps during the 1930s and early 1940s, corresponding with the founding and development of Mount Tamalpais State Park; the fourth chapter (1953-1984) discusses the monument's development under the National Park Service's MISSION 66 program and during the growth of the environmental era through 1984, when administration was folded into the Mount Tamalpais Unit of Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The last chapter of the land-use history is an epilogue that provides a brief overview of existing conditions and changes to the park landscape since 1984.

The emphasis of the land-use history is on the lands within the National Monument boundary of Muir Woods, being those lands acquired up through 1958. The Camp Monte Vista tract (also known as Camino del Canyon property), located along a side canyon north of Frank Valley Road at the south end of Muir Woods, was acquired by NPS between c.1974 and 1984 and does not have National Monument status. Its history of use and development prior to 1974 is in large part distinct from the monument, and therefore this portion of Muir Woods is treated in a secondary manner, primarily as context for the monument proper. A detailed history of its use and development is being separately studied and evaluated.[2]

Research for Part I generally relied on secondary sources for contextual documentation, such as the growth of Mill Valley and the development of rustic design in the National Park Service, while primary resources provided much of the documentation on the physical development of the monument and adjoining parcels. Key secondary sources included Lincoln Fairley's *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (1988); Barry Spitz's *Mill Valley: The Early Years* (1997); Anna Coxe Toogood's "Historic Resource Study, A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore" (1980); Elizabeth T. Kent's "William Kent, Independent, A Biography" (1950); and Wes Hildreth's unpublished chronology of Muir Woods (1966). Key repositories for primary documentation included the history files at Muir Woods National Monument, public land records at the Marin County Recorder's Office in San Rafael, and monument records housed at the park archives of Golden Gate National Recreation Area at the Presidio of San Francisco and at the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland and the National Archives Pacific Region in San Bruno, California.

Part II, "Muir Woods, William Kent, and the American Conservation Movement," looks at the significance of Muir Woods in the history of the conservation movement with special attention given to the role of William Kent. It examines the way his gift of Muir Woods to the federal government reflects the various, and sometimes conflicting, impulses behind efforts to preserve wild nature in early twentieth-century America. This section of the report begins with a brief history of the conservation movement before 1907, focusing especially on the preservation of Yosemite, Yellowstone, Niagara Falls, and the Adirondack wilderness and the development of the philosophical, legal and administrative context that made the preservation of Muir Woods possible. The next few sections explore William Kent's motivations for making the gift of Muir Woods to the federal government, his development of Muir Woods as a tourist site before and after making the gift, and the impact of his gift on efforts to preserve other scenic and forest areas, particularly other groves of redwoods. "Hetch Hetchy Versus Muir Woods" examines the conflict between the preservationist and the utilitarian or "wise use" schools of conservation by comparing the roles Kent played in the preservation of Muir Woods and the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley. The next two sections suggest the way Kent's ongoing involvement in the management of Muir Woods after it became a National Monument may have influenced his successful campaign as a congressman to secure passage of the bill establishing the National Park Service. The section on "Muir Woods and Kent's Regional Plan for Mt. Tamalpais" shows how the preservation of Muir Woods must be understood as part of Kent's ambitious plan to protect a much larger area for multiple public uses. "The Civilian Conservation Corps and Park Development" recounts the contributions of the CCC to the development of Muir Woods as a park, thus bringing Kent's vision for the site closer to reality. The final section, "Muir Woods as Sacred Grove and Me-

morial Forest," explores the way Muir Woods functioned as a venue for dedication ceremonies, memorial services, picnics, and other special gatherings, with particular attention to the memorial service in 1945 for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and its connections to conservation.

Research for Part II relied on secondary sources for background on the history of the conservation movement and, whenever possible, on correspondence, newspaper and magazine articles, speeches, and other primary sources for telling the story of the preservation of Muir Woods, Kent's role in it and in other preservation efforts, the history of the CCC in Muir Woods, and the background on the memorial service for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hal Rothman's *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (1989), Susan R. Schrepfer's *The Fight to Save the Redwoods: A History of Environmental Reform, 1917-1978* (1983), and Roderick Nash, "John Muir, William Kent, and the Conservation Schism" (1967) furnished excellent background on the history of the National Monuments, the preservation of the redwoods, and the conflict between Muir and Kent over Hetch Hetchy. Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement (1981)*, Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967), and Robert L. Dorman, "A People of Progress: The Marsh-Billings Park and the Origins of Conservation in America, 1850-1930" (1997) provided information on the broader context of the conservation movement. Elizabeth T. Kent's "William Kent, Independent, A Biography" (1950), supplemented Robert P. Danielson, "The Story of William Kent" (1960) and Michael Willrich, "William Kent, 1864-1928: The Life and Language of a Progressive Conservationist" (1987) in providing biographical information on Kent. None of these is complete. No one has yet written a full-scale biography of William Kent, who is a fascinating figure and deserves a first-rate volume on his life. Lincoln Fairley's *Mount Tamalpais* (1987), though not always complete, provided background on the history of the Tamalpais region and the activities of the CCC. Primary sources in *Franklin D. Roosevelt & Conservation, 1911-1945*, ed. Edgar B. Nixon (1957) illuminated the connection between FDR's planning for an international conservation conference and the memorial service held for him in Muir Woods. The records of the National Park Service (RG79) at National Archives II in College Park, Maryland furnished the best single source of primary documents on the history of Muir Woods. The extensive Kent Family Papers at Yale University offered a rich source on Kent's life and career. The Gifford Pinchot Papers at the Library of Congress and the John Muir Papers, available on microfilm at Harvard University and elsewhere, provided useful additional documents.

Part III of the report contains recommendations regarding the historic significance of Muir Woods National Monument based on the criteria for listing properties in the National Register of Historic Places, a program of the National Park

Service. These recommendations are referenced to existing park cultural resource surveys, notably the List of Classified Structures (LCS). Part III also includes preliminary treatment recommendations, based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, for management, preservation, and interpretation of historic resources within Muir Woods. Additional recommendations are provided for adjoining areas or resources that are related functionally or historically to Muir Woods.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

PRE-1883

Prior to European settlement of the Marin Peninsula in the early nineteenth century, Muir Woods National Monument and the surrounding lands of Redwood Canyon were part of the homeland of the Coast Miwok people. Little archeological evidence has been found on habitation in Redwood Canyon, but the Coast Miwok most likely used the area for hunting, fishing, and gathering, and certainly considered the redwood forest a part of their home. In the early nineteenth century following soon after the establishment of Spanish missions at present-day San Rafael in c.1817, the Coast Miwok people were decimated by European disease, and by 1840, their population was reduced by an estimated ninety per cent.[3] In 1836, much of the Marin Peninsula, including Redwood Canyon, had been granted by the Mexican government to William Antonio Richardson, who named the land "Rancho Sausalito." Richardson maintained most of the ranch as open grazing lands, although forested areas were logged, particularly after the San Francisco Gold Rush of 1849. In 1856, Richardson sold most of Rancho Sausalito to Samuel R. Throckmorton, who rented out subdivided parcels to farmers. Throckmorton retained a large unsubdivided area encompassing Redwood Canyon and extending north to the upper reaches of Mount Tamalpais as his own private hunting preserve. Although most of the remaining redwood groves on the Marin Peninsula were being logged during Throckmorton's ownership of Rancho Sausalito, he chose to retain the forest in Redwood Canyon. In 1883, Throckmorton died and left his debt-ridden estate, which included 14,000 acres of the ranch, to his daughter, Susanna Throckmorton.

1883-1907

Unable to pay off her father's debts, Susannah Throckmorton sold Rancho Sausalito in 1889 to the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, which set about plans to develop the ranch lands along the east side of Marin County into the community of Mill Valley; on the west side, the company continued to rent out the subdivided ranch lands, but retained Samuel Throckmorton's hunting preserve, including Redwood Canyon, as undivided lands and granted their use to the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association. With the help of one of their prominent members, Wil-

liam Kent, the club cared for the redwood forest through the turn of the century during a time of increasing visitation. Much of this increased activity had resulted from development in the region by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company and rail access to the summit of Mount Tamalpais. By the turn of the century, development pressures were increasing, including a proposal to dam Redwood Creek and destroy part of the redwood forest. At the same time, local conservation and hiking groups began to press for public acquisition of Mount Tamalpais. These pressures and his own conservation sensibilities led William Kent to acquire 612 acres of Redwood Canyon in 1905 to safeguard its redwood forest and improve its accessibility to the public. Together with the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway (known as the mountain railway), Kent developed Redwood Canyon into a public park with rail access (a new branch line was built to the north end of Redwood Canyon), improved road access, and visitor amenities such as footpaths, bridges, and benches, all designed in a rustic style then typical for parks and forested landscapes. An inn at the terminus of the mountain railway, which formed the main entrance to the park, was also planned as part of the improvements.

1907-1928

In the fall of 1907, a year after the great earthquake in San Francisco raised the demand for water supply and timber, a private water company, the North Coast Water Company, filed condemnation proceedings for takeover of forty-seven acres of William Kent's Redwood Canyon tract in order to build a reservoir. Building of the reservoir would have flooded the upper portion of the canyon floor, requiring logging of many of the big redwoods, dividing of the park into two separate parts, and destruction of improvements made by Kent and the mountain railway. In order to circumvent the condemnation proceedings and secure the long-term preservation of the redwood forest, Kent gifted 298 acres of his 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract to the federal government on December 26, 1907, a gift that excluded the terminus of the mountain railway. On January 9th, 1908, the 298-acre tract was declared a National Monument by President Theodore Roosevelt under the provisions of the Antiquities Act of 1906, the tenth National Monument so designated and the only one in proximity of a major city. Kent chose the name Muir Woods National Monument after the noted wilderness preservationist, John Muir, who lived in Martinez across the San Pablo Bay from Marin County. Muir had no known association with Redwood Canyon aside from a visit he had made there in 1904, nor had Kent met Muir at the time. Despite the monument designation, the North Coast Water Company continued with its legal suit for another year, but then dropped it. Muir Woods National Monument was managed through the General Land Office within the Department of the Interior up until 1917. During this time, the GLO made few improvements to Muir Woods, and it was largely managed by the mountain railway and William Kent. In 1917, management of Muir Woods was transferred to the National Park Service (NPS), created by Congress

the year before to improve the management of federal parks then administered by a wide array of agencies. For the next decade, the NPS took the lead in management of Muir Woods, although the mountain railway and William Kent continued to play key roles. Administration was carried out through Yosemite National Park and regional NPS offices in San Francisco. In 1921, William Kent donated 150 acres for expansion of the monument. Improvements during this time included the addition of signs, an entrance gate, new footbridges, a residence for the custodian, and comfort stations, all designed according to a particular rustic style developed by the National Park Service and employed at other forested parks in the region, notably Sequoia National Park and Yosemite. A parking area was also formed at the south entrance on lands belonging to William Kent, with access from the Muir Woods Toll Road, which had been built by Kent and the mountain railway in 1925.

1928-1954

In 1928, William Kent died, coinciding with the financial decline of the mountain railway due to automobile competition. A fire in 1929 destroyed the branch line to Muir Woods, and the following year, the railway went out of business. With the closure of the railway, the main entrance to Muir Woods shifted almost entirely to the automobile entrance at the south end of the monument. Kent's death and closure of the mountain railway gave NPS full charge for the administration of Muir Woods. Much of the land bordering Muir Woods that had been owned by William Kent became part of Mount Tamalpais State Park, established in 1930. Beginning in 1933 and lasting through 1941, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) undertook extensive improvement work both in Muir Woods and the state park, based out of a camp located on the site of the railway terminus. Many of the CCC improvements to Muir Woods were built to accommodate increasing visitation, which had jumped markedly with the opening of the Muir Woods Toll Road in 1925 and adjoining Panoramic Highway in 1928. The completion of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937 swelled visitation even more. Work by the CCC, designed mostly by NPS regional architects and landscape architects, included massive log footbridges over Redwood Creek, a stone-faced arch bridge over Fern Creek, a log entrance gate, improved trails, a redesigned parking area at the south entrance on state park land, new signs and picnic facilities, and several new buildings, all designed in a romantic rustic style employing features such as log construction, exposed timber framing, hand-hewn signs, and naturalistic plantings. In 1940, the largest building at Muir Woods to date—the Administration-Concession Building—was completed by the CCC in a streamlined rustic style that was a departure from the earlier development in the monument. It was sited on a one-acre expansion that had been incorporated into the monument through a proclamation by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1935. Improvements at Muir Woods ceased during World War II, but the monument continued to be a popular place to visit. In what would become the most famous gathering at Muir Woods, the United

Nations Organizing Committee held a ceremony in Cathedral Grove in honor of FDR in May 1945, a month after his death. Following World War II, a parcel was acquired at the south end and west side of the monument (including the first monument lands without significant redwood forest), but few physical improvements were undertaken. By the early 1950s, visitation ballooned after a period of relative stability during the 1940s.

1953-1984

The large increases in visitation to Muir Woods of the early 1950s led to significant crowding that strained the improvements made by the CCC, which had suffered due to lack of maintenance and funding during the war and post-war years. This situation set the stage for a new era of development, coinciding with broad shifts in design, natural resource management, and planning throughout the National Park System. In 1956, NPS launched a ten-year improvement program coined "MISSION 66," and park staff developed an ambitious plan for Muir Woods which included removing development from within the woods, building a visitor center and employee housing, expanding parking, and acquiring additional land for park support purposes. Muir Woods realized few of these improvements, but did build a new parking area and acquired additional land at the south end of the monument along Frank Valley Road. The park also removed many features built by the CCC, including comfort stations, signs, bridges, and the main gate, and built a new comfort station and footbridges that represented a marked departure from the romantic rustic style of the CCC era. In 1972, legislation was passed authorizing NPS to acquire land for park support purposes south of the monument in the Camp Monte Vista tract, which had been developed earlier for youth camps and private residences. This period also saw the expansion of Mount Tamalpais State Park to encompass nearly all of the land surrounding Muir Woods, as well as the creation in 1972 of a metropolitan regional park system, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Muir Woods was incorporated into this new park system, and by 1984 it had become fully integrated into it for administrative purposes. Despite this, Muir Woods National Monument retained its identity as a distinct park unit. It was also in c.1984 that the last parcels of land were acquired by NPS in the Camp Monte Vista tract, which unlike earlier expansions of Muir Woods, did not receive National Monument status.

1984-PRESENT

In the years since land acquisition in Camp Monte Vista was completed, there have been few significant changes in the management or appearance of Muir Woods National Monument. The most noticeable change has been the conversion of open grasslands and chaparral along Frank Valley Road and the upper edges of the monument to forest as a result of natural succession. Within the monument, NPS has made several improvements to better safeguard the forest from

the impact of heavy visitation, including a new sewage system and the addition of boardwalks along the main trail. In addition, the park has returned to its legacy of rustic design with the construction of a new visitor center in 1989 and main gate in 1990.

ENDNOTES

[1] Historic Resource Study definition, in National Park Service, "Cultural Resources Management Guideline" (NPS-28, 1998), 25.

[2] See Bright Eastman, "National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility (DOE), Camino del Canyon Property, Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA), Marin County, California" (Unpublished report prepared for the National Park Service, September 2004), Park Historian's files, Fort Mason, San Francisco (will be deposited at a future date in the Park Archive and Record Center, Building Presidio 667). NPS is also planning on drafting a separate DOE for a portion of the Camp Monte Vista Tract known as Druid Heights.

[3] The Coast Miwok nevertheless survived the ravages of a colonial history and today, with the people of Southern Pomo descent, make up a federally recognized tribe called the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria.

PART I

Land-Use History of Muir Woods National Monument

By John Auwaerter, Historical Landscape Architect
State University of New York
College of Environmental Science and Forestry

Section title page photograph: NPS Region 4 "in-service" training meeting at main gate (1934), December 1941. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

The forest of coast redwoods today known as Muir Woods traces its ancestry in the narrow canyon on Mount Tamalpais back many thousands of years. Until relatively recently in its long history, human use of the forest was probably at most occasional. Even after extensive European settlement of the Bay Area during the nineteenth century, the redwood forest remained secluded, prized by its owners as a place of private refuge. By the 1890s, however, hikers and tourists were coming to visit what had become one of only a few remaining old-growth redwood forests in the Bay Area, spurring efforts for conservation and public access that led to its designation as Muir Woods National Monument in 1908. The beauty, renown, and accessibility of this place—so close to San Francisco yet retaining much of its wild character—swelled visitation into the hundreds of thousands by the late 1920s, and to more than a million by the 1970s.

The history of the use and development of Muir Woods National Monument has largely been a story of conservation—of balancing use of the woods for public benefit with protection of its natural resources. Today, the redwood forest continues to live much as it has for thousands of years, but beneath the towering trees, the underlying infrastructure of park development has seen continual change over the past one hundred years, illustrating evolving conservation practices and changing attitudes toward building and landscape design within a natural environment.

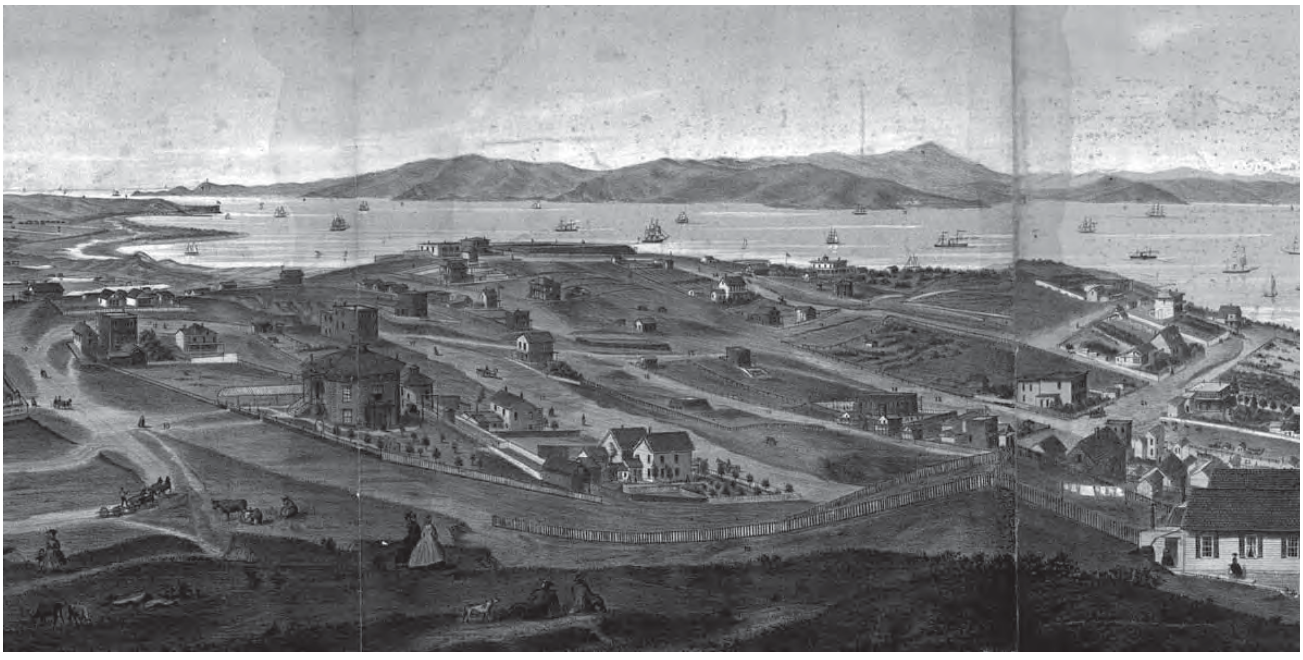


Figure 1.1: Panorama of the Marin Peninsula with Mount Tamalpais in the distance, looking north across the Golden Gate from the developing city of San Francisco, 1862. Detail, C. B. Gifford, "San Francisco...From Russian Hill" (San Francisco: A. Rosenfield, c.1862), Library of Congress, David Rumsey Collection, map 2314.

CHAPTER 1
NATIVE ENVIRONMENT & THE RANCHO ERA, PRE-1883

Muir Woods National Monument preserves a small part of the native landscape of the Marin Peninsula, a rugged land extending north from the straits of the Golden Gate. Up until the mid-nineteenth century, the entire Bay Area was sparsely developed, characterized by expansive areas of forest, chaparral, and grassland. This changed as San Francisco boomed into a major city in the second half of the nineteenth century, but across the Golden Gate, the Marin Peninsula remained remote and largely undeveloped during this time. With its highlands rising dramatically from the surrounding waters and culminating in the rocky peaks of Mount Tamalpais, the Marin Peninsula formed an apparent pristine natural backdrop to the city. [Figure 1.1] Despite its appearance from afar, several communities had grown up in Marin by this time along the shore of San Francisco and San Pablo Bays, following roads and railroads connecting by ferry to San Francisco. Most of the redwood forests had also been logged. Into the late nineteenth century, the western half of the peninsula surrounding Muir Woods, generally referred to as West Marin, remained largely inaccessible, used primarily as dairy ranches and private hunting lands within a Mexican-era grant of land known as Rancho Sausalito.

NATURAL SETTING

West Marin is today still characterized predominantly by sparse development and expansive tracts of natural lands, thanks in large part to the rough character of the natural topography, restrictive early land ownership, and a strong conservation movement that began in the early twentieth century and continues to the present day.

THE LAND

The extent of redwood forest at Muir Woods is closely related to the natural topography and climate. The regional climate of the San Francisco Bay Area is generally characterized as Mediterranean, with cool, wet winters and mild, dry summers. Redwood Canyon, the valley in which Muir Woods is located, forms a wetter and cooler micro climate due to its location two miles inland from the Pacific Ocean and its northeastern-facing, deep and narrow topography. Moisture from heavy fogs that roll in from the Pacific moderates the dryness of the summers, providing an important part of the average thirty-five to sixty inches of annual precipitation. The fogs, which generally reach from 100 to 1,700 feet in altitude, are a key factor in the high levels of humidity that persist along northeast-

ern-facing slopes and canyon floors, typically ranging from eighty to one-hundred percent humidity in winter, and fifty to eighty percent in summer.[1]

Muir Woods shares the rugged nature of the land that characterizes much of the Marin Peninsula, a mountainous region that rises abruptly from the coastline, except along the flats of its eastern shores along San Francisco and San Pablo Bays. [Figure 1.2] The rugged character of Marin has long been cherished, as William H. Brewer, working for the California Geological Survey, described upon an expedition there in 1862:

> *The whole region between the bay and the sea is thrown up into rough and very steep ridges, 1,000 to 1,600 feet high, culminating in a steep, sharp, rocky peak about four or five miles southwest of San Rafael, over 2,600 feet high, called Tamalpais...We climbed up the rocks, and just as we reached the highest crag the fog began to clear away. Then came glimpses of the beautiful landscape through the fog. It was most grand, more like some views in the Alps than anything I have seen before—those glimpses of the landscape beneath through foggy curtains. But now the fog and clouds rolled away and we had a glorious view indeed—the ocean on the west, the bay around, the green hills beneath with lovely valleys between them.*[2]

Mount Tamalpais (the mountain was also called Table Hill or Table Mountain into the 1880s) is the highest mountain on the Marin Peninsula, and is clearly visible from much of the Bay Area.[3] Two miles to the north of Muir Woods are its three peaks: the East Peak, at 2,571 feet above sea level, the lesser Middle Peak at 2,450 feet, and the West Peak, at 2,574 feet.[4] North and west of Mount Tamalpais is the long Bolinas Ridge, and to the south, the Marin Headlands that terminate at the Golden Gate. [Figure 1.2] All are part of the Coast Range, a narrow band of low mountains along four hundred miles of coastline on the western edge of the North American tectonic plate. The range, divided into north and south sections at the Golden Gate, is characterized by bedrock formed from ancient sea floor sediments and igneous rock that was heavily folded

Figure 1.2: Topographic relief map of the Marin Peninsula showing location of Muir Woods relative to major landforms. Detail, United States Geologic Survey, San Francisco topographic relief map (c.2000), annotated by SUNY ESF.

and uplifted due to lateral slipping along the juncture of the North American and Pacific plates. The convergent boundary between these two plates runs along the western edge of the Coast Range, and in Marin is part of the well-known San Andreas Fault. The bedrock of the Coast Range is classified as Franciscan Complex, composed primarily of light-colored shales and greywacke sandstones that are subject to landslides and erosion, forces that have formed the rounded ridges and steep canyons that characterize the Marin Peninsula today.[5]

Redwood Canyon is one of the main valleys on the southwestern flank of Mount Tamalpais. [Figure 1.3] It was formed over thousands of years by the south trending course of Redwood Creek, a five mile-long stream that is the primary drainage for a watershed of nine square miles. The creek begins at the juncture of Rattlesnake and Bootjack Creeks just north of the boundary of Muir Woods, and is joined by three major tributaries: Fern Creek within Muir Woods, and Kent Canyon Creek and Green Gulch Creek to the south [Figure 1.3]. Redwood Creek was naturally characterized by flat water flowing over gravel, with small pools. Fern Creek, the other major stream within Muir Woods, is a smaller perennial stream, and unlike Redwood Creek, drops quickly in elevation through a canyon by the same name, across small waterfalls and rapids from the watershed below the Middle Peak of Mount Tamalpais. In addition to Fern Creek, a number of small, unnamed intermittent streams cascade down the side walls of the canyon within Muir Woods. Redwood Creek empties into the Pacific Ocean at Muir Beach, four miles distant from the monument. Here, Redwood Creek seasonally forms a tidal brackish estuary as low water levels allow sandbars to build up at the creek's mouth, backing up the water.[6] The estuary, once more extensive, was earlier known as Big Lagoon.

Figure 1.3: Natural setting of Muir Woods National Monument showing major landforms and hydrological features on the southwestern flank of Mount Tamalpais. Names shown are those currently in use. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993) and Tom Harrison, "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003).

Overall elevations within Muir Woods National Monument extend from a low of 120 feet above sea level at the south end of the canyon near Frank Valley Road, to a high of 1,340 feet at the northwestern corner of the monument near the Dipsea Trail [Figure 1.3]. Within the monument, the canyon floor follows a relatively gentle grade, dropping approximately fifty

feet in the half mile from the north boundary to the parking area, an overall slope of two percent. At the upper end of the canyon, the valley floor is narrow and divides into a number of smaller side canyons, the most significant being Fern Creek Canyon. The sidewalls of Redwood Canyon throughout Muir Woods are steep, with characteristic grades upwards of sixty-five percent.[7] The warmer and dryer southwestern-facing canyon wall extends up to Throckmorton (Panoramic) Ridge that forms the eastern edge of West Marin, but the monument boundary is low on this wall, corresponding to the limits of the old-growth redwoods. In contrast, the cooler and wetter northeastern-facing wall of the canyon, nearly all redwood forest, is almost entirely within the monument, the boundary of which extends to the Dipsea Ridge that separates Redwood Canyon from adjoining Kent Canyon. At its northwest corner, the monument extends over the ridge top and into the upper end of Kent Canyon. At the opposite end of the monument east of Muir Woods Road, the southeastern annex once known as Camp Monte Vista is centered along a minor side canyon. Here southeast of the parking area, Redwood Canyon ends and the land broadens out into Frank Valley, through which Redwood Creek flows to the Pacific Ocean.

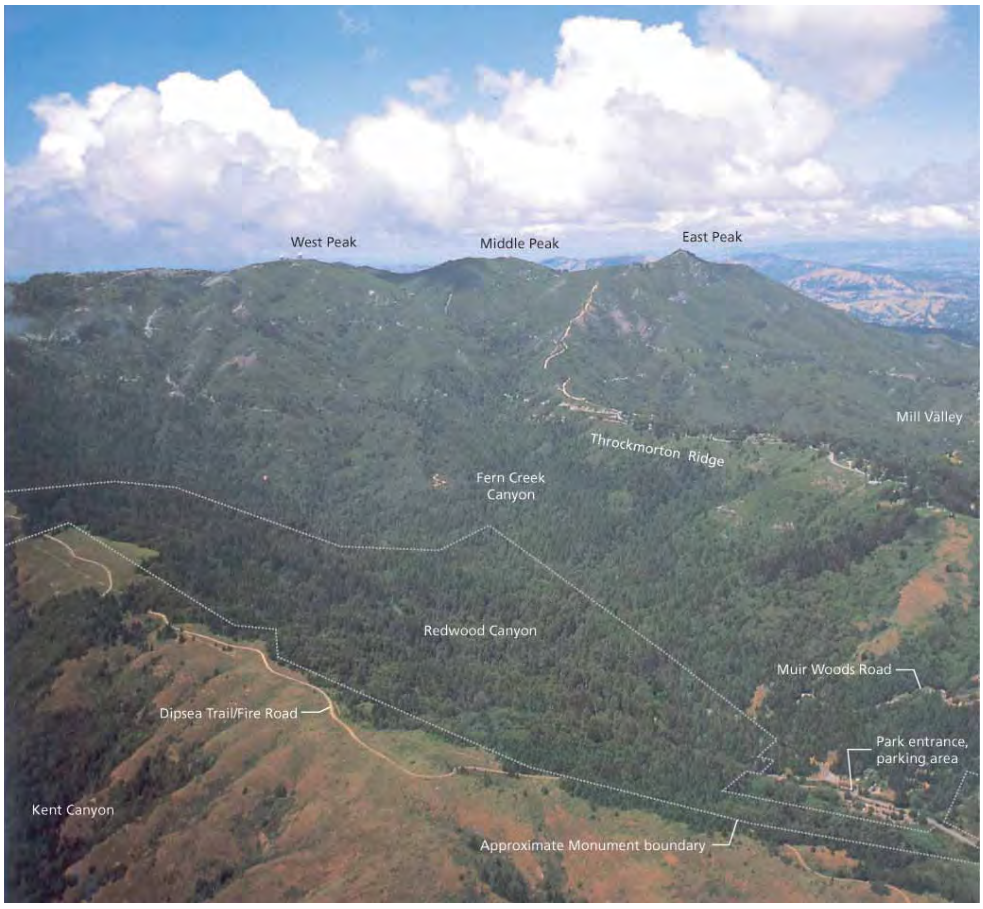


Figure 1.4: Oblique aerial photograph of Mount Tamalpais looking northeast over Muir Woods, illustrating forest cover within approximate monument boundaries and adjoining areas of grassland and chaparral, c.1990. Most of the forest cover within Muir Woods is coast redwood. James Morley, *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991), 5, annotated by SUNY ESF.

THE REDWOOD FOREST

Redwoods are, of course, the dominant features of Muir Woods, forming an expansive but isolated grove within the cool and moist microclimate of Redwood Canyon. It is one of the few old-growth or virgin (unlogged) redwood forests to survive in the San Francisco Bay Area.[8] Not far from Muir Woods are two smaller old-growth forests, including one to the northwest in Steep Ravine within Mount Tamalpais State Park (a grove once considered for inclusion in Muir Woods National Monument), and another on the northwestern side of Mount Tamalpais in Samuel P. Taylor State Park, near Lagunitas. Throughout the monument, redwoods border or are intermixed

Figure 1.5: Distribution of coast redwood and giant sequoia (here noted as Sierra redwood). National Park Service, c.1935, published in James Shirley, *The Redwoods of Coast and Sierra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), 18.

Figure 1.6: Characteristic old-growth redwood forest in Muir Woods illustrating a family circle and fire scars. James Morley, *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991), 20.

with Douglas-fir. Other forest and plant communities found in the monument include chaparral (a shrub association), grasslands, and deciduous woods, mostly along the upper boundaries and on the creek flats at the south end of the canyon. [Figure 1.4] Prior to extensive logging that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, the Marin Peninsula had large areas of redwood, Douglas-fir, and mixed deciduous forest. In West Marin, the redwood forests were less extensive than in East Marin, restricted mostly to canyons and along creeks. The dominant vegetation on the highlands of the Marin Peninsula was grassland. A hunter who crossed the lower peninsula in 1847, prior to significant development, recorded, "...there was no timber to be seen, and except the stunted undergrowth netted together in the valleys and ravines, all was one rolling scene of grass, wild oats and flowers."[9]

The redwoods at Muir Woods are the coast redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*. They belong to the *taxodium* family, but are a distinct species from their well-known and larger cousin, the giant sequoia, *Sequoiadendron giganteum*, found in the Sierra Mountains two hundred miles to the southeast, most famously in Yosemite National Park. [Figure 1.5] The coast redwood grows in the so-called narrow fog belt along the Pacific Coast from southwestern Oregon to central California. Those at Muir Woods are categorized as part of the Central Redwood Forests, Marin Hills and Valleys Subsection. Unlike the extensive northern redwood forests in wetter and cooler northern California, the central redwood forests are in a drier region and are therefore restricted to moist, narrow canyons or northeasterly-facing slopes, often growing in close association with a Douglas-fir/tanoak forest. The coast redwood is the tallest tree species in North America, reaching mature heights of two hundred to well over three hundred feet, but it is a relatively slender tree compared with the giant sequoia, with trunks generally not exceeding twenty feet in diameter at breast height. It is also a very long-lived tree, with a potential lifespan of more than two thousand years. [10]

At Muir Woods, the redwood forest extends along the canyon floor north beyond the monument, across most of the northeastern-facing canyon wall up to the Dipsea Trail, and along portions of the lower southwest-facing wall and adjoining side canyons extending to the Ocean View Trail. In these areas, the redwoods thrive in a cool microclimate with loamy soils and ample moisture from fog, rain, and groundwater. The canyon floor bordering Redwood Creek generally contains the largest and most widely spaced trees. [Figure 1.6] In circumference, the largest tree at Muir Woods today measures 13.5 feet in diameter at breast height, while the tallest tree is 254 feet high.

Although most of the old trees in Muir Woods are probably five to six hundred years old, a few old specimens may be upward of 1,500 years in age.[11] Many of the trees that grew from bud tissue of parent trees (rather than from seedlings) trace their genetic lineage back much farther. The great height, age, and visual beauty of the coast redwoods at Muir Woods has often inspired poetic descriptions, as one writer for the federal Works Progress Administration waxed in 1940: "Their clean, gently tapering shafts, clothed with thick, purplish, massively fluted bark, rise uninterrupted by branches for approximately a third of their height. The foliage is delicate and feathery, but dense enough to keep perpetual twilight on the forest floor."[12]

Old-growth redwoods have a number of other traits that give the forest a distinctive character. First is their resistance to rot due to high levels of tannic acid, which not only allows the trees to attain great age, but also permits stumps, snags, and fallen trees to survive centuries. The redwoods also have a high resistance to fire, due to the thickness and high moisture level in their bark, so that many trees retain evidence of charring from fires extinguished centuries ago. While mature trees often survive moderate ground fires, they can succumb to high-intensity fires, especially those that envelop the entire canopy. Lastly, the ability of redwoods to reproduce from underground bud tissue often results in formations known as "family circles," characterized by a ring of younger trees surrounding either the site or ancient stump of the parent tree [see Figure 1.6].[13] Old-growth redwood forests also support a rich variety of understory plants, including sword fern (*Nephrolepsis exaltata*), huckleberry (*Gaylussacia*), redwood sorrel (*Oxalis spp.*), tanoak (*Lithocarpus densiflorus*), and California bay or laurel (*Umbellularia californica*).[14] Along creeks in the woods, big-leaf maple (*Acer macrophyllum*) is common. Young redwood forests—those that have grown up in the past one hundred years or so— tend to occur on the upper margins of the old growth where grass and brush fires were historically common, but which have been suppressed over the past century. These forests generally have a less diverse and shrubbier understory, and lack the distinctive old-growth formations. They are characterized by a relatively high density and even distribution of trees, and a lower canopy. [Figure 1.7]

Figure 1.7: Characteristic younger redwood forest along the Oceanview Trail, on upper southwest side of Redwood Canyon. *James Morley, Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991), 30.

As the climate in Redwood Canyon becomes warmer and drier at higher and more southerly-facing elevations, the redwoods generally transition to Douglas-fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). Douglas-fir is also a large conifer, reaching over two hundred feet tall (the tallest tree in the monument, which recently fell, was a Douglas-

Figure 1.8: Photograph of a grove of California buckeye on the floodplain between the main and lower parking areas. James Morley, *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991), 70.

fir), but unlike the redwood, is a preclimax tree that generally does not exceed four hundred years in age. This is due in large part to the fact that, unlike the redwood, its wood is not rot or insect resistant. At Muir Woods, the tree is found in small, pure stands along and north of the southern ridge near the Dipsea Trail, and on the lower north slope east of Fern Creek, as well as scattered within the redwoods.[15] Along the floodplain of Redwood Creek where the canyon broadens out at the southern end of the monument, the vegetation takes on a much different character. [Figure 1.8] It is generally dominated by smaller, deciduous trees and broadleaf evergreens such as California bay (laurel) and tanoak, plus California buckeye (*Aesculus californica)*, coast live oaks (*Quercus agrifolia*), Pacific madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*), and red alder (*Alnus rubra*).[16]

Common trees of the mixed deciduous and broad-leaf evergreen forest found throughout Mount Tamalpais and along the margins of Muir Woods National Monument include species such as the tanoak already mentioned, plus dogwood, willows, junipers, cottonwoods, pines, and cedars. Chaparral is a climax shrub community of fire-adapted broadleaf evergreens, generally occurring on poor, dry soils in central and southern California. The name is derived from the Spanish *chapa*, meaning scrub oak. The most common species in chaparral that is subject to burn cycles of more than twenty years include manzanita (*Arctostaphylos spp.*), ceanothus (*Ceanothus spp.*), and scrub oak (*Quercus berberidifolia*). Grasslands typically are found on exposed but less arid areas, such as ridges, and are much less extensive than prior to the arrival of Europeans, probably due to the reduction of fires. Common grasses include needlegrasses (*Stipa spp.*), fescues (*Festuca spp.*), barleys (*Horedum spp.*), and brome grasses (*Bromus spp.*).[17] Many of these have been overwhelmed by non-native introductions in the region, including oat grass (*Avena spp.*) and the brome grasses. Another common introduced species is the eucalyptus tree (*Eucalyptus spp.*), now considered an invasive and being eradicated from natural areas of the mountain.[18]

The existing redwood forest and surrounding plant communities have witnessed considerable change brought on by humans, especially since the arrival of Europeans in the eighteenth century. Cyclical change, however, was also a major part of the native environment. The most formidable force for such change was fire, with three to five major fires occurring each century prior to the arrival of Europeans, some possibly set by Native Americans. The last recorded major fire within Redwood Canyon occurred in c.1845, which along with earlier fires produced the

charring on the old-growth redwoods still visible today.[19] Such fires, along with grazing, played a major role in the balance between forest cover, chaparral, and grassland. By the early twentieth century, a system of fire suppression was altering the natural balance, most notably by allowing redwoods and Douglas-fir to extend their range into chaparral and grassland. The elimination of grazing on the grasslands by the 1960s further accelerated the reduction of grassland.[20] The redwood forest and its understory have also changed, especially over the past century since the beginning of heavy visitation and park use on the floor of Redwood Canyon. This impact, however, has been greatly reduced over the past three decades by more strictly controlled access, which has reduced soil compaction and trampling of the understory. Despite these natural and cultural changes, the existing old-growth redwoods at Muir Woods represent a plant community that has largely retained its location and general character for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years.

As with the flora, the fauna of Mount Tamalpais and Redwood Canyon has seen significant change, particularly over the past one hundred years. Large mammals have experienced the biggest fluctuations, including the disappearance and near elimination of bear, elk, mountain lion, and coyote. Deer remain plentiful, as do small mammals such as squirrels, raccoons, foxes, bobcats, and skunks. In winter when Redwood Creek is swollen, coho salmon and steelhead trout return to its gravel beds to spawn, but in far fewer numbers than prior to development of Mount Tamalpais and human manipulation of the creek.

THE COAST MIWOK

The Marin Peninsula, with its rich and diverse environment, was the homeland of the Coast Miwok people for centuries prior to the arrival of the first Europeans. As with all Native Americans, the Coast Miwok considered the land to belong to all people; private or individual land ownership was a foreign concept, introduced by Europeans. The land, in addition to providing subsistence, also held great spiritual meaning, with Mount Tamalpais and the redwood forests figuring prominently in Coast Miwok identity. The name Tamalpais is most probably of Miwok origin, meaning “coast mountain” (early European explorers and settlers called the Miwok by the name “Tamal Indians”). The Miwok believed that the summit was a dangerous place inhabited by spirits, and therefore not to be visited. It is not known if the Miwok held similar spiritual associations with the redwoods, which they called *cho-lay*. [21]

The Coast Miwok were part of a larger linguistic family that included the Bay and Sierra Miwoks, who together lived across a region from San Francisco Bay east toward to the Sierra Nevada. The earliest evidence of Coast Miwok habitation in the

Marin area, found along shores of San Francisco and San Pablo Bays, dates back 7,000 years.[22] Around the time of European contact in the eighteenth century, total Miwok population has been estimated at 22,000, less than ten percent being Coast Miwok.[23] There were an estimated fifteen independent Coast Miwok tribes at this time in Marin County and the adjoining county to the north, Sonoma. The tribe of Coast Miwok who inhabited the Redwood Creek watershed is known as the *Huimen*.[24]

The Coast Miwok were tideland and riverine hunters and gatherers who lived primarily off fish, shellfish, nuts (mostly acorns from the abundant oaks), greens, berries, and game, making use of the rocky shore, mud flats, and upland creek terraces and canyon floors. They may have set periodic fires to maintain grasslands. The annual salmon runs, such as in Redwood Creek, provided a large part of the Coast Miwok subsistence. They lived in conical houses framed with poles and sheathed in bark and grasses, generally in hamlets consisting of extended family units.[25] These hamlets were mostly located along the bays, although several may have been on or near running streams in the interior. More typical along the inland streams were seasonal residences and camps, usually where two tributaries joined near oaks and buckeyes. It is thought that the seasonal residences were in use particularly during salmon runs. Although the Miwok relied heavily on waterways for transportation, they also used paths and trails, which generally followed streams and ridges.[26]

Within and near Muir Woods National Monument, no archeological evidence has been found of Coast Miwok (Huimen) habitation. The nearest evidence suggesting a habitation site has been found at Muir Beach, near the mouth of Redwood Creek.[27] Known villages in the vicinity were on Bolinas Bay to the northwest, present-day San Rafael to the northeast, and Sausalito to the southeast. Although the Coast Miwok may not have lived within Muir Woods, they certainly knew the land well, and their paths probably crossed the forest, probably following the alignments of some of the current trails along the creeks and ridges, such as the main (Bootjack) Fern Creek, and Dipsea trails. The Coast Miwok most likely used the forest for hunting, fishing, and gathering, in keeping with their regional land-use patterns. Archeological findings of a blade and point on the canyon floor in the Bohemian Grove and on the ridge near the Dipsea Trail provide possible evidence of hunting in the area.[28] Tradition also states that there was an Indian "camp site" near the confluence of Redwood and Fern Creeks, near where a log cabin was later erected, although this has never been confirmed through archeological evidence.[29]

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT: MISSIONS AND RANCHOS

As with nearly all Native American peoples, the arrival of Europeans had a devastating effect on the Coast Miwok population and culture. Although the Coast Miwok may have made contact with Francis Drake, the first European to land on the Marin Peninsula in 1579, and subsequent explorers, it was not until European settlement began in the mid-eighteenth century that they would feel the full impact of colonialism. In 1776, the Spanish established a fort and mission at what would later become San Francisco, and forced Miwoks to work and live there. Exposed to European diseases for which they had no immunity, many Miwoks died. By 1793, a Spanish expedition was sent out from San Francisco to explore the nearby but unchartered Marin Peninsula, purportedly named after a Miwok chief. Settlement within Marin, however, did not begin until about 1817, when the Spanish erected an *asistencia* or hospital (relief) mission on the northern bay side of Marin, dedicated as Mission San Rafael Arcangel. The mission took over control of most of the land and converted an estimated 3,000 Miwok into the 1830s. The mission lands were supposed to go to the Miwok, but instead were sold to land speculators and ranchers. As at the San Francisco mission, the Miwok were decimated by European disease, and forcibly relocated; the mission life, together with other European cultural influences, destroyed their traditional lifeways. By 1840, Marin's Miwok population had been reduced by an estimated ninety percent. The decimation of the Miwok coincided with marked changes in the native landscape. On the old Miwok homeland, the Spanish introduced agriculture, including livestock (cattle, horses, and sheep) that grazed over much of the peninsula, and crops, such as oats, that proved invasive in the native grassland ecosystem. Some logging of the redwood forests was also begun. The first recorded large-scale logging in Marin was begun near the Mission San Rafael Archangel in 1816, to supply timber for the Presidio of San Francisco.[30]

The political environment was also evolving during the early nineteenth century, leading to changes in land ownership and expanded land uses and settlement. In 1822, Spain lost control of California to Mexico, and then in 1833-34, control of mission lands was transferred to the Mexican government, which in turn sold the lands to private owners through large grants. In Marin, the first land grant occurred in 1834 on the southeastern part of the peninsula that included part of present-day Mill Valley. This land was granted to David Reed, considered the first English-speaking resident of the Marin Peninsula who had arrived in the region in 1826. On his 4,428-acre grant, Reed established a livestock ranch (known locally as *rancho*) and expanded logging operations on the land that had begun nearly two decades earlier, building a saw mill that would later give the area its name. Reed named his grant Rancho de Corte Madera del Presidio, referring to the lumbering that had taken place there for the Presidio.[31]

Figure 1.9: Detail, 1860 map of Marin County illustrating limits of Rancho Sausalito, originally granted to William Antonio Richardson in 1838. Map reproduced in Fred Sandrock, "The Trails Make the Maps" (Mount Tamalpais Historic Project Newsletter, summer 1984, 3), annotated by SUNY ESF.

RICHARDSON'S RANCHO SAUSALITO

In 1836, the Marin Peninsula south of Mount Tamalpais, including Redwood Canyon, was acquired by an Englishman, William Antonio Richardson, who is best known as a founder of the Yerba Buena, later renamed San Francisco. In 1838, Richardson received an official grant for the land from the Mexican government, and named it *Rancho Sausalito* (also spelled *Saucelito*), meaning "little willow ranch." The grant covered 19,571 acres extending over most of the lower Marin Peninsula, from the Pacific Ocean to San Francisco Bay on the southeast, and from the Golden Gate north to the summit of Mount Tamalpais. It bordered Reed's Rancho de Corte Madera del Presidio by the creek of the same name, at the head of a long arm of San Francisco Bay, named Richardson's Bay. [Figure 1.9] The main town and port of Rancho Sausalito, where Richardson and his family lived after c.1838, was Sausalito, located on the San Francisco Bay at the southeastern corner of the peninsula. [32]

Most of Rancho Sausalito remained largely undeveloped and unsettled under Richardson's ownership. The natural grasslands, interspersed by forested and shrub-covered canyons, provided prime grazing and hunting lands. [Figure 1.10] Richardson maintained most of the ranch as open cattle range, over which as many as 2,800 head of cattle roamed, according to an 1847 census. As with many ranches in this part of California, he probably maintained one or more houses on the range where his ranch superintendent lived. [Figure 1.11] He also used the land for harvesting timber and drawing water. Richardson's main business, however, was shipping, which he developed in large part out of Sausalito. It was from here that he also shipped the products of his ranch, including cattle, wood, and water.

Through the 1840s and early 1850s, the landscape of Rancho Sausalito remained relatively unchanged while just a short distance to the south across the straits of the Golden Gate, San Francisco was growing into a boomtown with the Gold Rush of 1849. Richardson retained ownership of the vast majority of his ranch, except for several hundred acres within the village of Sausalito. By the mid-1850s, however, Richardson had become debt-ridden due to his own business problems as well as a widespread economic crash. Desperate to save the rancho, he signed a deal in 1855 with Samuel R. Throckmorton, a so-called '49er who had become successful in San Francisco real estate and other

Figure 1.10: Watercolor from William Meyer's 1842 journal describing his expedition to the Bay Area, showing large game in open grasslands and forested canyons characteristic of the Marin Peninsula. Courtesy University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

Figure 1.11: Engraving of a typical mid-nineteenth century rancho in central California, showing grassland and forested canyons characteristic of Rancho Sausalito. John Frost, *History of the State of California* (Auburn, New York: Derby & Miller, 1852), 46.

business affairs. In return for assuming Richardson's debts, the deal called for Throckmorton to take ownership of the rancho and assume full management of its lands; however, he was also to return the property to the Richardson family as the debt was paid off. On February 9, 1856, Richardson transferred the deed for Rancho Sausalito's 19,572 acres to Throckmorton. Two months later, Richardson died, and the deal was apparently abandoned, leaving Throckmorton as permanent owner of Rancho Sausalito.[33]

THROCKMORTON'S RANCHO SAUSALITO

When Samuel Throckmorton acquired Rancho Sausalito in 1856, the entire San Francisco Bay region was undergoing a boom, affecting adjoining lands on the once remote Marin Peninsula. By 1862, Marin County, which largely corresponded to the Marin Peninsula, had become the leading dairy-producing county in California, replacing cattle as the mainstay of the old ranchos.[34] Marin had also become a major supplier of timber, with the abundant redwoods used for pilings, finished lumber, and the other woods used for cordwood and building purposes. By the 1850s, however, most of the redwoods had been logged from the vicinity of Mill Valley, especially in areas that were easily accessible to navigable water.

All of this economic activity led to the growth of a number of communities on the peninsula close to Rancho Sausalito's border, most notably Sausalito and San Rafael, both on the bay side of the peninsula where there were adequate harbors that provided navigable connections with San Francisco. [Figure 1.12] The first ferry service to Marin began in 1855, with a route from San Francisco to Point San Quentin to the north of Rancho Sausalito, followed by a service from Sausalito begun in 1868. Soon, rail lines were laid out, providing access to northern California and its extensive lumber resources. In 1873, the North Pacific Coast Railway was constructed south to Sausalito along the eastern shore of the peninsula. Unlike the bay side, the Pacific Coast of the Marin Peninsula, with its high cliffs and lack of deep ports, remained largely undevel-

Figure 1.12: Map of Marin County in 1873 illustrating extent of settlement surrounding Rancho Sausalito (light gray) during Throckmorton ownership. Detail, "Map of Marin County, California" (San Francisco?: Compiled by H. Austin, County Surveyor, 1873), California State Library, Sacramento, annotated by SUNY ESF.

oped and inaccessible, except for Bolinas, a small port community at the head of the Bolinas Bay. Access to the interior of Marin remained very limited throughout this period, characterized primarily by trails and primitive wagon roads. In 1870, the first public road (following today's Route 1) was built into the interior of the peninsula to connect Sausalito to Bolinas, passing through Rancho Sausalito south of Mount Tamalpais and extending up the Pacific Coast.[35]

Although Samuel Throckmorton initially used all of Rancho Sausalito for his own farming and hunting uses, by 1859 he had begun to subdivide the land and lease it out, mostly to Swiss and Portuguese dairy farmers. He did this in part to capitalize on the increasing demand for milk from the growing San Francisco market, and to protect the remote parts of the ranch. By 1880, he had subdivided twenty-four ranches, which generally ranged in size from 500 to 1,500 acres.[36] [Figure 1.13] These ranches were in the region later known as West Marin, extending along the Pacific Coast from Tennessee Valley in the south to near Willow Camp (Stinson Beach) on the north, and inland east to Throckmorton Ridge.

Throckmorton used the eastern part of Rancho Sausalito, corresponding with the bayside east of Throckmorton Ridge, as his own ranch land, where he raised cattle, grew hay, and harvested timber. He lived with his family in San Francisco, and managed Rancho Sausalito through a superintendent, who lived at a house called "The Homestead," in an area later known as Homestead Valley south and east of Redwood Canyon [Figure 1.13]. Throckmorton used a portion of The Homestead as a retreat during hunting and fishing expeditions in the part of Rancho Sausalito that he reserved as his own private hunting preserve. These lands, generally unsuitable for agriculture, extended north and west of The Homestead, extending from Redwood Canyon north up the higher elevations of Mount Tamalpais.[37] To access these lands, Throckmorton probably used a trail that went over the ridge to the south end of Redwood Canyon, possibly following the later alignment of Muir Woods Road. Throckmorton apparently cared a great deal about the ranch and his hunting lands in particular. According to an account from the daughter of the ranch superintendent, Rancho Sausalito was Samuel Throckmorton's "...pride and playground. He was very jealous of

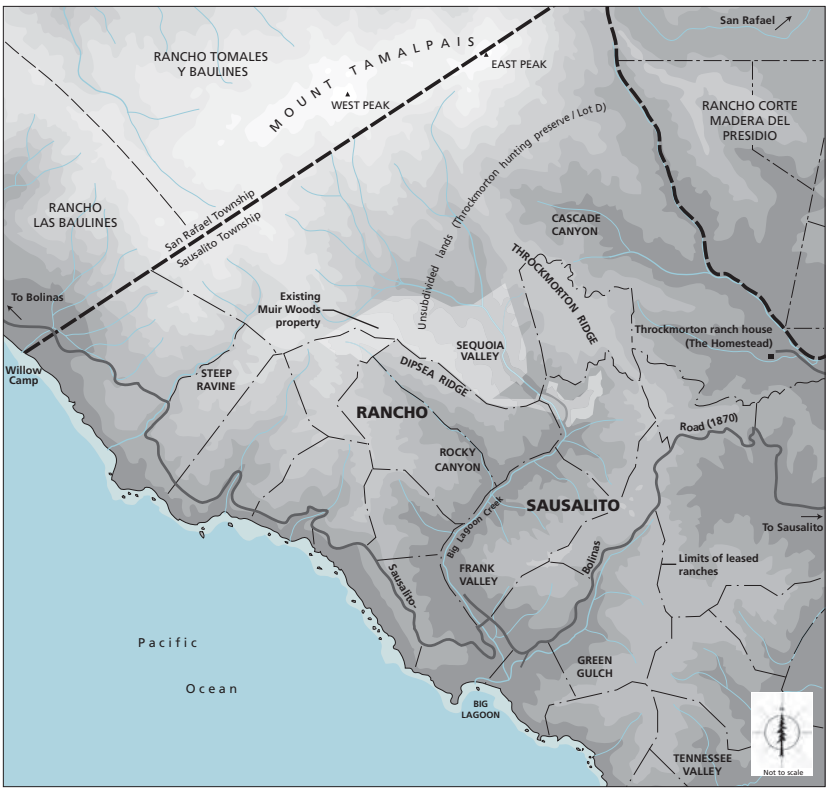


Figure 1.13: Map of the northern part of Samuel Throckmorton's Rancho Sausalito, c.1883, showing assumed boundaries of the twenty-four leased ranches and the undivided hunting preserve lands in relationship to current boundaries of Muir Woods National Monument. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993), Tom Harrison, "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003), and "Tamalpais Land and Water Company Map. No. 3" (1892).

it and would allow no trespassers or campers on it and only allow his friends to picnic there by his own special permit. It was quite a privilege to obtain permission to spend a day at the ranch..."[38] One area he reserved for camping and picnicking was the forested Cascade Canyon, located at the upper reaches of Mill Valley; Redwood Canyon was undoubtedly also a favorite area of his for hunting and fishing, and possibly for camping as well.[39]

In order to protect his ranch lands, Throckmorton erected an extensive system of boundary fences, which he estimated in 1878 to be thirteen to fifteen miles in length. Along the public roads, such as the road to San Rafael, Throckmorton also relied on the fences—some up to eight feet high—to keep out intruders.[40] These intruders, according to an 1878 account by Throckmorton, were day-trippers who arrived in Sausalito from San Francisco on a fifteen-cent ferry, mostly on Sundays. He claimed that his ranch fences were constantly being broken down with people wanting to hunt and have campfires on his ranchlands. At the time, Mount Tamalpais was becoming noted for small game, and hikers were beginning to discover the mountain's rugged peaks.[41] A hiking club, the Tamalpais Club, was founded prior to 1880, although they most likely reached the summit from the north via San Rafael, avoiding trespass across Throckmorton's land. [42] Beyond the small number of hikers and hunters, the natural attributes of Mount Tamalpais were also becoming better known to the general population in the years after the Civil War. The mountain was featured prominently in an 1873 article in San Francisco's *Illustrated Press*, which included a front-page engraving of the mountain. [Figure 1.14] The paper noted that Mount Tamalpais "…presents a solemn and beautiful appearance from this city, with the sun standing among the shrubbery on his wrinkled sides, and 'His brow in the cloud and his chin in the wave,' as one of our California poets has ably said in describing the situation of the mountain."[43] Reflecting the limited access to the mountain at the time, the article mentioned that only "…small parties occasionally visit the mountain during the summer months," and that the best point of access was along the northeast side, from San Rafael. Two years after this article, an 1875 issue of the nationally circulated journal *Harper's Monthly* featured Mount Tamalpais in an article entitled

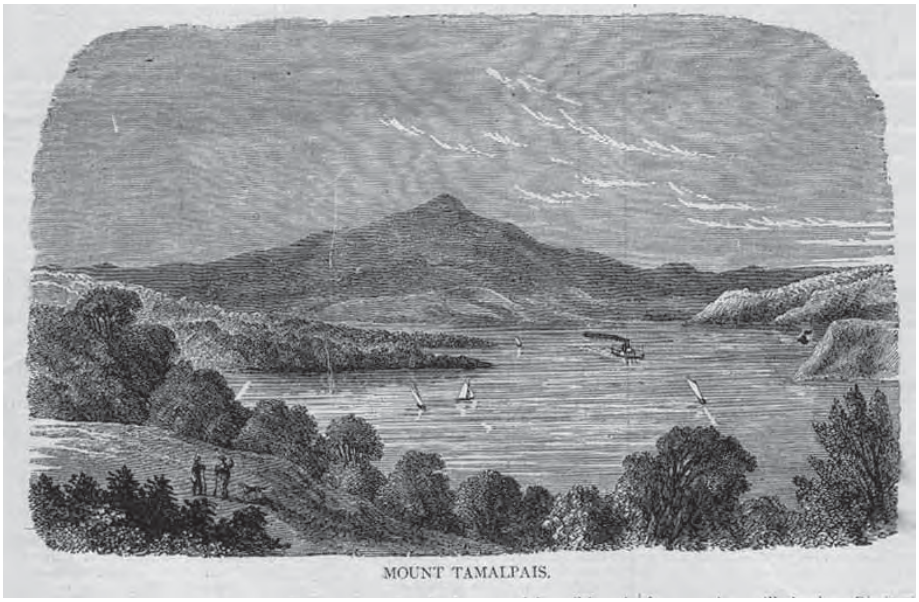


Figure 1.14: Engraving of Mount Tamalpais, probably looking northwest from Richardson's Bay, published in San Francisco *Illustrated Press*, vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1873), front page.

"Suburbs of San Francisco," complete with an engraving similar to the one in the *Illustrated Press*.[44]

Samuel Throckmorton's prohibition against public access to his rancho lands came to an end in the years following his death in 1883. He left Rancho Sausalito to his only surviving child, Susanna, who, unable to settle high debts and other expenses, soon lost the property. The growing public interest in the ranch lands would begin a new era in the ownership and management of Mount Tamalpais, including Redwood Canyon.

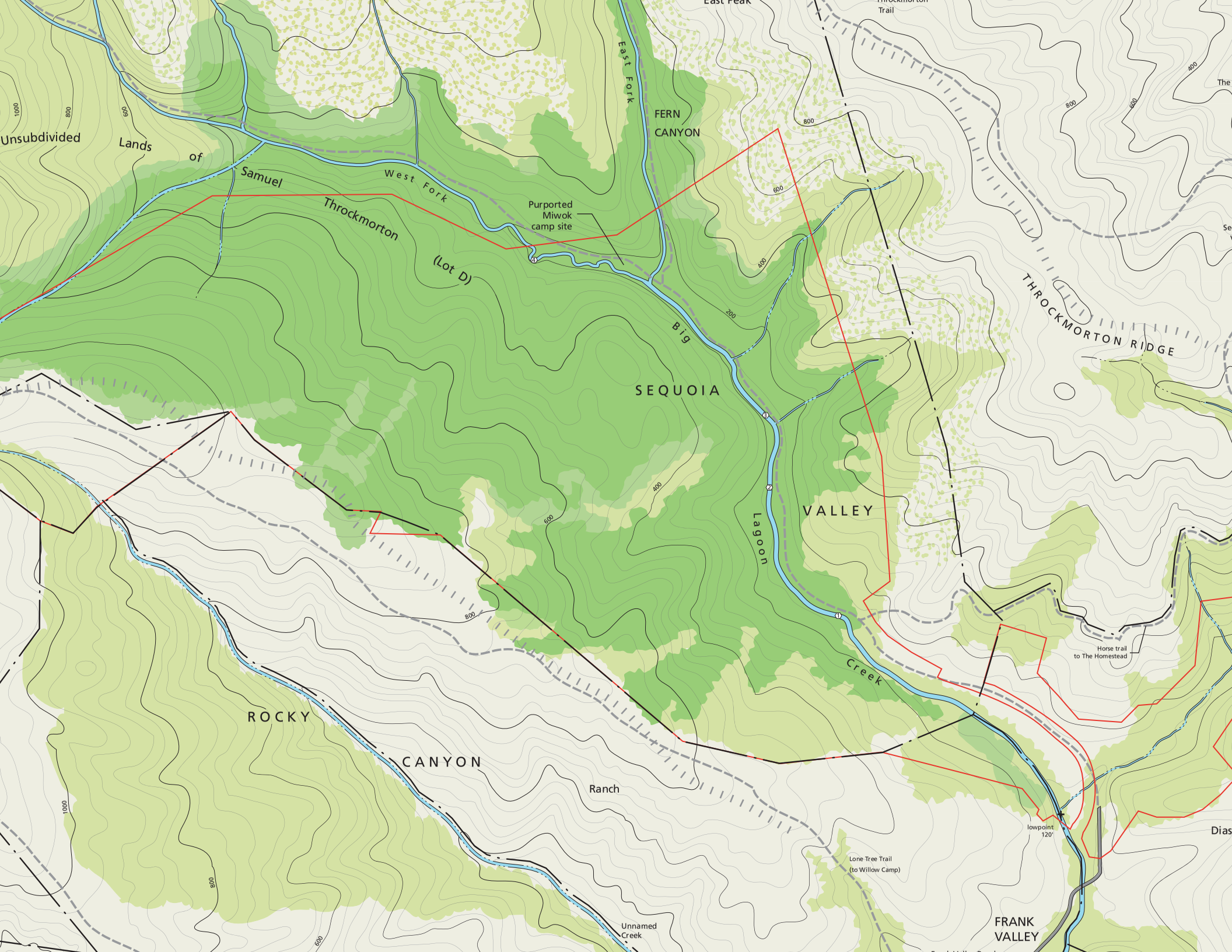
LANDSCAPE OF REDWOOD CANYON, 1883

Upon Samuel Throckmorton's death in 1883, Redwood Canyon (then apparently known as Sequoia Valley or Sequoia Canyon) and surrounding lands that would later comprise Muir Woods National Monument were part of his unsubdivided lands on Mount Tamalpais that he used as a hunting preserve. [Drawing 1] Redwood Canyon was bordered by Throckmorton's subdivided ranches, although it is not known if these were actively farmed or leased at the time. These ranches were primarily chaparral and open grassland, with deciduous woods along creeks and on the canyon walls.

Under its ownership by Richardson and later Throckmorton, Redwood Canyon remained relatively remote, four miles distant from the Pacific Coast, and separated from the railroad and main roads to the east by a tall ridge, known as Throckmorton Ridge. Despite its relative isolation, Redwood Canyon was just a short distance over the ridge from Throckmorton's retreat at The Homestead, and he thus undoubtedly knew the land very well. He would have traveled there along the trail from The Homestead, most likely following present-day Muir Woods Road [see Drawing 1].[45] At the floor of the canyon, this trail met up with a trail that paralleled Redwood Creek, then known as Big Lagoon Creek. This trail was an extension of a ranch road or trail that ran along the creek in Frank Valley, leading through some of Throckmorton's leased dairy ranches. This road also provided access from the Sausalito-Bolinas Road (later Route 1), which had been built in 1870. Within Redwood Canyon, the road through Frank Valley became a trail that branched at Fern Creek, then known as the East Fork. One trail led up Fern Canyon toward the East Peak of Mount Tamalpais, the other along the West Fork (upper Redwood Creek) and its tributary, Bootjack Creek, toward the West Peak. Along the ridge south of Redwood Canyon, a trail (later known as the Dipsea Trail) ran west past the Lone Tree to Willow Camp (later Stinson Beach). Some of these trails may have originated as animal tracks or Miwok paths.

Unlike most redwood forests on the Marin Peninsula, the one in Redwood Canyon was never logged. By the 1870s and 1880s, Throckmorton most likely could have logged it. Although it would have been difficult, he could have transported the redwoods down Frank Valley to the Pacific Ocean and on to lumber schooners up the coast to Bolinas. He certainly would have welcomed such revenue to address his burdensome mortgage on the ranch. Instead, Throckmorton apparently reserved the canyon for his own private recreational purposes—probably for hunting, fishing and camping—as part of his private game preserve on Mount Tamalpais. With an increasing amount of land on the Marin Peninsula cleared, developed, or fenced for pasture during the late nineteenth century, the forest of Redwood Canyon would have become a natural refuge for the dwindling populations of bear and other large game, and the waters of Redwood Creek remained cool and clear for the native salmon.

Anxious to keep the day-trippers from San Francisco out of Rancho Sausalito, Samuel Throckmorton apparently met with success in keeping secret the natural wonders of Redwood Canyon. In its 1875 article on the attractions of the suburbs of San Francisco, *Harper's Monthly* made no mention of the redwood forest, despite that it featured Mount Tamalpais prominently within the article and mentioned trees that grew in the area. Instead of the mighty redwood, the article praised the "orchard oaks" and "blue-gum trees" that grew in area parks and picnic grounds.[46] In the two decades following his death in 1883, Throckmorton's old game preserve, including Redwood Canyon, would remain in private ownership. The new landowners, however, would welcome the public's interest, managing their new lands for commercial, recreational, and conservation purposes.


East Peak
Throckmorton Trail
East Fork
FERN CANYON
Unsubdivided Lands of Samuel Throckmorton (Lot D)
West Fork
Purported Miwok camp site
Big
SEQUOIA
VALLEY
Lagoon
Creek
THROCKMORTON RIDGE
Horse trail to The Homestead
ROCKY CANYON
Ranch
lowpoint 120'
Lone Tree Trail (to Willow Camp)
Unnamed Creek
FRANK VALLEY
1000
800
600
400
200

CHAPTER 2
PARK ORIGINS IN REDWOOD CANYON, 1883-1907

After Samuel Throckmorton's death in 1883, his lands in Rancho Sausalito including Redwood Canyon—long off-limits except for his invited guests and friends—began to be opened up for development and public use. In 1889, the ranch was acquired by land developers, who together with other local residents, business people, and hikers extended roads, a railway, and trails, into the largely undeveloped lands in the western part of the ranch, which Throckmorton had leased to dairy farmers and used as his own private hunting preserve. With such expanding access, Mount Tamalpais was becoming widely discovered as San Francisco's own nearby wilderness playground. The western journal, *Overland Monthly*, reported in 1904 :

> *Many longing eyes have read the descriptions of the summer outings of the Sierra Club in the Yosemite* [National Park, 200 miles east of San Francisco]...*Still, near at hand there is a mountain paradise in which nature livers [sic] may revel in a pleasing variety of scenery that is hard to surpass. Indeed, there are many who have traveled in the wildest parts of this continent, and who yet loyally claim that no more romantic, varied beauty may be seen in any trip of a day's duration than upon the slopes of Mount Tamalpais.*[1]

At the time this article was published, a movement was underway to make much of Mount Tamalpais into a public park. Chief among the attractions of the mountain was the old-growth redwood forest of Redwood Canyon, then also known as Sequoia Canyon. Through the turn of the twentieth century, Redwood Canyon was used as a sportsman's hunting preserve, but was visited by an increasing number of hikers and tourists. By the turn of the century, development pressures were increasing on Mount Tamalpais, leading one of the region's prominent conservation advocates—William Kent—to acquire Redwood Canyon in 1905 to safeguard its redwood forest and oversee its improvement as a park and tourist destination.

OLD RANCHO SAUSALITO AND MILL VALLEY

When Susanna MacClaren Throckmorton inherited Rancho Sausalito upon her father's death in 1883, she became the owner of nearly 14,000 acres, stretching across the Marin Peninsula from the Marin Headlands on the south to the summit of Mount Tamalpais on the north. The only large tracts that had been sold off from the original grant of over 19,000 acres were the government reservation in the Marin Headlands overlooking the Golden Gate, a tract near the village of Sausalito conveyed to the Saucelito Land and Ferry Company, and strips of land for rights of way. By the 1880s, Rancho Sausalito remained one of the largest

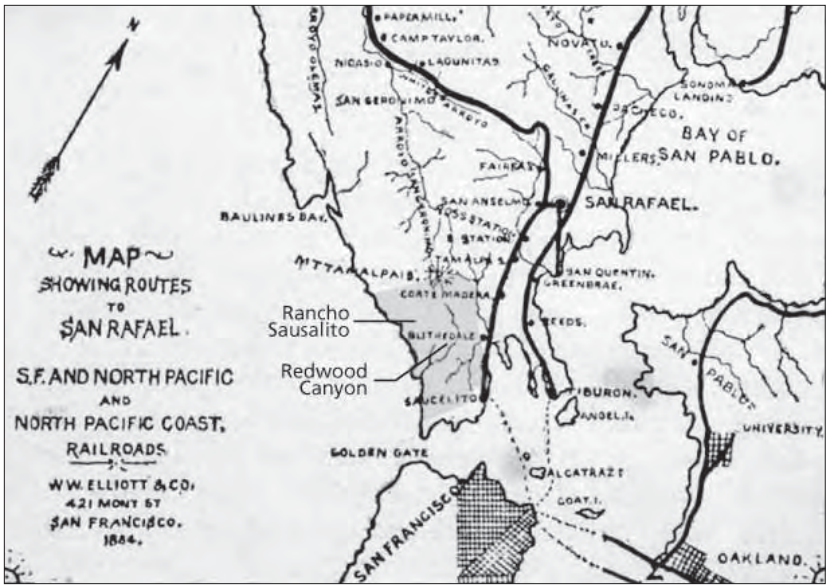


Figure 2.1: Detail of an 1884 map of Marin County illustrating railroads (dark lines), ferry routes (dashed lines), and communities in relationship to Rancho Sausalito and Redwood Canyon. *San Rafael Illustrated and Described* (San Francisco: W. W. Elliott & Co., 1884), Marin County Public Library website, annotated by SUNY ESF.

undeveloped tracts in close proximity to the city of San Francisco. It was, however, bordered by an increasing amount of development, including one of the two main-line railroads to the north, the North Coast Pacific Railroad, and by the burgeoning communities of Sausalito, San Rafael, and numerous other communities that were growing along its route. [Figure 2.1]

Susanna Throckmorton tried to keep Rancho Sausalito intact and continued to operate it for several years as her father had, leasing numerous dairy ranches. She did, however, allow an increasing number of church and other social groups to camp on her father's old hunting preserve, although still by permission only.[2] Despite her best efforts, Susanna was unable to retain the rancho due to a large mortgage left by her father that was held by the San Francisco Savings Union with the ranch as collateral. In 1887, no longer able to meet mortgage payments, she met with officials of the bank to determine a settlement and liquidation. The bank organized a group of prominent real estate and business investors, who had probably long harbored dreams of development for the property, to tour the ranch and devise development schemes. Within two years, Susanna had conveyed most of her Rancho Sausalito property to the bank. On July 17, 1889, the investors filed incorporation papers as a development entity named the Tamalpais Land & Water Company of San Francisco, which soon assumed ownership of the property from the bank.[3]

DEVELOPMENT OF MILL VALLEY AND EASTERN MARIN

Upon taking title to Rancho Sausalito, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company laid out plans for subdivision and development. Their initial focus was the development of a community in a valley at the head of Richardson's Bay near the North Pacific Coast Railroad, northeast of Throckmorton Ridge from Redwood Canyon. [Figure 2.2] The site bordered lands of the old Rancho Corte de Madera del Presidio, near where David Reed had built his sawmill earlier in the century, and hence the community was named Mill Valley. As one of its first orders of business, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company laid out the streets and lots, and built a reservoir and waterlines, drawing from Fern Creek and springs in the watershed on the south side of Mount Tamalpais above Redwood Canyon. The company also worked with the North Pacific Coast Railroad to construct a branch line into Mill Valley, a distance of just under two miles. The main line, which had been built in

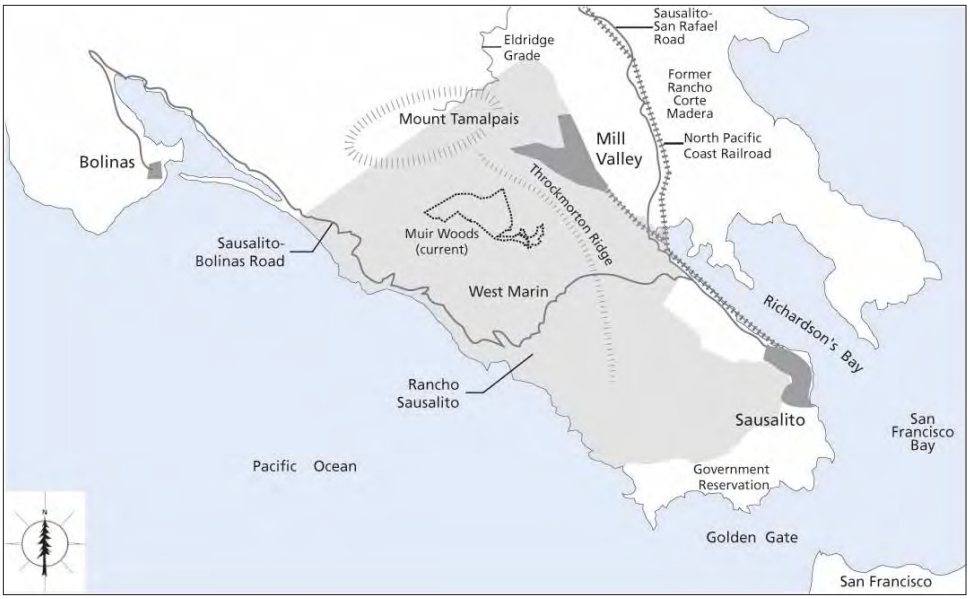


Figure 2.2: Diagram of Rancho Sausalito showing its relationship to existing boundaries of Muir Woods, Mill Valley, rail lines, and the general division of East and West Marin by Throckmorton Ridge, c.1890. SUNY ESF.

1874, extended south to Sausalito where it connected to San Francisco via ferry [see Figure 2.1]. The Mill Valley Branch railway was completed in 1889, making possible access from the new development to the foot of Market Street in San Francisco by rail and ferry in just fifty minutes.[4] The following year, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company began to auction off lots in Mill Valley, operating out of an office in the heart of the development, surrounded at the time of its construction by rolling grasslands of the old ranch. [Figure 2.3] An editorial in the *Marin Journal* appearing in 1890 surmised:

> *We believe a town will grow there rapidly. No spot so sheltered, so exquisitely adorned by nature, and so thoroughly inviting can be found anywhere else in the same distance from the city* [San Francisco]. *The lovely valley is clothed with handsome forest trees, and a charming, never-failing stream of pure, cold water runs through it...A more inviting place for a cottage retreat would be hard to find.*[5]

Early on, the new town took on the character of a resort, influenced in large part by the close proximity of the wild lands on Mount Tamalpais. As anticipated by the *Marin Journal*, many of the first generation houses were intended for use as country or seasonal retreats, and a large number of lots (probably those in wooded canyons) were initially not built upon, but rather used as camps. In 1892, two years after the initial land auction had begun, a survey found 150 individual camps in Mill Valley used by more than 700 people. The typical camp consisted of one to several tents used by single families, groups of friends, and social organizations. Some of these camps persisted for years, but by the turn of the century, they had typically been replaced by permanent residences, reflecting the community's shift toward year-round suburban use. Most of the original lots in Mill Valley had been sold by the turn of the century, and the development had grown sufficiently to warrant incorporation as a town, which was chartered in September 1900. During this time, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company continued to subdivide and develop their property in adjoining areas such as Homestead Valley where Samuel Throckmorton's ranch

Figure 2.3: The office of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, built in c.1890 in former ranchlands at site of future downtown Mill Valley, photographed 1891. Courtesy Lucretia Little History Room, Mill Valley Public Library, Mill Valley, California.

house had stood. These developed areas were all east of Throckmorton Ridge, which formed a boundary to the wild lands in West Marin.[6]

DISPOSITION OF RANCHO SAUSALITO LANDS IN WEST MARIN

Incorporation of the Town of Mill Valley in 1900 relieved the Tamalpais Land & Water Company from many of its municipal responsibilities such as road maintenance, and it instead focused on its profitable water business and disposing of its land elsewhere on old Rancho Sausalito, particularly in West Marin. It initially continued to lease property in this region, including Redwood Canyon, as dairy ranches and hunting lands. Although West Marin had a landscape as picturesque as Mill Valley, its remoteness from the main transportation corridors along San Francisco Bay, along with its rougher topography, inhibited development.

On Samuel Throckmorton's old hunting preserve, corresponding to most of the land not occupied by dairy ranches or otherwise leased, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company granted its use to a hunting club known as the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, also known as the Tamalpais Game Club. This private hunting club had probably been granted shooting and fishing privileges from the Throckmorton estate (Susanna Throckmorton) in the 1880s, prior to the company's purchase of the property.[7] Little is known about the club, but it was most likely formed soon after Samuel Throckmorton's death, perhaps by his friends and associates who wished to continue the hunting privileges he had granted them. The Tamalpais Land & Water Company probably considered their hunting privileges as a temporary or secondary use, instead reserving much of the land primarily for water supply.[8] By 1890, the center of the sportsmen's game preserve was Redwood Canyon, near where they maintained a clubhouse.[9]

In the late 1890s, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company began to sell off of its land in West Marin, except for the parcels higher up on Mount Tamalpais that it hoped to use for water supply. In 1892, the company had the land surveyed, identifying thirty-four tracts that were labeled A to Z and numbered 1-8. [Figure 2.4] The survey did not, however, show buildings or land uses, so it is not known whether all of the subdivisions were actively being leased or farmed. A large area of land on the upper slopes of Mount Tamalpais, most likely corresponding to Samuel Throckmorton's private hunting preserve and including Redwood Canyon, remained unsurveyed, but was identified as "Lot D." Most if not all of the subdivided parcels were the same ranches that Throckmorton had leased, and many were purchased by the farmers who had been renting them. In 1898, the company filed its survey with the Marin County Recorder, and it was presumably at this time that it began to sell off the ranches.[10] In 1898, for example, the company sold Ranches P and O south and east of Redwood Canyon to its tenant, John Dias, who had rented the ranches from Susanna Throckmorton. These sales con-

Figure 2.4: Survey made in 1892 of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company's lands in West Marin illustrating subdivided ranches and unsurveyed lands that formed the game preserve of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association. Stippling within current boundaries of Muir Woods National Monument probably indicates redwood forest. Surveyed by Chas. N. Clapp, 1892, recorded 1898. Marin County Recorder's Office, San Rafael, Map 3, R. M. book 1, page 104, annotated by SUNY ESF.

tinued into the early twentieth century.[11] The company also sold or leased smaller parcels to well-connected individuals and organizations.

EARLY RECREATION AND CONSERVATION ON MOUNT TAMALPAIS

Even before the Tamalpais Land & Water Company acquired Rancho Sausalito from Susanna Throckmorton, recreational use of Mount Tamalpais had been increasing steadily, a trend Samuel Throckmorton had long tried to halt. The establishment of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association most likely represented an effort to continue private recreational use and exclude rising public interest in the lands. The association was one of a number of exclusive men's hunting and fishing clubs organized in the late nineteenth century in Marin. Others included the Lagunitas Rod and Gun Club, founded in the late 1890s on 12,000 acres on the north side of Mount Tamalpais, and the Country Club in Bear Valley, founded in 1890 and located on an extensive tract northwest of Mount Tamalpais on Point Reyes. Like the Tamalpais sportsmen, these clubs featured a central lodge or clubhouse, which served as the social heart of the organization.[12] They did allow some access to their lands to people outside of the clubs, but it was generally by invitation only.

The public often trespassed, however, since the large extent of the clubs' lands made it difficult to secure borders.

Other private landowners on Mount Tamalpais had a more lenient record of allowing public access. One was the Marin County Water Company, which owned a large tract on the north side of Mount Tamalpais as a watershed for its reservoir at Lagunitas Lake, created in 1873. The reservoir was featured prominently in the article about tourist attractions in the San Francisco area published by *Harper's Monthly* in 1875.[13] The water company increased its holdings on the north side of the mountain through the turn of the century to supply water to the growing communities in eastern Marin. In 1884, private landowners on the northeastern side of the mountain, probably including the water company as well as Susanna Throckmorton, granted a public right-of-way for the construction of the first road to the summit of Mount Tamalpais. Called the Eldridge Grade, the road wound up the mountain from the San Rafael area, then the largest community in the vicinity [see Figure 2.2]. Completion of this road began a period of increased visitation to the East and West Peaks.[14]

Although Susanna Throckmorton, and later the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, may have been more lenient about public access to Rancho Sausalito than Samuel Throckmorton had been, it would be a while before their prime recreational lands on the southwest side of Mount Tamalpais used by the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association and others would be widely open for public use. An indication of the continuing effort to restrict public access was evident in a resolution passed by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company around the turn of the century calling for property owners in the region to maintain "…the privacy of these lands, and preventing their use for picnic or excursion parties or other objectionable purposes."[15]

HIKERS & TOURISTS

Despite their best efforts, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company and new property owners in Mill Valley could not slow the public's growing interest in Mount Tamalpais. New residents of Mill Valley, particularly those who set up camps on their property, often ventured into the wild lands and ranches, accompanied by a continued flow of day-trippers from San Francisco who arrived in increasing numbers following the construction of the Mill Valley Branch of the North Pacific Coast Railroad in 1889. By the turn of the century, the public was being beckoned to the wonders of Mount Tamalpais, as the *Overland Monthly* reported in 1904:

> *Hither the wood-sick ones may journey to the countless gardenspots which are the pleasure-Meccas of Marin County. Mill Valley, Larkspur, Ross Valley and Fairfax* [communities in eastern Marin] *have their mingled charms of semi-*

civilized forest, and in these places thousands of holiday pleasure-seekers are content to linger. But these are only the jumping-off places from which the hardier ones hit the trails that lead to the remote canyons and forests of the mountain. With staff, haversack, and hob-nailed shoes the disciples of John Muir and Thoreau soon leave 'the madding [sic] crowd' far behind on the dusty roads, for beyond the western spurs of the mountain lie these secluded canyons of the wildest beauty.[16]

Several companies, first established in the 1890s, profited from the growing interest in Mount Tamalpais, offering excursion rides from Mill Valley on carriages, burros, horses, and wagons. The most popular means of access, however, was by foot. Sought-after destinations on Mount Tamalpais included the summits, the beach at Big Lagoon (Muir Beach), and Redwood Canyon.[17] Trails to these destinations wound across dairy ranches and through open grassland, chaparral, and forested canyons, all of which was privately owned at the time, mostly by dairy farmers and the Tamalpais Land & Water Company.

An indication of the growing popularity of hiking on Mount Tamalpais in the 1880s and 1890s was the founding of outdoor clubs. Many of these were organized by Austrian and German residents who sought to continue a favorite pastime from their native countries, and who likened the scenery of Mount Tamalpais to the Alps. The oldest of the clubs, the Tamalpais Club, had been founded prior to 1880. It was followed by a number of clubs that included hiking Mount Tamalpais among their main activities, including the Sightseers Club, founded in 1887; the Cross-Country Club, founded in 1890; the California Camera Club, founded in 1890; and the Columbia Park Boys' Club, founded in 1894. Members of the San Francisco-based Sierra Club, founded by John Muir in 1892, were undoubtedly also frequent hikers of Mount Tamalpais at this time. By the late 1890s, the renown of hiking on Mount Tamalpais and the surrounding region had been sufficiently established to warrant the publication of a hiking map in 1898, entitled "Tourists' Map of Mt. Tamalpais and Vicinity, Showing Railways, Wagon-Roads, Trails, Elevations &c." [Figure 2.5] This map showed a network of trails, many probably dating back to the earliest years of Rancho Sausalito, leading through and near Redwood Canyon and connecting to Mill Valley, the coast, and the summit of Mount Tamalpais.

THE MOUNTAIN RAILWAY

In addition to trails, the 1898 Tourists' Map showed the route of a railroad that twisted its way up Mount Tamalpais from Mill Valley (Eastland) : The Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway. Completed in 1896, the railway, commonly known as the mountain railway, was a major force in expanding the tourist trade and recreational use of Mount Tamalpais, and quickly became the most popular

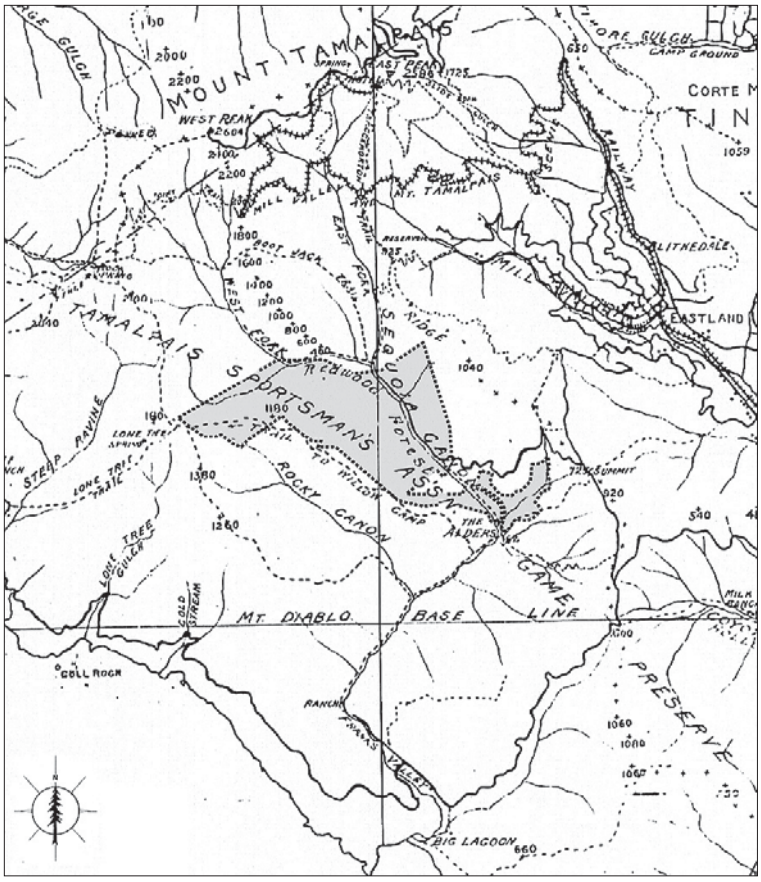


Figure 2.5: Detail, A. H. Sanborn, *Tourists' Map of Mt. Tamalpais and Vicinity, Showing Railways, Wagon-Roads, Trails, Elevations &c.* (San Francisco: Edward Denny & Company, 1902, originally published 1898), annotated by SUNY ESF. Mill Valley is labeled as Eastland, and the current limits of Muir Woods are shaded in gray.

way to reach the summit. A railway across the mountain had initially been proposed as part of the North Pacific Railway Branch line to Mill Valley constructed in 1889. Unlike the branch line, the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, as its name implies, was not conceived as a commuter or freight line, but strictly for recreational purposes. While supposedly envisioned by the secretary of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, the company did not develop the mountain railway, although it did provide some financial backing. The main backer was Sidney Cushing, owner of the Blithedale Hotel and lands in Blithedale Canyon along the proposed lower end of the route in Mill Valley; and by Albert Kent, a businessman from Chicago who had established a country place between San Rafael and Mill Valley and who also owned land along the proposed route. The railway was incorporated on January 15, 1896, and it was completed by August 27 of the same year. [18]

The mountain railway quickly became one of the most famous attractions on Mount Tamalpais, popularly dubbed "The Crookedest Railroad in the World" for its more than two hundred curves necessary to ascend the 2,200-foot climb on a maximum seven-percent grade. [Figures 2.6, 2.7] The railway was a single track, extending for 8.25 miles from downtown Mill Valley to its terminus just below East Peak, requiring a ride of ninety minutes uphill. In order to boost its business and provide visitor amenities, the railroad constructed an inn and restaurant at the terminus, called the Tavern of Tamalpais. Built

Figure 2.6: The mountain railway at the Double Bownot above Redwood Canyon, looking east toward San Francisco Bay, from a Northwest Pacific Railroad brochure, c.1900. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B24, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 2.7: Map of West Marin in vicinity of Redwood Canyon showing major subdivisions, roads, and railroads extant by c.1907. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993), Tom Harrison, "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003), and "Tamalpais Land and Water Company Map. No. 3" (1892).

in 1896 and expanded in 1900, the long, Shingle-style building featured a long porch facing south, overlooking Redwood Canyon and the Pacific Coast, with San Francisco in the distance.[19] [Figure 2.8] In 1904, the railway built a second, smaller inn at West Point, the westernmost extent of the line and point of departure to Stinson Beach via stage coach. Although many riders on the railroad simply came up to view the panorama, stay at the inn, or dine at the restaurant, many others chose to use it as a starting point for hikes on the mountain, with several trails leading down into Redwood Canyon from the terminus.

The railway's construction of West Point Inn was only one of its efforts to expand tourist attractions on Mount Tamalpais, and thus boost its business. In order to capitalize on the interest in visiting Redwood Canyon, the railway began planning for a branch line there around the same time it built the West Point Inn in 1904. This branch was publicly proposed in 1905 by Sidney Cushing, the president of the mountain railway, and was backed by William Kent, the son of Albert Kent who had been a backer of the original line.[20] Built in 1906-1907 but not fully operational until 1908, this two and one-half mile line was planned for use by open-air gravity cars, descending

Figure 2.8: Tavern of Tamalpais, view north of original building with East Peak in background, c.1896. Courtesy Al Graves Collection, published in Ted Wurm, *The Crookedest Railroad in the World* (Interurban Press, 1983).

from the "Double Bowknot" in the main line, approximately at its half-way point between Mill Valley and the East Peak [see Figure 2.7]. From this juncture at an elevation of 1,120 feet, known as "Mesa Station," the branch line descended west to Throckmorton Ridge, and then into the upper reaches of Redwood Canyon along the west side of Fern Canyon, terminating at an elevation of 490 feet.

KENT LANDS AND BEGINNINGS OF THE TAMALPAIS PARK MOVEMENT

Albert and William Kent's backing of the mountain railway was only one part of their extensive involvement in the Mount Tamalpais region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during which time they became the largest landowners on the mountain. They also became some of the foremost leaders in advocating for the conservation of natural resources and developing them for public benefit. Although the Kents were strong supporters of preserving the mountain's scenic beauty, they also believed that these resources had to be made accessible to the public through compatible development that would ensure adequate transportation and visitor amenities. Among most conservation circles of the day, such aims were not seen as contradictory, except to the few who followed a strict preservation approach.

Albert Kent, the wealthy owner of a meatpacking business in Chicago, traveled to the West following the Civil War. In 1871, he purchased 850 acres in Ross Valley, located on the northeast side of Mount Tamalpais in eastern Marin roughly between Mill Valley and San Rafael. Here, the family established their country place and farm, "Kentfield," while maintaining a permanent residence in Chicago. A short distance uphill from Kentfield was the Eldridge Grade, leading to the summit of Mount Tamalpais. By the 1890s, Albert Kent had purchased tracts of land on Mount Tamalpais, and his son was being approached to purchase more. In 1901, Albert died, and he left Kentfield and all of his property on Mount Tamalpais to William Kent, who continued to acquire land and make plans for their development and public access. In 1902, for example, the younger Kent conceived a major plan with Sidney Cushing, the president of the mountain railway, to extend the railway from West Point down Steep Ravine to Willow Camp (later known as Stinson Beach), then west and north through Bolinas. Instead of the rail line, however, only a stage road was built. Still anticipating increased tourism with the new road, Kent purchased tracts of land in Steep Ravine and at Willow Camp for both development and conservation, including Ranches 1, 2, 4, and 8 [see Figure 2.7]. In 1905, he purchased another large tract that included Redwood Canyon, and within three years, he had purchased neighboring Ranches W, X, and Y.[21] By 1907, William Kent had become one of the largest landowners on Mount Tamalpais, and his financial and personal interests had shifted sufficiently west that he moved from Chicago and made Kentfield his family's permanent home.[22]

During the years that the Kents were active in acquiring and developing land on Mount Tamalpais, outdoor clubs and a number of other environmental organizations, including John Muir's Sierra Club, began to take an active role in promoting conservation of Mount Tamalpais. Hiking groups established guidelines for appropriate conduct, which included prohibition of hunting, fishing, and littering, and for care of trails and prevention of fires.[23] Beginning in the 1890s, with development increasing in eastern Marin in communities such as Mill Valley, several large landowners, foremost being the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, began to progress plans for developing their lands for water supply, timber supply, housing, and roads, in ways that were contradictory to the conservationists' recreational and aesthetic goals. Such development proposals gave the park movement momentum.

Editorials began to appear in the 1890s calling for the preservation of the wild lands on Mount Tamalpais and establishment of public parklands, and by the turn of the century, concrete plans were being presented.[24] The general argument for the park was evident in a letter written in 1902 by Morrison Pixley, a local resident and friend of William Kent : "There is in Marin County, an opportunity for San Francisco to obtain a seaside park with giant redwoods and Mount Tamalpais in one enclosure and within an hour's travel time from the foot of Market St...[in San Francisco]."[25] One of the first organizations created to advance the park idea was the Tamalpais Forestry Association, which William Kent helped organize in 1901 for the purpose of protecting the scenic beauty of the semi-arid region, especially from fire. As Kent later remembered, he was, at this time, "...greatly interested in the general conservation of Tamalpais and its dedication as a public park."[26] Kent served as president of the Association in 1903 and 1904, and helped to launch an effective fire-fighting campaign. He also presided over an association meeting on September 12, 1903, attended by Gifford Pinchot, in which a formal proposal for a 12,000-acre public park on Mount Tamalpais was issued. From this meeting, the Tamalpais National Park Association was formed. Although the association counted several influential citizens among its members, the park movement failed to gain sufficient momentum during this time.[27] Gathering threats to key parcels on Mount Tamalpais, including Redwood Canyon, would instead be addressed individually through the efforts of private citizens such as William Kent.

TRANSITION OF REDWOOD CANYON TO PARK USE, 1883-1907

For over three decades following Samuel Throckmorton's death in 1883, the heart of Redwood Canyon remained under private ownership, with three different owners between 1883 and 1905 : Susanna Throckmorton, who inherited it from her father in 1883 as part of Rancho Sausalito; the Tamalpais Land & Water Com-

pany, which acquired it as part of Throckmorton estate/Rancho Sausalito in 1889; and William Kent, who purchased it as part of a 612-acre subdivision in 1905.

Under Susanna Throckmorton's brief ownership between 1883 and 1889, the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association probably had the right of use to Redwood Canyon. In its earliest years, the association may have used Bootjack Camp, located on a tributary of Redwood Creek, as a hunting camp. Redwood Canyon may have also served as a campsite, and certainly also as one of the club's main hunting and fishing grounds—the purported last black bear on Mount Tamalpais was trapped in Redwood Canyon during the 1880s, most likely by the sportsmen.[28] Redwood Canyon was accessible by a number of paths as well as a minor ranch road that paralleled Big Lagoon Creek (Frank Valley Road), but was otherwise little developed.[29] It was not until after purchase by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company in 1889 that more substantial development and recreational use began to occur in and around Redwood Canyon.

TAMALPAIS LAND & WATER COMPANY OWNERSHIP, 1889-1905

With its acquisition of Rancho Sausalito in 1889 and subsequent granting of hunting and fishing privileges to the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company made few changes to the boundaries or use of Redwood Canyon. With its lettering and numbering of the subdivided ranches in c.1892, Redwood Canyon fell within the southern end of the unsurveyed lands which were identified as Lot D, bounded by Ranches P, X, Y, 8 and 5 [see Figure 2.7]. During this time, however, the company began using the unsubdivided hunting preserve lands for water supply for Mill Valley and other areas of eastern Marin. The company initially tapped surface waters, piping from upper Fern Creek in a system completed in October 1890. This soon proved inadequate, and the company began looking for new water sources. One source it considered was Redwood Creek (the largest creek on the south side of Mount Tamalpais), which it planned to dam for water supply and electrical generation. Such a dam would have required the logging of a substantial part of the redwood forest. By the summer of 1892, however, the company had given up on these plans, apparently because it would have been difficult or costly to pump the water to Mill Valley over Throckmorton Ridge. The company instead built Cascade Dam on Old Mill Creek above Mill Valley and east of Throckmorton Ridge, a project that was finished in 1893.[30]

Aside from the problems with pumping over Throckmorton Ridge, another reason that the Tamalpais Land & Water Company abandoned its reservoir plans may have had to do with the influence of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, and in particular to one of its influential, conservation-minded members, William Kent.[31] An avid hunter, Kent's involvement in the club reflected not only his rec-

reational interests, but most likely also an interest in safeguarding the redwoods.[32] Years later, Kent remembered that "in about 1890," his friend Morrison F. Pixley, made him aware of the big trees and the need to safeguard them, apparently in light of Tamalpais Land & Water Company's plans to dam Redwood Creek.[33] Probably recognizing the sportsman's association as a lobby for conservation, Kent helped to solidify its presence at Redwood Canyon. In c.1890, he erected a clubhouse for the association there, and agreed to pay the salary of a gamekeeper and warden. The clubhouse, called "The Alders," was built at the south end of Redwood Canyon along Frank Valley Road [see Figure 2.7]. Ben Johnson served as the association's gamekeeper and warden, transferring from a job as rent collector for the Throckmorton ranches. Kent provided him living quarters in a building later known as the "Keepers House," which may have been the same building as The Alders.[34]

Beginning about 1890, William Kent allowed a church group the use of a building along Redwood Creek—most probably The Alders—for its summer camp (its use was probably during the off-season for the hunters). This church group was the Sunday School Athletic League of Marin County, affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. Its main camping area, where it held picnics, built campfires, and pitched tents, was in the side canyon to the southeast of the Keeper's House, within Ranch P [see Figure 2.7]. At the time, this ranch was leased from the Tamalpais Land & Water Company by John Dias, who operated a dairy farm known as Hillside Ranch extending onto Ranch O. It was probably through the influence of William Kent that Dias and the company allowed the church use of the side canyon. Grateful for Kent's assistance, the church named their camp "Camp Kent."[35] When John Dias purchased his land from the Tamalpais Land & Water Company in 1898, he continued to allow the church use of the side canyon as its campgrounds. Above the campgrounds on the upper part of the side-canyon, Dias sold a plot in c.1898 to Judge Conlon of San Francisco, who built a cottage on the property.[36]

The sportsmen, Judge Conlon, and the Sunday School were not the only ones to use the lands in and around Redwood Canyon for recreational purposes during the 1890s. One of the most colorful of the decade was the San Francisco Bohemian Club, which selected Redwood Canyon, or what they then called Sequoia Canyon, as the location of their "Annual Encampment" for the summer of 1892. The Bohemian Club had been organized in 1872 as a city social club instituted, according to its 1887 bylaws "...for the association of gentlemen connected professionally with literature, art, music, the drama, and also those who, by reason of their love or appreciation of these objects, may be deemed eligible."[37] Within a decade, the club had been transformed into one of the most prominent social organizations for wealthy businessmen in San Francisco. A highlight of the club calendar was the annual summer encampment, begun in the late 1870s and held at various

rural locations, usually in redwood forests. One of their first was held in 1878 in a redwood grove along Papermill Creek on the north slopes of Mount Tamalpais, but that grove was logged soon after their encampment and the club relocated to Sonoma County, the coastal county north of Marin, to a place approximately seventy miles north of San Francisco. In 1890, the summer encampment became a one-week event. Members stayed in tents, and regular entertainment involved games and theatrical events, often in an atmosphere of mystery and intrigue. The main play became known as the "High Jinks," after a Scottish drinking game.[38]

In 1892, after a decade of camping in Sonoma County, some club members urged a return to near-by Marin County, arguing, "...in verdurous Mill Valley at the foot of Tamalpais lay an ancient wooded tract of a truly rural character which would serve for the occasion."[39] When the club initially began its summer encampments in the late 1870s, Redwood Canyon had been off limits under Throckmorton ownership, but by 1892, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company was beginning to open up these lands, and had abandoned plans for damming Redwood Creek. At the time, the Mill Valley area was also becoming well known as a prime camping spot, and so Redwood Canyon with its majestic redwood forest became an obvious location for the Bohemians. Bohemian Club leaders were initially so pleased with Redwood Canyon that they made plans to acquire an eighty-acre tract within the heart of the redwood forest, centered along a minor side canyon extending from Redwood Creek up the southwest side of the canyon wall [see Figures 2.4, 2.7]. For $15,000, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company sold the parcel to club member Harry Gillig, who intended to gift the property to the club.

The Redwood Canyon encampment site was only a few miles from the train station in the new town of Mill Valley, where most of the Bohemians would be arriving. To get to Redwood Canyon from Mill Valley, however, there was no road, only a rough trail over Throckmorton Ridge—the same trail that Samuel Throckmorton probably used from The Homestead. The only vehicular access to Redwood Canyon was the minor ranch road through Frank Valley (Frank Valley Road), which involved a circuitous route from Mill Valley along the Sausalito-Bolinas Road (Route 1). To remedy this situation, the Jinks Committee of the Bohemian Club built a road from Mill Valley, probably following the alignment of the earlier trail.[40] This road, known as Sequoia Valley Road (present Muir Woods Road/Sequoia Valley Drive), was built to the Bohemian Club encampment site in 1892, and was recorded on the first U.S. Geologic Survey of the area made in 1897.[41] [Figure 2.9] Although it was a narrow, earthen road with numerous sharp turns and drop-offs, it greatly facilitated access to the area and from growing Mill Valley in particular.

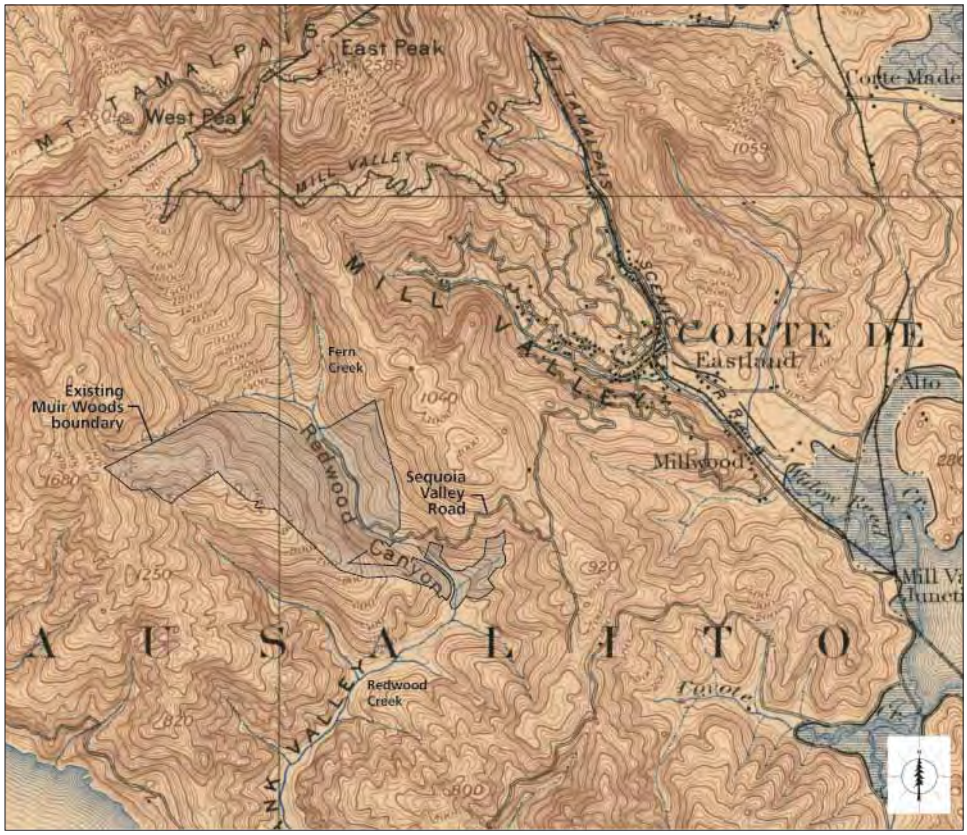


Figure 2.9: Topographic survey made in 1897 illustrating Sequoia Valley Road and its connection to Mill Valley in relationship to existing boundaries of Muir Woods. Detail, United States Geologic Survey, Tamalpais Sheet, 1897, annotated by SUNY ESF.

With Sequoia Valley Road complete, the Bohemians celebrated their two-week long High Jinks at Redwood Canyon in early September 1892. Given their limited time in the canyon, the club probably did not see any potential conflict with the hunters who continued to have rights to the surrounding areas. Despite the initial pleasure with Redwood Canyon, legend says that the club members complained of the cold from the prevalent fogs, but other reasons probably included insufficient level land along the canyon floor for pitching tents, increasing tourist traffic to Redwood Canyon, and the growing nearby development in Mill Valley. These factors led the Bohemians to decide not to return to Redwood Canyon for the next year's encampment.[42] On October 1, 1892, the club voted to refuse Harry Gillig's gift of the property. Gillig was thanked for his offer, and he sold the property back to the Tamalpais Land & Water Company. For its next encampment in 1893, the club returned to Sonoma County to a redwood grove along the Russian River, a tract it purchased in 1901 as its permanent encampment site.[43]

Through the 1890s, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company allowed tourists to freely visit Redwood Canyon in a measure of apparent public good will, but probably at the dismay of many in the sportsman's association.[44] While the canyon had probably long been a popular destination among a relatively few number of avid hikers on Mount Tamalpais (either as legal visitors or trespassers), the construction of Sequoia Valley Road in 1892 swelled visitation and introduced a new type of tourist who arrived in horse-drawn vehicles. The twisting, narrow road was widely criticized as being dangerous, but it immediately became popular with tourists arriving by train in Mill Valley, many of whom continued on to the woods using tourist liveries.[45]

An indication of the popularity of Redwood Canyon among tourists following the construction of Sequoia Valley Road was evident on the first hiking trail map for

Mount Tamalpais published in 1898. The map clearly identified "Sequoia Canyon" and its "Redwood Forest," along with Sequoia Valley Road leading down from Mill Valley [see Figure 2.5]. By the turn of the century, Redwood Canyon's place as a prime tourist destination and a quasi-public park had become well established. Most came to see the redwood forest, picnic, or even camp overnight, and on at least one occasion, a group came to celebrate the transcendental quality of the ancient trees. Perhaps following the precedent of the arts-oriented Bohemian Club, in 1903 a group of prominent writers from San Francisco, including the novelist Jack London and along with William Kent's friend Morrison F. Pixley, chose Redwood Canyon as the spot to dedicate a memorial of the one-hundredth anniversary of Ralph Waldo Emerson's birth. During the memorial ceremony, the group read a message received from John Muir.[46]

Figure 2.10: Photograph of early "pleasure-seekers" to Redwood Canyon, c.1904. Harold French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan: Wild Places on Mount Tamalpais" (*Overland Monthly,* October 1904), 456.

In Redwood Canyon.

The next year, the beauty and recreational use of the forest were prominently featured in the western journal, *Overland Monthly*, as part of an article on places to visit on Mount Tamalpais. [Figure 2.10] Of all the "secluded canyons of the wildest beauty" on Tamalpais, the journal reported, "...the most accessible and popular is Sequoia Canyon, which lies four miles to the west of Mill Valley, by a winding wagon-road..." In an apparent contrast with Redwood Canyon, the article found Steep Ravine (a canyon to the northwest of Redwood Canyon with a smaller forest of old-growth redwood and no road access) to be "...by far the most wild and least explored of all the many canyons of Tamalpais...While other routes [i.e., Redwood Canyon] ring with shouts and laughter of parties of pleasure-seekers, here is a place where one may spend a holiday in perfect solitude."[47]

KENT-RAILWAY ACQUISITION OF REDWOOD CANYON, 1905-1907

Increasing tourism and other changes in land-use and ownership at the turn of the twentieth century were affecting the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association and its traditional use and stewardship of its game preserve, including Redwood Canyon. The Tamalpais Land & Water Company's leasing of dairy ranches, and their sale after 1898, led to increased fencing of the rangeland, restricting the movement of wild game. Other subdivisions and uses, such as Camp Kent and Judge Conlon's Cottage on Ranch P, further changed the dynamics of land use in the region. Such factors apparently led the sportsmen to consider a motion to disband in 1898, but they did not approve it.[48] In the years after this motion, tourism continued to increase in Redwood Canyon, with parties of pleasure-seekers arriving in vehicles, as evidenced by the *Overland Monthly* article. Tourism not only affected wildlife

and conflicted with hunting, but also impacted the pristine natural character of the redwood forest. Despite its increasing renown and popularity with tourists, Redwood Canyon had few visitor amenities and was difficult to reach. These conditions concerned William Kent, but without ownership of the land, he apparently was unable to take corrective measures.

With the seemingly imminent demise of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association in the years after 1898, the future care and use of the land became a pressing issue. At the same time, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company was undertaking its general divestment of its Rancho Sausalito lands, and was also reorganizing its operations. In June 1903, the company announced the formation of a new company to take care of the water business : the North Coast Water Company, apparently first named the Mill Valley Water Company. On January 7, 1904, the water interests were transferred to the new company, which was owned by James Newlands and William Magee (Magee was one of the original officers of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company).[49] The new company was created to provide water to Mill Valley and other adjoining communities, build pipelines and reservoirs, and acquire watershed lands. One of the parcels that North Coast planned on acquiring was a large tract that included Redwood Canyon, where they revived earlier plans to build a reservoir. Lovell White, the president of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, apparently foresaw the fate of Redwood Canyon should Newlands and Magee acquire the property. He urged William Kent, probably at the time North Coast Water Company was being established in 1903, to buy the property before they did. White told Kent that if he did not buy the redwood forest, the trees would probably be cut down.[50] White was certainly sensitive to the preservation cause. His wife, Laura White, had been a leader in the fight to save two groves of giant sequoias in the Sierras that were proposed for logging in 1900; and in January 1903, she had been elected president of the Sempervirens Club, which had been instrumental in preserving the coast redwoods south of San Francisco through the establishment of Big Basin Redwood State Park in 1901-1902.[51]

For several years, William Kent had been hoping that Redwood Canyon would be acquired as part of a public park on Mount Tamalpais through the efforts of the Tamalpais National Park Association, founded in September 1903. The Forestry Section of the California Club in San Francisco was also working to preserve Redwood Canyon. It sought to individually designate it a national park, and began a campaign in 1904 to raise $80,000 for acquisition of the property.[52] Probably as part of these two efforts, Lovell White hosted three prominent conservationists on a tour of Redwood Canyon in c.1904 to advance the plan for acquiring Redwood Canyon by subscription as a public park. These three conservationists included John Muir, the noted naturalist and founder of the Sierra Club; Charles S. Sargent, first director of the Arnold Arboretum in Boston; and Gifford Pinchot, one of the

first professional American foresters and then the chief of the federal Division of Forestry.[53]

The plan to acquire Redwood Canyon by public subscription met with little success due to the high price for the property being asked by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, and probably also due to the amount of time needed to raise the money relative to pending threat of acquisition and development by the North Coast Water Company. Lovell White instead sought out William Kent to privately take up the cause. Kent's record of conservation on Mount Tamalpais, in addition to his personal connections, certainly led White to recruit him. Kent had not only become a central figure in the Tamalpais park movement, but had also been involved in the stewardship of Redwood Canyon through the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association for more than a decade. Kent was a major landholder on Mount Tamalpais, and had previously backed tourism-related development projects. Kent was also a stockholder in the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, which by this time most likely had a vision if not working plans to extend a branch line into Redwood Canyon.

In late 1904 or early 1905, following Lovell White's suggestion, Kent toured Redwood Canyon with S. B. Cushing, the President of the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway.[54] The two probably discussed plans for the branch railway and other projects in the forest to improve public access and visitor amenities. Keen on the prospect of ensuring the preservation of the redwoods and making the canyon more accessible to the public, Kent agreed to purchase the redwood forest and worked out a plan to allow the railway to lease the entire tract for a period of five years, developing it into a park complete with rail access.[55] As a related deal with the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, Kent also proposed purchasing Sequoia Valley Road and Frank Valley Road. With the assistance of the mountain railway, he proposed rebuilding the entire route (today's Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road) from the Sausalito-Bolinas county road (Route 1) to the Mill Valley city limits to improve vehicular access to Redwood Canyon.[56]

Kent asked Cushing to secure the lowest possible price for Redwood Canyon, recalling later that it was "...understood that the purchase was for preservation, and not for exploitation."[57] At the time, Kent was having financial trouble in the midst of a widespread economic downturn. His wife Elizabeth was troubled by the prospect of taking on additional debt necessary to buy Redwood Canyon, but Kent countered, "If we lost all the money we have and saved those trees it would be worth while, wouldn't it?"[58] By the summer of 1905, the Kents had agreed to the purchase of a 612-acre tract for a price of $45,000. Probably due to the influence of Lovell White, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company turned down a much more profitable offer of $100,000, probably made by the North Coast Water

Company for a larger tract. On August 31, 1905, the Kents' deed for the property was filed with the Marin County Recorder.[59] The property encompassed the south end of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company's unsurveyed land designated as Lot D, encompassing most of the redwood forest. On the west, south, and east, the boundaries followed existing ranch lines; on the north, a new subdivision line was created that roughly corresponded with the northern limits of the redwood forest, with Edgewood Avenue forming the northeastern corner [see Figure 2.7]. The tract encompassed most of the land that would have become part of a reservoir. As part of the deed to Redwood Canyon, the Tamalpais Land & Water Company also conveyed to Kent ownership of Sequoia Valley Road and Frank Valley Road. Kent's acquisition of the road was approved prior to his purchase of the property through a resolution by the county Board of Directors.[60]

The Kents' deed for Redwood Canyon contained restrictions relating to water rights, which was not surprising given the Tamalpais Land & Water Company's close relationship with its spin-off, the North Coast Water Company. The deed specified : "…This conveyance is made subject always to such water rights and rights in and to the water of streams flowing through the land hereby conveyed as may now be vested in the North Coast Water Company (a corporation)." [61] Although Kent probably realized the potential harm that this restriction could do to the redwoods, he probably considered that a battle he could take on at a late date. For the time, Kent had succeeded in keeping the redwood forest out of the hands of the North Coast Water Company (he later remembered that Newlands and Magee were "greatly piqued" at him for getting ahead of them) and the possibility of the forest being destroyed to build a water reservoir in the canyon.[62] The adjoining land to the north, upstream from the redwood forest and amounting to just over six hundred acres, was purchased by the North Coast Water Company on December 7, 1906, just over two months after Kent's purchase.[63]

William Kent, together with the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, planned to open Redwood Canyon as a public park, free of charge, and implement a program of improvements to enhance visitor amenities and facilitate access. The emphasis of Kent's management, however, was on the protection of the old-growth redwoods and the scenic character of the canyon. In its July 1907 article on the new park published after the improvements were complete, the San Francisco *Sunday Call* detailed Kent's public-spirited conservation ethic for Redwood Canyon:

> *Not for himself alone does he care for this valuable possession. To the public, he says, you are welcome to all the pleasure and comfort and inspiration of the woods. Come into them by the outside lands or by the railway—any way you like, he says, "only keep the law of the beautiful jungle." The spirit in which the forest, with its*

more than 80 acres [sic] *of big trees, is opened to the public is expressed in the notices that are tacked to the trees as carefully as were those love messages in the forest of Arden... "The public is welcome to visit Redwood canyon and Sequoia grove, but on the sole condition that they do not build fires, break trees or litter the grounds with paper."* [64]

With Kent's purchase of Redwood Canyon, the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association apparently disbanded. The emphasis on tourism proposed by Kent and the mountain railway would have made Redwood Canyon incompatible with hunting. In September 1904, just prior to Kent's purchase of the property, the sportsmen's longtime game warden and keeper of the property, Ben Johnson, died. In his place, Kent hired Andrew Lind as keeper, and as with Johnson, provided him with living quarters at the Keeper's House located at the south end of Kent's new property on Frank Valley Road. Lind was responsible for overseeing the care of the entire Redwood Canyon tract, but the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway took care of operations, construction projects, and employment of tour guides. [65]

LANDSCAPE OF REDWOOD CANYON, 1883-1907

While under the brief ownership of Samuel Throckmorton's estate (Susanna Throckmorton) in the years between 1883 and 1889, there is little evidence that any changes were made to Redwood Canyon. The only known cultural features were trails that had been created over a relatively long period of human activity. These included a trail along Redwood Creek, which ran from Frank Valley Road on the south and extended west and north along Bootjack Creek (present main trail and Bootjack Trail); a side trail leading up Fern Canyon; and the Lone Tree Trail (Trail to Willow Camp, later Dipsea Trail), which ran along the ridge on the south side of Redwood Canyon. To the east, south, and west, the open ridge-top grasslands were part of subdivided ranches, some of which were leased as dairy farms, including the Dias Ranch to the south, on the parcel later identified by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company as Ranches O and P.

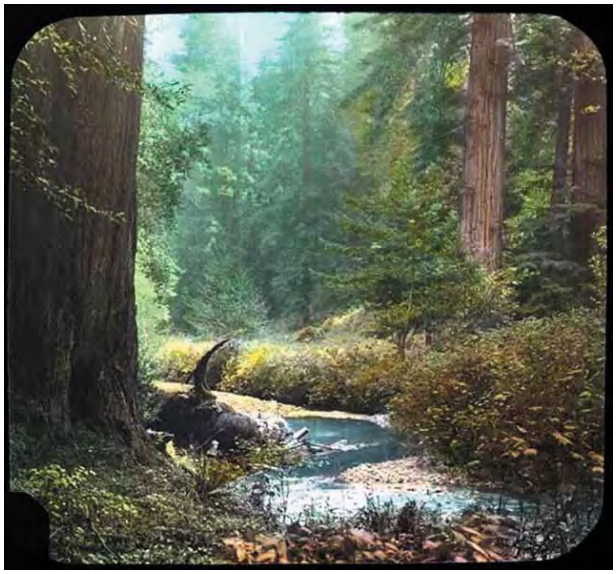


Figure 2.11: Redwood Creek in an undetermined location in Redwood Canyon illustrating natural gravel streambed and shrubby character of the adjoining open floodplain, c.1905. Note small pool in the creek that may have been one built by the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association. Courtesy Geo-Images Project, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, Magic Lantern slide NC-H-57, http://GeoImages.Berkeley.edu.

Under the ownership of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company between 1889 and 1905, Redwood Canyon and the adjoining land at its southern end in Ranch P witnessed some development made in association with use by the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, the Bohemian Club, and Camp Kent. Aside from Sequoia Valley Road and a network of trails, there were few permanent built features introduced into the redwood forest during this time. One

change the sportsmen did make was to alter the flow of Redwood Creek, which was naturally a gravelly stream that ran through forested and open areas characterized by shrubby floodplain vegetation. [Figure 2.11] Ida Johnson Allen, daughter of the sportsmen's keeper, Ben Johnson, recalled that the club put in a "big pond and stocked it with steelhead."[66] This was probably a concrete dam that was located near the south end of the redwood forest. The sportsmen also built log dams to create additional fishing pools, as described in an account from soon after the turn of the century:

> *Here* [in the redwood forest] *the brook* [Redwood Creek] *leads a gentle, rippling life, sparkling in the sunshine, shafts which show glimpses of azure sky above the far-off tree-tops. In June and July, heavy white clusters of azalea blossoms hang over glassy pools, log-damned* [sic], *deep and cool...*[67]

The most visible building in and around Redwood Canyon was the sportsmen's clubhouse, The Alders, built in c.1890, most probably through funding provided by William Kent. While its exact location is uncertain, it was probably the same building later used by Ben Johnson in his position as Keeper for the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association (the 1898/1902 Denny Tourist Map located The Alders farther south on Frank Valley Road, near the bridge over Redwood Creek, but this map is of questionable accuracy). The Keeper's House was a six-room cottage located between Frank Valley Road and Redwood Creek, at the southern edge of the 612-acre tract purchased by William Kent in 1905. [Figure 2.12, see also Drawing 2] To the north of the Keeper's House were several outbuildings, probably used by either the sportsmen or by the Sunday School Athletic League of Marin County as part of Camp Kent.[68] South of the Keeper's House across Frank Valley Road were the main campgrounds for Camp Kent, located in the wooded side canyon within Ranch P, owned by John Dias.[69] At the top of the side canyon, accessed by a road along the north side of the creek, was a three-room cabin erected by Judge Conlon, probably soon after he acquired a small plot there from Dias in c.1898.[70]

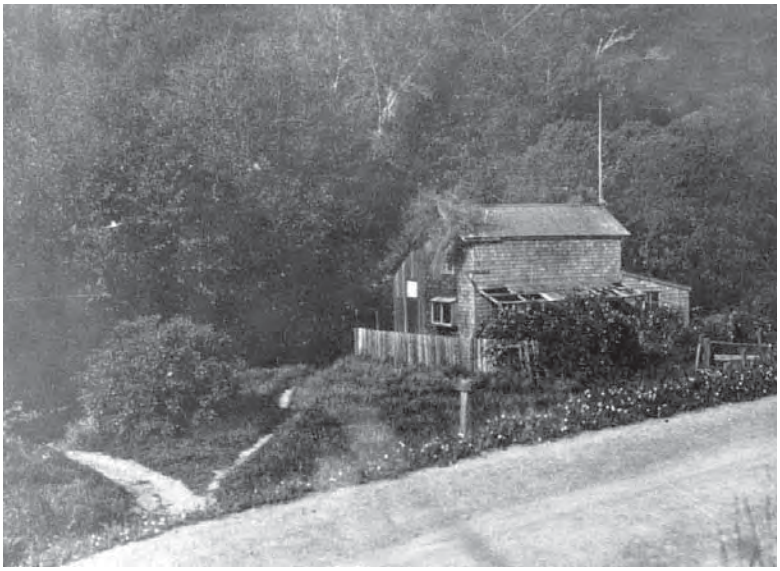


Figure 2.12: The Keeper's House, probably built in c.1890 as The Alders (the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association clubhouse) and subsequently used as the residence for the association's warden (keeper) and space for Camp Kent, from a later view looking southwest across Frank Valley Road, 1917. The trail at the left of the house is the Dipsea Trail, laid out in 1905. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B25, Muir Woods Collection.

Within the redwood forest, the Bohemian Club's encampment in 1892 introduced the first significant built features, notably through the construction of Sequoia Valley Road. The road wound down the east wall of the canyon from Throckmorton Ridge, probably along Samuel Throckmorton's horse trail, and entered the redwood forest near its south end, and then followed

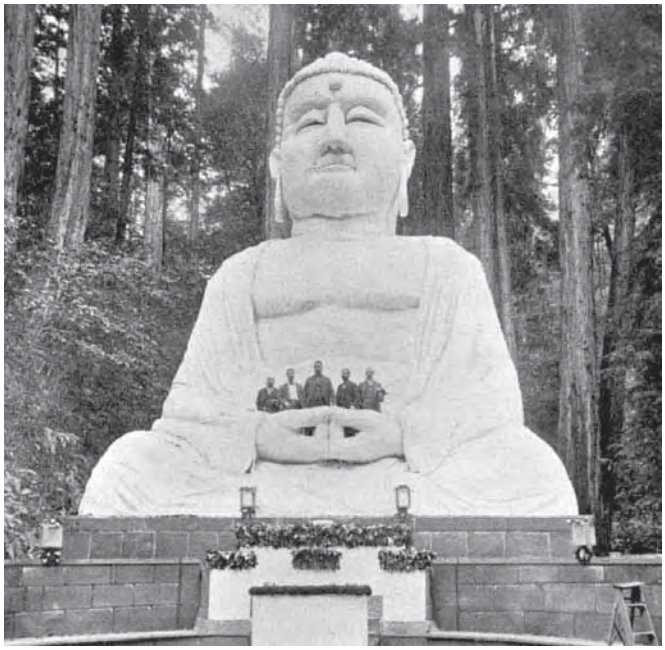


Figure 2.13: Full scale replica of the Great Buddha of Kamakura in "Bohemia's Redwood Temple," erected in Redwood Canyon for the Bohemian Club's summer encampment, 1892. Courtesy Bohemian Club of San Francisco.

the alignment of Redwood Creek along its east bank, probably along a pre-existing trail or extension of Frank Valley Road. Initially, the road was completed to the Bohemian encampment, but by 1897 it had been extended to Fern Creek, crossed by a well-worn log footbridge.[71] The Bohemian Club encampment was located off the west side of the road and creek, about 1,500 feet upstream from the Keeper's House within the eighty-acre parcel purchased by Henry Gillig in 1892 [see Drawing 2].

In August of 1892, club members began setting up the camp, centered on the flats at the base of a minor side canyon, but probably also extending up and down the main canyon floor. Here, the Bohemians pitched tents for the two-week encampment and constructed the stage set for their High Jinks, which they called "Bohemia's Redwood Temple." The stage was situated at the base of the side canyon, and featured a scale-replica in plaster and lathe of the forty-three foot high Daibutsu (Great Buddha) of Kamakura, the second largest Buddha statue in Japan. The statue was built by Marion Wells and a crew of other club members, and included a mock altar, stone pedestal, and ten-foot wide approach avenue lined by plaster walls topped with lanterns. [Figure 2.13] This avenue apparently served as a bridge across Redwood Creek from Sequoia Valley Road, with one end adorned by a rustic, Asian-style moss-covered wooden fountain. [Figure 2.14]

On September 3, 1892 at the foot of the Buddha "in the depths of the primeval forests of Mill Valley" according to club annals, the Bohemians celebrated their High Jinks, entitled the "Ceremony of the Cremation of Care."[72] The Bohemians' encampment was certainly the most extensive development that Redwood Canyon had ever witnessed, but aside from the road, all was removed within a short time. Orders for demolition were made to reduce a potential fire hazard, but the plaster Buddha purportedly lasted a year, "the marvel of hikers," according to club annals, and then disintegrated.[73]

For the next dozen years, there is little record of any other changes to Redwood Canyon as tourists continued to visit the forest in increasing numbers. In 1904, a year before its purchase by William Kent, the *Overland Monthly* published its telling account of the place in the years before the branch line railway was constructed. It was written by Harold French, a frequent hiker in the area. Although French wrote that it was the most accessible and popular of the remote canyons on Mount Tamalpais, he noted there were few built features—only one house was

Figure 2.14: A rustic waterfall at the end of the lantern-lined avenue-bridge erected for the summer encampment of the Bohemian Club, 1892. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 14349.029, Muir Woods Records.

visible in the vicinity, "...the lodge of Ranger Johnson, the efficient warden of this section of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Club preserves."[74] (The article did not mention Judge Conlon's cottage in the side canyon or The Alders as shown on the 1898/1902 Tourist Map.) Directly south of the Keeper's House passed a trail, "popular with more strenuous pedestrians" according to the *Overland*, that was built as a link to the Lone Tree Trail from Sequoia Valley Road and used for the Dipsea Race, first held in 1905 [see Drawing 2]. This link segment was later known as "Butler's Pride."[75]

After describing the narrow, twisting character of Sequoia Valley Road, Harold French described the following impression of the road's entrance and route through the redwood forest for the *Overland Monthly* :

The dusty wagon road dips down at last into a gate-way colonnade of giant trees, whose needles and branchlets have made a soft, peat-carpet, over which ones feet glide in silent delight. The wagon road follows the course of the stream for nearly a mile upward through an exquisite variety of stream-haunting trees, wide-spreading alders, bays and mossy maples, all of unusual size, but nestling like mere undergrowth beneath the dense evergreen branches of the redwoods... The end of the road is at the forks of the stream [Fern Creek], *where a great log spanning the joining waters is worn smooth as a foot-bridge.*[76]

Although an increasingly popular tourist destination, the vehicular and pedestrian traffic was apparently not sufficient by 1904 to wear away the carpet of needles on the road. Nor had there apparently been any built recreational features added aside from the road itself, which also served as the main trail, and the log foot-bridge over Fern Creek. The only formal feature was the Emerson memorial. Installed on May 25, 1903, it was a thin bronze plaque that read "1803 – EMERSON – 1903" measuring eight inches by fourteen inches. It was affixed to what was believed to be the largest redwood tree, located at the south entrance to the woods near where the road or trail from Frank Valley intersected Sequoia Valley Road. The plaque was fixed approximately eight feet up on the west side of the tree, facing the creek, most likely because the road at the time ran along that side of the tree (it was later realigned to the other side of the tree) [see Drawing 2].[77]

The lack of visitor amenities changed when William Kent and the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway implemented a program of improvements following Kent's purchase of Redwood Canyon in 1905, in anticipation of increased visita-

tion following the completion of the branch line railway. The improvements—built largely by the railway, but with approval and some financing from Kent—included extension and improvement of Sequoia Valley Road (main trail), building of new trails along the west side of the creek, and new footbridges, benches, and picnic tables along the canyon floor.[78] These features were designed in a rustic manner, meant to be aesthetically compatible with the natural character of the forest. Such rustic design was in keeping with a style for buildings and landscapes that had become popular across the country by the turn of the twentieth century.

ORIGINS AND LOCAL USE OF RUSTIC DESIGN

The origins of the rustic style that William Kent used in the improvements at Redwood Canyon trace back in large part to the movement for scenic preservation that began in the mid-nineteenth century, and in the concurrent interest in the aesthetic of wilderness. As settlement and industrialization spread out across the country during this time, many Americans—especially in urban areas—began to romanticize about their dwindling natural lands, casting aside earlier settlement-era ideas of nature as a threat to civilization. The work of the Hudson River School artists and the Transcendentalist writers began to reveal the unique beauty and spiritual meaning of land that had seemingly been untouched by humans. To an increasingly urban and wealthy population, the wilderness of remote mountains and virgin forests became the country's own unique heritage, comparable to Europe's age-old cultural icons. In the landscape, Americans translated this appreciation into picturesque designs that idealized rural countryside and natural areas, stemming in large part from the eighteenth-century tradition of the romantic English landscape garden.

Interest in idealized rural and natural landscapes was becoming widespread by the mid-nineteenth century, due in large part to the increasing number of wealthy Americans who were building country homes, and also to the many city leaders who were pursuing development of the urban counterpart, the public park. Landscape gardener and architect Andrew Jackson Downing, who became famous through several mid-nineteenth century design treatises, was one of the nation's earliest experts on the design of country places. Downing was especially fond of the forests and mountains in his native Hudson River Valley and Catskill Mountains, and of their sublime effects that conjured up feelings of wilderness and antiquity. Downing celebrated such effects in his description of Montgomery Place, a Hudson River country place that he wrote about in his 1841 work, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America*:

> *Among the fine features of this estate are the wilderness, a richly wooded and highly picturesque valley, filled with the richest growth of trees, and threaded with dark, intricate, and mazy walks, along which are placed a*

variety of rustic seats. This valley is musical with the sound of waterfalls, of which there are several fine ones in the bold impetuous stream which finds its course through the lower part of the wilderness...[79]

The seat that Downing illustrated featured a steeply-pitched roof and unmilled log and twig structural elements that mimicked the form of the conifer in the background. [Figure 2.15] The seat was set into the vegetation along an irregular path following the course of the stream, providing an effect where built structures were secondary to the natural environment. Downing's use of the term "rustic" would soon become synonymous with a design style that harmonized with nature, making use of indigenous materials as well as vernacular building traditions that often looked back to pioneering days. The rustic style became a favorite for wooded and informal landscapes on country estates in the years after the Civil War. It became especially popular during this time in the forested Adirondack Mountains of New York, where seasonal residences, known as "camps," were typically detailed with log construction, twig ornament, and broad overhanging roofs. Such architecture was evocative not only of the forest, but also looked romantically back at settlement-era buildings, as well as the vernacular architecture of the Alps.[80]

Figure 2.15: "One of the Rustic Seats at Montgomery Place," from Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America* (New York: Orange Judd, 1865), 32.

In the West, the ideals of scenic preservation and picturesque landscape design were widely accepted; however, here as elsewhere, the late nineteenth century was a time of experimentation in architecture and landscape design. This was evident in the early development of some of the first parks, undertaken through the efforts of private individuals, railroads, and the military before there were unified public park systems. The search for appropriate design was evident at Yosemite, located approximately two hundred miles east of San Francisco. Yosemite was set aside as a state park through a federal grant in 1864, and became a national park in 1890. The great American landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, visited Yosemite in the mid-1860s, and wrote a special report to the park commissioners describing the powerful effect of its picturesque scenery, with its beautiful fields and groves on the valley floor, giant redwoods, and sublime granite precipices: "This union of the deepest sublimity with the deepest beauty of nature, not in one feature or another, not in one part or one scene or another, not any landscape that can be framed by itself, but all around and wherever the visitor goes, constitutes the Yo Semite [sic] the great glory of nature."[81] By the time of his Yosemite report, Olmsted and his partner Calvert Vaux had designed similar effects of the beautiful and sublime at Central Park, which they had initially designed in the late 1850s. At the part of the park known as the "Ramble," they created a sublime wilderness garden with rock outcroppings, a gorge, woods, winding paths, and rustic built features, includ-

ing rough-timber bridges and pavilions, and a castle-like stone observatory that seemed to rise out of the native rock outcropping.

While nature already provided the picturesque scenery at Yosemite, it took some experimenting to settle on appropriate built forms there, despite the precedent of Downing and Olmsted & Vaux. In his report to the commissioners, Olmsted had only provided general guidance about built forms, recommending "...the restriction...of all artificial constructions and the prevention of all constructions markedly inharmonious with the scenery or which would unnecessarily obscure, distort or detract from the dignity of the scenery."[82] The first park hostelry, Hotel Wawona built in 1876, was probably considered, by the simplicity of its design, to be harmonious with the natural scenery. Yet it reflected more refined resort architecture found in villages and coastal resorts, with balloon construction and painted, milled and turned woodwork. The vocabulary of rustic design employing more literal representations of the natural environment, such as found in Adirondack camps or The Ramble at Central Park, did not appear in Yosemite until around the turn of the century. Aside from several quasi-rustic wood studios, the most conspicuous of the first-generation rustic buildings at the park was LeConte Memorial Lodge, built by the Sierra Club in 1903 of rough-coursed stone masonry and a steeply-pitched roof, evocative of the nearby granite precipices.[83] The year 1903 was also when the famous Old Faithful Inn at Yellowstone National Park was built by the Northern Pacific Railroad, a building that echoed the architecture of Adirondack great camps. With its massive proportions and what historian Ethan Carr has called "pseudo-pioneer construction techniques," it was one of the first major wooden rustic buildings constructed in the Western national parks.[84]

Building and landscape design on Mount Tamalpais reflected developments similar to those at Yosemite and Yellowstone. In the initial development of Mill Valley from 1890 and the first decade of the 1900s, built features in park-like and wild areas generally reflected national styles typical of more urbane resort areas. One example was Tavern of the Tamalpais at the terminus of the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, built in the Shingle style in 1896 [see Figure 2.8]. Soon after the turn of the century, however, rustic was widely adopted as a fitting style for Mount Tamalpais, probably in the hopes of retaining the wild character of the region that was quickly becoming suburbanized. In camps, seasonal homes, and parks outside of the core of Mill Valley, the rustic style characterized by raw, unmilled timber was apparently quite typical. Examples from the first decade of the twentieth century included a log and branch gateway to Camp

Figure 2.16: Stolte cottage in Homestead Valley, built in 1905, illustrating local use of rustic design with log and branch columns and porch railings, photographed c.1910. Courtesy Lucretia Little History Room, Mill Valley Public Library, Mill Valley, California.

Figure 2.17: Another local example of rustic design at the Cascades, a public park above Mill Valley donated by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company and developed by The Outdoor Club, photographed c.1901. Courtesy Lucretia Little History Room, Mill Valley Public Library, Mill Valley, California.

Tamalpais, a log sulphur springhouse in lower Mill Valley, and the Stolte cottage in Homestead Valley, which featured rustic log posts and branch railings on the porch. [Figure 2.16] When Mill Valley's first public park, The Cascades, was established in 1901 through a gift by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, the community decided to retain its wild character. Rather than add formal features, The Outdoor Club, a local arts society founded by Laura White (wife of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company president, Lovell White), added features in a rustic style that harmonized with the rocky, forested canyon through the use of twigs and branches for fences and benches.[85] [Figure 2.17] The improvements at Redwood Canyon, completed soon after this time, reflected a similar rustic approach to the landscape.

KENT-RAILWAY IMPROVEMENTS TO REDWOOD CANYON, 1905-1907

Soon after William Kent acquired Redwood Canyon in August 1905, he and the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway began to progress their plans for improving the forest into a park, with the railway responsible for building the actual improvements. By the summer of 1907, the railway had completed most of the work. The San Francisco *Sunday Call* published an illustrated article on the park in their Sunday magazine of July 7th, detailing its scenic wonders and recent improvements. The most significant of the improvements was the branch line railway, which created a new entrance to the park at the north end, complimenting the existing access from Sequoia Valley Road at the south.[86] Work on the line was begun in 1905, but construction was delayed by the San Francisco earthquake in April 1906 and problems in securing rights-of-way through the lands acquired by the North Coast Water Company in December 1906. By the spring of 1907, the branch line was completed and went into partial operation using existing rolling stock (the line would not become fully operational until a year later). Although Kent had initially intended on leasing his entire 612-acre tract to the railway, in July 1907 he instead conveyed to the company just a 100-foot right of way along the rail line.[87]

Figure 2.18: The Redwood Canyon branch line of the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, illustrating narrow, twisting alignment through the forest, c.1910. Courtesy Ted Wurm Collection, published in Ted Wurm, *The Crookedest Railroad in the World* (Interurban Press, 1983).

The San Francisco *Sunday Call* described a ride on the new branch line as being "...like a spin through the air in a really up to date auto...Once within the dappled shade of the trees comes an irresistible desire to put on all four brakes and stop the car."[88] [Figure 2.18] The branch line crossed open grasslands on the higher elevations, and then descended into the woods through a narrow clearing carefully cut through the

forest and the steep canyon walls. The line terminated at the northeast corner of Kent's 612-acre tract in a clearing at an elevation of 490 feet, about a quarter mile from the floor of canyon, placed well outside of the big trees [see Drawing 2]. As Kent wrote, he and the railway had carefully avoided the "...desecration of putting a [railroad] track on the floor of the cañon."[89] Below the terminus, there was an opening in the forest that allowed views out across the canyon and over the tops of the redwood trees.[90]

Several trails were planned to allow visitors to hike down to the canyon floor and into the heart of the redwood forest, designed so that "...there will be enough of them to swallow up in an instant carloads of people," according to the *Sunday Call*. The newspaper also published that a "...broad road suitable for wagons or automobiles has been cut from the end of the car line [railway] to accommodate those who prefer riding to the grove instead of strolling down the trails. The necessary vehicles will be put on the road by the railroad people, making it possible for the veriest [sic] invalids to go to this heaven in the woods that otherwise would be lost to them forever."[91] This road was a northern extension of Sequoia Valley Road (main trail) across Fern Creek. [Figure 2.19] The winding alignment up the canyon wall required substantial grading, including a large cut later named after a local conservationist, W. T. Plevin.[92]

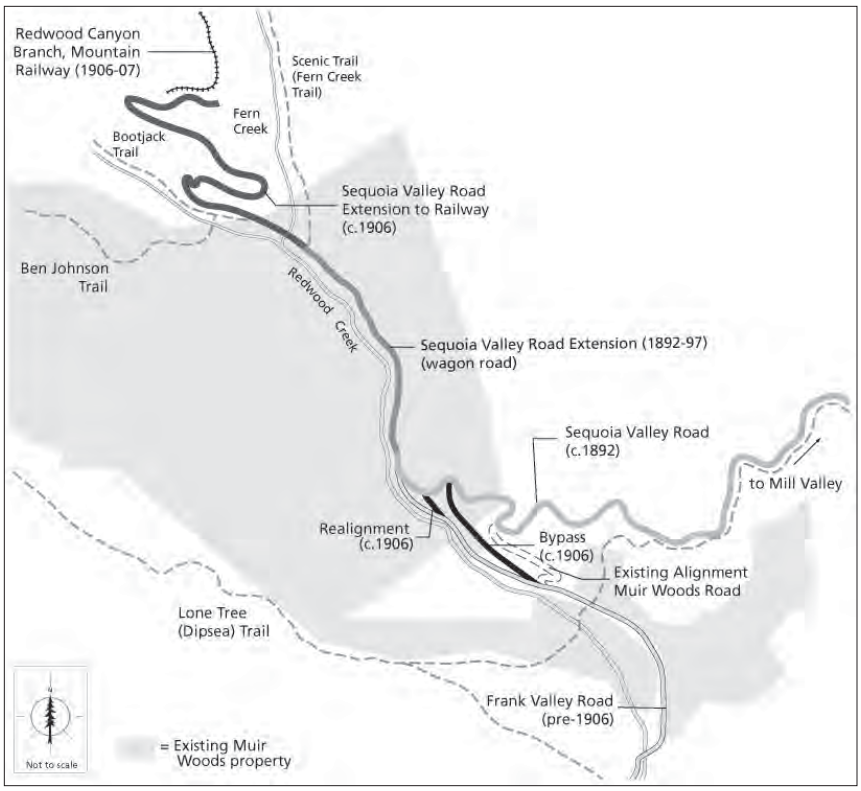


Figure 2.19: Diagram showing road extensions and realignment through 1907. SUNY ESF.

The road also required building of a new bridge over Fern Creek, replacing the earlier log footbridge, but still designed with log railings in a rustic manner that complimented the natural character of the forest.[93] [Figure 2.20]

As part of the plan worked out with the railway, William Kent initially agreed to finance and build a hotel at the terminus of the branch line, and lease it back to the railway for a fee and percentage of receipts. The hotel was envisioned as a visitor retreat and gateway to the redwood forest, and according to the *Sunday Call*, would be "one of the most beautiful resorts in the country," and expected to cost upward of $100,000.[94] The site was at the terminus of the branch line railway, at the top of the west wall of Fern Canyon [see Drawing 2]. Due to the San Francisco earthquake and resulting high building costs, Kent was unable to progress his

Figure 2.20: The old Fern Creek Bridge built in c.1906 for the railway's extension of Sequoia Valley Road, photographed 1931. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, uncatalogued photo in box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

plans for the hotel, and instead the railway company later took up the project on a reduced scale by itself. Construction would not begin until after the branch line became fully operational in 1908.[95] In keeping with the trend toward rustic design on Mount Tamalpais after the turn of the century, plans were for a timber building with a broad, low-slung hipped, shingled roof, and a wrap-around veranda with rough log posts and railings, a grander version of the Stolte cottage in Mill Valley.

Along with the introduction of rail access, William Kent and the railway improved the roads into Redwood Canyon at its south end, perhaps envisioning the day when automobiles would become a popular means of transportation, but also certainly ensuring that the existing tourist liveries in Mill Valley could continue to do business. At the time he acquired the property, there were two vehicular entrances at the south end of the canyon: an upper entrance from Sequoia Valley Road, and a lower entrance from Frank Valley Road.[96] Soon after acquiring the roads from the Tamalpais Land & Water Company in August 1905, Kent and the railway made improvements and opened them for free public use. The improved road, completed in c.1906, was still a narrow, earthen track with numerous sharp turns, designed for horse and wagon traffic rather than automobiles. It did feature a new alignment that bypassed the intersection of Sequoia Valley Road and Frank Valley Road, thereby largely avoiding the redwood forest. The bypass also provided a seamless connection between the two roads [see Figure 2.19]. Kent and the railway had apparently proposed a new alignment for Frank Valley Road on the east side of Redwood Creek, but it was never built.[97]

Fig 2.21: View along Sequoia Valley Road (main trail) at an undetermined location following c.1906 improvements, photographed c.1908. E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, volume VI, no. 5 (June 1908), 286.

Within the redwood forest, William Kent and the railway made few substantial changes aside from the road extension and branch line, instead retaining much of the wild character. While they anticipated large increases in visitation, they chose to restrict visitors to the canyon floor, rather than develop areas of the forest on the more sensitive steep canyon walls. Sequoia Valley Road (wagon road, later main trail), which ran along the east side of Redwood Creek, remained the central spine through the forest, with a graded, needle-covered surface wide enough for one vehicle.[98] [Figure 2.21] There were apparently few changes made to the road's alignment, except at the Emerson memorial, where the road was most likely moved back from the creek. With this realignment, the Emerson memorial no longer faced the road. To the west of the road, across Redwood Creek, railway workers laid out two side-trails along the

Figure 2.22: One of the four rustic footbridges (in lower canyon) built in c.1905-1907, photographed c.1908. E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin,* **vol. VI, no. 5 (June 1908), 288.**

creek, providing a route where visitors could walk through the forest without interference from vehicular traffic [see Drawing 2]. These side trails formed two loops that were accessed across four footbridges, designed as simple, rustic structures similar to the vehicular bridge over Fern Creek, with plank floors and branch railings and posts.[99] [Figure 2.22] The south loop trail passed the site of the Bohemian Club's 1892 summer encampment, an area known as the Bohemian Grove. Although there was little trace of the immense Buddha statue and adjoining amphitheater, the railway planned on erecting a sign to direct visitors to the site and inform them of its history.[100] At the north end of the forest above Fern Creek, the main trail branched to the northwest, leading to the top of the ridge near the Lone Tree (Dipsea) Trail and then to Steep Ravine [see Drawing 2]. This trail was purportedly built by Ben Johnson, the warden of the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, soon before his death in September 1904, and was probably improved by the railway. It was known as the Ben Johnson Trail, and alternatively as Sequoia Trail.[101]

At points along the wagon road and canyon-floor trails, visitor amenities were set out, including trash containers, "watering places" (water fountains), and rustic tables and benches designed with planks and slabs of redwood. Some of the benches were positioned and built into the base of the redwoods.[102] [Figure 2.23] These features were probably concentrated within two primary picnic groves: Bohemian Grove, and to the north on the east side of Redwood Creek, Cathedral Grove (apparently so named because of its lofty height and popularity for weddings). Each grove consisted of a level area clear of underbrush within and surrounding an old-growth family circle of redwoods on the canyon floor [see Drawing 2].[103] Along the wagon road, there were two small buildings by 1907, each near the north and south entrances to the canyon. The north building was located near where the Ben Johnson Trail and new road to the branch-line railway entered the canyon floor. It was a small, rustic cabin built of alder logs with a shingled gable roof and a footprint of approximately twelve feet by ten feet. [Figures 2.24, 2.25]

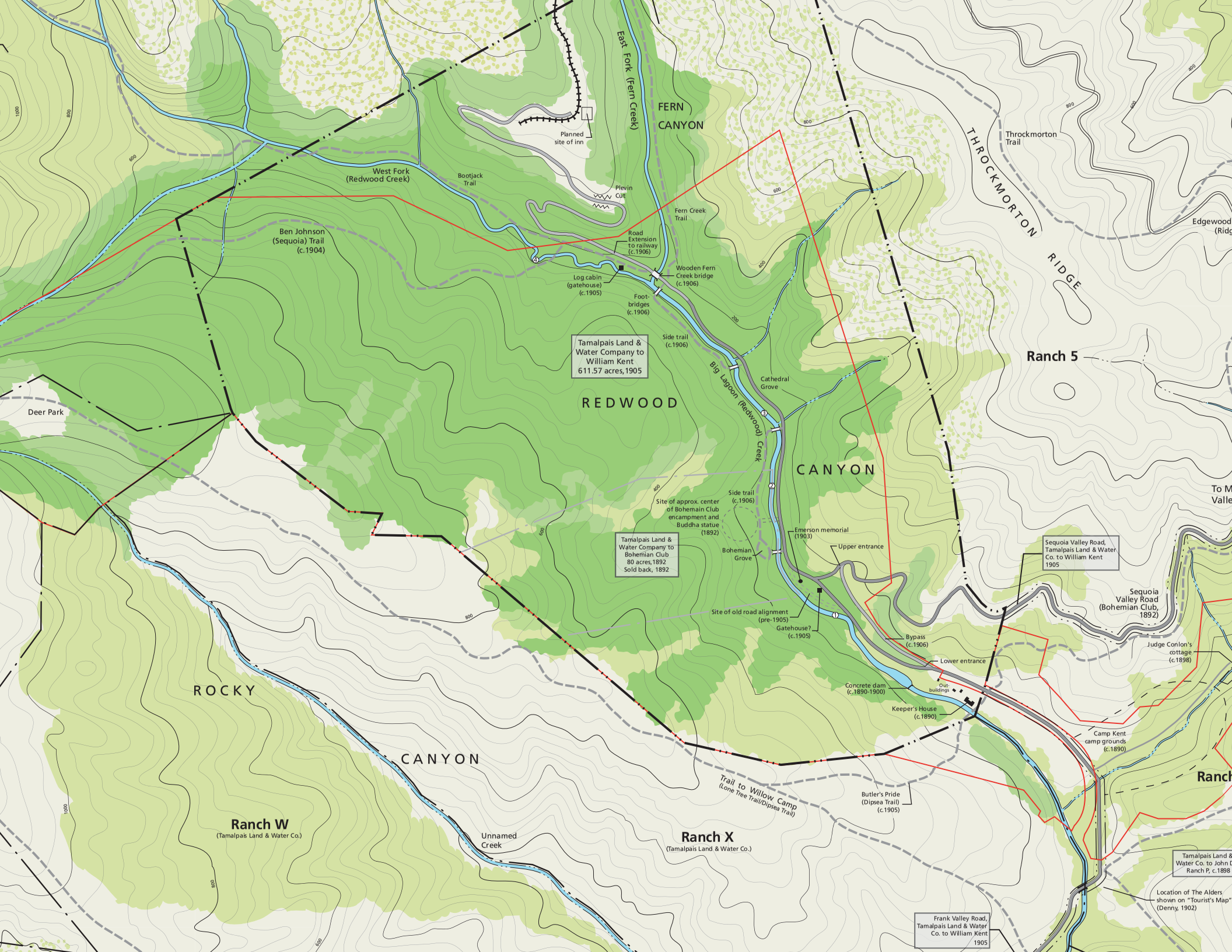
Figure 2.23: A rustic bench in Redwood Canyon built in c.1905-1907, photographed 1908. The person at the left is Andrew Lind, William Kent's caretaker for Redwood Canyon, the other two are unidentified. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

Figure 2.24: The log cabin at the north end of the redwood forest, built in c.1905, photographed c.1910. View is looking down from the road to the branch railway, across the main trail. Courtesy Geo-Images Project, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, Magic Lantern slide NC-H-54, http://GeoImages.Berkeley.edu.

Although later legend was that this log cabin was built in the 1880s or 1890s, it was most probably built by John Bickerstaff for William Kent around the time he purchased Redwood Canyon in 1905.[104] While it may have been briefly used by the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, Kent probably intended the cabin as a sort of gatehouse to guard the north end of the canyon. Its log construction was most likely intended to create a rustic effect, complimenting the wild character of the forest. Kent may have had a matching cabin/gatehouse built at the point where Sequoia Valley Road entered the canyon floor, at the south end of the redwood forest near the Emerson memorial.[105]

With the improvements completed between 1905 and 1907, William Kent and the mountain railway had made Redwood Canyon into a quasi-public park, based on the growth of tourism over the previous decade and marking one of the first achievements in the broader movement to establish a 12,000-acre public park on Mount Tamalpais. Along with the mountain railway and summit of Mount Tamalpais, Redwood Canyon had become the region's best-known attraction. Although developed into a park, the redwood forest retained much of its wild character due to Kent's strong conservation ethic and a rustic design vocabulary then becoming widely used in parks and seasonal homes in the region. With the pending construction of the railway inn, the improvements would be complete, ushering in a new era of public access and amenities. Yet under the private ownership of William Kent, the park would soon face a new threat. While the owners of the redwood forest dating back to Samuel Throckmorton had guarded the trees from harm or destruction for what one report written in 1907 described as "sentimental reasons," the climate in the years following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 encouraged the North Coast Water Company to aggressively pursued plans for building a reservoir in Redwood Canyon. [106]

Figure 2.25: Postcard of the log cabin, view looking toward the main trail from the approach trail along Redwood Creek, c.1908. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B38, Muir Woods Collection.


East Fork (Fern Creek)
FERN CANYON
Planned site of inn
West Fork (Redwood Creek)
Bootjack Trail
Plevin Cut
Fern Creek Trail
Throckmorton Trail
THROCKMORTON RIDGE
Ben Johnson (Sequoia) Trail (c.1904)
Road Extension to railway (c.1906)
Log cabin (gatehouse) (c.1905)
Wooden Fern Creek bridge (c.1906)
Foot-bridges (c.1906)
Side trail (c.1906)
Tamalpais Land & Water Company to William Kent 611.57 acres, 1905
Ranch 5
Deer Park
REDWOOD CANYON
Big Lagoon (Redwood) Creek
Cathedral Grove
Site of approx. center of Bohemain Club encampment and Buddha statue (1892)
Tamalpais Land & Water Company to Bohemian Club 80 acres, 1892 Sold back, 1892
Bohemian Grove
Emerson memorial (1903)
Upper entrance
Sequoia Valley Road, Tamalpais Land & Water Co. to William Kent 1905
Sequoia Valley Road (Bohemian Club, 1892)
Site of old road alignment (pre-1905)
Gatehouse? (c.1905)
Bypass (c.1906)
Judge Conlon's cottage (c.1898)
Lower entrance
Concrete dam (c.1890-1900)
Out-buildings
Keeper's House (c.1890)
Camp Kent camp grounds (c.1890)
ROCKY CANYON
Trail to Willow Camp (Lone Tree Trail/Dipsea Trail)
Butler's Pride (Dipsea Trail) (c.1905)
Ranch W
(Tamalpais Land & Water Co.)
Unnamed Creek
Ranch X
(Tamalpais Land & Water Co.)
Location of The Alders shown on "Tourist's Map" (Denny, 1902)
Frank Valley Road, Tamalpais Land & Water Co. to William Kent 1905

CHAPTER 3
PROCLAMATION OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT AND THE KENT-RAILWAY ERA, 1907-1928

By the fall of 1907, Redwood Canyon, with its railway and improved road access, trails, and rustic bridges and benches, had become one of the main attractions on Mount Tamalpais thanks to the efforts of William Kent and the mountain railway (Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway). For the time being, Kent had achieved his two main objectives for the property: protecting the redwood forest and opening it up for public enjoyment. Within two years, however, the threat of the forest's destruction for a reservoir, already planned when Kent purchased the property in 1905, would develop into a legal property challenge that spurred federal acquisition of the redwood forest and its designation as a National Monument. While the monument designation and its naming after the famous conservationist John Muir would bring new prestige to Redwood Canyon and secure long-term protection of the redwoods, it resulted in little change to the landscape or its management for many years, especially prior to establishment of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916. Once the NPS became operational in 1917, the administration of Muir Woods changed as it enjoyed the attention of senior NPS officials and became associated for a time with Yosemite National Park. Yet through the 1920s, William Kent and the mountain railway remained central in the management of Muir Woods.

Aside from the completion of the Muir Inn in 1908 and the extension of the branch line railway in 1914, there were few significant changes to the Muir Woods landscape during the first decade of government ownership. In its second decade, a number of changes and improvements were made to Muir Woods, which enjoyed a relatively high level of attention due in part to William Kent's close association with senior NPS officials. By the late 1920s, 150 acres had been added to the monument, automobiles had been banned from the woods, a new custodian's house and office had been constructed, and the road access had been upgraded. Overall, however, Muir Woods National Monument remained little changed from the initial development undertaken by William Kent and the mountain railway.

WILLIAM KENT'S GIFT AND PROCLAMATION OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

When William Kent purchased his 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract in August 1905, he had considered giving the property one day to the state, a university, or the federal government as part of a larger public park on Mount Tamalpais. [1] A proposed condemnation of the property, however, forced him to take immediate action on his plans to gift the redwood forest to the public as a means to secure

its preservation. In 1907, the North Coast Water Company—the private company spun off from the Tamalpais Land & Water Company in 1903—began to progress plans for building a reservoir in Redwood Canyon (the company had previously secured water rights to Kent's property per his 1905 deed of purchase). The company already owned six hundred acres to the north of Kent's property, a parcel it had acquired in December 1906. This parcel included the main tributaries of Redwood Creek—Bootjack, Rattlesnake, and Spike Buck Creeks, but its topography was not suitable for a sizeable reservoir. In order to build a reservoir in Redwood Canyon, the water company—led by its owners James Newlands and William Magee—made plans in 1907 to file a condemnation suit in the Marin County court for forty-seven acres of Kent's land. This land was most likely at the northern end of the canyon floor, with the dam proposed just below Fern Creek.[2] Although only a small part of Kent's land would have been flooded, the forty-seven acres encompassed the northern part of canyon floor and a sizeable proportion of the big trees; perhaps more importantly, the reservoir would have divided the tract and disrupted the railway's new access to the canyon floor. With the great demand for water and timber in the aftermath of the San Francisco earthquake of April 1906, Newlands and Magee apparently felt they could get the public support needed to win the condemnation suit, despite the growing popularity of the redwood forest.[3] On December 2, 1907, the North Coast Water Company filed the proceedings for condemnation in the Superior Court of Marin County while William Kent was away in Hawaii on an extended vacation to recover from influenza.[4]

On December 3, 1907, upon his return from Hawaii having just learned of the condemnation suit filed the day before, William Kent urgently wired his close associate, Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the United States Forest Service within the Department of Agriculture and a confidant to President Theodore Roosevelt in matters of conservation. Kent turned to Pinchot and the federal government to protect the redwood forest, rather than to the state or county, realizing that state laws in California recognized the right to condemn private property for the purpose of public water supply. Pinchot had also earlier served as an advocate on behalf of William Kent's efforts to create a national park on Mount Tamalpais begun in 1903, and so Kent pleaded for his continued assistance in protecting the redwood forest, as he typed in his telegram:

> *Condemnation and destruction of Redwood Cañon threatened by Water Company. Must have it accepted as National forest at once. Wish to reserve forty acres not involved, but deeding all timber to Government. Will provide policing ten or twenty years. Sole idea is to save trees for public. Wire acceptance and terms. Vitally urgent. Answer Kentfield, Marin County, California.*[5]

On the same day, Kent wrote to Pinchot, sending him a map of the property he wished to offer as a gift to the federal government, encompassing most of the redwood forest, but not the entire 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract. Kent's passion for preserving the forest was clear in his closing remarks to Pinchot: "You may rest assured that I shall leave no stone unturned to save these trees, and I call upon you as one in distress, to help me out. I feel so intensely about it that I consider the lives of myself and other people of this generation as comparatively unimportant when contrasted with the benefaction through centuries of such a breathing place."[6]

In addition to contacting Gifford Pinchot in Washington, Kent also turned to the local field office of the United States Forest Service in San Francisco, meeting with his personal friend and professionally-trained forester, Frederick E. Olmsted, who held the position of Chief Inspector in that office.[7] Olmsted was a relative of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, and was one of the first graduates of the Biltmore Forest School, established in 1898 on the F. W. Vanderbilt Estate, "Biltmore," in Asheville, North Carolina as a school for teaching practical forestry devoted to sustainable timber production. In California, Olmsted developed management plans for private timberland owners, and directed boundary surveys in National Forests in the West.[8] At Muir Woods, Olmsted must have quickly realized that Kent's hopes for National Forest designation would not necessarily ensure the preservation of the redwoods; the Forest Reserves policy of 1905 stressed the importance of "use" in National Forests, which was typically understood at the time to mean sustainable timber production.[9] Olmsted instead directed Kent's attention to the recently passed Antiquities Act of 1906, which allowed the President to designate federal lands as National Monuments for the purposes of preserving resources of prehistoric, historic, or scientific interest.[10]

Olmsted, Pinchot, and Kent soon concurred that the redwood forest could fit the category of scientific interest under the Antiquities Act, and due to its proximity to San Francisco, would meet the educational spirit of the law given its potentially great public exposure. Pinchot, who was already familiar with Redwood Canyon, apparently assured Kent of success in achieving federal acquisition and monument designation. Apparently because of stipulations in the Antiquities Act pertaining to monuments established through gifts of private property, the redwood forest would not be acquired through Pinchot's Forest Service within the Department of Agriculture, but rather through the Department of the Interior.[11] Despite this, Pinchot and Olmsted remained Kent's key aides at the federal level, while continuing their assistance in park development efforts elsewhere on Mount Tamalpais. Pinchot also had a record of providing official advice to the Department of the Interior on forest reserve policies, so his continued involvement in Muir Woods as a forest resource was an outgrowth of this relationship.[12]

In addition to seeking federal assistance, Kent also took a try at changing the water company's mind. On December 10, 1907, he wrote a four-page letter to William Magee, pleading with him to withdraw the condemnation suit and arguing that preservation of the trees was a higher service than public water supply which could be provided elsewhere.[13] Knowing that Magee would most likely not change his mind, Kent also planned a widespread publicity campaign aimed at building public support for the federal acquisition and monument designation. Although Kent's lawyer, William Thomas, initially advised him against starting such a campaign in order to not irritate the plaintiffs, Kent quickly proceeded, contacting Benjamin Wheeler, the President of the University of California at Berkeley on December 11th and the editor of the San Francisco *Star* on December 12th, among others.[14]

Kent needed to rush the federal process so that Redwood Canyon would be in federal ownership before he was presented with the condemnation papers from the county court, which he anticipated receiving on January 10, 1908. By securing federal ownership by that date, Kent could avoid the lawsuit and the appearance he was bypassing state jurisdiction.[15] By December 14th, within two weeks of his telegram to Gifford Pinchot, the prospect for federal acquisition of Redwood Canyon looked promising. F. E. Olmsted wrote Kent that he had requested Pinchot to send a form of deed for the acceptance of Redwood Canyon by the Secretary of the Interior. At the same time, Kent was having a survey prepared of the nearly three-hundred acre tract, the boundaries of which corresponded with the limits of the redwood forest within his larger 612-acre property, excepting approximately 138 forested acres at the north end of the canyon surrounding the branch line railway. Here, Kent still wished to preserve the redwoods, but realized the existence of the railroad and his proposed construction of an inn could be problematic to the monument designation.[16] By making the boundaries correspond to the boundaries of the redwood forest except for this parcel, Kent was generally following the letter of the Antiquities Act, which specified that the limits of National Monuments "...in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected..."[17]

On December 17th, Olmsted and his assistant, Mr. Dubois, made a site visit to Redwood Canyon, arriving via the railway, to develop a description of the property to accompany the monument application. Olmsted and Kent estimated the total stand of redwood at approximately thirty-five million board feet, with five million more of Douglas-fir and tanoak, for a total valuation of $150,000. In addition to the description of the forest, Olmsted also described the rationale for the National Monument designation, echoing Kent's emphasis upon the scientific and educational value. He wrote that the property:

> *...is of extraordinary scientific interest because of the primeval and virgin character of the forest and the age and size of the trees. Its influence as an educational factor is immense because it offers what may some day be one of the few vestiges of an ancient giant forest, so situated as to make its enjoyment by the people a matter of course. It would make a most unique National Monument because it would be a living National Monument, than which nothing could be more typically American* [sic].[18]

By Christmas 1907, Olmsted had completed his report, entitled "Muir National Monument," the first known evidence of Kent's naming the property after John Muir.[19] The day after Christmas was a busy one for William Kent and a momentous day for Redwood Canyon. On December 26, 1907, Kent forwarded the Olmsted report, his completed survey, and the deed from him and his wife, Elizabeth Thacher Kent, gifting the 298-acre tract to the nation through James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior:

> *I herewith enclose a deed of gift to a tract of land in Marin County, California, more fully described by accompanying documents, and request that you accept it as provided for by the Act of June 8, 1906* [Antiquities Act]. *The property is well worthy of being considered a monument, and has surpassing scientific interest. The tract containing 295 acres [sic] is all heavily wooded with virgin timber, chiefly redwood and douglas* [sic] *fir...In the opinion of experts it is a wilderness park such as is accessible to no other great City in the world, and should be preserved forever for public use and enjoyment. It is now accessible by wagon road, by trails, and by railroad, and is now, and has long been used and enjoyed by the public. After having traveled over a large part of the open country in the United States, I consider this tract with its beautiful trees, ferns, wild flowers and shrubs as one of the most attractive bits of wilderness I have ever seen. In tendering it I request that it be known as Muir Woods in honor of John Muir.* [20]

Kent also wrote Gifford Pinchot at the same time, and enclosed a copy of the survey on which Kent showed the limits of the property proposed for condemnation by the North Coast Water Company. Kent confessed to Pinchot his intent for the federal acquisition: "I would say to you personally that I am planning a coup against these public enemies that will I believe forever finish them and their water scheme and put them where they will have nothing to sue for. If you remember the cañon you will note that the stuff they try to steal takes in the best timber and all the charm of the place..."[21]

Secretary Garfield acted quickly on Kent's request, relying upon approval by Gifford Pinchot and probably with prior agreement by President Theodore

Roosevelt.[22] On December 31, 1907, Garfield accepted Kent's gift under provisions of the Antiquities Act and signed the deed transferring the property to federal ownership, apparently without reference to the water rights on the property held by the North Coast Water Company. A Presidential proclamation was soon drafted and on January 9, 1908, Garfield submitted it to Theodore Roosevelt for his signature. That same day, the President signed the proclamation, thereby establishing Muir Woods National Monument, the seventh created under the Antiquities Act and the first from privately donated property rather than from federal or state-owned lands [see Appendix B for proclamation text]. Although Kent and Olmsted had stressed the importance of the proximity to San Francisco, the proclamation in the end only stated the scientific value of the forest. [23] On January 22, 1908, the abstract of title, maps of the tract, and other papers were conveyed to the General Land Office within the Department of the Interior, which was assigned responsibility for the management of Muir Woods National Monument.[24] [Figure 3.1] President Roosevelt had suggested that the monument be named Kent Woods, but William Kent argued against the name change, and it remained Muir Woods. [25]

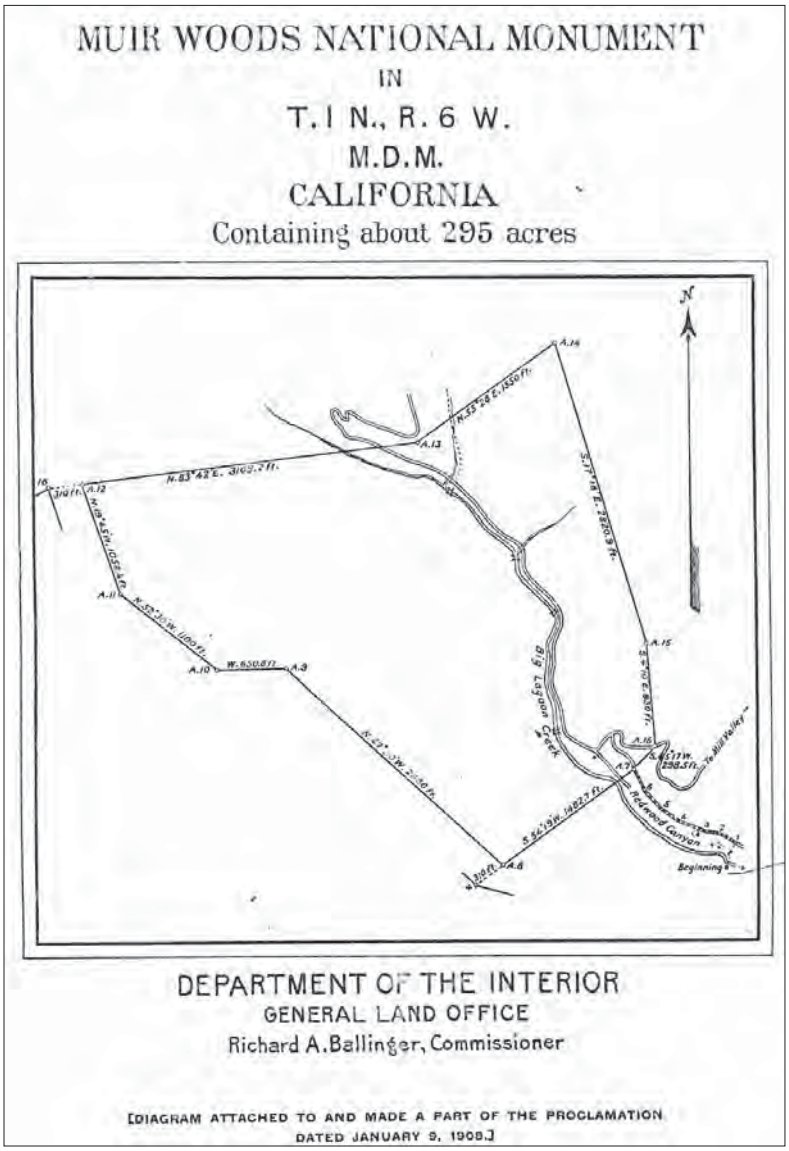


Figure 3.1: Survey of Muir Woods submitted by William Kent and made part of the proclamation by President Theodore Roosevelt on January 9, 1908. RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

William Kent had chosen the name Muir Woods out of honor to John Muir, but he had actually never met him in person, and Muir had probably only visited the woods once, back in 1904 along with Gifford Pinchot and Charles S. Sargent. However, Muir, who lived across San Francisco Bay in Martinez, followed the developments at Redwood Canyon, and on the day the monument was proclaimed, wrote that he was "...delighted with the salvation of the Tamalpais Redwood Groves, that so noble a park naturally a part of San Francisco should ever have been in danger of destruction is a sad commentary on its citizens. I'll send Mr. Kent my thanks & congratulations. How refreshing to find such a man amid so vast a multitude of dull money hunters dead in trespasses & sins..."[26]

On February 10th, William Kent responded to Muir with an invitation to come speak at a reception being given in honor of Kent by the Native Sons of San Rafael. Kent thought

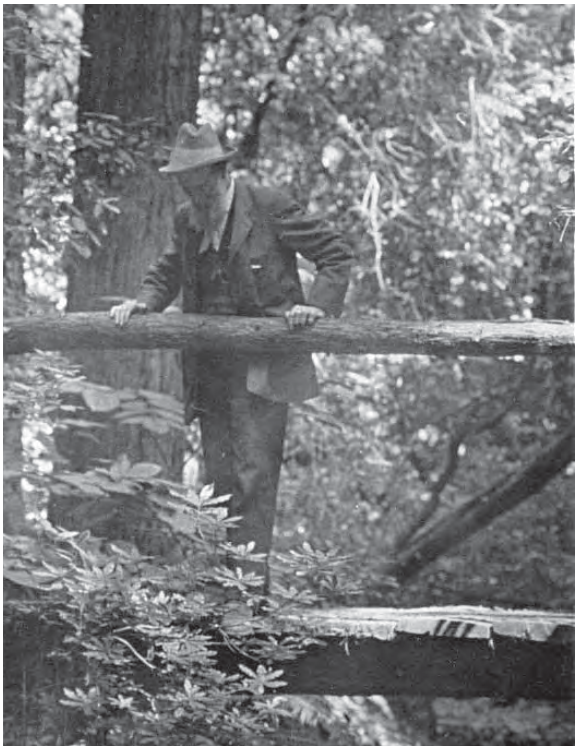


Figure 3.2: John Muir on a footbridge during his visit to Muir Woods shortly after the monument designation, 1908. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32480 B32, Muir Woods Records.

it would be a good opportunity to meet Muir, and for both to speak about the issue of the reception: nature preservation and reviving efforts to establish a 12,000-acre park on Mount Tamalpais.[27] Then in September 1908, Kent invited John Muir and his family to his family home, Kentfield, and took him on a tour of Muir Woods, arriving via the railroad.[28] Kent hired a photographer for the event, capturing Muir on one of the rustic footbridges. [Figure 3.2] Muir returned the following year, when the Muir Inn was completed, but is not known to have visited again or had any further direct involvement with the monument.[29] He died in 1914.

While John Muir had little direct association with Muir Woods, William Kent nonetheless used his name and sought his aid against the ongoing legal battle over the property by James Newlands and William Magee of the North Coast Water Company.[30] Newlands and Magee pressed on with their condemnation suit for nearly a year following the transfer of the property to the federal government on December 31, 1907. They were encouraged in Washington in part because the Justice Department did not give any suggestion of an opinion regarding the legality of the monument designation, despite an initial meeting with Kent's lawyer, William Thomas, in January 1908. Newlands and Magee were also led on at the regional level, where the U. S. District Attorney in San Francisco, Robert Devlin, failed to act on the lawsuit. The businessmen based their case upon the premise that their condemnation proceedings had begun prior to the federal government's acquisition of Muir Woods, and therefore, the monument lands maintained the equivalent status of private property for the purposes of the lawsuit. [31]

Newlands and Magee continued to call for condemnation of forty-seven acres that would inundate the northern end of the canyon floor. Kent was personally confident that the lawsuit would not stand, and that the public would never accept the destruction of the redwood forest. As he wrote to Secretary Garfield in September 1908: "...I wish to assure you that the mere suggestion of chopping any of these trees will drive all lovers of nature who know the trees, into a state of intense rage..."[32] Despite his confidence, Kent had to continually defend the case for preservation given the inaction of the federal government, resulting in mounting legal fees that totaled more than $1,500 by September 1908. Kent's main argument was that the condemnation suit was void due to the fact that the property was in federal ownership. However, he also continued to voice the value of preserving the redwood forest. He argued that preservation was a higher use than creating a public water supply that could be built elsewhere; and that creation of the

reservoir would destroy not only the most important trees, but also the use of the monument as a public park by dividing it in half and restricting public access in order to prevent pollution of the reservoir. Kent also tried to offer an alternative to Newlands and Magee by proposing to sell them land for the reservoir downstream from the redwood forest in Frank Valley, but they rejected his offer as too costly. [33]

By the fall of 1908, Kent had not yet been served with a summons, and he hoped to sit out the lawsuit until its expiration on December 3, 1908, the one-year anniversary of the date Newlands and Magee initially filed the suit. Probably due to this upcoming deadline and increasing public opposition to condemnation, Newlands and Magee offered to reduce the amount of land they wished condemned to fifteen acres, an area that still would have impacted the canyon floor and old-growth trees.[34] Kent immediately rejected the proposal, and took his case to President Roosevelt, writing on September 22nd: "It is my wish and suggestion that Mr. Devlin [U. S. District Attorney] should be instructed by the Secretary of the Interior, to use every possible means to prevent the destruction of a single tree. There is no possibility of any compromise nor is there need for any."[35] President Roosevelt immediately responded that District Attorney Devlin be instructed as Kent requested.[36]

James Newlands and William Magee were not, however, ready to give up. They continued to press Secretary of the Interior James Garfield for their case; told Kent's lawyer, William Thomas, that the attack on their project was "hysterical;" and promised to get a petition signed by every resident of Mill Valley and surrounding towns in support of the reservoir, despite that they had a terrible relationship with the community over the past five years.[37] To swing public opinion in their favor, Newlands and Magee created a water shortage in Mill Valley for four days in early October 1908, and publicly announced that it was due to the lack of storage capacity in the system, thus illustrating the purported need for a reservoir in Redwood Canyon. Local residents, already suspicious of the company, found out it was a deliberate shut-off, and, as Kent wrote on October 12th, "...His [Newlands'] campaign of education seems to be working the wrong way for him and the right way for the rest of us..."[38]

This public campaign failure for Newlands and Magee, along with President Roosevelt's intervention in directing action upon the District Attorney's office, apparently halted the condemnation suit, and the December 3, 1908 deadline passed without Kent receiving a summons. On December 22nd, Kent requested that his lawyers prepare a motion to dismiss the lawsuit, writing that "…there is no possibility of the plaintiffs creating any sort of dam, except a dam nuisance."[39] Newlands and Magee apparently did not pursue the condemnation suit any further. The lawsuit had, however, stalled federal management of Muir Woods for more

than nine months: Secretary of the Interior James Garfield had refused to approve any funding for the monument until the legal case was settled.[40]

DEVELOPMENT & CONSERVATION ON MOUNT TAMALPAIS

The designation of Muir Woods National Monument in January 1908 came at a time of increasing conservation and recreational activity on Mount Tamalpais, as well as substantial suburban development in neighboring Mill Valley and other communities on the east side of the Marin Peninsula. In submitting the proclamation for Muir Woods to President Roosevelt, Secretary of the Interior Garfield noted that the monument "...already is close to a large and growing suburban population."[41] By 1910, the City of Mill Valley had doubled in population over the course of the decade, and by 1920, increased fifty percent to 3,974 inhabitants. Already by 1913, the western journal *Overland Monthly* reported that on Mount Tamalpais with "...constantly improving transportation facilities, the opening of new tracts for country homes continues, with the resultant restriction of wild and free life..."[42] During the 1920s, the population increased at a much slower rate, reaching 4,164 by 1930, but the regional increase in population outside of the limits of the incorporated city, from Sausalito north to San Rafael, was much larger.[43] Development began to extend west onto Throckmorton Ridge, the high spine of land above the east side of Muir Woods. [Figure 3.3] Many streets were either planned or laid out in anticipation of development as part of two developments, Muir Woods Park and Muir Woods Terrace. Several houses may have been built in these developments as early as 1917.[44] [Figure 3.4]

Figure 3.3: View of Mount Tamalpais looking north from a spur of Throckmorton Ridge above Mill Valley, c.1910. Muir Woods would be to the left of this photograph. Courtesy Geo-Images Project, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, Magic Lantern slide NC-H-53, http://GeoImages.Berkeley.edu.

West Marin, the region west of Throckmorton Ridge to the Pacific Ocean including Muir Woods, witnessed only widely scattered development through the 1920s, primarily for seasonal homes and resorts. Much of the land remained either in its natural state or used for grazing as part of numerous dairy ranches occupying tracts that had been initially subdivided by Samuel Throckmorton in the mid-nineteenth century, and subsequently purchased by Portuguese and Swiss immigrants. Some of the ranches and land on the higher elevations formerly owned by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company were purchased by water companies and large landowners, including William Kent, the Stinson family, the North Coast Water Company, and Stanford University.

Three resort developments were planned in West Marin in the vicinity of Muir Woods from about the time of its designation into the 1920s. One, called Camp

Figure 3.4: Map of West Marin in vicinity of Muir Woods National Monument showing major subdivisions, roads, and railroads by 1928. At the time of his death, William Kent owned Ranches X, W, Y, P, 2, 3 and a portion of Ranch 8. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993), Tom Harrison, "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003), and "Thomas Brothers, "Map of Mill Valley," (1929).

Monte Vista, was planned immediately south of the monument in a small side canyon on the western end of Ranch P, but it went largely undeveloped (more detail on this follows). The most extensive occurred at Willow Camp along the Pacific coast, about three miles from Muir Woods. William Kent had backed resort development there beginning 1902 in conjunction with his plans to extend the mountain railway there from West Point through Steep Ravine. In 1904, following construction of the stage road on the planned rail route, a hotel called the Dipsea Inn was completed at Willow Camp, and two years later, it became the site of the finish line for the Dipsea Race, which passed by Muir Woods along the Lone Tree Trail. In 1906, the Stinson family, owners of a large parcel north of the beach at Willow Camp, began to subdivide their land for seasonal homes, and the place became sufficiently developed by 1916 to warrant a post office. The residents then chose the name Stinson Beach for the community. With the increasing use of automobiles after World War I, Stinson Beach became even more popular as a resort. William Kent's son, Thomas, built a new hotel there in 1920.[45]

In addition to Stinson Beach and Camp Monte Vista, several seasonal homes may have been built by the late 1920s overlooking Big Lagoon at the mouth of Redwood Creek. Known as Muir Beach, the resort initially consisted of two roads extending off the Dipsea Highway (Route 1).[46]

HEYDAY OF THE MOUNTAIN RAILWAY AND BEGINNINGS OF THE AUTO ERA

Tourism played a major role in building local support for conservation on Mount Tamalpais, and the mountain railway (Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic

Railway) remained one of the major tourist attractions prior to World War I. The opening of its branch line to Redwood Canyon in 1908 coincided with the designation of Muir Woods National Monument, and hence the line became known as the Muir Woods Branch. The years after the designation of the monument and opening of the branch line were prosperous ones for the railway company. It carried thousands of visitors from all over the world, and was proclaimed the superior rail excursion in California by a national tourist company.[47] By 1910, the company was reporting big gains, with ridership increasing over seventeen percent from the previous year. With its future looking bright, the directors of the railway announced a major expansion in 1911 to extend the railway to the ocean-front resorts at Willow Camp (Stinson Beach) and Bolinas, a project William Kent had proposed almost a decade earlier, and erect a beach-front hotel. Construction was begun, but soon halted as the railway proposed an even more ambitious scheme to build an entirely new line, tunneling through the mountain directly from Mill Valley to the ocean. This scheme never materialized.[48]

In 1913, flush with success and prosperity, the railway directors decided to incorporate the company, and they chose a new name, Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, reflecting the significance of its route to the National Monument.[49] In 1915, the year of the San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the railway had its busiest year ever with 102,000 passengers.[50] The mountain railway attracted tourists to its line by heavily promoting Muir Woods and its scenic route to Mount Tamalpais through brochures and other advertising. Through the 1920s, it continued to maintain a ticket office at the Ferry Building in downtown San Francisco, and offered tourists a complete trip from there to Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods using the Northwestern Pacific Ferry to Sausalito and the Northwestern Pacific Railroad to Mill Valley to connect with its own line up the mountain [Figure 3.5]. The railway was sufficiently prosperous to rebuild the Tavern of the Tamalpais in 1923 following the original structure's destruction by fire that same year.

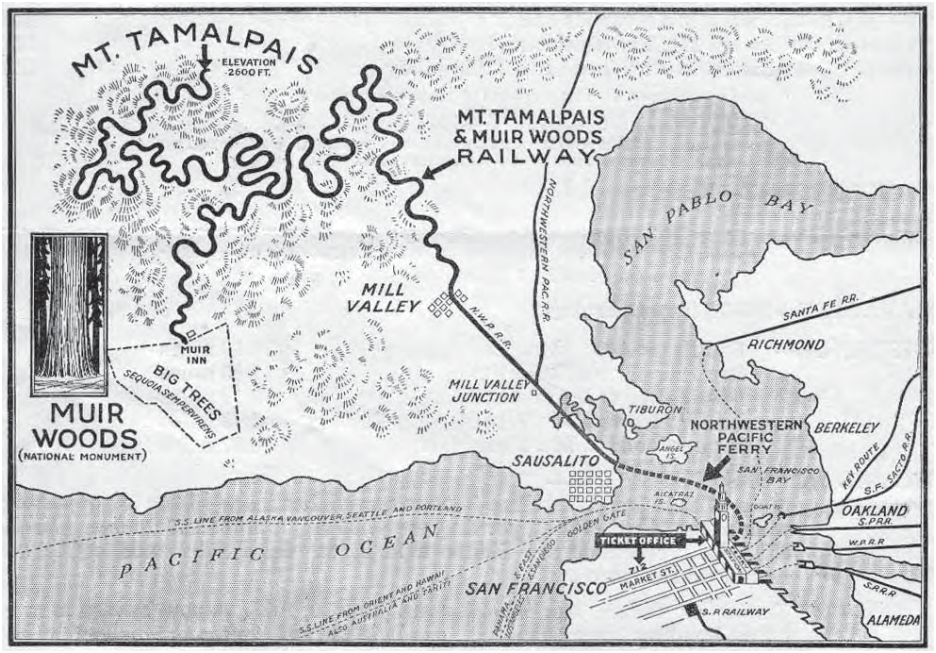


Figure 3.5: Map of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway in a railway brochure of c.1924. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

Despite its advertising and increasing renown, the mountain railway began to lose business after World War I due to the increasing use of automobiles, particularly with the construction of improved

automobile highways during the 1920s. These included the improvement of the old Sausalito-Bolinas Road into the Dipsea Highway (Route 1) in 1923-24; the construction of Ridgecrest Boulevard in 1923-5, providing access to the summit of Mount Tamalpais from the Bolinas-Fairfax Road on the north side of Mount Tamalpais; and the improvement of Sequoia Valley Road and the road through Frank Valley into the Muir Woods Toll Road in 1925-1926, providing connection to the Dipsea Highway [see Figure 3.4]. In 1925, plans were announced for a new road from the Dipsea Highway at the Dias Ranch, connecting with the Muir Woods Toll Road, extending north along Throckmorton Ridge, and turning west above Steep Ravine to Stinson Beach. Called the Panoramic Highway, construction began in 1928 following several years of delays due to concerns from conservationists over its potential to spur further suburban development on Mount Tamalpais.[51]

With private automobiles proliferating and tour buses offering service to the summit and Muir Woods, the profits of the mountain railway dropped by two thirds between 1920 and 1923, with further declines following. By 1926, there was talk of converting the mountain railway into a highway, but it was soon dropped in favor of building a new road, the Panoramic Highway.[52] Despite these developments, the mountain railway continued to operate into the late 1920s, beyond the death in 1928 of one of its main stockholders and advocates, William Kent.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE TAMALPAIS PARK MOVEMENT

The initial campaign begun in 1903 for establishment of a large public park on Mount Tamalpais had not met with success by 1908, but public support for the concept continued to build. Kent and many others recognized that the designation of Muir Woods National Monument was a first step in the larger effort for the 12,000-acre park. Writing to Gifford Pinchot soon after the designation in February 1908, Kent confided: "The start we have made will probably bring the bigger park on the mountain. The plan is to try to purchase the land leaving the water rights in present hands. Eventually the community will condemn and purchase the water and the whole job will be done. I am full of feasible plans for getting the mountain saved and used, and have to stand advertising and flattering for the cause..."[53]

The popularity of establishing parkland in the region of West Marin was reflected in strong local support for the establishment of Muir Woods National Monument. Aside from the expected praise received by conservation groups such as the Sierra Club and local hiking clubs, the designation of the monument was also praised by the local municipality and the county newspaper: The Board of Town Trustees of the Town of Sausalito issued a resolution on January 27, 1908 expressing "great appreciation of the public spirit and generosity exhibited by Mr. Kent," and the

Marin County Journal published that Kent's gift was a "most generous and patriotic act."[54] The designation also coincided with increasing public interest in the larger park, as evidenced in a letter Kent wrote in February 1908 to L. A. McAllister, a fellow conservationist from San Francisco: "There seems to be a great revival in our time for creating a park on Mount Tamalpais. Whether it will assume the phase we thought of, a National Park, or whether it may not be better attacked in another way, is for us to get together and determine..."[55]

Aside from several key individuals such as William Kent, the major force behind the park movement continued to come from local outdoor clubs, which increased in number in the decades after the designation of Muir Woods up until World War II, a period considered the heyday of hiking in the Bay Area.[56] The most important of the clubs established after 1908 was the Tamalpais Conservation Club (TCC), founded in 1912. With its first meeting sponsored by William Kent and held at Kentfield, the TCC was born out of increasing conflict on Mount Tamalpais between hikers and hunters, and was also founded to advocate for the creation of the large public park on Mount Tamalpais. The club grew quickly; by 1913, it boasted 1,000 members, and established its headquarters at the West Point Inn, owned by the mountain railway. Other hiking and conservation clubs established during the early years of Muir Woods that were involved in Mount Tamalpais included the Tourist Club (commonly known as the "German Club"), founded in 1912 as an associate of the Austrian organization, *Touristen Verein—Die Naturfreunde* ("Tourist Club—Friends of Nature"); the California Alpine Club founded in 1914, the Contra Costa Hill Club, founded in 1920, and the Berkeley Hiking Club, founded in 1922. Others from national clubs, such as the Camp Fire Girls, were also frequent hikers on the mountain. [Figure 3.6]

Figure 3.6: Photograph of hiking group in vicinity of Muir Woods, with Mount Tamalpais in background. Northwest Pacific Railroad, "Hiking in Marin" brochure, c.1920. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

The Tourist Club built its clubhouse, a Swiss-chalet style structure, on Throckmorton Ridge overlooking Muir Woods in 1912, and in 1925, the California Alpine Club built their clubhouse a short distance to the north [see Figure 3.4]. Both clubs maintained trails leading into Muir Woods. Apart from the clubs, there were also several private businesses that catered to the needs of hikers. Within the vicinity of Muir Woods, these included the Mountain Home Inn, opened on Throckmorton Ridge along one of the main trails near the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway in 1912 by a Swiss couple, Claus and Martha Meyer; and Joe's Place, a refreshment stand and dance place opened by Joe Bickerstaff in c.1910 along Frank Valley Road at the crossing of the Dipsea Trail near the south entrance of Muir Woods [Figure 3.7, see also Figure 3.4]. As reflected in the names

Figure 3.7: View of Joe's Place, a popular stop for hikers and visitors to Muir Woods, looking southwest across Frank Valley Road toward Redwood Creek, c.1920. The upper inset is of owner Joe Bickerstaff. Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, Muir Woods Collection, GOGA 32470 B24.

of the hiking clubs and business owners, the hiking community on Mount Tamalpais was in large part of Germanic origin.[57]

In the absence of a public park, the Tamalpais Conservation Club became the leading organization for the maintenance of Mount Tamalpais. Members picked up litter, constructed and maintained trails, built camp facilities, and provided other recreational amenities, and also published a popular newsletter, *California Out-of-Doors*.[58] Volunteer labor by hikers, working individually or through the TCC and other hiking clubs, expanded the number of main trails on the south side of Mount Tamalpais from four in 1898 to eighteen by 1925, and built campgrounds alongside Bootjack and Rattlesnake Creeks, tributaries of Redwood Creek, on lands belonging to the North Coast Water Company [see Figure 3.4]. These camps, located above Muir Woods, served as resting and picnicking places for day hikers, and also were used for overnight camping.[59]

In addition to the trails, camps, mountain railway, inns, and summit of Mount Tamalpais, another significant attraction for tourists and hikers was the Mountain Theater, established in 1913 on six acres later donated by William Kent in 1915. In donating the land, Kent requested that the theater be dedicated to Sidney Cushing, his close friend and original backer and president of the mountain railway. Located about one mile northwest of Muir Woods near the headwaters of Redwood Creek, the site was a natural amphitheater high up on the mountainside that looked out over Muir Woods and the other canyons and hills stretching down to the Pacific Ocean. Founded by hikers, the theater was initially not connected to any roads, and the audience arrived by hiking, usually down from the mountain railway. With the completion of Ridgecrest Boulevard in 1925, the theater gained road access. By this time, it had become a beloved local institution, operated by the Mountain Play Association and attracting attendance of upwards of 6,000 for its annual play held each May.[60]

Although an increasing part of Mount Tamalpais was effectively being used as public parkland through the work of hiking and conservation clubs and the benevolence of landowners such as William Kent, the actual establishment of public parklands came slowly after the proclamation of Muir Woods in 1908. Momentum for the park kept moving, however, in large part due to the efforts of hikers and the TCC in particular, as noted by the western journal, *Overland Monthly*, in 1913: "...This land of Tamalpais has become so endeared to thousands

who tramp its trails—two and three generations of communicants with its wilderness shrines—that all who love its undefiled beauties are taking common cause to preserve them for the appreciation of posterity..."[61] The first achievement in the park movement after the establishment of Muir Woods occurred not specifically for park purposes, but rather to safeguard the watershed of Mount Tamalpais for public drinking water supply and remove its control by private monopolies. In 1911, legislation—strongly backed by William Kent—was passed creating the Marin Municipal Water District with the purpose of public acquisition of watershed lands on Mount Tamalpais. Upon its inception, the water district adopted a policy of allowing free public access to its land, as long as it did not lead to water contamination. This policy, which in effect established more than 11,000 acres of public parkland, was surely the result of advocacy by William Kent, who had deeded all his property above 1,000 feet to the district, and others involved in the movement to establish a public park on Mount Tamalpais. By 1915, the water district began to acquire lands belonging to private water companies through condemnation, notably 1,319 acres belonging to the North Coast Water Company, mostly on the north side of Mount Tamalpais.[62] The company retained its land directly north of Muir Woods.

In 1913, a year after the water district was created, state legislation strongly backed by the TCC was introduced authorizing the Tamalpais Game Refuge. The purpose of the refuge was to ban hunting in the Mount Tamalpais watershed (including Muir Woods), on Bolinas Ridge, and in the hills to the north. The legislation was based on the need to protect dwindling deer herds, and to safeguard hikers from hunters.[63] Its understood purpose, as reported by the *Overland Monthly,* was to "...maintain this region as a quasi-public playground until the larger [park] plan can be accomplished."[64] Due to strong opposition from hunting clubs and property owners, it took more than four years for the legislation to finally pass.[65] Aside from restricting hunting, it also authorized the state to accept donations of land or leaseholds to forward the purposes of the refuge. While the Tamalpais Game Refuge was not a highly visible entity, it did symbolize the growing political weight that hiking and other recreational uses were achieving during the 1910s.

As the legislation for the game refuge was being debated, many were hoping that the boundaries of Muir Woods would be expanded across Mount Tamalpais to become the long-envisioned 12,000-acre public park.[66] This had indeed been William Kent's intent, and in the years after the designation of Muir Woods in 1908, he continued to work on the plan and offer his own property toward both the expansion of the monument and establishment of a broader park, as well as to the quasi-park lands of the water district. In 1915, he offered to donate his property in Steep Ravine to the federal government as part of Muir Woods National Monument, along with a strip of land to connect it with water district property

Figure 3.8: Map of parcels proposed for 12,000-acre Mount Tamalpais Park Area, showing the Marin Municipal Water District (4) and Muir Woods National Monument (5), plus three tracts proposed as part of a state park: the mountain railway property (2), William Kent's Steep Ravine (3), and the Newlands-Magee tract (1). Tamalpais Park Fund of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, "Establish the Park on Tamalpais" (flyer with map, detail shown here), mailed June 1927, reproduced in an unidentified newspaper clipping. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

further up the mountainside.[67] Kent's proposed addition of Steep Ravine to Muir Woods never came about, largely because he insisted on retaining water rights to the property to service planned development at Stinson Beach. It was not until the late 1920s, spurred by highway and housing development proposals, that the 12,000-acre park proposal once again gained momentum. Spearheaded largely by the TCC, the new plan called not for a single park, but rather for a park area managed by three entities: the Marin Municipal Water District (11,000 acres), Muir Woods National Monument (422 acres) and several intervening parcels that would become part of a state park. These parcels included Kent's 150-acre Steep Ravine tract, 550 acres owned by James Newlands and William Magee (North Coast Water Company) north of Muir Woods, and 138 acres owned by the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway at the terminus of the Muir Woods Branch.[68] [Figure 3.8] William Kent advocated for this park plan, and in March 1928 shortly before his death, he gave Steep Ravine to the State of California, which had recently passed enabling legislation to establish a state park on Mount Tamalpais. The tract, which included land that connected it with the Newlands-Magee tract, was temporarily named "Steep Ravine Park" [see Figure 3.4]. Probably certain of the success of establishing the larger state park, William Kent nonetheless did not live to see its founding and opening to the public in 1930.[69]

OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE IN REDWOOD CANYON, 1907-1928

From the time Muir Woods National Monument was designated in 1908 through William Kent's death in 1928, it was the only publicly owned and protected tract of land in Redwood Canyon and the surrounding lower south side of Mount Tamalpais aside from Steep Ravine Park, acquired by the state in 1928. Although under federal ownership, Muir Woods was operated and maintained throughout this period in close association with neighboring private properties in which

William Kent had either interest or outright ownership. Most closely associated with the monument was the neighboring property to the north owned by the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company, with the Muir Inn and terminus of the Muir Woods Branch that served as the primary entrance to the monument, particularly prior to World War I.

While William Kent maintained most of his property surrounding Muir Woods either in its natural state or as grazing land, there was some building and several extensive development proposals during this period on adjoining areas. These included the Camp Monte Vista subdivision to the south of Muir Woods, although only several buildings were constructed within it; and to the east along Throckmorton Ridge was the Tourist Club, the public right-of-way for the Panoramic Highway, and the Muir Woods Terrace and Muir Woods Park subdivisions. On their 554-acre tract north of Muir Woods, James Newlands and William Magee planned on laying out subdivisions once the Panoramic Highway was built [see Figure 3.4].[70]

KENT PROPERTIES

William Kent, who had become the largest landowner on Mount Tamalpais with over 4,000 acres by 1909 (including the family home, Kentfield), owned all of the property surrounding Muir Woods National Monument at the time of its designation. He subdivided the monument from within his 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract intentionally to create buffer strips on all sides that remained under his ownership and management. These strips had some areas of redwood forest (particularly on the north side), but were otherwise mostly chaparral and grassland. Kent retained this land because, as he wrote Gifford Pinchot, he felt he "...would be a better neighbor than the next man."[71] Prior to establishment of the National Monument, Kent had planned on leasing the entire 612-acre tract to the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, which had built its branch line into the northeast corner of the property.[72] With Kent's sale of 298 acres to the federal government for the National Monument, he made plans to sell his remaining c.172-acre tract of land along the north side of the monument, containing the railway right-of-way and forested portions of Fern Canyon and Redwood Canyon, to the railway company according to an agreement signed on January 16, 1908. [Figure 3.9] Kent included in the agreement a provision that prohibited the cutting of trees on the property without his consent.[73]

At the same time as this property transfer, Kent was negotiating for the purchase of hundreds of acres surrounding his Redwood Canyon tract to the south and west, which he was acquiring to give Muir Woods, in his words, "even greater security." [74] In the spring of 1908, he purchased Ranches X, W, and Y, amounting to over 900 acres [see Figure 3.9]. This land included Rocky Canyon, the

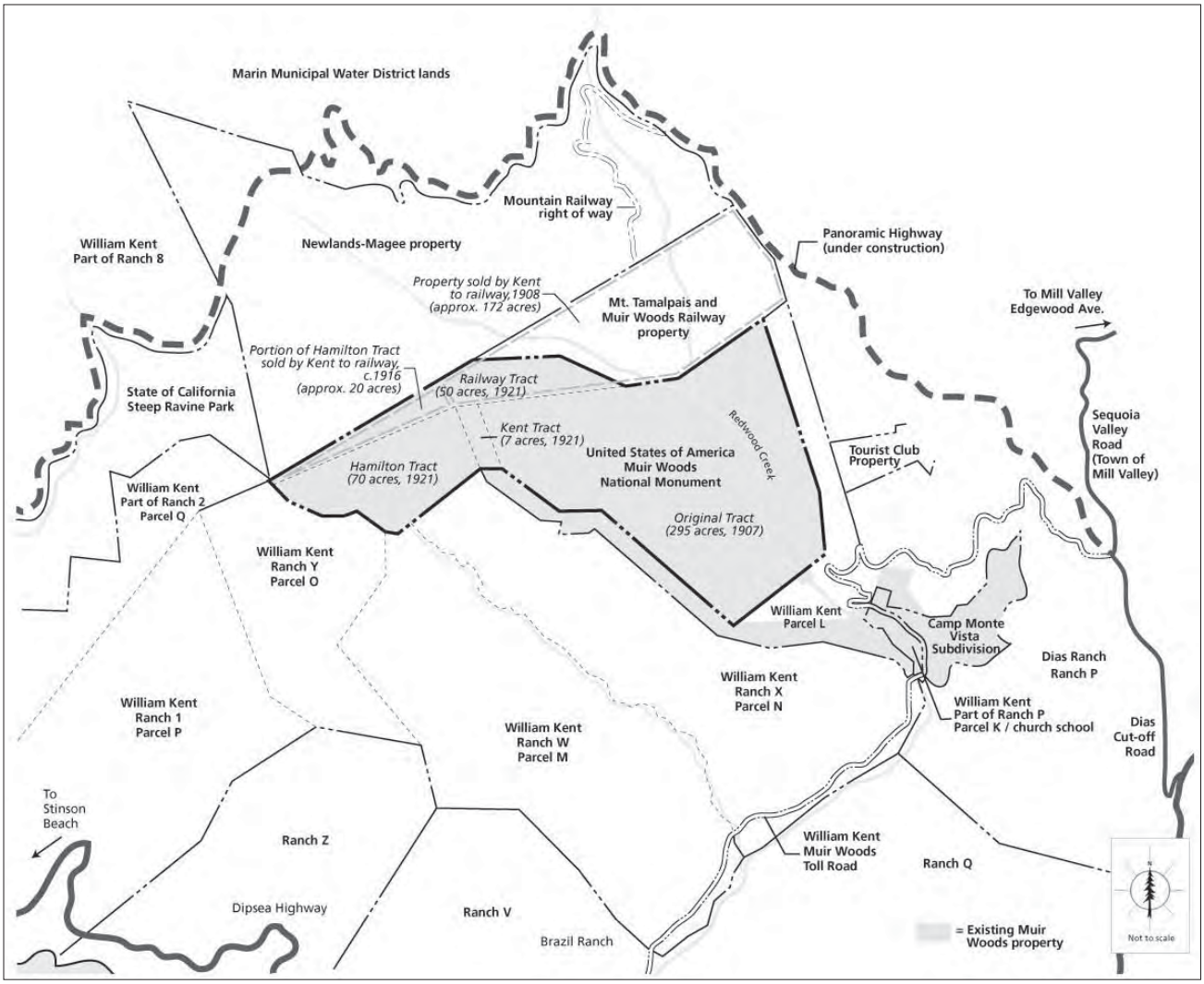


Figure 3.9: Map of property ownership within and adjoining Muir Woods National Monument, 1907-1928. SUNY ESF, based on Oglesby, "Property of the William Kent Estate" (1929).

adjoining canyon to the southwest of Muir Woods. Subsequently known as Kent Canyon, the area may have once contained a redwood forest like its neighbor, but by the time William Kent purchased the property, there were no redwoods of any considerable size or extent, and much of the property was deciduous woods and grassland.[75]

In addition to this large tract, William Kent purchased several other, smaller parcels neighboring Redwood Canyon. To the south along Redwood Creek, Kent acquired a seven-acre tract within Ranch P from John Dias, which he lent to the Presbyterian Church for its use as part of Camp Kent, located across Frank Valley Road within the Camp Monte Vista subdivision. Off the northwest corner of the Redwood Canyon tract, Kent acquired a seventy-acre portion of Ranch 8, known as the Hamilton Tract, on April 1, 1916 [see Figure 3.9]. This property was part of a larger tract that had been purchased by Ruby and William Hamilton on August 1, 1905, just four weeks prior to Kent's purchase of Redwood Canyon. The property was located at the head of Rocky (Kent) Canyon and was mostly forested. It contained a clearing known as Deer Park, alongside which ran the Dipsea (Lone Tree)

Trail. [76] Kent purchased the Hamilton Tract in order to connect Muir Woods and his Redwood Canyon property with his land on Ranch 2, including Steep Ravine, which he purchased in c.1902. Around the time he acquired the Hamilton Tract, Kent also acquired an adjoining narrow strip of land between Muir Woods and Steep Ravine for a proposed extension of the Muir Woods Branch Line railway to Steep Ravine and Stinson Beach.[77] To the west and south of the Hamilton Tract, Kent had also acquired considerable amounts of land extending to the oceanfront beginning in c.1902, including Ranches 1, 2, and 3 [see Figure 3.4]. Kent did not acquire land to the immediate east of Redwood Canyon, along Throckmorton Ridge. This property remained in the private ownership of housing developers and hiking clubs.

With so much land and so many different tracts, William Kent devised an identification system by lettered parcels. He identified his buffer land around Muir Woods National Monument to the east, south, and west as Parcel L; Ranches W, X, Y as Parcels N, M, and O; and the small plot of land in Ranch P south of Redwood Canyon as Parcel K [see Figure 3.9]. To maintain his property, Kent employed staff that worked at times alongside staff from the mountain railway. On the big ranch tracts, Kent leased the land to livestock farmers, whose herds maintained the open grasslands. On lands with outstanding natural features, Kent conserved the land for public benefit. This was true of his lands above 1,000 feet in elevation, which he gave to the Marin Municipal Water District, and to the Douglas-fir and redwood grove in Steep Ravine, which he ultimately donated to the state. Kent was not involved in any development on his lands in the vicinity of Muir Woods, aside from the railway tract, but did try to reserve water rights on some of the property in order to supply Muir Woods and support planned resort development at Stinson Beach.

CAMP KENT & THE CAMP MONTE VISTA SUBDIVISION

In the years following the proclamation of the National Monument in 1908, William Kent continued his association with Camp Kent, the campgrounds for the Presbyterian Church's Sunday School Athletic League of Marin County located south of Muir Woods. Since as early as 1890, Kent had allowed the church to use the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association clubhouse (most likely the same building later known as the Keeper's House) as their lodge, located at the south border of his Redwood Canyon tract between Frank Valley Road and Redwood Creek. About five hundred feet to the south across Frank Valley Road was the small side canyon where the church school had its main picnic area and campgrounds on property owned by John Dias as part of his larger property encompassing Ranches O and P. Here, Camp Kent by 1908 featured a pavilion, picnic grounds, campfire pit, and places for tents that extended along a small creek on the canyon floor up

Figure 3.10: Map of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision, circa November 1908. The lower road, "Paso Del Mar," runs along the approximate alignment of the existing Frank Valley Road; at the upper left is Sequoia Valley Road, the existing Muir Woods Road. The building at the lower left near Redwood Creek is labeled as "Keeper's House." The map shows several roads, bridges, and other features that were not built as shown. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, Muir Woods Collection, GOGA 32470 B27.

to the property owned by Judge Conlon, who had built a three-room cabin there in c.1898.[78]

In the fall of 1908, less than a year after the proclamation of Muir Woods National Monument, the Camp Monte Vista subdivision was laid out within Camp Kent's wooded side canyon and surrounding Judge Conlon's property. John Dias and his wife, Ida Silver Dias, had together with several local businessmen formed the Monte Vista Realty Company to market the property. George N. Pimlett served as the president of the company, and James V. Chase as secretary, with company offices located in Mill Valley.[79] The company published a brochure of the fifty-acre tract based on subdivision plats filed with the county in October and November of 1908. [80] [Figure 3.10] The subdivision was designed for seasonal residential and camping uses, following the existing use by Judge Conlon and the church school. The brochure exclaimed: "…Realizing the desire and increasing demand for camping places within easy distance of San Francisco, yet sufficiently removed to banish its din and turmoil, the present agents of CAMP MONTE VISTA sought far and wide, finally to discover the ideal spot near home—within half an hour's walk from Mill Valley...[81]

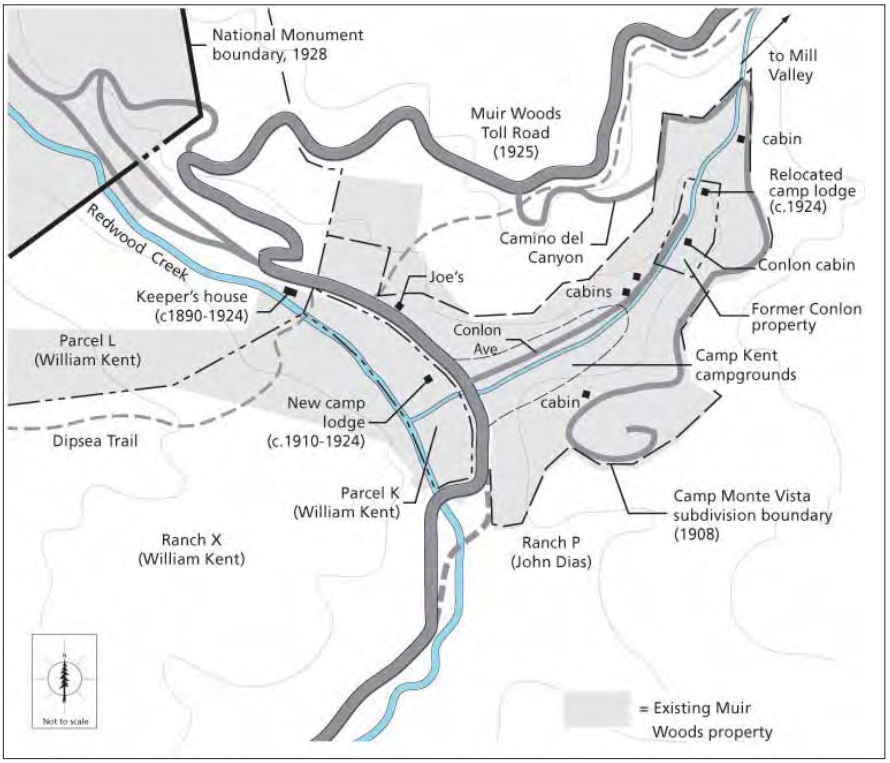
The 257 lots in the subdivision measured fifty feet wide by one hundred feet deep, and were organized within a perimeter road along the upper edges of the canyon floor named Camino del Cañon, and in a separate rectangular parcel near the entrance to Muir Woods and adjacent to the Dipsea Trail, perhaps envisioned for commercial use catering to tourists and hikers. Judge Conlon's property at the upper end of the canyon was not part of the subdivision, but was identified as tracts A through H. Along the floor of the canyon was a pre-existing road through Camp Kent's campgrounds, with a divided section along the lower part named Calle de Dias after the owner of the land, and Calle de los Arbores, recalling the

Figure 3.11: Photograph of a rustic cottage in Camp Monte Vista, from a c.1910 brochure. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, Muir Woods Collection, GOGA 32470.

wooded tract. Between these two roads were the church's picnic- and campgrounds along the canyon floor, apparently reserved as public space. Above this area, Conlon Avenue led up to Judge Conlon's property [see Figure 3.10]. Another road, Paso del Mar, was probably part of the new alignment of Frank Valley Road along the south side of Redwood Creek planned by William Kent when he acquired the road and adjoining ranches in 1906-1908. At the southeastern corner of the subdivision, Camino del Cañon and Paso del Mar were apparently supposed to link up with a new road to Mill Valley, which would have tunneled beneath Throckmorton Ridge to Homestead Valley, but was never built.

Despite the initial marketing, Camp Monte Vista did not experience significant development for many years. Many of the lots remained undeveloped, but a few were sold and developed with cottages built in the rustic style then in vogue for seasonal residences in the region. [Figure 3.11] One of these cottages was Joe's Place, the refreshment stand and dance hall built at the north end of the subdivision that catered to hikers and visitors to Muir Woods. [82] [Figure 3.12, see also Figure 3.7] The Presbyterian Church continued to use the canyon floor as its campgrounds for Camp Kent, but maintained its camp lodge on William Kent's land across Frank Valley Road. With the increasing popularity of Muir Woods after 1908, the church had found its original lodge in the old Keeper's House inadequate for a number of reasons. With its location near the entrance to Muir Woods as well as immediately alongside the increasingly popular Dipsea Trail, many hikers and visitors mistook the church school for being the warden of the National Monument. The fact that William Kent housed the keeper of his properties in this building probably also added to the confusion as well as limited available space. In addition, the building was over five hundred feet north of the church's campgrounds in the side canyon. In c.1910, William Kent offered the church the use of a small parcel to the south that he had recently purchased on Ranch P, directly across Frank Valley Road from the side

Figure 3.12: Diagram of Camp Kent and its relationship to Kent and former Conlon properties, and the Camp Monte Vista subdivision, c.1928. SUNY ESF, based on Oglesby, "Property of the William Kent Estate" (1929), and "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista" (1908).



canyon. Kent retained ownership of the property, which he identified as Parcel K, but allowed the church school the use of it, and they soon built a new lodge there, probably at Kent's expense. [83]

By the 1920s, four small cabins had been built in Camp Monte Vista, two along Conlon Avenue and two along the southern part of Camino del Cañon. With development increasing, the Presbyterian Church tried to purchase some of Judge Conlon's property to secure their presence in the canyon, but were unsuccessful and instead bought two lots in c.1918 in their camping area lower in the canyon. Following Judge Conlon's death, his family sold the church his property, including the cabin, in 1924. Soon after this time, the church purchased approximately twenty surrounding lots on the canyon floor, thereby acquiring title to the land they had long used. With their new property, the church also began to erect permanent structures in Camp Kent: they dismantled their lodge from William Kent's Parcel K and re-erected it on the Conlon property, and also built eight frame cabins.[84] Aside from wanting to further consolidate their camp facilities, the church probably also decided to move their lodge to avoid increasing traffic on Frank Valley Road, which was soon to be improved into an automobile toll road.

ACCESS TO MUIR WOODS: TRAILS, RAILWAY, AND ROAD

From its earliest days, trails had been an important point of access to Redwood Canyon, and they continued to be a popular way of reaching Muir Woods following the monument designation in 1908. Most followed informal rights-of-way granted by private property owners, such as William Kent. Although maintained by various hiking clubs for public use, the trails, like the mountain railway and the road from Mill Valley and through Frank Valley, were all privately owned.

The chief trails entering Muir Woods remained the Ben Johnson and Bootjack from the north and west; Fern Canyon from the north and east, and the Dipsea (former Lone Tree Trail) skirting the southern and western boundary, connecting Mill Valley to Stinson Beach. A new trail, named the Ocean View Trail, was constructed in c.1908 through the chaparral and grasslands above the eastern boundary of Muir Woods, connecting with the Fern Canyon Trail.[85] It was a popular route for hikers to enter Muir Woods when coming from Mill Valley over Throckmorton Ridge, which was traversed by the Throckmorton Trail. A hike planned by the Sierra Club for May 1, 1910, for example, directed visitors from San Francisco to take the Sausalito ferry and train to Mill Valley, and from there to: "... Walk up Mill Valley and Throckmorton Trail and thence down Ocean View trail to cascades of east fork [Fern Creek]. Explore cañon...Return by railroad track and Throckmorton Trail to Mill Valley. 8 miles."[86] In 1917, a new trail was built through Kent Canyon southwest of Muir Woods, probably following the canyon floor and on the border of Ranches X and W, purchased by William Kent in 1908. The trail

Figure 3.13: View of the gravity cars used on the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway, photographed on approach to Muir Woods, c.1920. National Park Service, reproduced in James M. Morley, James M. *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991).

was built by Fred S. Robbins, a Tamalpais Conservation Club member, and was known as the Robbins & Higgins Trail. It ran from Frank Valley Road northwest to the Dipsea Trail on Kent's Hamilton Tract, which he had purchased in 1916.[87]

Many early visitors to Redwood Canyon arrived by walking down from the summit of Mount Tamalpais which they reached by the mountain railway, but the opening of the branch line to Muir Woods in 1908 gave many a preferable means of access. Although the Muir Woods Branch had been completed in 1907, it did not become fully operational that year, owing mainly to the lack of adequate rolling stock. While a few trial runs were made, it was not until January 24, 1908, two weeks after the proclamation of the National Monument, that the Muir Woods Branch went into full operation. Open gravity cars were the primary rolling stock used on the line, with steam engines used to push the cars back up hill. [Figure 3.13]

At the terminus of the Muir Woods Branch within William Kent's original 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract was the site for the hotel that had been planned by Kent and the railway as part of their 1906 agreement for the construction of the branch line. In this agreement, Kent had proposed that he would finance a $60,000 hotel in return for a fee and percentage of passenger receipts, but following designation of the monument, and with delays due to shortage of building materials following the San Francisco earthquake, he decided to let the mountain railway company (of which he was a major stockholder) undertake the project itself. On January 16, 1908, Kent and the railway revised their original agreement to outline the new hotel deal along with Kent's sale of the surrounding c.172-acre property to the railway company. Soon after, the railway began to draw up plans for the hotel, and contracted with Mill Valley builder, Harvey Klyce, who completed the structure in May 1908. On June 27, 1908, the inn opened its door to the public. [Figure 3.14] Containing a dining room and offices on the main level and staff housing on the lower levels, the Muir Inn, as it was known (not to be confused with the later Muir Woods Inn on Frank Valley Road), was a rustic bungalow-style structure built on a concrete foundation and banked into the hillside above

Figure 3.14: Postcard of the Muir Inn, built in 1908 at the terminus of the branch railway, looking southwest with Fern Canyon and Throckmorton Ridge in the background, c.1910. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

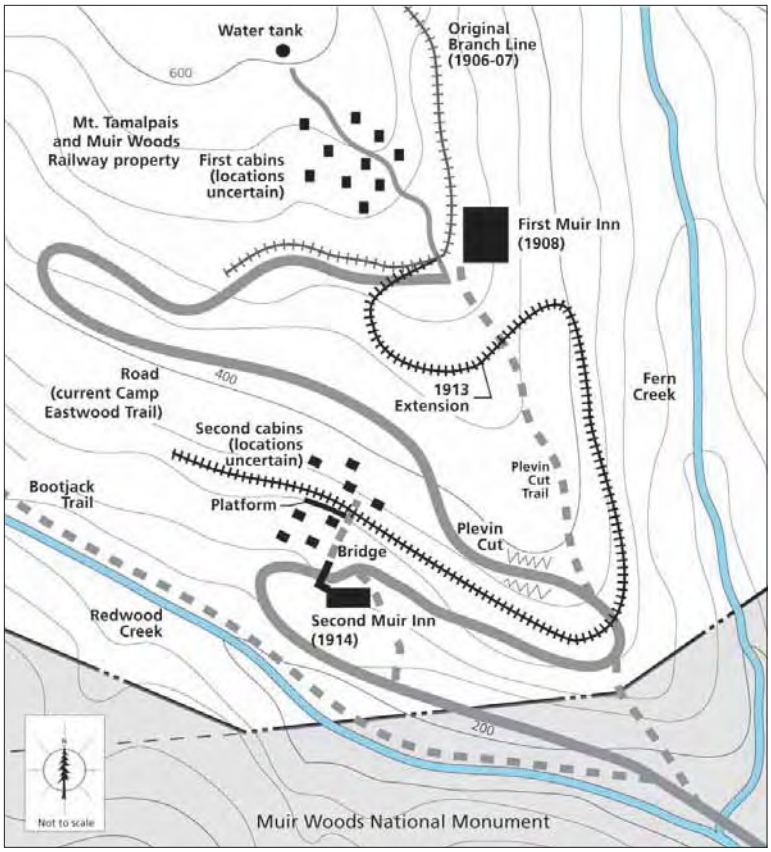


Figure 3.15: Map of the terminus of the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway, c.1928. SUNY ESF, based on map in Wes Hildreth, "Chronology of Muir Woods" (Unpublished National Park Service Report, 1966).

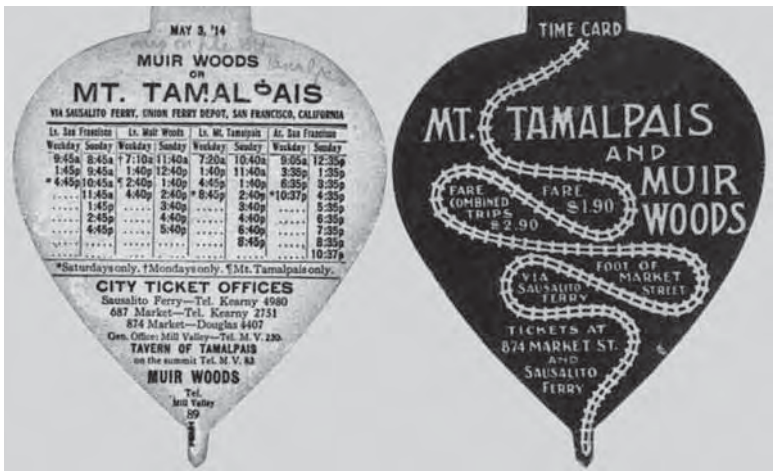


Figure 3.16: 1914 schedule for the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway showing trains to Muir Woods. From the collection of the Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library.

Fern Canyon, at 450 feet above the floor of Redwood Canyon. [Figure 3.15] The building directly abutted the railroad tracks, with a wrap-around porch serving as a platform for trains. In addition to the main building, the railway also built ten cabins for visitors on the hillside above the inn, across the railroad tracks. The railway also maintained campgrounds in the vicinity, where visitors could set up tents. These functions at the Muir Inn were not undertaken by the railroad directly, but rather through a lessee.[88]

The Muir Woods Branch quickly became the most popular route to Muir Woods, and the inn served as the main entrance to the National Monument, housing all of the visitor amenities as well as the park office. Prior to World War I, there were typically four weekday trains to Muir Woods, and on Sunday, the busiest day of the week, the railway ran seven trains [Figure 3.16]. To reach the heart of the forest within the National Monument, visitors either walked down a steep trail from the inn (later known as the Plevin Cut Trail), or rode in railroad-owned vehicles down the twisting wagon road (present Camp Eastwood Trail) to the monument property and canyon floor, a distance of nearly a half-mile. This road had been built by the railway in c.1906 along with the branch line as an extension of Sequoia Valley Road, the main road through the monument along the canyon floor. The length of the road from the inn to the canyon floor and its elevation change of over 300 feet made the trip less than ideal for many visitors. This was a point of concern for the railway as soon as it had completed the branch line in 1907. The San Francisco *Sunday Call* reported in July of that year: "…Thinking farther along the directors are planning for a short gravity [rail]road, like the one at Mount Lowe,[89] that will run from the end of the road directly into the canyon, a convenient drop that will land its passengers in the forest in a twinkling."[90] It was not until 1911, however, that the railroad directors began to progress plans for this extension, calling for the construction of an incline (funicular) railway from the inn to the canyon floor.[91]

Figure 3.17: Postcard of the second Muir Woods Inn built in 1914, view looking south across the wagon road, c.1920. The rustic footbridge crosses the road to reach the railroad platform, located left of this photograph. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

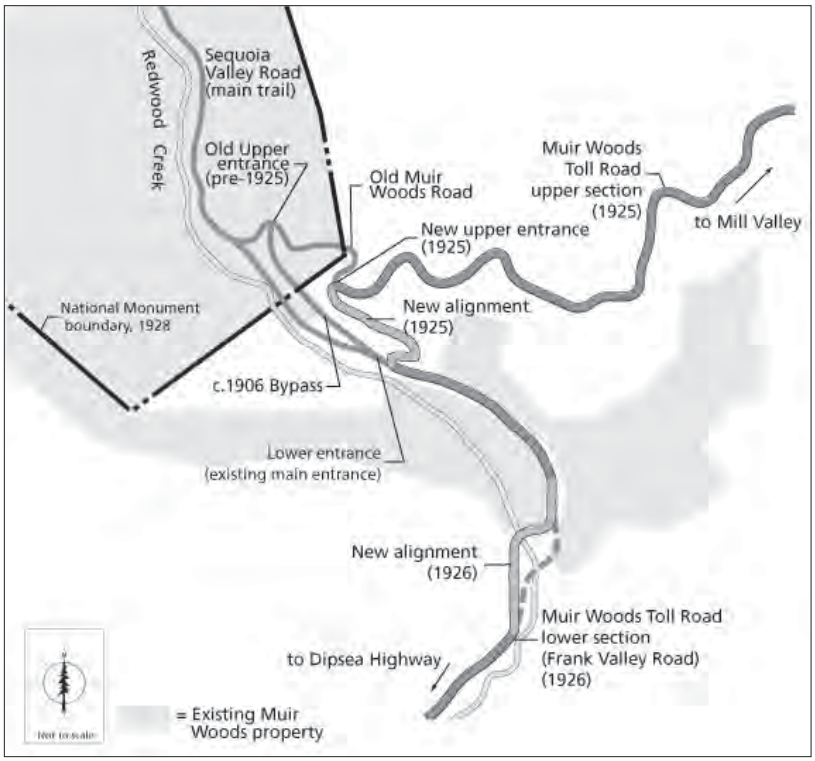
The incline railway project was never realized, but two major fires in 1913 gave the railway company an opportunity to redesign its facilities for better access to the canyon floor. On June 12, 1913, the Muir Inn burned to the ground, purportedly from a fire started in a defective flue. Four weeks later, on July 7th through the 14th, a major fire spread across Mount Tamalpais, burning nearly 2,000 acres, but thanks to fire breaks, did not extend into the monument. The fire started at West Point and spread down Fern Canyon, destroying the railway's cabins, but not extending down to the canyon floor and heart of the redwood forest. Rather than rebuild the inn and cabins in their original location, the railway company decided to rebuild at a lower elevation and extend the railroad tracks further down the canyon wall. William Kent was opposed to this idea, preferring to keep the inn farther away from the redwoods and instead using a tram to improve access.[92] Despite his opposition, by 1914 the mountain railway completed the reconstruction and extension project. The nearly 2,000-foot extension of the tracks, following a twisting alignment that added yet another three curves to the railway, reached within 500 linear feet of the canyon floor, terminating at an elevation of approximately seventy vertical feet above the canyon floor [see Figure 3.15]. The tracks extended beyond the terminus for storage of rolling stock. A new inn was built at the terminus, and like the first, was designed in a rustic style and was banked into the slope. Unlike the first inn, the surrounding trees were retained to maintain a densely wooded setting. The inn featured a front deck and a pedestrian bridge over the road to reach the tracks and platform, located approximately one hundred feet uphill. [Figures 3.17, 3.18] On the hillside above the inn, to either side of the tracks, the railway built as many as eight new cabins to replace those destroyed by the fire across from the original inn. [Figure 3.19] These were maintained for rent to summer visitors, and according to a later account, were the "cheapest kind of rough wooden shacks which are far from attractive." [93]

Figure 3.18: Postcard of the porch of the second Muir Inn built in 1914, view looking north with the footbridge across the road in the background, c.1915. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

Figure 3.19: One of the cabins associated with the second Muir Woods Inn, view looking north across the railway tracks, c.1915. From the collection of the Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library, Image 1370.002.033.

At the south end of Redwood Canyon was the second means of vehicular access to Muir Woods National Monument: Sequoia Valley Road and its southerly extension toward the ocean, Frank Valley Road. William Kent had purchased the right-of-way for Sequoia Valley Road from the city limits of Mill Valley on Throckmorton Ridge down to Muir Woods and south through Frank Valley when he purchased Redwood Canyon in 1905, and improved the road soon after to facilitate vehicular access to the redwood forest. Following the designation of the National Monument, Sequoia Valley Road was generally known as Muir Woods Road.[94] It was used initially by horse-drawn vehicles, but the first automobile was purportedly driven on it in the winter of 1908.[95] Through the 1910s, William Kent and the railway continued to maintain Muir Woods Road and kept it open to the public, free of charge. It remained unpaved and twisting, requiring grading and other repairs to address frequent washouts. The road had two entrances to the National Monument: an upper one where the bypass built in c.1906 intersected Sequoia Valley Road (current service road near Administration-Concession Building); and a lower one where the old alignment of Frank Valley Road turned off from the bypass (near existing main entrance). [Figure 3.20] The lower entrance was used infrequently since the majority of tourists arrived via the upper road from Mill Valley.[96]

Figure 3.20: Diagram of road access to Muir Woods at the south end of the National Monument, 1928. SUNY ESF.



Although Kent and the mountain railway had spent considerable effort to upgrade Sequoia Valley Road, the designation of the National Monument and the increasing use of automobiles made further improvements pressing. As early as April 1908, William Kent was writing Gifford Pinchot about the possibility of building a new road from Mill Valley to the ocean that would apparently cross near the northern edge of the National Monument where, according to Kent, "no possible damage [to the redwoods] could occur."[97] Nothing came of this proposal (although Kent continued to press for the road into the early 1920s), but the idea for a new road surfaced again in 1914 when plans were first being developed for the improvement of the old Sausalito-Bolinas Road into the Dipsea Highway (Route 1). John Nolan, the local Congressman, wrote Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane on May 28, 1914, urging for the construction of a "…suitable road

between Muir Woods National Park [sic] and the nearest point on the new State highway [planned Dipsea Highway] now about to be constructed…Mr. Kent is willing to deed to the Government the necessary land for this road…"[98] Kent and Nolan were apparently successful in getting Lane to have the Department of the Interior, then responsible for the management of the monument, conduct a preliminary study of alternatives. The department recommended three alternative routes for a new road, including one following the mountain railway, rejected because it was too steep; a second through Homestead Valley which was also rejected because it did not bypass the steep upper portion of Muir Woods Road; and a preferred third alternative paralleling the upper part of Muir Woods Road through the Camp Monte Vista tract, with a direct connection from the National Monument to the Dipsea Highway at the Dias Ranch.[99] [Figure 3.21]

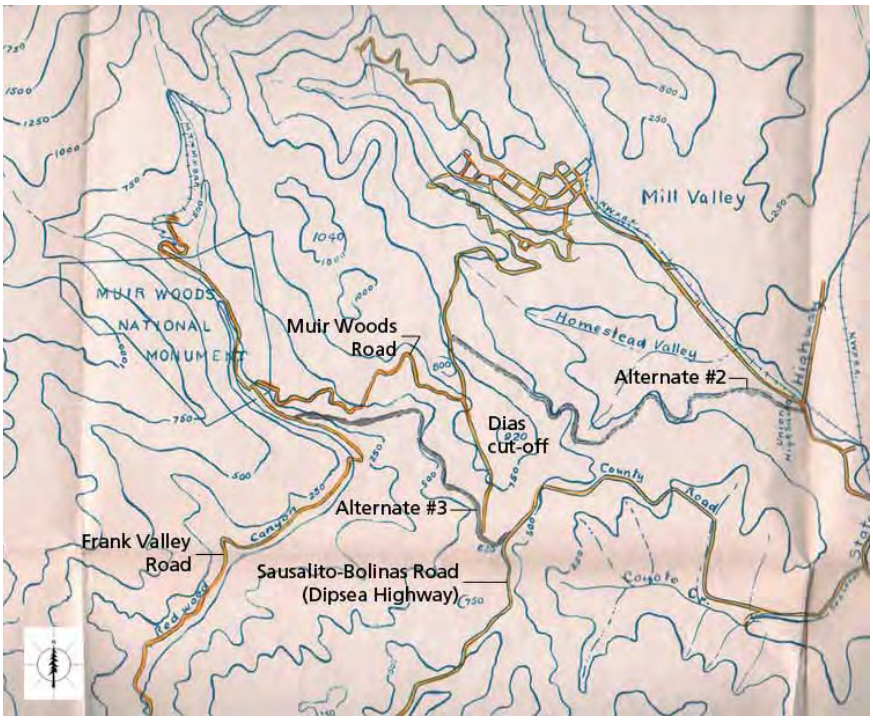


Figure 3.21: Map showing two alternatives of proposed new road to Muir Woods National Monument, drawn by J. W. Kingsbury, General Land Office, 1914. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600, annotated by SUNY ESF.

Despite this study, the proposal for a new road to Muir Woods was again stalled for many years, as was the Dipsea Highway project. By 1917, already two to three thousand automobiles were negotiating Muir Woods Road to get to the National Monument. William Kent was urging Marin County to take over that road, including the connected Frank Valley Road, and pay for the improvements. He convinced the National Park Service, which had just assumed administration of Muir Woods, to lobby the county to take over the road. However, since Kent had been maintaining the roads for well over a decade, the county apparently saw little rush to act. Following World War I, Kent became frustrated with the lack of interest by the county, and stopped maintaining the road. By the spring of 1921, Muir Woods Road was described as being in "atrocious condition."[100] At this time, the number of automobiles in the region was increasing significantly, and public pressure was mounting for road improvements.

With the state finally beginning construction of the Dipsea Highway in 1923, the need for improvements not only to Muir Woods Road, but also to the much rougher Frank Valley Road became more apparent. Frank Valley Road, also owned by William Kent, was purportedly impassable for automobiles, but it was the route that could provide a direct connection from the National Monument to the new highway. Despite this, William Kent was unable to get Marin County or

any other local government to agree to take over the roads. A major rainstorm in February 1925 brought things to a head. The storm washed out sections of Muir Woods Road and flooded Frank Valley Road. Considerable volunteer work by monument staff and local residents, along with Kent's own funds were used to repair and reopen the road, taking nearly a month. Frustrated with this event, William Kent and his son, William Kent, Junior, organized the Tamalpais Muir Woods Toll Road Company to undertake the road improvements.[101] Although Kent purportedly found the need to charge a toll in order to reach the National Monument distasteful, he felt it was the only solution at the time to make the road safe for automobiles and provide sufficient funds for maintenance. The company, licensed by Marin County, acquired a fifty-foot wide right-of-way from William Kent, who retained fee ownership of the land. In the winter of 1925-26, the company rebuilt the road using most of the pre-existing alignment, except between the upper and lower entrances to the National Monument within William Kent's land, where another bypass was built, farther up the hill from the one built in c.1906 [see Figure 3.20].[102] With this new bypass, the road avoided the southern end of the redwood forest. Frank Valley Road and Muir Woods Road were officially combined into one highway named the Muir Woods Toll Road. While the name Sequoia Valley Road had fallen out of use since the designation of the monument (the portion within Mill Valley remained Sequoia Valley Road or Drive), Frank Valley Road persisted as the common name for the lower section.

On May 1, 1926, the Muir Woods Toll Road was officially opened with an automobile procession from Mill Valley and a celebration within Muir Woods (the lower section, Frank Valley Road, was not opened until July 25, 1926). The improved road, although straightened and widened to eighteen feet to accommodate two-way automobile traffic, was a simple, unpaved road like most contemporary roads in the region without features such as guiderails or lighting. The upper section above Muir Woods remained on the same alignment and thus still had numerous sharp turns and steep grades. [Figure 3.22] There were two tollhouses built at either end of the road: an upper one at the intersection of the Dias Ranch cut-off road where the Panoramic Highway was planned, known as the Summit Toll Gate, and a lower one at the Dipsea Highway known as the Lagoon Toll Gate. [Figure 3.23] As reflected by these tollgates and signs, the road was not designed with the rustic aesthetic of Muir Woods or with the naturalistic aesthetic and advanced engineering of limited-access parkways such as those that were being built near many cities at the time. Despite its limitations and tolls of fifty cents a

Figure 3.22 : View looking east along the upper section of the Muir Woods Toll Road, 1931. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B32, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 3.23: The Lagoon Toll Gate on the Muir Woods Toll Road at the Dipsea Highway, view looking northwest,1931. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470, B32, Muir Woods Collection.

car and fifteen cents for each passenger, the new road was greeted with great enthusiasm. [103] It was widely seen as ushering in a new era of public access to the National Monument, although few recognized that the mountain railway had long provided such service. The local paper, the *New Daily Record* editorialized: "…To have had a national monument in our immediate territory with inadequate access to the site except for foot passengers has been an anomaly that has bothered many minds for the past twenty years…" [104]

EXPANSION OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1921

While William Kent had initially drawn the boundaries of the National Monument to closely correspond to the limits of the redwood forest, during the 1910s he began to explore the possibility of expanding those boundaries across land not covered in redwoods. His primary interest was in connecting Muir Woods with the forest of redwood and Douglas-fir in Steep Ravine, which he had purchased in c.1903. With his purchase of the Hamilton Tract in 1916, Kent had the land necessary to make the connection. The administration of Muir Woods had just recently been given over to the newly-established National Park Service, and perhaps Kent hoped it might be open to a more liberal definition of monument lands. On December 2, 1916, Kent announced his intentions to convey the land to the federal government, writing:

> *…The donations I propose to make to the monument are (1) the major portion of seventy acres purchased last fall and lying at the upper corner of the forest* [Hamilton tract, see Figure 3.9]*; (2) the narrow strip that will furnish connection between the forest and the Steep Ravine* [railway tract]*; and (3) the timbered portion of Steep Ravine. In making these donations I would reserve a stream on 1 and all the water in Steep Ravine, excepting in each case a sufficient supply for a drinking fountain, as the water is badly needed for domestic purposes lower down the slopes and in the park...*[105]

One year later, Kent was writing to Stephen Mather, the Director of the National Park Service, to advocate for his planned donation and desire to retain water rights, which Kent said was necessary to "developing an area that will eventually become thickly settled near Willow Camp [Stinson Beach].[106] In addition to water rights, Kent also requested restrictions in the deed that would allow for construc-

tion of a public road and the right of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company to extend its branch line through the railway tract. [107] The Secretary of the Interior, however, had strong opposition to these reservations, and requested that Kent donate the land by a fee simple conveyance without reservations. Kent responded in July of 1920: "…if water reservations and reservations of right of way for necessary transportation stand in the way of Government park purposes, it would be much better that I should keep the property until this development is made."[108]

By August 1920, William Kent had worked out a solution with the National Park Service. For Steep Ravine, Director Stephen Mather agreed with Kent that it would be best if he did not convey this parcel yet, and instead wait to donate it once the necessary water development was completed.[109] Kent would instead convey the Hamilton and railway tracts, along with an intervening section of his buffer tract along the west side of the monument. Kent gave up on the reservation for the railway extension, but insisted on the one for the highway right-of-way that would cut into a part of the railway tract, noting that he was under personal obligation to see the road built. Arno Cammerer, the Acting Director of the National Park Service, agreed with Kent on the road, noting that the "…great value to the monument, or any part thereof, of roads touching or leading through it is so apparent that we would welcome any such possibilities, providing, of course, that they are so laid out that it does not hurt the park…"[110]

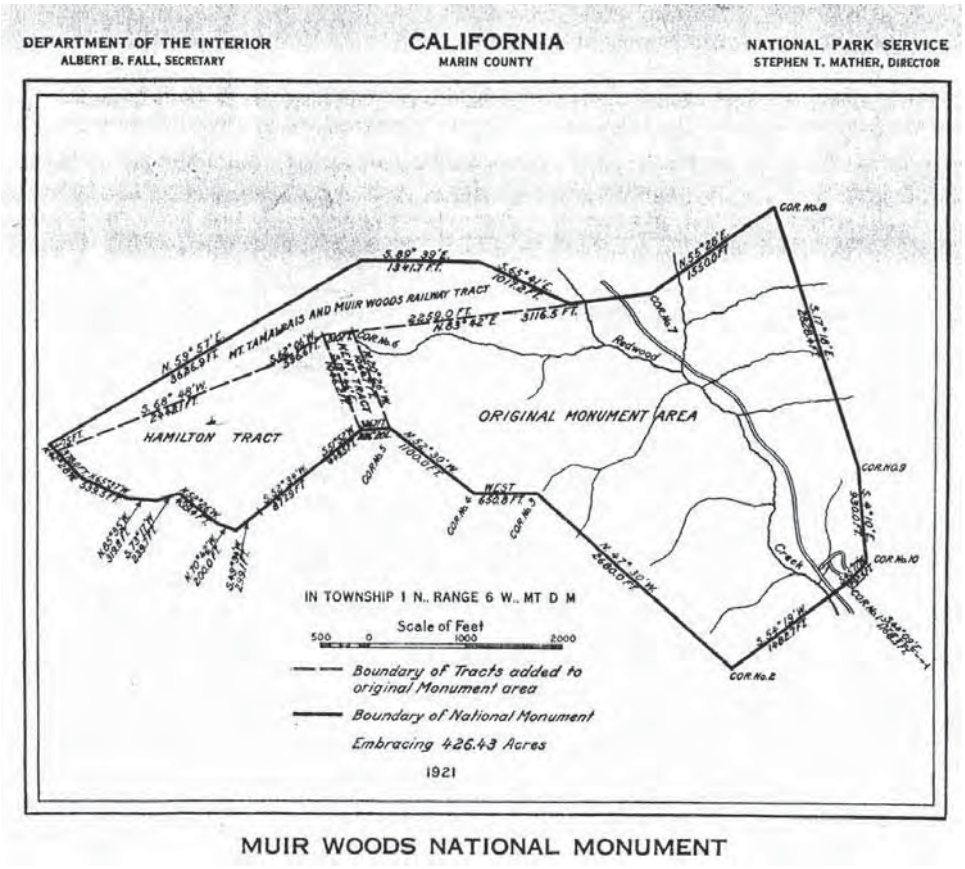


Figure 3.24: Map of Muir Woods National Monument showing three tracts (Hamilton, Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, and Kent Tracts) added under proclamation signed on September 22, 1921. Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California, park history files.

On February 14, 1921, William Kent sent the deed for the 70.45-acre Hamilton Tract and his adjoining 7.44-acre parcel, identified as the Kent Tract, to his wife Elizabeth for her signature, and directed her to forward the deeds to Stephen Mather at the National Park Service. On February 26, 1921, Kent submitted the deed to the 50.24-acre railway tract, revised to remove the restriction for the railroad's right-of-way but retaining the highway right-of-way. The donation was accepted by the Secretary

of the Interior under the provisions of the Antiquities Act of 1906. Together, the three parcels amounted to 128.13 acres, bringing the total size of the monument to 426.43 acres. [Figure 3.24] On September 22, 1921, President Warren Harding signed the proclamation for the addition to Muir Woods National Monument, which used the exact same language as the 1908 original, stressing the scientific value and primeval character of the redwood forest on the property.[111]

MANAGEMENT OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1908-1928

The change to federal ownership and status as a National Monument did little to alter William Kent's close association with the management of Muir Woods. Because of this relationship, Muir Woods and the surrounding private land belonging to Kent and the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway (mountain railway) were largely managed as a single entity. Aside from the appearance of signs identifying Muir Woods as government property, there was probably little noticeable change after 1908. With the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916, the federal government became more involved in administering Muir Woods and enhanced its identity as a National Monument. Despite this, William Kent remained one of the key figures in its management and sustained its close association with the surrounding property owned by him and the mountain railway. Throughout this period, Muir Woods was open to the public free of charge, although it remained accessible only through private routes: the mountain railway, which required purchase of a ticket, and Muir Woods Road, which after 1925 required payment of a toll.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE MANAGEMENT, 1908-1917

The Department of the Interior placed Muir Woods National Monument under the administration of the San Francisco Field Division of the General Land Office (GLO), whose office was in downtown Oakland. The GLO, an original bureau within Interior when it was established in 1849, had initially been empowered to survey, manage, and dispose of the public domain during the period of western settlement, but after 1900 it was charged largely with management of natural resources on lands that remained in federal ownership. The San Francisco Field Division had responsibility for all National Monuments in California not within National Forests. Aside from Muir Woods, there was only one: Pinnacles National Monument, a 13,000-acre tract located approximately one hundred miles south of San Francisco and proclaimed a National Monument one week after Muir Woods.[112]

Despite its long history of land management, the GLO initially had difficulty with the administration of Muir Woods due to a general lack of regulations and funding specific to varied resources and uses of the National Monuments. After

Figure 3.25: Andrew Lind, the first custodian of Muir Woods National Monument, 1908. The view is unidentified, but may be near Lind's residence, the Keeper's House at the south end of Redwood Canyon (Dipsea Trail in background). National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

passage of the Antiquities Act on June 6, 1906, the Departments of Interior, War, and Agriculture passed an initial set of uniform rules and regulations on December 28, 1906 that were subsequently recommended for modification, but the Secretary of Agriculture refused to sign the changes, and by the time Muir Woods was established, President Roosevelt had set the original regulations aside. Funding for the administration of the National Monuments, appropriated through sundry civil bills, at the time made no provision for the salaries of custodians or other staff. [113]

For William Kent, having an official custodian in place to oversee the care and protection of Muir Woods was the most pressing administrative task. Aware that there was little chance of securing funding for a custodian in the near future, he agreed to cover such wages at any time for a period of up to ten years in which government funding was not available.[114] In early January 1908, Kent wrote Gifford Pinchot (who continued to assist with the monument in the absence of management from the Department of the Interior) endorsing Andrew Lind, his employee who served as keeper of his Mount Tamalpais properties, for appointment as the federal custodian of Muir Woods. [Figure 3.25] Lind had been overseeing the property since he was hired by Kent in c.1904 following the death of the previous keeper, Ben Johnson. On January 14, 1908, Pinchot sent an official recommendation for Lind's appointment to the Secretary of the Interior, and Lind was soon accepted for the position, although he was not officially hired by the federal government and instead served at William Kent's expense. Kent paid Lind $50.00 a month as unofficial custodian, and also continued to employ him to oversee his surrounding properties. Lind lived with his family in the Keeper's House, the six-room building south of the monument owned by Kent. In February 1908, Lind filed his first monthly report to the General Land Office, in which he detailed his duties that included "daily patrol, watching the incoming and departure of individuals and parties." [115]

At the time Andrew Lind was being hired as custodian, William Kent and Gifford Pinchot were planning regulations for Muir Woods in the absence of uniform standards for National Monuments. In early January 1908, Kent wrote Pinchot with suggestions for regulations, and Pinchot forwarded them to F. E. Olmsted, his chief inspector in San Francisco who had drafted the initial report on the redwood forest the previous fall, and requested him to prepare formal regulations for Muir Woods. In order to work these out, Olmsted wrote Kent that he planned on spending "…a day or two in the canyon and I am looking forward with great glee to establishing headquarters in that cabin of mine."[116] Kent and Olmsted spent two days in the woods discussing the regulations, and on March 27, 1908, Pinchot forwarded Olmsted's completed report to Secretary of the Interior James Garfield. Olmsted made recommendations for installation of fire and trespass notices, a

plan for building fire lines and trails, rules for visitors to the monument, and assignments for the custodian. These were intended as supplements to the broader but still unaccepted uniform regulations pertaining to National Monuments. [117] For William Kent, the most pressing and urgent management need aside from the hiring of a custodian was fire protection, and he urged the government to build fire lines and erect a phone line within the monument for that purpose.[118]

Despite pressure by Kent and Pinchot, Secretary Garfield was hesitant to enact regulations or expend funds at Muir Woods because he felt the condemnation lawsuit by Newlands and Magee of the North Coast Water Company, which was being pressed through the fall of 1908, represented a cloud upon the federal government's title to the property.[119] Garfield even apparently held back on staff commitment to the monument from the General Land Office. It was not until June 11, 1908, that Garfield placed a person in charge of Muir Woods: Oscar Lange, the Chief of the San Francisco Field Division of the GLO. Lange first visited Muir Woods on July 5, 1908, and did not contact William Kent until months afterward.[120] In early September 1908, the situation began to change, thanks to the continued pressure by Kent and Pinchot, and to the fact that it was becoming apparent that the federal government would not let the condemnation suit stand. Interior's Assistant Attorney General George W. Woodruff urged Acting Secretary of the Interior Franklin Pierce to issue regulations for Muir Woods, which he did on September 10, 1908.[121] [Appendix C] These included rules of conduct to protect the redwood forest and its natural environment, including prohibition of fire, fishing, picking of vegetation, littering, and pollution of the creeks. It allowed vehicles to continue use of the road (main trail) through the monument extending to the Muir Inn and branch railway, but restricted where vehicles and horses could park. It also allowed picnicking in specified locations.[122]

At the same time as the rules were issued in September 1908, Fred Bennett, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, authorized Oscar Lange to employ Andrew Lind as a "Special Assistant" at a salary of $75.00 per month, thereby making official his employment in the monument previously paid for by William Kent. Lange also directed Lind to construct the fire lines recommended by F. E. Olmsted, but to first confer with William Kent about their ultimate placement. Bennett also authorized Lange to oversee the addition of a water fountain, hitching posts, and four sign boards posting the approved rules and regulations. Although Lind's residence was owned by William Kent and was not on federal property, Bennett requested Lange to fly an American flag over it, "(f)or the purpose of more properly marking the headquarters of Mr. Lind" [see Figure 2.12].[123] Lind's house served as his office and a point of contact for visitors arriving by the road.[124] Lind also worked out of a park office at the railway's Muir Inn, which functioned as the primary visitor facility and the site of the only public toilets in

the vicinity. A phone line connecting the inn and Keeper's House, strung through the park in c.1909, was put up at William Kent's behest in order to speed communication in case of fire.

Following the initial establishment of regulations and hiring of custodian Andrew Lind, there were few changes to the administration of Muir Woods under the General Land Office, and few physical improvements. It and most other monuments within the Department of the Interior remained loosely managed. As the department published in its 1915 report on National Monuments:

> *The supervision of these various monuments has, in the absence of any specific appropriation for their protection and improvement, necessarily been intrusted [sic] to the field officers of the department… Administrative conditions continue to be unsatisfactory, as no appropriation of funds has yet been made available for this important protective and preservative work…*[125]

With such organizational issues, the GLO had a minimal presence at Muir Woods during its eight years of stewardship. Aside from the posted regulations, many visitors may not have realized that Muir Woods was federal property. No gateways or prominent signs marked the entrances to the monument into the late 1910s. To administer and maintain Muir Woods, the GLO relied heavily on William Kent and the mountain railway.[126] Kent served as the primary contact with the GLO, and coordinated operations with the mountain railway, in which he remained a major stockholder. The mountain railway in effect acted as an unofficial concessionaire, continuing largely the same functions it had served prior to federal ownership: it employed staff to serve as guides, operated vehicles that shuttled visitors from the Muir Inn down to the canyon floor, and carried out physical improvements with its maintenance staff, often at its own expense.[127] The railway also published the only brochures for Muir Woods, keyed to red and white arrows it posted along the road (main trail) that directed visitors back to the railway terminus. The relationship among Kent, the mountain railway, and the GLO was reflected in a letter Kent sent to Gifford Pinchot about building fire lines in the park in the spring of 1908:

> *The Mount Tamalpais Railroad Co* [sic]., *as getting the only financial benefit from the Park, will doubtless be willing to assume a considerable part of the expense of necessary work…The railroad section gang are always to be relied upon to fight any fires that occur, and of course I shall do all in my power to provide additional men, even if the government expend no money on behalf of the people…The Railroad Co. has a wonderfully efficient force of men skilled in making trails who could do at least double the work of unskilled men or of men working with less good will…*[128]

Aside from the mountain railway, some of the local hiking and outdoor clubs, notably the Sierra Club and the Tamalpais Conservation Club, also played a role in the operation of Muir Woods, and may have assisted in the maintenance of trails, especially less-frequently used trails off the main road along Redwood Creek. Some of the clubs also became involved in improvements, such as the installation of drinking fountains and memorials.[129]

The only federal employee in Muir Woods through the remainder of the GLO's management into early 1917 remained Andrew Lind. On July 11, 1910, Lind was officially appointed as "Custodian" of Muir Woods National Monument, a part time position at a salary of $900 per year, funded outside of National Monument appropriations (Lind had been earlier hired as a "Special Assistant"). [130] Lind continued to serve as keeper of William Kent's land to the east, west, and south of the monument. His first federal supervisor, Oscar Lange, reported that Lind "…takes great care of the tract of land—as far as his duties in connection with the property of Mr. Kent, in that vicinity, permit…" Lange found that Lind spent much of his time picking up litter left by visitors, most of whom came on Sundays, and also helped to clear the road and trails of brush and fallen trees. Lind prepared reports to the Commissioner of the GLO on visitation and the condition of the monument, including its roads, bridges, and fire lines. Between 1911 and 1915, Lind reported a large decline in visitation, from an estimated 50,000 people in 1911, to 40,000 in 1913, and 25,000 in 1915 (Lind provided no breakdown on whether visitors entered via the railway, road, or hiking trails).[131] With declining visitation, there was apparently little demand for the GLO to fund physical improvements in Muir Woods, although it did study the need for new access roads as well as pollution in Redwood Creek.[132] While William Kent saw the need for improvements, he may have been waiting to take action until the passage of legislation creating a professional park bureau within the Department of the Interior, first officially proposed in 1910.

EARLY YEARS OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MANAGEMENT, 1917-1928

On August 25, 1916, President Wilson signed a bill, co-sponsored by Congressman William Kent in the House of Representatives, creating the National Park Service (NPS) as a separate bureau within the Department of the Interior. The purpose of the NPS, according to its legislation, was to "promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations…which purpose is to conserve the scenery and natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[133] On March 7, 1917, Custodian Andrew Lind received a letter announcing that the NPS had assumed administration of Muir Woods National Monument from the General Land Office, and that Lind would be reporting to the acting regional

superintendent, Joseph J. Cotter, in San Francisco.[134] One month later, the new bureau became operational with the first appropriation of funds. It had assumed responsibility for seventeen national parks (encompassing 9,773 square miles) and twenty-two national monuments (143.32 square miles); ten national monuments remained under the Department of Agriculture, and two under the War Department.[135]

During the first decade under NPS administration, William Kent and the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company remained intimately involved in the management of Muir Woods. Kent alerted the NPS to this close association in April 1917: "…The interests of the [rail]road and the Park Service are exactly parallel and as a matter of fact the road has done most of the improvements in the park today." Kent voiced a similar theme of shared management when he later wrote that the Park Service "…must appreciate the essential unity of the woods [Muir Woods], the Water District, and the Railroad, and other private lands that at present constitute the larger park" (referring to the planned 12,000-acre park).[136] Kent offered the services of the mountain railway to continue its maintenance, construction, and hiring of tour guides within the National Monument. The NPS in turn accepted Kent's offer (it was cooperating with much larger railroad companies at Yosemite and Glacier, among other parks) and even agreed to treat the Muir Inn and railway as part of the monument, as the Director of the National Park Service wrote to the railway's general manager, R. H. Ingram in December 1917:

> *In our conference with Mr. Kent it developed that the Railroad Company was anxious to have the Inn property regarded as part of the monument…We are perfectly willing to give the impression that the property is under our jurisdiction and we shall have a large sign erected for installation near the railroad track so that incoming visitors may gain the impression that they are within the monument before they reach the Inn…*[137]

The close relationship between the NPS and the mountain railway continued through the 1920s. While not always smooth, the relationship was mutually beneficial. For example, while the railway offered visitor services and maintenance assistance, NPS maintained and policed the heavily visited corridor along the road (main trail) between the northern boundary of the monument and the Muir Inn.[138] The NPS also worked with the numerous outdoor clubs, which continued to have strong links to the monument and the larger Mount Tamalpais area through William Kent. In the early 1920s, Kent formed a committee, including members of the Alpine Club, Sierra Club, and the TCC, to help care for his property on which he allowed public access. As part of this effort, the clubs deputized

some of their "most vigorous members" to assist the NPS in the work of maintaining Muir Woods, and to watch over "misdeeds" in the park.[139]

National Monuments were generally treated as second-class parks in the early years of the NPS. As Charles Punchard, the first landscape architect in the NPS, noted in 1920: "A national park is an area of considerable size and of particular scenic beauty…while a national monument is a much smaller area of some historic or geologic interest…" [140] Muir Woods was not, however, a typical national monument. It received a high level of attention from the NPS in the decade after its creation due in large part to William Kent's friendship with Stephen Mather, the first Director of NPS who served until 1929. Mather was a Westerner—a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and a Sierra Club member who had helped lobby for the establishment of the Park Service. Kent was also close to Horace Albright, Mather's Assistant Director and later his Western Field Advisor. Both Mather and Albright visited Muir Woods on numerous occasions and were directly involved in its management. The importance of Muir Woods within the NPS was also elevated by its relatively high visitation and close proximity to San Francisco, as Albright wrote to Kent in April 1917: "We are deeply interested in having Muir Woods properly developed, and we heartily appreciate your offer [with the mountain railway] to cooperate in this work…the monuments that are enjoying extensive patronage by the traveling public are the most deserving of improvement…"[141] NPS also acknowledged that Muir Woods had not fared well under GLO administration and that significant improvements were needed.

To plan improvements at Muir Woods, NPS set up a management relationship with well-established Yosemite National Park, located two hundred miles to the east (William Kent had suggested that someone from Yosemite be "deputized" to look after Muir Woods). Already in January 1917, W. B. Lewis, the Superintendent of Yosemite, had made a preliminary inspection of Muir Woods and provided Director Mather with a report of needed improvements. By the following December, Mather had formalized the relationship and had approved a program of improvements to the roads, signage, gateways, water supply, and vegetation. In January 1918, Lewis was sent to Muir Woods to spend six months overseeing the implementation of these initial improvements. Mather wrote to Lewis: "…In more than one sense I am charging you with the temporary administration of Muir Woods National Monument for the purpose of carrying out the very necessary improvements, and I know that you will give it the same careful attention and deep interest that has characterized your administration of Yosemite National Park."[142] Although Mather may have envisioned the relationship as temporary, it lasted for more than five years, during which time Lewis planned and directed administration of Muir Woods alongside William Kent and other NPS personnel. The administrative relationship with Yosemite lasted even longer than Lewis's

personal involvement: the disbursement of funds for Muir Woods continued to be administered through Yosemite until September 30, 1927.[143]

Visitation to Muir Woods rose substantially during the early years of NPS management, and many of the added visitors were arriving—and traveling through the woods—by automobiles. Although the NPS openly cooperated with the mountain railway, it geared much of its development and administration of Muir Woods to accommodate this new method of transportation. In his annual report for 1918, Andrew Lind reported that automobile travel to the monument had been greater than in any previous year, although he did not cite numbers that year. Despite this increase, most visitors were still arriving via the mountain railway and the trails into the early 1920s. In 1920, for example, 2,500 visitors arrived by automobile, 25,077 by rail, and 50,000 on foot. For the fiscal year beginning in October 1921, there was a decrease in visitors arriving by rail, down to 19,760, and an increase both in those arriving by automobile, to 5,500, and those arriving on foot, to 64,000. Through the 1920s, rail use continued to decline, but still was substantial, and remained popular for large groups. [Figure 3.26] The decline in rail use accelerated following completion of the Muir Woods Toll Road in 1925-26 once tour buses were able to access the monument. In 1925, annual visitation totaled 93,643, of which 5,195 came in "sightseeing cars" (buses), 14, 448 by rail, 27,000 in 9,000 private cars, and 47,000 on foot. For all of 1926, 97,426 people visited Muir Woods, and by 1928, this number increased to 103,571, with the increase certainly attributed to automobile use, although figures were not broken down for these years. These trends in visitation paralleled similar growth at other Western National Parks in the decade following World War I. [144]

Figure 3.26: A large group from a Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway excursion in Muir Woods on the natural log bridge across Redwood Creek, August 2, 1927. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B31, Muir Woods Collection.

This large increase in visitation, representing more than a four-fold rise since 1915, and in particular the added cars, was having broad implications for management of Muir Woods in terms of staffing, access, physical improvements, and the natural environment. One problem was what William Kent called "promiscuous tramping and games" by visitors, which he felt was affecting the delicate flora and upsetting the serene quality of the forest. Kent wrote to Director Mather in April 1921: "…the fern growth and trails and side hills are being torn up partly by sheer numbers and largely by the lack of efficient policing…The delicacy of the ferns and floor carpet and the hillsides need most careful attention, besides there must

be a quieter tone established and a whole lot of games must be stopped…"[145] At the time, the monument was staffed by Custodian Lind and some seasonal rangers, apparently still funded in part by William Kent and probably supplementing the tour guides still employed by the mountain railway.

Kent's solution to the rowdiness problem was to increase staffing and to create the position of an on-site superintendent to replace Andrew Lind (who Kent now felt was incompetent) and to cease the arrangement of remote administration provided by Yosemite Superintendent Lewis that had been in place since 1918. Aside from not being on-site to manage affairs, Kent had soured on the relationship with Yosemite because he felt Lewis was trying to micromanage affairs at Muir Woods. In May 1921, at Kent's recommendation, Director Mather appointed Richard O'Rourke, a former TCC president, as the new Custodian of Muir Woods (the title of superintendent was not adopted). Lind remained on as a park employee. O'Rourke, however, did not prove successful because he was often away, and he was quickly replaced by John T. Needham, who came from within the Park Service, apparently the first employee not previously associated with William Kent. Needham arrived at the park in the fall of 1922, but was not officially appointed as Custodian until July 1923. Although W. B. Lewis's role had diminished since the appointment of O'Rourke as Custodian in 1921, he continued to provide advice to the Custodians on subjects of administration and physical improvements as late as 1927.[146]

Fig 3.27: An automobile on a trail in Muir Woods, c.1920, published in Cristel Hastings, "Muir Woods: The Forest Primeval," Cook's American Traveler's Gazette, January 1929, 13.

Aside from improving staffing, William Kent realized that much of the physical damage to the woods and canyon floor was resulting from automobiles. As early as December 1917, he had suggested that a parking area be built south of the monument to encourage visitors to walk rather than drive into the woods. Private cars at this time were allowed to freely travel along the road on the canyon floor (main trail) up to the Muir Inn, some even apparently venturing onto narrow side trails. [Figure 3.27] By the early 1920s, the damage was becoming more apparent with the increasing number of cars. In February 1921, Kent urged Director Mather to put in place regulations banning automobiles from Muir Woods, writing that the "…whole place will be cheapened and nobody will get any good out of it if people go rushing back and forth and honking horns…" In this same letter, Kent agreed to allow cars to park on his land immediately south of the monument.[147] Assistant Director Horace Albright concurred with Kent's suggestion, as he wrote to Director Mather in April 1921:

Our continuance of the policy of allowing automobiles to go through the woods serves to distribute visitors over the entire area and gives them an opportunity to carry away ferns and other plants that they would not be able to get out of the park if the cars were not permitted to enter. I think there is no question but what automobiles must be excluded…[148]

The decision to prohibit automobiles ran counter to the general NPS policy at the time of increasing vehicular access in the parks, but Stephen Mather probably agreed in recognition of the small size and fragility of Muir Woods. Regulations were put in place in June 1921 prohibiting not only automobiles, but also motorcycles and horseback riders from the "Monument proper" (horseback riders were probably still allowed outside of the heavily-used canyon floor). The regulations most likely allowed staff of the Muir Inn to drive through the monument, since there was no other automobile access to the railway terminus. A parking area for cars and horses was established where Kent had recommended, on his land south of the monument. Like the mountain railway property to the north, this private land was largely managed and presented to the public as part of the National Monument.[149] The banning of automobiles proved highly beneficial to the forest ecosystem: already in January 1922, Horace Albright was reporting that "…the policy of keeping automobiles out of the Monument has worked wonders in the way of restoring the Monument to a state of nature."[150]

The crowds within the monument, even on foot and with ample policing, posed some additional administrative challenges. Although the Muir Inn was still serving during the 1920s as the monument's office and place for visitor contact, the increasing number arriving with automobiles from the south forced the NPS to have a more visible presence for the Custodian there. During his tenure as Custodian under the NPS, Andrew Lind continued to live in the Keeper's House on William Kent's land, but being outside of the monument, it proved inadequate as a park office and visitor contact point, and was reportedly in very poor condition. With the appointment of Richard O'Rourke as Custodian in 1921 and Kent's desire to make the Custodian a more significant position, Director Mather agreed to fund the construction of a new "custodian's cottage" and park office which was built in 1922 at the south end of the monument along Muir Woods Road. A series of other improvements were made within the woods to manage and orient the increasing number of visitors in the following years, including new signs, toilets, and picnic facilities. [151]

In addition to visitor services, natural resource protection continued to be a top priority in the management of Muir Woods under the NPS, as evidenced by the automobile ban. William Kent had initially made fire protection the top priority, and through the 1920s, the NPS continued to maintain fire lines and cut back

brush along trails to reduce fire hazards. In the mid-1920s, however, Kent's focus shifted to stabilizing the banks of Redwood Creek and raising the water table. By this time, floods were thought to have become more frequent due to widespread fires and development that resulted in more rapid run-off in the upland watershed. The erosion was seen not only as unsightly, but also detrimental to the perceived stability of the forest. Kent believed the health of the forest was also being affected by a decreasing water table caused by the increasing runoff, a condition that was also probably due to diversion of water for public supply in Mill Valley. Kent's suspicions were confirmed by the big flood of 1925 that not only washed away portions of Muir Woods Road (leading to its reconstruction as a toll road) but also badly cut away the banks along Redwood Creek in Muir Woods. In response to this, William Kent wrote Director Mather in September 1925 that he believed it was "…a matter of vital importance that dams be put in the stream in Muir Woods. There ought to be a number of them so as to raise the water table, which, presumably for the first time in the history of the Woods has been cut low…"[152]

In November 1925, NPS Chief Engineer, a Mr. Burrell, conducted a study of Redwood Creek supporting William Kent's opinion that something had to be done to stop erosion, but apparently the study did not mention the water table issue. He suggested that revetments be constructed in areas where the banks were being eroded, and also that obstructions in the creek such as old stumps and logs be removed. By January 1926, Custodian Needham had begun removing obstructions, and had begun making temporary revetments out of brush. Needham and Kent also had designs made for dams in the creek, calling for the use of redwood logs. Funding for the permanent revetments and log dams would not, however, be forthcoming in either the 1927 or 1928 budgets.[153]

LANDSCAPE OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1907-1928

Soon after Muir Woods was proclaimed a National Monument, William Kent wrote a description of the redwood forest that was published by the Sierra Club in its *Bulletin* of June 1908. Illustrated with several full-page photographs of Muir Woods, William Kent described the primeval beauty of the forest, with no mention of the park improvements and rail access he had overseen during the previous two years. The forest clearly moved him in a deeply poetic and spiritual way, echoing his progressive social views:

> *…Strong and delicate show the individual trees living at peace, each his own life. Beyond the ridge at the back of the forest shines the sunlit sea. The landscape gives scarcely a hint of the size and proportions of the trees. As we go down the slope the redwoods increase in size until in the flat bed of the valley we reach their perfection…We must compare these heroic proportions with our own stature before we*

Figure 3.28: Photograph taken in Muir Woods, c.1908, accompanying William Kent's essay, "Redwoods." The identity of the person pictured is not known. E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, volume VI, no. 5 (June 1908), page 286.

can realize the symmetrical grandeur of the redwoods. The thick, soft, warm-tinted bark, with its vertical corrugations, suggests the clear, clean wood within. The delicate foliage sifts the sunlight, not precluded, but made gentle…Long life, well lived, strength and resultant quietness; modest, courage, beauty and the kindliness of infinite hospitality!...[154] [Figure 3.28] [Complete essay in Appendix D]

During the first twenty years of Muir Woods National Monument corresponding with the continued management role of William Kent and the mountain railway, there was relatively little change to its landscape. Much as William Kent had initially intended, the woods remained minimally developed, with built features designed in a rustic manner that harmonized with the natural environment. The main spine of the wagon road along the canyon floor, the four footbridges that connected to two trails loops on the west side of Redwood Creek, and the connections to the mountain railway on the north and Muir Woods (Sequoia Valley) Road on the south remained the main features of the landscape. [Drawing 3] The monument also continued to be largely indistinct from the surrounding private properties owned by William Kent and the mountain railway, aside from small signs marking the government boundaries. The most developed part of the landscape during this time was outside of the National Monument—the Muir Inn built in 1908 and its successor, the second Muir Inn built in 1914 closer to the monument boundary, but still outside it.

The period of General Land Office management began in 1908 with several improvements based on the report of F. E. Olmsted. The only substantial change to the landscape involved the construction of fire lines to loop around and protect the core of the forest on the canyon floor, a project the mountain railway had already begun by March of 1908, as William Kent wrote Gifford Pinchot:

> [T]*he railroad company has started a trail which will practically encircle the tract, being partly on my land on the south and east sides and about 200 yards above the creek through the woods on the north and west sides. This, by affording easy access to all parts of the forest will enable men to get where they are needed in event of fire. It will also furnish a most beautiful walk of about four miles...*[155]

According to Olmsted's recommendations, these fire lines were designed to be approximately twenty feet in width, an area in which all brush would be cleared and the floor raked, but mature trees left standing. The east loop was intended as an observation trail overlooking the canyon, and soon garnered the names Scenic

Figure 3.29: Plan made in 1914 showing the Nature Trail and Ocean View Trail fire lines built in c.1908 (shown as "Old Fire Lines") and proposed fire lines, which were apparently not built. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

Trail, and later Ocean View Trail. It began at the terminus of the railway, looped down into Fern Canyon, wound back up to the ridge crossing back and forth between the monument and William Kent's land. It passed below the Tourist Club, and descended down to the canyon floor and main trail near the main trail. The fire line continued south across the bottom of the canyon in order to halt fires advancing up Frank Valley [Figure 3.29, see also Drawing 3]. The west loop, built by the mountain railway and completed by September 1908, was named the Nature Trail (north half later known as the Hillside Trail) and paralleled the canyon floor toward the north boundary of the monument and the Ben Johnson Trail, and wound down across the canyon floor and up to the wagon road leading to the Muir Inn. A dead-end spur fire line extended uphill in the middle of the Nature Trail. These fire lines along the Nature and Ocean View trails were apparently not cleared again until 1916. As an added measure of fire protection, the canyon floor adjoining the road (main trail) was generally cleared of woody underbrush. This clearing was also undertaken to provide room for picnickers and as places for visitors to gather. Some of the ground probably became devoid of vegetation due to trampling, especially along the main trail. [Figure 3.30] [156]

Figure 3.30: View in Muir Woods along the main trail, showing lack of understory, circa 1910. Courtesy Geo-Images Project, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, Magic Lantern slide NC-H-48, http://GeoImages.Berkeley.edu.

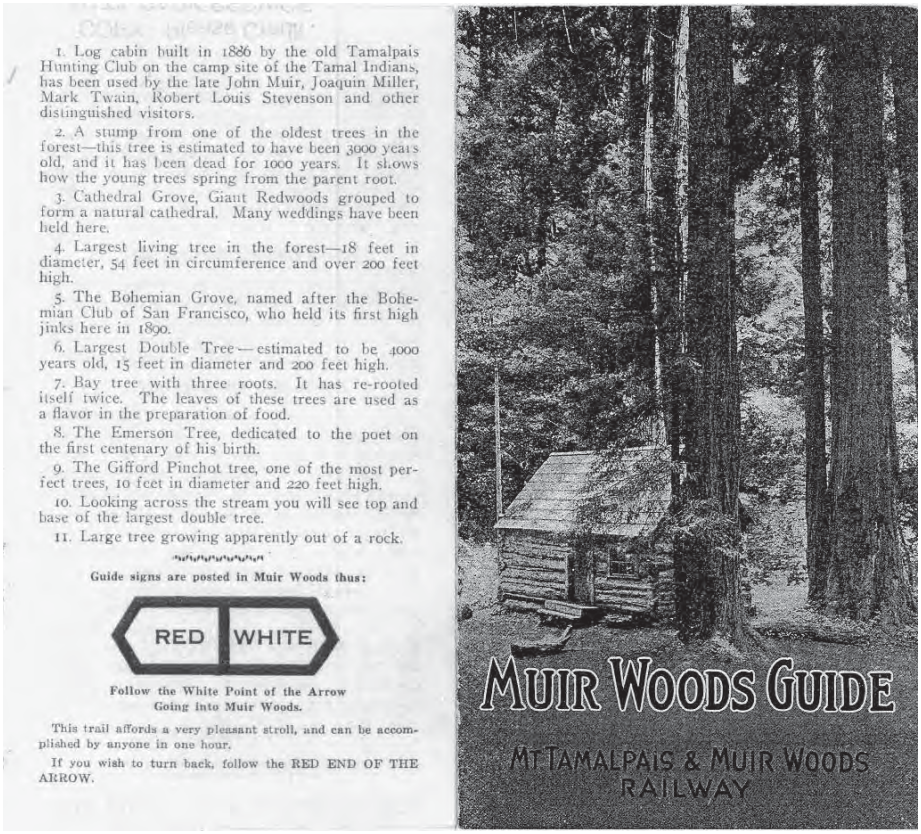
Although the Nature and Ocean View Trails were parts of the early monument trail system, the road (main trail) and two side trails on the canyon floor remained the primary visitor corridors in the monument. Located along these corridors were the main attractions: Cathedral Grove along the road, Bohemian Grove (site of the Buddha statue and 1892 High Jinks) on the west side of the creek, the log cabin at the north end of the monument, the Emerson tree near the south entrance and memorialized in 1903, and several individual trees notable for their size or unique formations.[157] In May 1910, the Sierra Club erected a memorial in honor of Gifford Pinchot for his contribution to the establishment of Muir Woods. The club selected a large redwood near the Emerson tree, but in order not to damage the tree, installed the

Figure 3.31: William Kent (right) and Gifford Pinchot at the Pinchot memorial, c.1923. Note mountain railway's arrow sign on tree. National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection.

memorial plaque on a boulder placed at its foot. [Figure 3.31] William Kent assisted the Sierra Club in erecting the memorial and selecting the wording for the bronze plaque, which read:

THIS TREE IS DEDICATED TO
GIFFORD PINCHOT
FRIEND OF THE FOREST
CONSERVER OF THE COMMON-WEALTH
SIERRA CLUB
MAY MCMX [158]

The Pinchot memorial and other attractions were listed on park brochures issued by the mountain railway and hiking map produced by the Tamalpais Conservation Club (TCC). [Figures 3.32, 3.33] The four rustic footbridges over Redwood Creek (still sometimes called Big Lagoon Creek), built by the mountain railway between 1905 and 1907, were also popular places for visitors to stop and take in the scenery. In addition to these attractions, several picnic areas were maintained in the flats along the creek, including within the Bohemian and Cathedral Groves (the name "grove" may have originated through their use as picnic groves). A more developed picnic area known as the barbecue grounds was maintained by the mountain railway adjacent to the Muir Inn. [159] While the inn provided the primary visitor services including



1. Log cabin built in 1886 by the old Tamalpais Hunting Club on the camp site of the Tamal Indians, has been used by the late John Muir, Joaquin Miller, Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson and other distinguished visitors.

2. A stump from one of the oldest trees in the forest—this tree is estimated to have been 3000 years old, and it has been dead for 1000 years. It shows how the young trees spring from the parent root.

3. Cathedral Grove, Giant Redwoods grouped to form a natural cathedral. Many weddings have been held here.

4. Largest living tree in the forest—18 feet in diameter, 54 feet in circumference and over 200 feet high.

5. The Bohemian Grove, named after the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, who held its first high jinks here in 1890.

6. Largest Double Tree—estimated to be 4000 years old, 15 feet in diameter and 200 feet high.

7. Bay tree with three roots. It has re-rooted itself twice. The leaves of these trees are used as a flavor in the preparation of food.

8. The Emerson Tree, dedicated to the poet on the first centenary of his birth.

9. The Gifford Pinchot tree, one of the most perfect trees, 10 feet in diameter and 220 feet high.

10. Looking across the stream you will see top and base of the largest double tree.

11. Large tree growing apparently out of a rock.

Guide signs are posted in Muir Woods thus:

RED | WHITE

Follow the White Point of the Arrow Going into Muir Woods.

This trail affords a very pleasant stroll, and can be accomplished by anyone in one hour.

If you wish to turn back, follow the RED END OF THE ARROW.

MUIR WOODS GUIDE

MT TAMALPAIS & MUIR WOODS RAILWAY

Figure 3.32: Brochure for Muir Woods produced by the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, listing main attractions keyed to signs, and illustrating the cabin at the north end of the monument, c.1915. The text at left was linked to a system of guide signs along the main trail (road). Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 14348, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 3.33: "New Map of Muir Woods" (1914), the earliest known trail map of Muir Woods National Monument, produced by the Tamalpais Conservation Club. The map shows the Sequoia (Ben Johnson), Nature's [sic], Scenic, Ocean View, Dipsea, and Lone Tree Trails, plus the road (main trail). Tamalpais Conservation Club, "Seeing Muir Woods," *The Tamalpais Magazine*, August 1914, 3.

dining, toilets, and lounging areas, Kent quickly realized that toilet facilities within the monument were also needed. In March 1908, he wrote Gifford Pinchot with the suggestion that facilities be built off the main trail, in "secluded side ravines where they will not be objectionable." Two sets of privies were subsequently built under GLO management: one in the side ravine just north of Cathedral Grove, and another near Bohemian Grove [see Drawing 3].[160]

With the transfer of management to the National Park Service in 1917, the landscape of Muir Woods saw some more significant changes, yet overall these were subtle and in keeping with the natural character of the forest. The NPS did not try to implement any substantial changes in the design approach to the landscape that William Kent and the mountain railway had taken. Unlike many of the National Parks and monuments it acquired, NPS did not inherit a landscape of haphazard development implemented by various concessionaires and government agencies. The unified approach and use of rustic design that Kent and the mountain railway had implemented was in fact in keeping with the design and planning approach being developed by the NPS during its early years between 1917 and 1928.

PLANNING AND RUSTIC DESIGN IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The creation of the National Park Service had come about largely to address the lack of a coherent approach to the treatment of federal parks, reserves, and monuments, and in particular the lack of available expertise in a number of professions related to park development, notably landscape architecture. The important role of the landscape architecture profession in the NPS was foretold in a 1916 reso-

lution by the American Society of Landscape Architects given in support of the legislation being introduced by William Kent:

> *…the need has long been felt, not only for more adequate protection of the surpassing beauty of those primeval landscapes which the National Parks have been created to perpetuate, but also for rendering this landscape beauty more readily enjoyable through construction in these parks of certain necessary roads and buildings for the accommodations of visitors in a way to bring the minimum of injury to these primeval landscapes…*[161]

By the spring of 1918, the NPS had finalized a policy statement to guide its administration. Largely echoing the 1916 legislation, the policy statement foremost established a process for park design and planning, a policy that would become clearly evident in the Muir Woods landscape:

> *In the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to the harmonizing of these improvements within the landscape. This is a most important item in our program of development and requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the esthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed with special reference to the preservation of the landscape…*[162]

To carry out this policy, NPS established several positions, many of which would be involved in design and planning at Muir Woods. These included the position of Landscape Engineer, first held by Charles P. Punchard, Jr., a trained landscape architect. The office of the Landscape Engineer was officially established at Yosemite in 1920, reflecting the fact that at the time nearly all of the National Parks were located in the West. That same year, landscape architect Daniel Hull replaced Punchard, and served as Chief Landscape Engineer until 1927. He oversaw an expanded design staff, with landscape architect Paul Kiessig hired in 1921 and Thomas Vint in 1922. In 1923, the Landscape Engineering office was relocated to Los Angeles, and in 1927, it moved again to the Sheldon Building in San Francisco. Here, it shared the office with the Engineering Division as part of a newly-established NPS San Francisco Field Headquarters Division.[163]

Through the 1920s, the Landscape Engineering Division was responsible for a broad range of physical design and planning in the parks and monuments, from traditional landscape work such as roads, grading, and vegetation management, to design of small buildings and other built features. The Landscape Engineer served in essence as a design consultant to park superintendents, but by 1921, the position was also responsible for approving the construction of all buildings and other

physical improvements. Landscape Engineer Charles Punchard summarized his role in an article published in 1920:

> *The problems of the Landscape Engineer of the National Park Service are many and embrace every detail which has to do with the appearance of the parks. He works in an advisory capacity to the superintendents and is responsible directly to the Director of the Service. He is a small fine arts commission in himself, for all plans of the concessioners* [sic] *must be submitted to him for approval as to architecture and location before they can be constructed, and he is responsible for the design of all structures of the Service, the location of roads and other structures on the ground which will influence the appearance of the parks, ranger cabins, rest houses, checking stations, gateway structures, employees' cottages, comfort stations, forest improvement and vista thinning…*[164]

Through the ideals of landscape preservation and harmonization, Charles Punchard and Daniel Hull, as chief Landscape Engineers, helped to institutionalize a rustic design vocabulary that would become synonymous with national parks for decades afterwards. Their tenure, spanning the decade from 1918 to 1928, has been recognized as the formative period in the development of NPS rustic design.[165] While innovative, the NPS style owed much to the development of romantic rustic design during the nineteenth century by landscape designers such as Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, and resort architecture in the Adirondack Mountains and other wilderness areas. Rustic design had also been used in park and resort areas throughout the West prior to the establishment of the NPS in 1916, such as at Yosemite and on Mount Tamalpais. More recent developments in the Arts and Crafts Movement, which had an especially strong presence in California through the work of architects Bernard Maybeck, Greene and Greene, and others, was also influential.

The rustic design work of the NPS became notable for the extent to which it was applied over enormous landscapes and hundreds of buildings, as well as in its refinement of harmonizing both with the natural and cultural environment. Its buildings, structures, and landscapes typically employed native stone and wood building materials, and were sensitive to local building traditions, often with a markedly romantic reference to pioneering practices.[166] Buildings, roads, and other built features were sited in a way that harmonized with the natural environment and often enhanced it through picturesque sensibilities. Between 1918 and 1928, the Landscape Engineering Division oversaw the design and construction of hundreds of buildings, structures, and landscape improvements in the national parks and monuments that provided a working laboratory for refinement of its rustic style. Most of these were constructed after 1921, when Congress increased funding for construction projects in the NPS. A landmark in the development of

Figure 3.34: The Administration Building at Longmire Village, Mount Rainier National Park, built in 1928 and a hallmark of NPS rustic style adapted for forest environments. National Park Service, Branch of Planning, Park Structures and Facilities (Washington, D. C.: Department of the Interior, 1935), 107.

NPS rustic style for forested landscapes such as Muir Woods was the 1928 Administration Building at Longmire Village in Mount Rainier National Park in Washington, a building that represented the culmination of a decade of design experimentation based on projects such as the 1924 administration building at Yosemite. The Longmire building featured a native stone first story that related to the glacial geology of the area, native split-log siding and massive rough-hewn timber rafters, and a low-slung massing that fit quietly into the landscape. [Figure 3.34] The site was carefully planted with native conifers and detailed with glacial stonework.[167] Other important design work relevant to Muir Woods was completed during the 1920s at the Giant Forest area of Sequoia National Park, located in the Sierras southeast of San Francisco, as well as in forested portions of Yosemite National Park, all of which were administered through the San Francisco field office.

By the time the NPS arrived at Muir Woods in 1917, William Kent and the mountain railway had been working in a rustic style there for over a decade, evident in the second Muir Inn with its rough-wood detailing and its sensitive integration into its sloping, wooded site, along with the log benches and timber bridges scattered throughout the park. Upon their first inspection of Muir Woods in 1922, Chief Landscape Engineer Daniel Hull and his assistant, Paul Kiessig, noted how appropriate the architecture of the inn was, and also took special note of the old cabin at the north end of the monument, which they felt combined the natural and cultural harmony that they sought in their own work with its log construction and reference to pioneering building traditions.[168] Outside of Muir Woods, however, rustic design was falling out of favor in the Mount Tamalpais area. An indication of this shift was at the mountain railway's Tavern of Tamalpais. When the original Shingle-style structure burned in 1923, it was replaced by a Spanish colonial-style structure, an increasingly popular style for suburban buildings in the region. To a large degree, the rustic style had become strictly a style for parks, understood generally to evoke places remote from everyday civilization.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS, 1917-1928

In overall design as well as details, the improvements at Muir Woods made by the NPS during its first decade of administration were quite similar to those at Yosemite, the parent park to Muir Woods through the early 1920s, and in Sequoia National Park, both of which shared related redwood forest resources. Up until 1921, design and construction at Muir Woods was coordinated through W. B. Lewis, the Superintendent of Yosemite, and undertaken by the crews from that park

Figure 3.35: The Nisqually entrance gate at Mount Rainier National Park, built c.1910, photographed c.1925. Robert Yard, The National Parks Portfolio (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 85.

as well as by mountain railway staff under the direction of its general manager, R. H. Ingram. After 1921, with the expansion of the Landscape Engineering Division and increased funding for building projects, the professional landscape architects of that office dealt directly with William Kent and the custodians in implementing building projects.

In the spring of 1917, Andrew Lind identified the most pressing needs in Muir Woods for the NPS as repair of the main road and replacement of the four footbridges across Redwood Creek that had been built over a decade earlier by the mountain railway [see Drawing 3]. When W. B. Lewis began his six-month station at Muir Woods in the winter of 1918, he focused on these needs, along with enhancing picnic areas and adding a gateway and signs. These needs were in keeping with the initial impetus by Stephen Mather and Charles Punchard to enhance the identity of the parks and improve the public's access to them. Mather's greatest interest at Muir Woods was apparently the gateway. Already in December 1917, he was coordinating its placement and design with Lewis and William Kent. That month, Lewis drew up plans for the gateway showing a massive, twenty-foot high by fourteen-foot wide timber structure with cross braces and a hanging sign. Lewis's design was similar to the Nisqually Entrance Gate at Mount Rainier National Park built in c.1910 and a prototype for rustic NPS gateways. [169] [Figure 3.35] Lewis recommended that the gate be erected on the upper entrance on Muir Woods Road, which was serving as the primary vehicular entrance, since he felt the lower one at Frank Valley Road (current main entrance) was "…a blind one, leading, as it does, to dairy ranches below the Woods, and consequently gets none of the tourist travel."[170]

Kent, however, wanted the gate at the lower entrance because it was at the edge of a clearing where he hoped to create a parking area, and would thus serve as the main entrance as automobiles became the dominant transportation to the monument. This location was on Kent's land, approximately two hundred feet south of the monument boundary where the road (main trail) entered the forest [see Drawing 3]. Lewis's original design was also apparently too big in scale, and instead Kent agreed to a far smaller timber structure that was built in the winter of 1918 by Mr. Robinson, the General Carpenter of Yosemite National Park. Still rustic in style, it featured a very simple and small timber arch over the pedestrian entrance, a swinging milled-lumber gate to close off the road, and a log fence that extended northeast to Muir Woods Road [Figure 3.36]. As built, the gateway did not include a sign identifying Muir Woods National Monument, probably because it did not

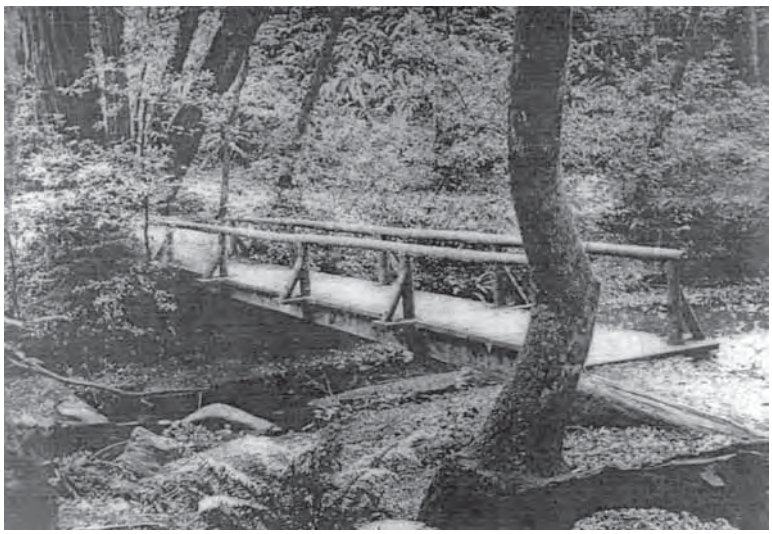
Figure 3.36: Entrance gate to Muir Woods erected in winter 1918 at the lower south entrance (site of current main gate) on William Kent's land, photographed 1933. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B35, Muir Woods Collection.

actually mark the monument boundary since it was on William Kent's land.[171]

While the gateway was being planned, crews from Yosemite began work on rebuilding the four footbridges using milled redwood (the original proposal for the mountain railway to do the project fell through due to lack of available labor in the area). Lewis noted the new bridges were "substantially built," probably in contrast to the earlier bridges, with which they still shared a similar stringer and plank design, but with heavier, braced log railings.[172] [Figure 3.37] Lewis continued to press for improvements to the road, which he felt could be upgraded and graveled from the mere "wheel track" that it was for a cost of about $1,000. Director Mather agreed with Lewis, but William Kent wrote him questioning, "How much could be done to improve…[the road] without doing violence to the woods should be carefully thought out…"[173] Funding for the cost of this improvement was appropriated for the 1919 fiscal year, but the road was apparently never upgraded in any significant way, probably because Kent was thinking of eventually banning automobiles from the woods.

In addition to the bridges and gateway, W. B. Lewis oversaw several additional improvements to enhance visitor use during his six-month special assignment in 1918. He focused on the picnic areas, located in the Bohemian and Cathedral Groves, which he felt were too small but could easily be expanded by clearing additional surrounding areas that were "badly grown up with underbrush." To what extent this was done is not known, but the picnic areas were subsequently improved with new furniture: in the spring and summer of 1918, Andrew Lind reported that he was repairing the existing "rustic benches, tables, etc. in Groves," and putting up additional ones. Other improvements to enhance visitor use of Muir Woods included the installation of new garbage cans and upwards of thirty directional signs, apparently to replace the brochure-keyed arrows erected by the mountain railway. The new signs directed visitors to points both outside and within the monument, but not one was

Figure 3.37: The second footbridge from the south, reconstructed in 1918, photographed 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B36, Muir Woods Collection.



erected at the entrance indicating the name of the monument. [174] [Text of signs in Appendix E]

Following this initial period of improvements, little work was done until the early 1920s, but then in 1921 with increased funding system-wide, several projects were begun. In 1921, the comfort stations (privies) were replaced, and a new 2,500-gallon water tank was installed at the head of a small side canyon, known as Pipeline Canyon, on William Kent's buffer strip along the east side of the monument near the Ocean View Trail [see Drawing 3]. This tank was installed according to an agreement signed in April 1919 that allowed the NPS to draw one hundred gallons a day from a spring on Kent's land. The tank was intended in part to service an expanded system of drinking fountains and fire hydrants being built along the canyon floor. Another improvement made in 1921 was the installation of new signs. These were designed according to the first uniform standards adopted in 1920 that specified green lettering on a white porcelain field, mounted on wood backs and posts.[175] [Figure 3.38]

Figure 3.38: New standard NPS signs installed on the Fern Creek Bridge in 1921, with green lettering on a white field, mounted on wood backs and posts, photographed 1934. The William Kent Memorial was added in 1928. 1934 Annual Report, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2292.

On April 28, 1921, Horace Albright, then serving as Field Assistant to the NPS Director, visited Muir Woods for the first time since 1918, and reported on the recent improvements of the past three years:

> *...Among these have been the new water system, comfort stations, bridges, some new signs, and new garbage cans. I observed that the new bridges were well built and attractive. The signs are already dirty and in many cases the lettering has almost been obliterated...I am sorry to say that there is nothing to indicate that a person is in the park except the presence of the big trees. A rough gateway was constructed on the boundary line of the Monument, but no signs were placed thereon to indicate that it marked the line of a Government reservation* [the gate was not actually on the boundary line]....*There is not one solitary reference to the National Park Service or the Department of the Interior, or to the Muir Woods National Monument within the boundaries of the park....The comfort stations...are very dark and unsatisfactory…*[176]

Albright also commented on the need to ban automobiles from the monument, and shortly thereafter, the ban was implemented in June of 1921, requiring visitors arriving by automobile to park on Kent's land south of the gateway [see Drawing 3]. This parking area was a simple clearing on the creek flats, situated immediately

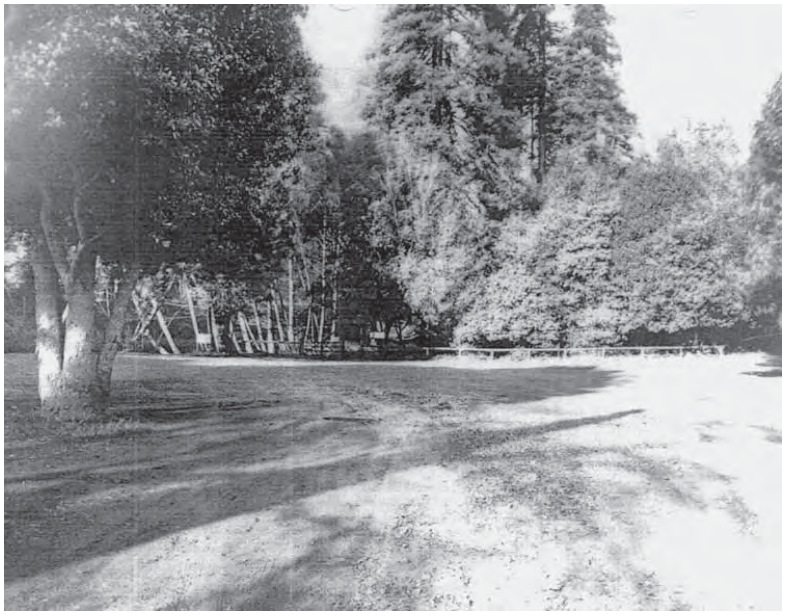


Figure 3.39: View of the parking area looking toward entrance gate as it existed after 1921, photographed 1931. Note grove of redwoods that marked the southernmost extent of the forest, but was outside of the monument boundary. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B35, Muir Woods Collection.

south of the main gate and redwood forest between the old Frank Valley Road and the Muir Woods Road bypass built in c.1906. The parking area was not paved and did not have any amenities aside from a fence that ran along the north side by the main gate. [Figure 3.39] Albright's comment about the lack of an identifying sign led in January 1922 to the installation of a modest one to the side of the main gateway, using the new standard NPS design [see Figure 3.36].

The day before Albright's visit on April 28, 1921, Stephen Mather telegraphed William Kent about approval of the biggest construction project ever within the monument: the Custodian's Cottage, budgeted at a cost not to exceed $1,500. It would be the first construction project in the monument not directed by W. B. Lewis of Yosemite, but rather by landscape architects from the NPS Landscape Engineering Division. Planning for the project began in January 1922, when Chief Landscape Engineer Daniel Hull and his assistant, landscape architect Paul Kiessig, made a site visit with Horace Albright. They first inspected the old six-room Keeper's House on William Kent's land, which Albright reported was "in a frightful condition." They then inspected the site for the new cottage and park office on the north side of Muir Woods Road, approximately 250 feet uphill from the main gate [see Drawing 3]. This location, chosen by Daniel Hull, was within the monument, but outside of the redwood forest. Albright reported to Stephen Mather: "…I think the ranger's [sic] cottage should be built just as soon as possible, and I told Mr. Hull that I thought he ought to prepare plans for this cottage at the earliest possible moment."[177] Hull's role was in keeping with the Landscape Engineering Division's practice during the 1920s of designing small buildings.

Construction of the Custodian's Cottage, by Henry T. McKallor of Oakland, began in June 1922 and was completed within a few months [Figure 3.40]. Hull's design, which harmonized with the natural and cultural setting of Muir Woods, fit well within the rustic vocabulary of landscape and building design that his office was developing for parks throughout the West during the 1920s. The building was a small (eighteen by twenty feet), one-story gabled house on a stone foundation, not unlike Arts and Crafts-inspired California bungalows, nestled into the hillside above the road, framed at the rear by the surrounding woods and overlooking the canyon floor and ridge to the south. The siding of the house, stained a dark brown offset by white casement windows, featured a distinctive exposed milled framing

Figure 3.40: The Custodian's Cottage showing original section built in 1922, view looking southwest across lower canyon, October 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B36, Muir Woods Collection.

detail, with shingle infill. This design was similar to exposed log framing first used in 1917 on utility buildings at the Giant Forest area of Sequoia National Park. This design had been further refined by Hull in the Giant Forest Administration Building, completed in 1921 and considered to be one of the first examples of the well-developed NPS-rustic style [Figure 3.41].[178] The less rough use of milled framing detail at Muir Woods, completed just a year after the Giant Forest Administration Building, may have been Hull's nod to the less wild character of the region, given its proximity to Mill Valley and San Francisco. Yet Hull also included a characteristic rustic feature: a pergola of unmilled timber at the entrance on the north side.[179] With completion of the Custodian's Cottage, the old Keeper's House was demolished. The timber framing and other materials from the old building were salvaged to construct a small garage north of the Custodian's Cottage in the spring of 1923 [see Drawing 3]. This small gabled shed (site of current garage) featured a similar exposed framing detail, and was stained with creosote diluted with coal oil, probably the same stain used for the Custodian's Cottage.[180]

Figure 3.41: The Giant Forest Administration Building at Sequoia, designed by the NPS Landscape Engineering Division and built in 1921, a year before the Custodian's Cottage at Muir Woods. National Park Service photograph, 1921, from William Tweed et al., "National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942 (National Park Service, February 1977), 31.

When John Needham became Custodian in 1923, he identified the greatest need in the landscape as "more facilities for the benefit of visitors," according to his first annual report in 1923. This was the beginning of an expansion and relocation of the picnic areas, and the addition of stone fireplaces, log drinking fountains, and privies. Needham undertook much of this work himself, but was aided by the NPS Landscape Engineering Division, including Assistant Landscape Engineer Thomas Vint.[181] Over the next few years, Needham replaced the earlier picnic areas at Bohemian and Cathedral Groves with three new ones: the upper picnic area (along the Bootjack Trail and Redwood Creek north of the monument boundary) in c.1925; middle (on the west side of Redwood Creek upstream from the Bohemian Grove) in c.1925; and lower (near current administration building) in c.1927 [see Drawing 3]. In addition to the three main picnic areas, Needham also maintained a small picnic area along the Fern Creek Trail just north of the main trail, and in 1925 built a new picnic area at the south end of the parking area, on William Kent's land. [182]

The upper picnic area was built on land belonging to the mountain railway, but was maintained by NPS, illustrating the relatively transparent boundaries of the National Monument and adjoining lands belonging to the railway and William Kent. The picnic area was located along an intimate, twisting section of Redwood Creek just below the second Muir Inn and the head of the Ben Johnson Trail, where there were a number of footbridges built after 1908. With many visitors arriving from the railway or hiking in from the Bootjack and Ben Johnson Trails, the upper picnic area probably became one of the most popular parts of the monument. An attraction was added to the area on July 3, 1926, when a tree located along the main (Bootjack) trail, on the railway property, was dedicated in memory of optometrist Andrew Jay Cross (1855-1925) by the American Optometric Association (AOA) [see Drawing 3]. Cross, who pioneered sight-testing techniques, was a resident of New York State and a founding member of the AOA. His monument was erected at Muir Woods because the AOA was holding its 1926 annual meeting in San Francisco; whether Cross had any particular interest in nature or redwoods is not known. Like the Pinchot memorial, the Cross memorial featured a bronze plaque on a rock placed at the foot of the tree, which simply read: "Andrew J. Cross, Pioneer Optometrist."[183]

One of John Needham's early interests within the picnic areas was to build permanent stone fireplaces. Although fires had been "absolutely prohibited" according to the original monument regulations, illegal camp fires were occasionally set, and Needham probably saw fireplaces as a way to control such hazards, as well as to enhance visitor amenities. In 1924, he approached William Kent, who was hesitant about the idea given his long-standing concern about fires in the woods, but ultimately agreed. Needham built some of his first fireplaces in the Fern Creek picnic ground by the spring of 1925, designed in a rustic style with rough-coursed stone masonry [Figure 3.42]. He soon added others, including a large four-unit octagonal fireplace built in the lower picnic area in 1927. Needham also added new picnic tables, built with "rustic redwood legs," and trash containers in the main picnic areas, and doubled the number of comfort stations (privies) to eight, adding two new pairs at the foot of the Ben Johnson Trail and middle picnic area to supplement the pairs in the side canyons near Cathedral Grove and Bohemian Grove [see Drawing 3]. These were still old-fashioned dry-pit privies, but in the summer of 1928, a modern comfort station with toilets and a septic system was built near the lower picnic area. This building, designed by the NPS Landscape Engineering Division, featured an exposed

Figure 3.42: One of Custodian Needham's stone fireplaces in the Fern Creek picnic area built in winter 1925 (Fern Creek bridge visible in right background), photographed March 2, 1925. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B36, Muir Woods Collection.

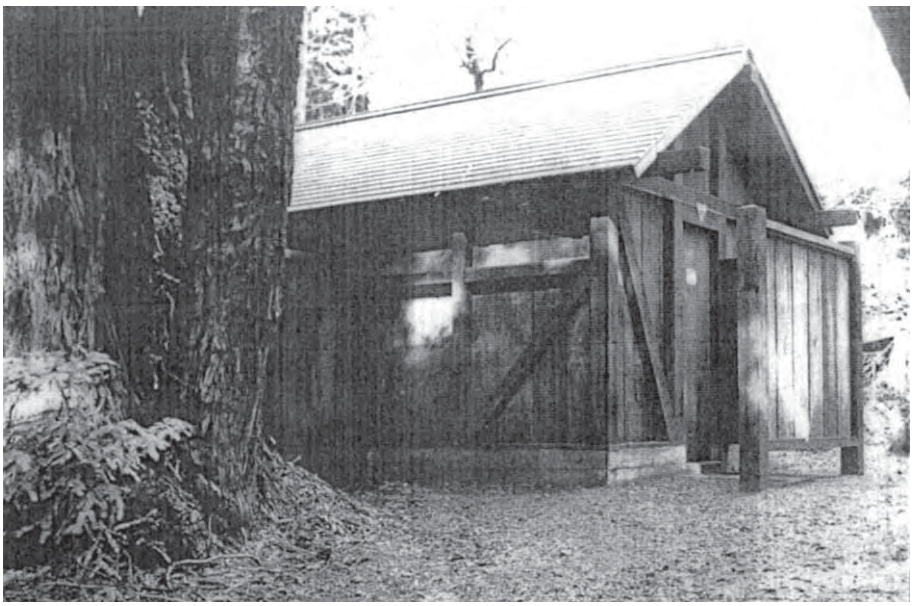


Figure 3.43: The first modern comfort station at Muir Woods, built in 1928 along old Muir Woods Road (service drive) near the lower picnic area, using similar but more prominent exposed timber-frame detailing as used on the Custodian's Cottage, photographed December 16, 1928. This building was later known as the main comfort station. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, GOGA 32470 B36, Muir Woods Collection.

timber-framing detail, similar to but more prominent than that used on the Custodian's Cottage.[184] [Figure 3.43]

Judging by the character of the improvements that he oversaw, John Needham was fond of the rustic style and of a naturalistic approach to the landscape. He favored a less managed appearance to the landscape, in contrast to W. B. Lewis's recommendations to clear back vegetation from the trails and picnic areas. An engineer from the San Francisco Field Office later recalled to Horace Albright: "You know John Needham was always a lover of thick vegetation. He delighted in walking the trails and having the brush hang over to such an extent that at times it might touch one…"[185] This approach was evident in a number of related cases. When a large redwood fell across Redwood Creek upstream from the Bohemian Grove in November 1926, Needham had it fashioned into a pedestrian bridge by cutting steps into the ends [see Figure 3.26]. Another part of the tree he made into a redwood bench.[186] Needham apparently also let the Nature Trail become overgrown, although it was probably due to lack of use rather than a naturalistic aesthetic. He also took a keen interest in preserving the park's fauna, notably the fish in Redwood Creek. In 1927, he wrote to NPS Director Stephen Mather requesting that a new regulation be passed to prohibit any fishing in the monument, particularly to protect the steelhead trout and salmon which he believed were suffering a decline, but which still were an important attraction for tourists. He noted that Redwood Creek was a "…natural spawning ground for steelhead trout and salmon, and, at certain seasons of the year when they come in in numbers, they are entirely at the mercy of any poacher with a spear, pitchfork, or even a club…"[187] What Needham apparently did not know was that fishing was already prohibited per the original monument regulations promulgated in 1908.

While much of his work suggests a light management approach to natural resources, John Needham nonetheless oversaw some significant interventions. In 1924, the Ocean View Trail fire line was reopened and the brush burned (the Nature Trail line was apparently not), and soon after, Needham began planning with William Kent on the installation of revetments and dams in Redwood Creek. Although funding was not provided for the permanent stone revetments that Kent sought, in February 1928 Needham began to install piles of brush along the creek

as temporary revetments.[188] Needham also did not apparently appreciate all of the rustic features in the park. With the concurrence of W. B. Lewis who was still providing some administrative support through Yosemite, Needham had the log cabin torn down in the fall of 1925 because he felt it was an attractive nuisance and in poor condition. Yet the year before, the NPS issued a press release describing Muir Woods, and noted that the "old Ben Johnson log cabin" was one of the forest's attractions, where "…John Muir, Joaquin Miller, Mark Twain, Jack London, Robert Louis Stevenson, and many others have enjoyed the hospitality of Morpheus under its roof."[189] Apparently aware of such purported associations, Needham did some research prior to its demolition, and found the cabin did not have any particular significance, as he wrote to Stephen Mather:

> *In view of the fact that this cabin was the object of not a little interest to visitors because of the many stories told about famous men who were said to have lived in it, before undertaking its removal I got the opinions of William Kent, R. H. Ingram, then president of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, and R. F. O'Rourke, secretary of the Tamalpais Conservation Club. None of these men, all of whom are much interested in the welfare of Muir Woods saw any reason for saving the cabin and were agree that it might as well be removed. Mr. Kent expressed the opinion that most of the stories told about it were lies and without any foundation in fact…*[190]

THE WILLIAM KENT MEMORIAL

On March 13, 1928, after more than two decades of guiding the management of Muir Woods, William Kent died at his nearby family home, Kentfield. His death marked a time of transition in the management of Muir Woods and the surrounding land that would soon bring the end of the mountain railway and its replacement by Mount Tamalpais State Park. Yet the management and physical developments that Kent had helped to achieve at Muir Woods would persist for many decades.

Soon after Kent's death, the Tamalpais Conservation Club began to plan for erecting a memorial at Muir Woods in his honor, to be paid for by its members. On October 26, 1928, NPS Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint met with John Needham and James Wright, a past president of the TCC, to select a tree to memorialize. They settled on one of the largest Douglas-fir in the woods, a particular favorite of William Kent's, located in a secluded area along the Fern Creek trail, a short distance north of the main trail. Much like the Gifford Pinchot memorial, the group decided to mark the tree by placing a plaque on a large boulder next to the tree, rather than on it. In December, the selected three and one-half ton boulder was brought down on the mountain railway to Muir Inn from the upper reaches of Fern Canyon near West Point, and from there was rolled down the road. The boulder accidentally rolled off into the creek just two hundred yards from the site. It took Needham and several TCC members several days to

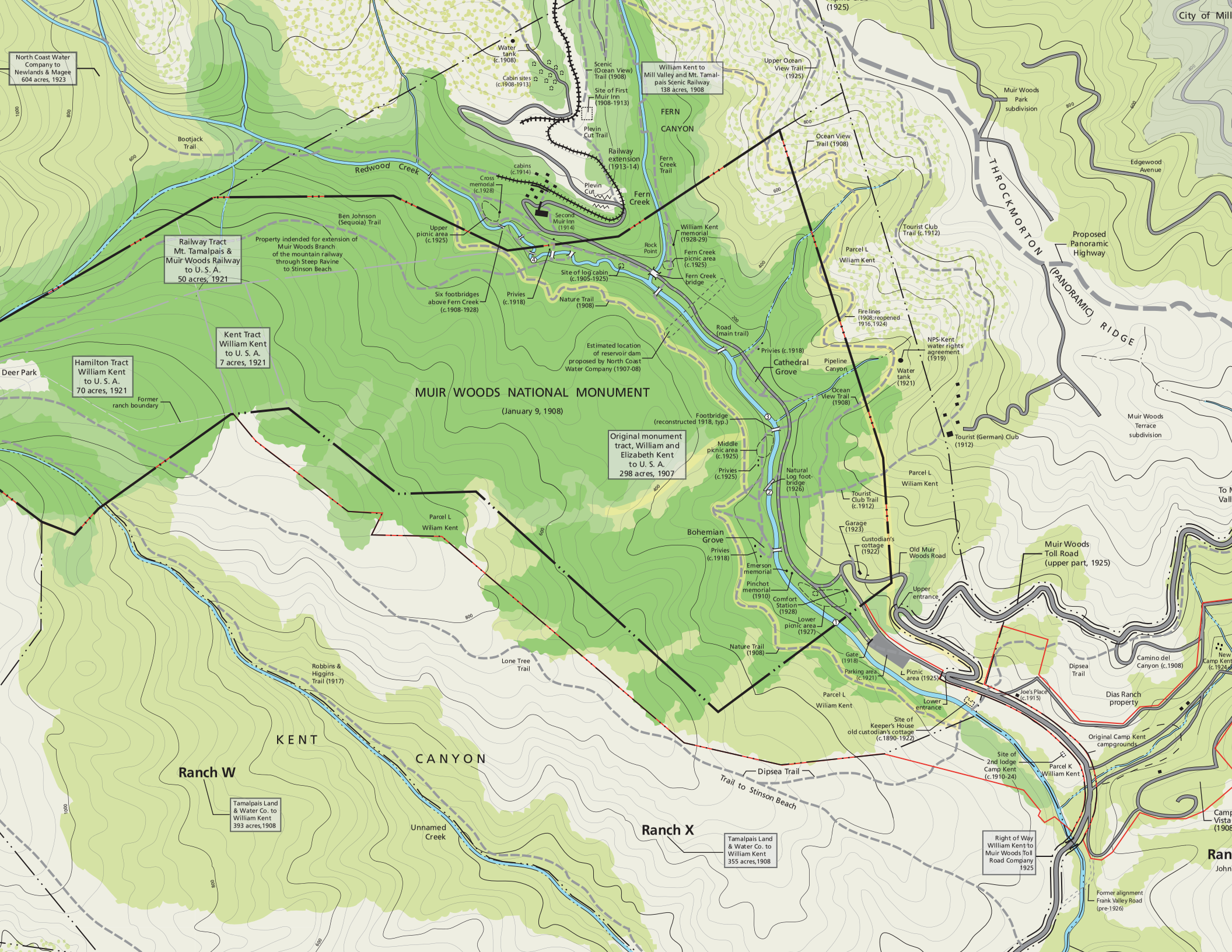
get the boulder back up from the creek and place it in its desired spot next to the Douglas-fir. Soon after, the TCC installed a bronze plaque on the boulder, which read:

WILLIAM KENT
WHO GAVE THESE WOODS AND
OTHER NATURAL BEAUTY SITES
TO PERPETUATE THEM FOR PEOPLE
WHO LOVE THE OUT-OF-DOORS
1864 1928
TAMALPAIS CONSERVATION CLUB

The TCC published an account of the monument effort in its April 1929 edition of *California Out-of-Doors*:

> *At last it was done and as we looked at our completed task I felt that the beautiful memorial under that noble tree was a fit shrine dedicated to a noble man, and numbers who knew him will tarry not once but many times in that tranquil spot to think deeply with reverence and gratitude of that kindly unselfish friend William Kent*.[191]

On May 5, 1929, the memorial was dedicated in a ceremony attended by Horace Albright, who had just succeeded Stephen Mather as Director of the NPS, and members of the TCC, the Sierra and California Alpine Clubs, and the Tourist Club. Like William Kent's approach to managing Muir Woods, his monument represented a collaborative effort, involving the NPS, the mountain railway, and the hiking clubs, and was also a harmonious, unobtrusive addition to the natural landscape.[192]


MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
(January 9, 1908)
FERN CANYON
KENT CANYON
THROCKMORTON (PANORAMIC) RIDGE
North Coast Water Company to Newlands & Magee 604 acres, 1923
Railway Tract Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway to U. S. A. 50 acres, 1921
Kent Tract William Kent to U. S. A. 7 acres, 1921
Hamilton Tract William Kent to U. S. A. 70 acres, 1921
Original monument tract, William and Elizabeth Kent to U. S. A. 298 acres, 1907
William Kent to Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway 138 acres, 1908
Tamalpais Land & Water Co. to William Kent 393 acres,1908
Tamalpais Land & Water Co. to William Kent 355 acres,1908
Right of Way William Kent to Muir Woods Toll Road Company 1925
Ranch W
Ranch X
Deer Park
Bootjack Trail
Redwood Creek
Ben Johnson (Sequoia) Trail
Property intended for extension of Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway through Steep Ravine to Stinson Beach
Former ranch boundary
Water tank (c.1908)
Cabin sites (c.1908-1913)
Scenic (Ocean View) Trail (1908)
Site of First Muir Inn (1908-1913)
Plevin Cut Trail
Railway extension (1913-14)
Fern Creek Trail
Fern Creek
Plevin Cut
cabins (c.1914)
Cross memorial (c.1928)
Second Muir Inn (1914)
Upper picnic area (c.1925)
Site of log cabin (c.1905-1925)
Six footbridges above Fern Creek (c.1908-1928)
Privies (c.1918)
Nature Trail (1908)
Rock Point
William Kent memorial (1928-29)
Fern Creek picnic area (c.1925)
Fern Creek bridge
Road (main trail)
Estimated location of reservoir dam proposed by North Coast Water Company (1907-08)
Upper Ocean View Trail (1925)
Ocean View Trail (1908)
Muir Woods Park subdivision
Edgewood Avenue
Tourist Club Trail (c.1912)
Parcel L Wiliam Kent
Proposed Panoramic Highway
Fire lines (1908;reopened 1916,1924)
NPS-Kent water rights agreement (1919)
Privies (c.1918)
Cathedral Grove
Pipeline Canyon
Water tank (1921)
Ocean View Trail (1908)
Footbridge (reconstructed 1918, typ.)
Middle picnic area (c.1925)
Privies (c.1925)
Natural Log foot-bridge (1926)
Tourist (German) Club (1912)
Muir Woods Terrace subdivision
Tourist Club Trail (c.1912)
Parcel L Wiliam Kent
Garage (1923)
Custodian's cottage (1922)
Old Muir Woods Road
Muir Woods Toll Road (upper part, 1925)
Bohemian Grove
Privies (c.1918)
Emerson memorial
Pinchot memorial (1910)
Comfort Station (1928)
Lower picnic area (1927)
Upper entrance
Nature Trail (1908)
Gate (1918)
Parking area (c.1921)
Picnic area (1925)
Lower entrance
Parcel L Wiliam Kent
Site of Keeper's House old custodian's cottage (c.1890-1922)
Joe's Place (c.1915)
Dipsea Trail
Camino del Canyon (c.1908)
Dias Ranch property
Original Camp Kent campgrounds
Site of 2nd lodge Camp Kent (c.1910-24)
Parcel K William Kent
Lone Tree Trail
Robbins & Higgins Trail (1917)
Dipsea Trail
Trail to Stinson Beach
Unnamed Creek
Former alignment Frank Valley Road (pre-1926)
City of Mill
To Mill Valley

CHAPTER 4: THE STATE PARK-CCC ERA, 1928-1953

With William Kent's death in 1928, Muir Woods lost its long-time advocate and the key figure in its management over the course of more than two decades. Soon after Kent's death came two other important changes: the demise in 1929-30 of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, which had served as Kent's partner in the development and management of Muir Woods since 1905, and the opening of Mount Tamalpais State Park in 1930, which in effect took over Kent's role in managing the lands surrounding Muir Woods. The decline of the mountain railway and opening of the state park were both due in large part to the increasing popularity of private automobiles, whose numbers had climbed markedly with the opening of the Muir Woods Toll Road in 1926 and the Panoramic Highway in 1928. The opening of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937 and public acquisition of the toll road two years later would lead to still greater use of automobiles as a means to reach Muir Woods. By the late 1930s following a lull during the Great Depression, visitation to Muir Woods increased sixty percent over a previous record marked in 1928. Management centered in large part during this time around accommodating these crowds and limiting their impact on the delicate natural environment of the canyon floor—a struggle to balance use and preservation.

Management and development of Muir Woods was largely the responsibility of two custodians whose tenure extended through most of this period: J. Barton Herschler (1930-1937) and Walter Finn (1937-1953). With the help of New Deal-era work-relief programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the National Park Service (NPS) undertook an extensive program of improvements in Muir Woods during the 1930s that produced new and enhanced buildings, trails, parking facilities, and utilities. All were designed with professional assistance from the NPS San Francisco regional office according to a mature rustic style employed throughout the Western National Park System, building on the earlier design vocabulary established in the monument's earliest days. While there was an unprecedented amount of development in the monument during this time, through use of the rustic style it was largely inconspicuous and did not alter the naturalistic feeling of the landscape.

During World War II following the closing of the CCC program in 1941, improvement largely ceased at Muir Woods. In the post-war years through the early 1950s, there was little new development in the monument, but visitation ballooned, reaching almost 300,000 annually by the early 1950s. Crowding placed an increasing strain on the 1930s improvements and set the stage for a new era of improvements, coinciding with broader programs in the National Park Service designed to meet similar challenges in parks across the country. Muir Woods also became

more strictly a single destination for tourists, rather than used as part of a larger network of parklands on Mount Tamalpais. This was due in part to the demise of the CCC, diminished popularity of hiking in the region, and the dominance of automobile travel.

DEVELOPMENT & CONSERVATION ON MOUNT TAMALPAIS

The prosperous decade of the 1920s had witnessed substantial growth in Mill Valley and surrounding areas in eastern Marin, with many houses built along the Panoramic (Throckmorton) Ridge above Muir Woods. Much of this development ceased with the beginnings of the Great Depression, which was marked in Mill Valley by a natural occurrence that reminded many of the perils of living near wild grasslands and chaparral: on July 2, 1929, the worst fire ever to strike burned more than 2,500 acres, destroying in excess of one hundred homes. Mill Valley quickly rebuilt, but the 1930s remained a fairly quiet one in terms of population growth and development. The decade did, however, see extensive highway construction that, along with the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937, integrated the region into metropolitan San Francisco and set the stage for exponential growth during the post World-War II era. During the 1930s, the population of the City of Mill Valley rose slightly from 4,164 to 4,847, and the population of Marin County increased from 41,648 to 52,0907. Reflecting expansive growth after 1945, the 1950 federal census recorded that Mill Valley's population jumped to 7,331, while the county's rose to 85,619, surpassing the rates of growth from the 1920s.[1] By the early 1950s, there were more than one hundred houses along Throckmorton Ridge and the Panoramic Highway above Muir Woods, about three-quarters of which had been built since 1945. [Figure 4.1] To the south and east of Muir Woods, Homestead Valley and Tamalpais Valley developed quickly during the post-war years. In contrast, virtually all of the area in West Marin to the west of Throckmorton Ridge remained largely undeveloped as ranches or public park land, with the exception of Stinson Beach and two military reservations established around World War II at West Peak and Muir Beach (Frank Valley).[2]

Figure 4.1: Map of Mount Tamalpais in 1950 showing extent of development east (right) of Muir Woods along the Panoramic Ridge and general absence of development in West Marin. Detail, U.S.G.S. Mt. Tamalpais Quadrangle map, 1950.

DEMISE OF THE MOUNTAIN RAILWAY AND HEYDAY OF THE AUTOMOBILE

The same fire that swept Mill Valley on July 2, 1929 also caused extensive damage to the tracks of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, including its branch line to Muir Woods National Monument, but did not destroy either the Muir

Inn at the terminus of the branch line or the Tavern of Tamalpais at the summit. Immediately after the fire, the company ceased operations on its Muir Woods Branch, which had apparently suffered the most damage in the fire. Realizing the increasing competition from automobiles at Muir Woods, the company decided to abandon their once highly popular line to the National Monument. At the same time, the company decided to also abandon the Muir Inn, but considered replacing it with a new inn at the south end of the monument where most visitors were then arriving.[3] The railway did repair the main line, and within a few days after the fire, trains were once again running to the summit. On November 1, 1929, the company announced that the mountain railway would close for the winter for the first time. A reopening date of March 1, 1930 was set, but the railway never again ran, although it continued to operate the Tavern of Tamalpais at the summit. The company soon requested permission from the state rail commission to abandon the line and return its right-of-way to the original grantors or successors, and in the early fall of 1930, the tracks were torn up.[4] Most of the right-of-way was converted to truck and foot trails.

The void left by the railway was quickly filled by at least two coach tour companies that were outgrowths of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company. These included the Mt. Tamalpais-Ridgewood Boulevard Company, which offered what it called a "Mt. Tamalpais Circle Tour," extending across both the north and south sides of the mountain. The Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Transportation Company, apparently a direct successor to the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company, offered a tour that more closely paralleled the old rail route. With ticket offices at the Northwestern Pacific Railroad in San Francisco, the company promoted Muir Woods among the attractions on Mount Tamalpais, as described in one of its brochure from c.1932: [Figure 4.2]

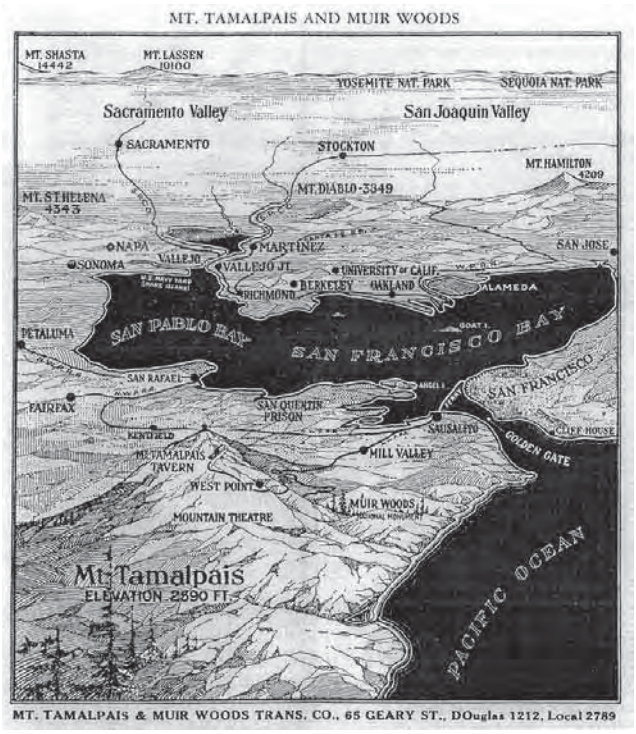


Figure 4.2: Panorama of the Bay Region in c.1932 brochure of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Transportation Company. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 4, Muir Woods Collection.

…through pleasant suburban surroundings you ride the electric train to Mill Valley, America's little Switzerland. Here the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Transportation Company's Motor coach awaits to take you to the summit of MT. TAMALPAIS…At the summit you may have luncheon in the Tavern seated at broad visioned windows overlooking the valley below…A panoramic view never to be forgotten. (Or luncheon may be taken at Muir Woods, midst the Giant Redwoods.) Leaving the Top, your coach takes you down the mountain through beautiful hillside scenery en route, where we branch off to MUIR WOODS, a National Monument of Big Trees. Here we spend an

hour among this beautiful grove of magnificent Redwood trees—age old Sequoia Sempervirens...[5]

These motor tour companies depended on the expanding network of public highways and toll roads in Marin County. The development of automobile highways leading to the scenic attractions of West Marin had begun in earnest when in 1925 Marin County voters authorized a $1,250,000 bond issue for a county-wide road program, shortly after the old Sausalito-Bolinas (Dipsea) Highway had been improved into the Shoreline Highway (US Route 1). One of the county's first major projects was construction of the Panoramic Highway, linking Mill Valley to Stinson Beach along Throckmorton Ridge (afterwards known as Panoramic Ridge) and above Steep Ravine to the old West Point Stage Road. [Figure 4.3] Completed in October 1928, the Panoramic Highway was a public, toll-free road that complemented the approach from the north provided by Ridgecrest Boulevard, a private toll road built by the Ridgecrest Toll Company in 1923. In 1930, this company connected the two roads near Steep Ravine with construction of Pantoll Road.[6]

Figure 4.3: Map of West Marin in vicinity of Muir Woods National Monument showing major subdivisions, roads, and railroads by 1953. The letters and numbers refer to the original subdivided ranches. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Mt. Tamalpais quadrangle (1950), Point Bonita quadrangle (1993), and Tom Harrison, "Mt Tam Trail Map" (2003).

These improved roads in West Marin connected with new highways linking the suburban communities in eastern Marin, which included the Redwood Highway (US 101), completed through Mill Valley in 1929 extended to Sausalito in 1931.

At the time that the Panoramic Highway was under construction in 1928, work was beginning on planning of the Golden Gate Bridge, which would connect Marin County via the Redwood Highway with the City of San Francisco, based on state enabling

Figure 4.4: NPS map of southern Marin County made in c.1933 showing major highways, Golden Gate Bridge under construction, and proposed highway across the Marin Headlands to the Muir Woods Toll Road. National Park Service, Muir Woods National Monument brochure, c.1933. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600.

legislation passed in 1923. As part of this planning, a new road was proposed to extend across the Marin Headlands to link the new bridge with the Muir Woods Toll Road, a component that was never built. [Figure 4.4] The design of the bridge was finalized in 1930, and on February 26, 1933, ground was broken. Construction was completed in 1937, and in June of that year the bridge was opened to traffic. Although the connecting road to Muir Woods was never built and visitors still had to negotiate the narrow and twisting roads, the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge brought great increases in tourism to the monument, as well as significant growth in suburban development throughout Marin County, particularly after World War II. The bridge also resulted in the demise of all ferry service across the Golden Gate by 1941.[7]

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MOUNT TAMALPAIS PARK MOVEMENT

Hiking continued to be a very popular activity on Mount Tamalpais through the 1930s, with the Tamalpais Conservation Club (TCC) retaining its position as the most prominent and active outdoor club on the mountain. Hikers, however, had to share the mountain to an increasing extent with tourists, picnickers, and campers who came by automobile, as well with an increasing population of suburban residents. Although the development of roads, highways, and housing impacted the wild character of Mount Tamalpais so cherished by the hiking and conservation communities, such development ultimately helped to build public and political support for the long envisioned 12,000-acre park. Road construction in particular spurred support for the park by increasing the number of park users, and helping to rally people behind conservation by opening up formerly remote tracts to the threat of suburban development.

One road—Marin County's Panoramic Highway—proved to be the impetus needed to finally establish the missing piece in the 12,000-acre public park area advocated by the TCC that included the Marin Municipal Water District (encompassing the peaks of Mount Tamalpais) and Muir Woods National Monument. The proposal for this highway, first announced in 1925, raised the ire of the hiking clubs and other conservationists because it threatened several important trails. It would have also opened to development the large tract on the headwaters of Redwood Creek above Muir Woods owned by James Newlands and William Magee (formerly with the North Coast Water Company), thus possibly also destroying

the popular Bootjack and Rattlesnake Camps. Within two years, highway proponents and conservationists came to a compromise that allowed for construction of the highway while establishing a state park to conserve lands adjoining the highway. On January 20, 1927, the state passed legislation creating Mount Tamalpais State Park, which specifically called for state acquisition of the Newlands-Magee tract, among other properties. [8]

The first parcel to be incorporated into the park was William Kent's 204-acre Steep Ravine tract, which he and his wife Elizabeth Thacher Kent had gifted to the state on March 12, 1928, just prior to his death. [Figure 4.5] As at Muir Woods, the Kents did not gift all of their property in Steep Ravine, just the forested land. The Newlands-Magee tract proved more problematic to acquire: owners James Newlands and William Magee did not want to sell because they hoped to subdivide and develop the property (they had acquired the property from the North Coast Water Company—apparently for that purpose—in December 1923).[9] In response, the state condemned the 532-acre tract (the Panoramic Highway reduced the tract from its earlier 554 acres) on May 18, 1928, but had allocated insufficient funds to purchase the property, valued at $52,000. In response, the TCC, Sierra Club, California Alpine Club, Contra Costa Hills Club, California Camera Club, the San Rafael Improvement Club, and private individuals raised $32,000 for the acquisition by September 1929. State park bond funds provided the remaining $20,000. The 138-acre Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway tract situated between the Newlands-Magee tract and Muir Woods, the third major parcel of the original park proposal and site of the defunct Muir Woods Branch of the railway, was acquired through state park bond funds in 1930 for $13,859. One half of this amount was donated by the William Kent Estate through liquidation of its interest in the company formerly held by William Kent. That same year, following construction of initial visitor facilities, Mount Tamalpais State Park opened to the public. [10]

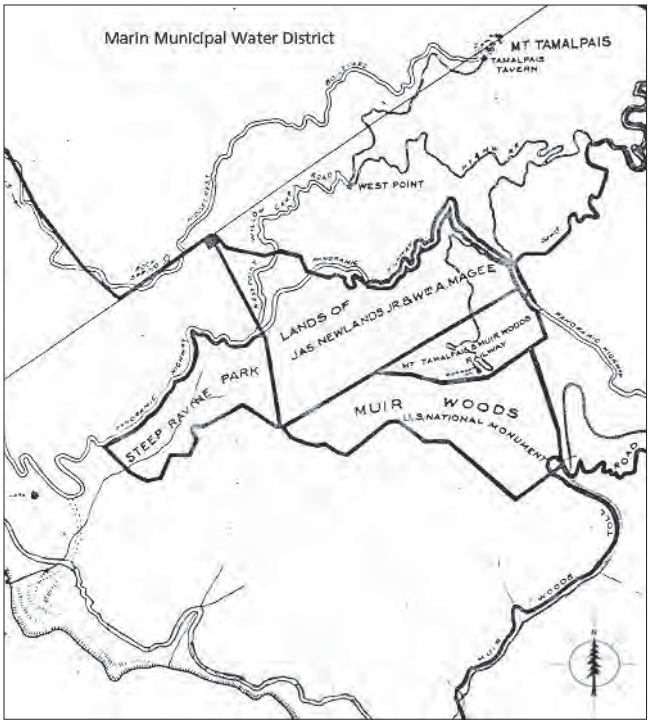


Figure 4.5: Map showing the three original parcels of Mount Tamalpais State Park: "Steep Ravine Park," "Lands of Jas. Newlands Hr. & Wm. A. Magee," and "Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway." Detail, "Southern Marin County Showing Marin Municipal Water District Parks and Roads," c.1928 with later changes (source unknown), annotated by SUNY ESF. National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California, RG 79, PI 336, box 630.

The state park initially covered most of the territory between the Marin Municipal Water District to the north and Muir Woods National Monument to the south, and functioned in concert with those two other public properties. Most of the park lay below the Panoramic Highway, which served as parkway and main vehicular entrance. The Newlands-Magee tract became the center of the new state park and the location of its administration area, sited next to the existing Bootjack Camp in the small area of the park that was north of the Panoramic Highway [see

Figure 4.3]. In addition to Bootjack Camp, the park also maintained Rattlesnake Camp and Van Wyck Camp to the south, situated along main trails leading up from Muir Woods, and also developed the Pantoll picnic area on the Steep Ravine tract. The camps featured picnic tables, fireplaces, sinks, comfort stations, and drinking fountains. Other attractions of the state park included the redwood and Douglas-fir forest in Steep Ravine, which according to one account was "…honored as the companion grove to the Cathedral Grove in Muir Woods." [11] The Mountain Theater (Sidney B. Cushing Theater) was another popular feature of Mount Tamalpais, but it lay just a few hundred feet outside of the northern corner of the state park [see Figure 4.3]. In 1929, the Mountain Play Association, which had acquired the theater and surrounding twelve acres from William Kent in 1915, had offered to gift the property to the state provided it was allowed to continue to hold annual plays there. The state initially refused the offer, but in 1936 the acquisition was finalized and the twelve-acre Mountain Theater became a part of the state park.[12]

During the 1930s, there was little additional public acquisition of parklands on Mount Tamalpais, but there was significant development of recreational facilities in the larger park area through New Deal work relief programs. The onset of World War II brought an end to this development activity, and generally curtailed hiking and tourism activity on Mount Tamalpais. The mountain and larger Marin Peninsula became the site of a series of new military fortifications during World War II, with at least one developed within the Mount Tamalpais park area. This was the military reservation at West Peak, which removed over one hundred acres from the Marin Municipal Water District and involved construction of roads and military buildings west of Ridgecrest Boulevard [see Figure 4.3]. At the south end of the mountain, the Frank Valley Military Reservation was established at Muir Beach, occupying a large tract south of the Shoreline Highway and in Green Gulch. The military also closed off large areas of Mount Tamalpais to hiking during the war. Following the war, these military reservations were retained and enlarged as part of Cold War fortifications.

The TCC and many of the other outdoor clubs survived the war years, but hiking on Mount Tamalpais never regained the popularity it had during its heyday between 1910 and 1940.[13] With the Golden Gate Bridge and numerous highways providing easy access to points far and wide, hikers could easily escape to more remote and wild regions. The decline in hiking was, however, more than made up by the increase in the number of tourists, picnickers, and campers arriving by automobile in the post-war years. In response to increasing use and new threats of suburban development, park officials began planning for the expansion of Mount Tamalpais State Park to incorporate the large tracts of ranch and other private lands on the lower slopes of the mountain, extending to the Pacific Ocean

south and east of Muir Woods National Monument. By the early 1950s, the state acquired a parcel west of the Administration Area along the Pantoll Road from the William Kent Estate, but it would be another decade before the large tracts to the south were incorporated into the park.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ON MOUNT TAMALPAIS

The New Deal work relief programs that were responsible for most of the improvements undertaken on Mount Tamalpais during the 1930s were established as part of a unified effort by the three main park entities: Muir Woods National Monument, the Marin Municipal Water District, and Mount Tamalpais State Park. The federal programs helped to solidify the relationship among the three park entities, thus realizing efforts by William Kent and the outdoor clubs to create a unified park area on Mount Tamalpais, if not in administration, then at least in appearance to the visitor. Given the nature of the work in the Mount Tamalpais park area, the primary work-relief program was the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), begun in April 1933. Although involving state and municipal property, the program was administered by the National Park Service and was carried out by a labor force called the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which was housed in military-style camps, the first one in the western parks established at Sequoia in May 1933. The Public Works Administration (PWA), the second major New Deal work-relief program involved on Mount Tamalpais, was begun at the same time as the ECW. Unlike the ECW, the PWA did not directly enroll workers, but instead channeled funds through various other programs to support capital improvements such as major building and utility projects in the national parks and other federal lands. A third program involved on Mount Tamalpais was the Civil Works Administration (CWA), a short-lived program that hired unemployed workers to improve roads, parks, and other municipal properties. It lasted through April 1934.[14]

The ECW program was charged with employing those out of work in public conservation projects connected with reforestation; prevention of forest fires, floods, and soil erosion; plant disease and pest control; construction and repair of paths, trails, and fire lanes; erecting of minor buildings and structures; and other work to provide for the "restoration of the country's depleted natural resources…"[15] The ECW quickly became an extensive and highly visible program. The big national parks often had as many as six or seven camps, and by October 1934, nation-wide there were already 102 camps in the national parks, and 263 camps in the state parks. California state parks had nineteen separate ECW camps in 1934, housing about 3,800 enrollees.[16] Largely because the workforce and camps were the most visible manifestation of the ECW, the program was popularly known as the CCC, and in 1937, the CCC name was officially adopted when the program was reauthorized as an independent agency. Expenditures for the CCC reached their height in 1935 and slowly declined thereafter with a considerable drop in enrollees, espe-

cially in the State Park Division. State camps were cut in half by 1938, but virtually all of those in the National Parks remained active through 1941, thanks in part to increases in direct appropriations to the NPS. The CCC began to convert itself for defense work in 1939, and the last CCC crews on Mount Tamalpais left in 1941. [17]

The CCC program on Mount Tamalpais was planned among the three park entities in cooperation with the TCC, which helped to identify projects and direct work efforts. The CCC began in September 1933 with the establishment of a temporary camp near Lake Lagunitas on water district lands on the north side of Mount Tamalpais. It was staffed through an initial corps of so-called CCC boys, who were generally between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The following month, a permanent camp designed to accommodate two hundred men and work facilities was constructed in Mount Tamalpais State Park, near Muir Woods. The camp was named Muir Woods Camp NM (National Monument)-3 and began operation in October 1933 under the direct supervision of the custodian of Muir Woods National Monument. In 1935, at the height of CCC work on Mount Tamalpais, a second camp was established at Alpine Lake on the water district lands, identified as Camp Alpine Lake MA (Municipal Area)-1, but it was smaller than the main camp and dealt mainly with building fire breaks, although it also did work on signs and other miscellaneous projects.[18]

The first CCC detachment assigned to the Muir Woods camp was made up of CCC boys from New York State, who, according to the TCC, "…came from wintry eastern homes, from landscapes cold, bleak and barren, sealed in snow, to dwell and labor in an area verdant and evergreen…"[19] There were also thirty-one men assigned to the camp through the CWA who dealt primarily with heavy building projects. These detachments left in April 1934 when the CWA program was discontinued, and local administration and supervision of the camp was then shifted to the state park, with the regional NPS office in San Francisco retaining overall administrative responsibility. This change apparently occurred because the administrative workload was too heavy for Custodian Herschler. The name of the camp was changed to Mt. Tamalpais SP (State Park)-23, but it was usually still known as the Muir Woods camp. The new detachment to the camp consisted of 197 men, mostly war veterans between the ages of 35 and 64 who transferred from Annapolis, Maryland, along with others from various CCC camps and military bases. Many of the veterans stayed on at the camp through 1936, but there were complaints that some of the men were getting too old for the work. In October 1937, the veterans were replaced by CCC "boys" and new supervisors.[20]

The CCC focused much of its work during its first year at Mount Tamalpais on building a planned system of fire breaks extending eighteen miles in length, mostly on the water district lands. After this, projects generally related to recreation and

natural resource conservation. These included developing picnic and camping areas, constructing new buildings, laying out parking lots, building firebreaks, rebuilding trails and bridges, erecting signs, and building flood-control structures. Some of the most visible projects by the CCC included the reconstruction of the Mountain Theater, building of a superintendent's cottage for the state park, and erecting a lookout tower on the East Peak in the water district lands. An equal amount of the CCC work on Mount Tamalpais was undertaken within the water district and state park lands; relatively fewer projects were done within Muir Woods National Monument due largely to its small size compared with the other two park entities.[21]

OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE IN REDWOOD CANYON, 1928-1953

In the years after William Kent's death through the post-World War II period, the lands surrounding Redwood Canyon and Muir Woods underwent substantial changes in ownership, but with only a few exceptions remained in use for conservation, recreation, and agriculture. At the time of his death in 1928, William Kent owned or had an interest in all of the land immediately surrounding Muir Woods, except for the Newlands-Magee tract to the north. [1929 Survey of Kent Estate Lands in Appendix G] He had been a major stockholder in the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company, and probably made arrangements prior to his death or through his will to have its 138-acre property adjoining Muir Woods conveyed to Mount Tamalpais State Park. The property he owned outright he left to his wife, Elizabeth Thacher Kent, subject to the oversight of the trustees of his legal estate: William Kent, Junior (his son) and George Stanleigh Arnold of San Francisco. Near Muir Woods, the Kent Estate land included Ranches W, X, and Y covering 913 acres of grassland and forest cover to the west and south of Muir Woods, which the trustees continued to lease to farmers; Parcel L, the narrow buffer tract of 113 acres within Kent's original Redwood Canyon tract that wrapped around the west, south, and east sides of Muir Woods; Parcel K, a seven-acre tract along Frank Valley Road on Ranch P that Kent loaned to the Presbyterian Church for use by Camp Kent; and the lands of the Muir Woods Toll Road.[22] The estate trustees pursued development of some of their lands along the toll road for visitor services, but ultimately cooperated with the state and National Park Service in conveying the land to Muir Woods National Monument and Mount Tamalpais State Park, mostly within Parcel L, and also in selling the Toll Road to the state in 1939.

After World War II, William Kent, Jr. began to liquidate the estate's ranch holdings, and sold off the ranches south and west of Muir Woods to private interests in c.1947. Ranch X adjoining Muir Woods was acquired by the Brazil brothers, who used the land for grazing as part of their extensive ranch in Frank Valley. [Figure

4.6] In order to keep livestock out of the monument, the NPS maintained fences along the western boundary of Muir Woods. As late as 1950, park managers were reporting that manure from cattle that had broken through the fence was littering the grassland on the monument's boundary along the Dipsea Trail.[23]

MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK AND THE CCC CAMP

With the opening of Mount Tamalpais State Park in 1930, the land adjoining Muir Woods National Monument in the headwaters of Redwood Creek legally became public parklands for the first time, although the public had been using the property for recreational purposes for decades. Directly abutting Muir Woods to the north and connected to it through a network of trails were the Newlands-Magee and the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway tracts; the Steep Ravine tract only touched the extreme northwestern corner of the monument, and did not have any direct trail connection. [Figure 4.6] With the closure of the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway in the summer of 1929, the north end of the monument

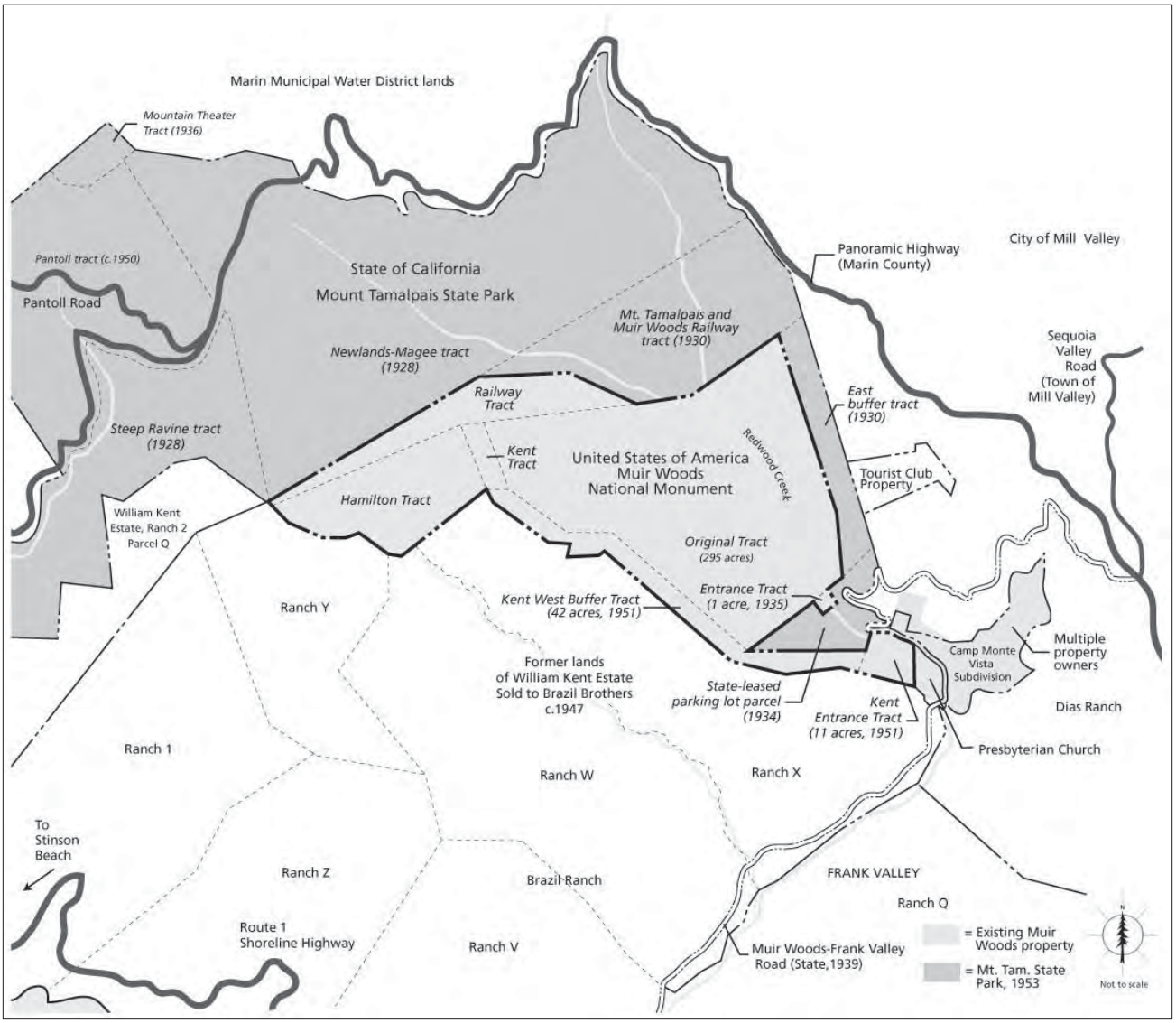


Figure 4.6: Map of property ownership within and adjoining Muir Woods National Monument, 1928-1953. SUNY ESF, based on Oglesby, "Property of the William Kent Estate" (1929), and NPS, "Muir Woods National Monument, General Map of Monument and Adjacent Lands (1933, revised 1950).

formed by the new state park lands became increasingly remote from the focus of visitor activity at the south end of Muir Woods National Monument, where visitors arrived via automobile.

Soon after the opening of the state park in 1930, the state acquired several of William Kent's narrow tracts that surrounded Muir Woods National Monument, thus keeping them as separate buffer tracts, rather than as part of the monument. These parcels, consisting mostly of deciduous woods, chaparral, and grassland, were subdivisions of William Kent's Parcel L within his original Redwood Canyon tract. Kent had specified in his will that the east buffer, consisting of thirty-four acres, be made part of the state park. In November 1930, the trustees sold the state this parcel for a nominal fee of $10.00, and had the following text inserted into the deed:

> *The foregoing conveyance is made to conform to the expressed wishes of William Kent in keeping Muir Woods National Monument and lands adjacent thereto in a state of nature and free from public roads or artificial structures thereon, and is made to the People of the State of California upon the express condition that the property herinabove described shall be devoted to public park use and recreation for all time; and that the present natural beauty of the area shall be in so far as possible preserved…*[24]

In 1934, through a joint agreement with the NPS, the estate sold the state two parcels totaling thirty-one acres at the south end of Muir Woods, excluding approxi-

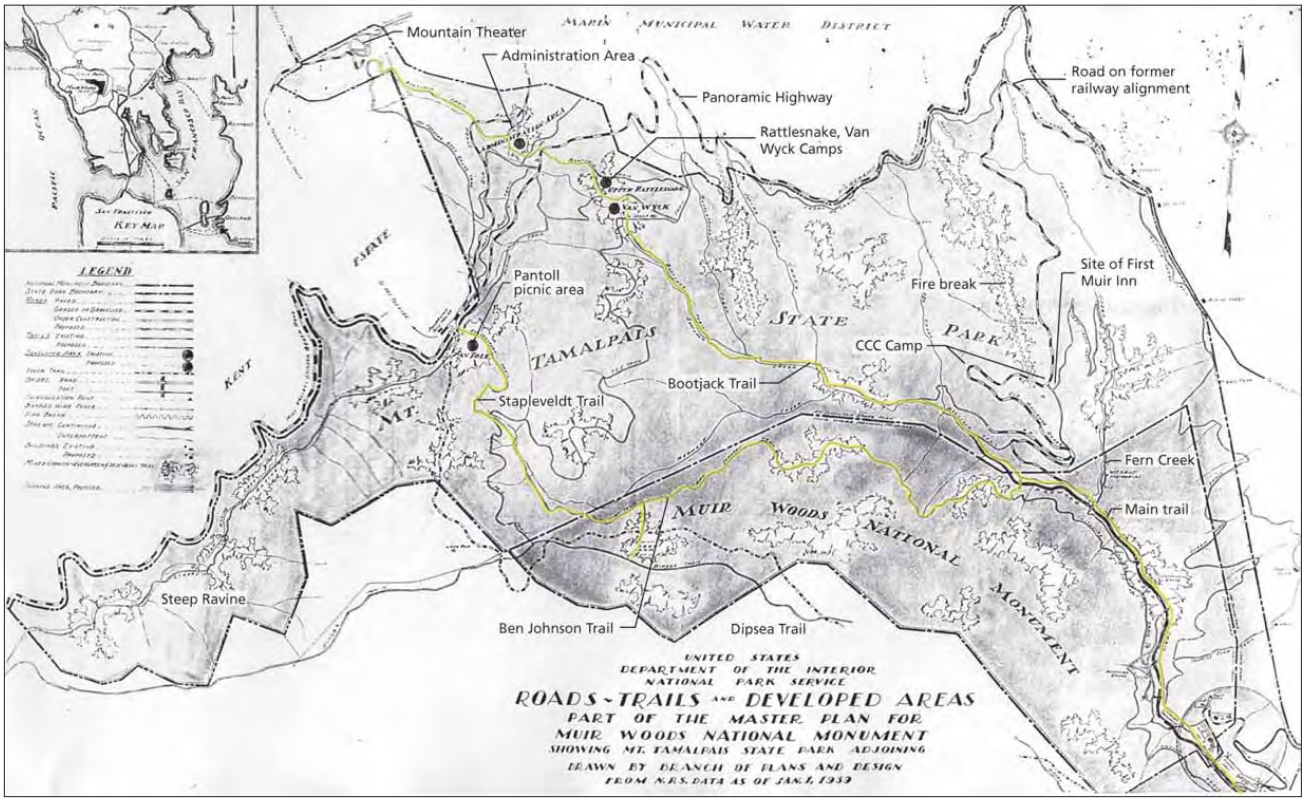


Figure 4.7: 1939 map of Mount Tamalpais State Park showing major features and relationship to Muir Woods National Monument. National Park Service, "Roads, Trails and Developed Areas, Part of the Master Plan for Muir Woods National Monument" (January 1939), annotated by SUNY ESF. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, Muir Woods Collection, oversize plans.

Figure 4.8: Part of Rattlesnake Camp, located upstream from Muir Woods in Mount Tamalpais State Park, illustrating stone fireplace and general character following CCC work in the 1930s. H. Howe Wagner, *Mount Tamalpais State Park Marin County* (Sacramento: Works Projects Administration, sponsored by State of California, 1941), 57.

mately three acres of the Muir Woods Toll Road that was retained by the estate [see Figure 4.6]. This property, long used by the NPS as part of Muir Woods, contained the main automobile entrance and parking lot for the national monument. The trustees set the price at $20,000 and again agreed to donate half this amount; the other half was appropriated by the state ($8,750) and Marin County ($1,250). In their correspondence with the state, the estate trustees reiterated similar language to that in the deed for the east buffer tract, specifying that the land be used to protect Muir Woods. The trustees also acknowledged that this south buffer was particularly vulnerable to commercial exploitation that could be detrimental both to Muir Woods and the state park (the trustees had in fact proposed allowing a filling station to be built on the property a few years before).[25] This sale left the remaining forty-one acre west buffer strip remaining under the estate's ownership until it was conveyed to the NPS in 1951.

In its initial development of Mount Tamalpais State Park during the 1930s, the state maintained much of the existing landscape, and worked closely with the TCC and other outdoor clubs to coordinate improvements and plan new construction. Most important to the hiking community was the network of trails that had developed over many decades and that provided connection to Muir Woods and other lands in and around Redwood Canyon. The main feeder remained the Bootjack Trail, which served as a spine for the developed areas of the state park on the Newlands-Magee tract and was a continuation of the main trail (old wagon road) in Muir Woods. [Figure 4.7] Approximately one mile up the Bootjack Trail from the boundary of Muir Woods were the Van Wyck and Upper Rattlesnake Camps; a quarter-mile further uphill across the Panoramic Highway was the Bootjack Camp and Administration Area; and another half-mile up the Bootjack Trail was the Mountain Theater. A second main feeder trail from the state park to Muir Woods was the Ben Johnson Trail, which intersected the Stapelveldt Trail to reach the Pantoll picnic area and the trail to Steep Ravine, and terminated at the Dipsea Trail, which led to Stinson Beach.

The state park system during the 1930s was severely underfunded, with very little allocated for maintenance and operation, and even less for new construction.[26] The advent of the CCC and other New Deal work relief programs at California state parks in 1933 heralded a much-needed infusion of capital and labor. Near Muir Woods, the CCC helped develop the trails and main campgrounds in the state park, such as Rattlesnake Camp, with its stone fireplaces and rustic picnic tables [Figure 4.8]. Immediately adjoining Muir Woods was the primary CCC camp, Muir Woods Camp NM-3 (redesignated as Mount Tamalpais Camp SP-23 in 1934) on the site of the terminus of the Muir Woods branch of the mountain railway. The CCC camp was clustered in two areas: an upper site at the clearing near the site of the first Muir Inn, and a second area approximately five hundred

Figure 4.9: The mess hall at the CCC Muir Woods Camp under construction, October 26, 1933, west of site of first Muir Inn. J. Barton Herschler, Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Monthly Report for October 1933. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2297.

feet to the west and downhill at the sharp turn in the wagon road [see Figure 4.7].[27] These sites were apparently selected because they were located in an area previously developed by the railway, and because the old rail line provided a roadbed from the Panoramic Highway. The camp was set up and administered by the Army, as were all CCC camps. Construction began in October 1933 with the mess hall and other structures, built of simple frame construction with board and batten siding, apparently a standard design used in California CCC camps.[28] Within two months, the camp soon featured a complex of buildings clustered around a central open area on the upper site. [Figures 4.9, 4.10] The TCC published the following account of the camp in January 1934, soon after its completion:

> *The camp itself best speaks of the magnitude of the plan and ambitions of its purpose. There are fourteen buildings, comprising barracks, mess hall, recreation room, hospital, executive offices, warehouse, and a blacksmith and repair shop. The equipment includes thirteen trucks, compressor, tractor and hand tools…*[29]

As part of the camp construction, the CCC crews worked on a number of other projects in the state park lands near Muir Woods. They built a road along the old rail alignment from the Panoramic Highway, which served as the main access to the camp, but not as a new public point of entry to Muir Woods [see Figure 4.7]. The CCC maintained two of the old (second) Muir Inn cabins, and built a small shed to the west to house explosives at the old terminus of the rail line. CCC crews also cleaned up and replanted the site of the Muir Inn and cabins, improved trails, built footbridges and benches, and cleared a new fire line extending through chaparral uphill from the camp, paralleling the road on the old railway alignment. The CCC worked on these projects through 1941, when it and other federal work-relief programs were terminated.

Figure 4.10: Postcard aerial view of the Muir Woods CCC camp upper area (site of first Muir Inn), view looking northwest with Fern Canyon in the immediate foreground, c.1935. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 38/3, Muir Woods Collection.

During the war years, conditions at the state park as with most public facilities deteriorated due to lack of labor and funding. After the war, state park officials began to plan for the acquisition of lands adjoining Muir Woods to the south and west, but there were few improvements in the existing state park lands. The most significant change was the demolition of the CCC Muir Woods Camp. The lower camp area was allowed to reforest, but a new public campground was laid out at the upper

camp area adjoining the site of the first Muir Inn and extending up the hill to the site of the old railway water tank. On May 1, 1949, the TCC dedicated it as Camp Alice Eastwood in memory of one of the TCC's founding members and past presidents, and a botanist at the California Academy of Sciences.[30] The access road on the old rail line was also named after Eastwood, and the portion of the old wagon road leading down to the canyon floor was named Camp Eastwood Trail. Camp Alice Eastwood was maintained as a modest campground with picnic tables and sites for tents, and so the area north of Muir Woods remained a relatively quiet and remote area of Redwood Canyon in the post-war years.

MUIR WOODS TOLL ROAD

With the demise of the mountain railway and increasing use of automobiles, the Muir Woods Toll Road, built in 1925-1926 by the Muir Woods Toll Road Company, became increasingly important to the national monument. Upon William Kent's death in 1928, ownership of the road property was transferred to the trustees of his legal estate, but the toll road company (also controlled by the estate trustees) continued its ownership and maintenance of the road, including its toll houses at either end with their nearby billboards advertising local attractions. [Figure 4.11] The toll road company maintained the road in "excellent condition for a dirt road," according to Muir Woods Custodian Herschler. The road had to be annually regraded, and in 1934, the company widened the road. Two years later, it paved the upper portion of the road, following the county's work the previous fall in paving the Panoramic Highway.[31]

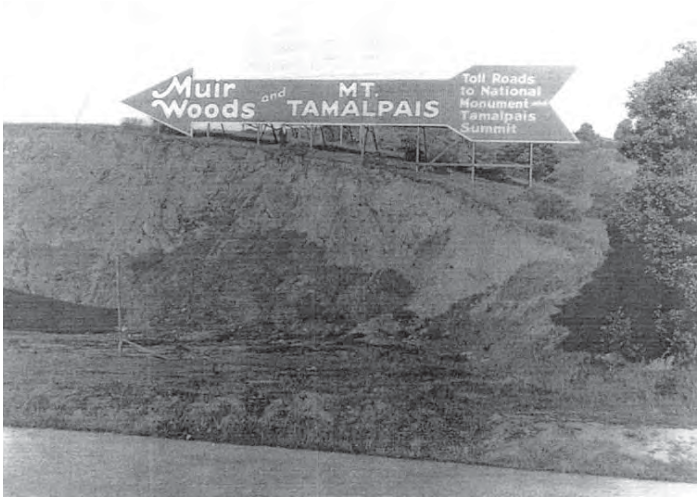


Figure 4.11: Billboard advertising toll road to Muir Woods near south (Lagoon) toll gate, March 9, 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

The expense to maintain the road and lack of interest by Marin County to take it over had forced William Kent to establish the toll road in 1925. Many, however, remained highly critical that public (automobile) access to a National Monument should be through a private toll road. Since the day he purchased the road from the Tamalpais Land and Water Company in 1905, however, William Kent had been trying to get a public entity to take it over, and his estate and the NPS continued the effort after his death. The finalization of the design and funding for the Golden Gate Bridge in 1930 brought momentum to the plans for public takeover of the Muir Woods Toll Road. In the spring of 1931, the San Francisco Field Headquarters of the NPS completed a study of the toll road issue. The author of the report, Associate Engineer Thomas Parker, stressed the importance of an improved public road to Muir Woods and surrounding areas:

> *With the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge assured and a high class highway under construction connecting it with the Marin side of the bridge and following along the bay* [Redwood Highway, US 101]*, and a secondary highway from the bridge along the shore to Muir and Stinson Beaches* [Shoreline Highway, US 1]*, Marin County will no doubt develop into a great recreational area, with Muir Woods as the most important feature if the menace of the existing toll road is removed and a road of modern standards connecting with the state system be provided.*[32]

Parker, who coordinated the study with Muir Woods Custodian J. Barton Herschler, recommended that a new road be constructed through the Dias Ranch to bypass the upper part of the toll road and the city of Mill Valley, much as the earlier study made in 1914 by the General Land Office had recommended. Parker also recommended that the road use the alignment of the lower section, Frank Valley Road, to connect to the Shoreline Highway and the planned but never built highway, through the Marin Headlands to the Golden Gate Bridge. Perhaps due to the high cost of the new road to Muir Woods, which Parker estimated at $133,100, the plan was never executed, although the NPS remained committed to public acquisition and improvement of the existing toll road.[33]

The estate trustees, William Kent, Jr. and George Arnold, also remained committed to the idea of public acquisition, as they wrote in 1934: "We have always been, and are, ready to surrender the road upon repayment of the advances made at the time of construction [1925-26]…Nobody realizes that this road to the County's greatest natural park ought to be a free road more than Mr. Kent did or than we do, and we hope that it can be acquired by the public before it otherwise passes from our control…"[34] By this time, there had been no movement on the toll road issue, but with construction well underway on the Golden Gate Bridge, a campaign was soon begun to lobby for public acquisition. Spearheaded by the regional tourism group, Redwood Empire Association, the campaign had the support of the Mill Valley Chamber of Commerce, the City of Mill Valley, local government representatives, the State Highway Commission, and the region's tourism advocacy organization, Marvelous Marin. On August 5, 1935, the Muir Woods Toll Road Bill was signed by the Governor authorizing the state to purchase the toll road for incorporation into the county road system. The William Kent Estate set a price of $50,000 for the road, but the state did not appropriate sufficient funds to cover the cost. Two years later in 1937, a bill was approved in the state legislature authorizing an appropriation of $25,000, being half the purchase price, with the rest to be made up by Marin County. Unable to secure the local funding, the Redwood Empire Association turned to Congress, which passed legislation on June 28, 1938 appropriating the $25,000 match through National Park Service highway funds. The federal appropriation was contingent upon Marin County assuming maintenance and operation of the road. The county passed two resolutions in July and

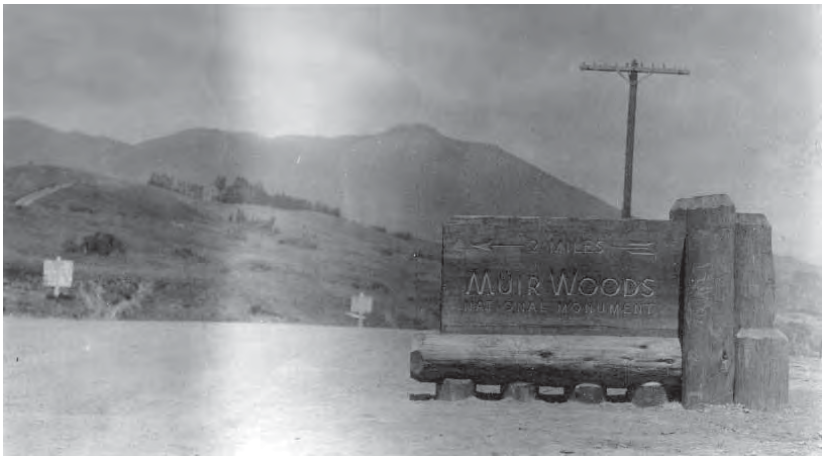


Figure 4.12: Muir Woods sign made by the CCC Camp Alpine Lake in spring 1941 at the juncture of the Panoramic Highway and Muir Woods Road, view looking north on Panoramic Highway. CCC monthly report, June 1941. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

November 1938 accepting this responsibility and agreeing to incorporate the toll road into the county road system.

On January 25, 1939, the NPS sent its check for $25,000 to the state Department of Public Works, and the state soon thereafter acquired the road from the William Kent Estate and the Tamalpais Muir Woods Toll Road Company. On February 12, 1939, the tolls were lifted and the Redwood Empire Association held a big ceremony at Muir Woods to commemorate the event and the achievement of a free and improved public highway, an effort first begun more than thirty-four years earlier when William Kent acquired the road.[35] Aside from removal of the tollgates and houses, however, the county and state made few improvements to the road. Some aesthetic improvements were made by the CCC as part of its work in the Mount Tamalpais park area, including new directional signs at the entrances to the road. The signs, a marked departure from the earlier billboards and signs, featured a low-slung heavy log frame and plank signboard in keeping with the rustic design employed by NPS in Muir Woods. [Figure 4.12]

Figure 4.13: View looking north along Muir Woods Toll Road (Frank Valley Road) before the last turn south of the monument entrance, 1931. J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods National Monument 1931 Annual Report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1917-1933, Muir Woods, box 601.

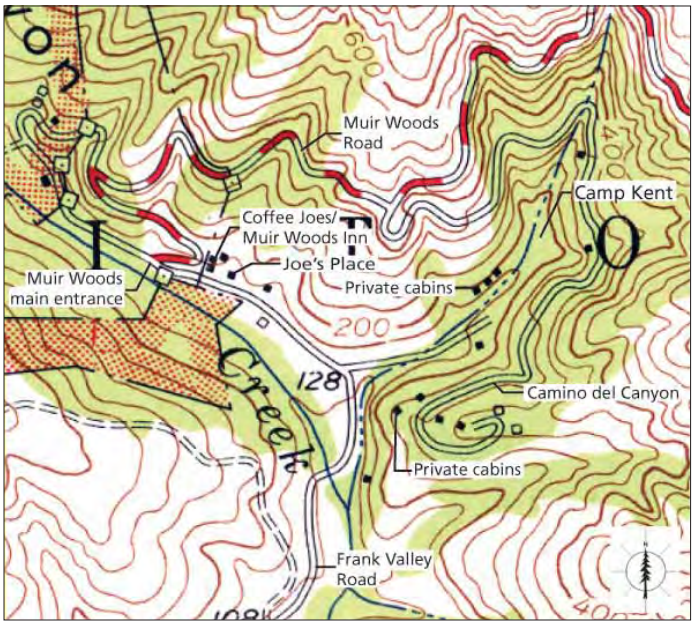
THE SOUTH APPROACH: KENT ESTATE LANDS & CAMP MONTE VISTA

With the increasing automobile traffic on the Muir Woods Toll Road through the late 1920s and 1930s, the private lands of the Kent Estate and Camp Monte Vista subdivision adjoining the entrance of Muir Woods National Monument became increasingly attractive to commercial development. The need for food and souvenir services was heightened upon the closure of the Muir Inn at the terminus of the mountain railway in 1929, which left no commercial services available in the vicinity aside from Joe's Place, the refreshment stand on Frank Valley Road. By this time, much of the land near the main (south) entrance and parking area had been conveyed to the trustees of William Kent's legal estate. This land was mostly open with scattered groves of oak, buckeye, laurel, and fir. [Figure 4.13] Here, along Frank Valley Road (lower toll road), there was level land suitable for commercial development, unlike the upper part of the toll road, which was too steep.

Figure 4.14: View looking northwest over Joe's Place (left) and Coffee Joe's (right), with the Muir Woods Toll Road in background, c.1935. The entrance to Muir Woods is beyond the upper right corner of the photograph. Courtesy olden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

In 1931, the William Kent Estate proposed erecting a filling station along Frank Valley Road just south of the monument's parking area, but this plan was stopped by the state's acquisition of the property as part of Mount Tamalpais State Park in 1934.[36] To the south of this land there existed some commercial development by this time within the Camp Monte Vista subdivision and the Dias Ranch that included Joe's Place and a second neighboring building housing a competing refreshment shop built by Joe Landgraff in c.1930, named Coffee Joe's. [Figures 4.14, 4.15] In 1938, the William Kent Estate was again proposing additional development in the area. On the west side of the road, across from Joe's Place on William Kent's Parcel K, the estate trustees planned to erect a filling station and cabins. In order to develop the parcel, they needed to raise the grade of the toll road, which was under their controlling interest at the time. Muir Woods Custodian Finn advocated against the development, and hoped that the pending public take-over of the toll road would prevent the trustees from making the necessary grade changes. With the state acquisition of the toll road in 1939, the estate never built the development. Around the same time, the Presbyterian Church acquired a six-acre parcel on the south half of Parcel K from the William Kent Estate where their lodge had stood up until 1924 [see Figure 4.6].[37]

Figure 4.15: Map showing development by early 1950s south of Muir Woods along Muir Woods and Frank Valley Roads and in Camp Monte Vista. U.S.G.S. San Rafael quadrangle map, 1954, annotated by SUNY ESF.



The commercial properties to the south went through some change over the next decade. Joe's Place went out of business in c.1942 and was purchased by Herman Baumgarten as his residence, leaving Coffee Joe's as the only commercial establishment aside from a concession that had been set up within Muir Woods. In August 1945, Coffee Joe's was sold to the Schlette family, who renamed it Muir Woods Inn and built a number of outbuildings at the rear [Figure 4.16]. Most of the surrounding lands of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision remained largely undeveloped. During the 1930s, a number of additional cabins or small houses were built within the 257-lot subdivision, and by the early 1950s, the total number of buildings amounted to approximately sixteen, excluding those

Figure 4.16: The Muir Woods Inn looking northeast from Muir Woods lower parking area, 1956. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

built by Camp Kent, the Presbyterian Church camp that occupied the north end of the side canyon on the property formerly belonging to Judge Conlon and others [see Figure 4.15].[38] During the 1930s,Camp Kent was open for eight weeks, and was used not just by the Presbyterian Church, but by various groups from around the Bay Area, including YMCAs; Jewish, African-American, and Hispanic youth camps, and the Boy and Girl Scouts. In the years following William Kent's death, the camp gradually lost its historic association with him, and in 1942, it was renamed Camp Duncan after Reverend C. L. Duncan, director of Christian Education for the Presbyterian Church who had directed the camp for many years. Duncan and other camp directors had overseen the addition of several cabins, enlargement of the main lodge with dining area for one hundred campers, and the installation of utilities between 1933 and 1939. Camp Duncan continued to operate into the early 1950s, but the Presbyterian Church was planning to relocate to a larger site.[39]

EXPANSION OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1935 & 1951

With much of the forested property to the north and east of Muir Woods conveyed to Mount Tamalpais State Park, there was no longer any need for the National Monument to expand into these areas for conservation or recreational purposes. The expansion efforts after William Kent's death instead focused on the land to the south, in order to better accommodate administration and visitor facilities, and to protect the monument from commercial encroachment along the toll road. Federal acquisition of this property containing the parking area had been mentioned by custodians dating back to 1923, but by 1930, the new custodian, J. Barton Herschler, took up the idea in earnest. He approached William Kent, Jr. to inquire about NPS acquiring the lands that the monument used for parking purposes at the pleasure of the William Kent Estate. The estate's property at the time included not only the parking area, but also the main gate, a redwood grove, and approximately 150 feet of the main trail. Herschler's interest in incorporating this land into the monument was made more urgent because of the Kent Estate's proposal to build a filling station and cabins. By the fall of 1931, the estate trustees were supporting plans to construct an inn at the boundary of the national monument along the main trail, inside the main gate. [Figure 4.17] This inn, apparently proposed by the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company or its successor, was intended to replace the concession lost when the railway closed the Muir Inn

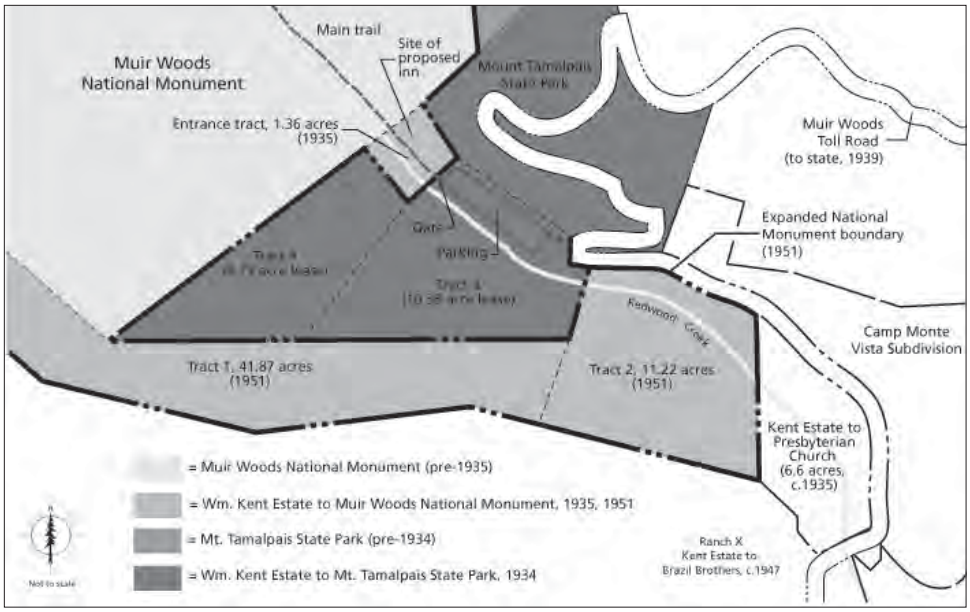


Figure 4.17: Diagram of monument extensions, 1935 and 1951, showing lands of Mt. Tamalpais State Park Tracts 4 and 5 leased to NPS and incorporated within the expanded monument boundaries in 1951. SUNY ESF.

in 1929. In the summer of 1931, the Kent Estate also allowed a refreshment stand concession to open within the parking area. The estate trustees were, however, sensitive to the NPS concerns for development of this land, and agreed to hold off on their large-scale development plans, but did allow a concessionaire to erect a small curio shop inside the main gate near the monument boundary in 1933.[40]

In the meantime, Custodian Herschler submitted a formal request for land acquisition and extension of the boundary of Muir Woods National Monument to the Director of the National Park Service. Herschler recommended that NPS acquire approximately thirty acres of estate land due south of the monument and west of the toll road, land that included the parking lot and site of the proposed inn and filling station. He submitted photographs showing that the property was "well timbered," in keeping with the character of the rest of the monument (a large portion was in truth field and deciduous woods, but there were redwood and Douglas-fir groves). [Figure 4.18, see also Figure 4.17, tracts 3 and 4 and land to the north]. Herschler argued that this land was needed not just for parking, but also as a site for a new park administration building, and to control development at the entrance to the monument. The estate trustees tentatively agreed to sell this land to the NPS for $17,500.[41] For a reason probably having to do with lack of funding or a strict definition of the monument status pertaining to old-growth redwood forest, park service officials did not accept Herschler's proposal. Instead, they agreed to acquire a small, rectangular 1.36-acre parcel along the main trail, between the existing monument boundary and the main gate where the estate trustees had allowed a curio shop to be built [see Figure 4.17]. On this property was located an old-growth redwood grove, and it was also here where the proposed administra-

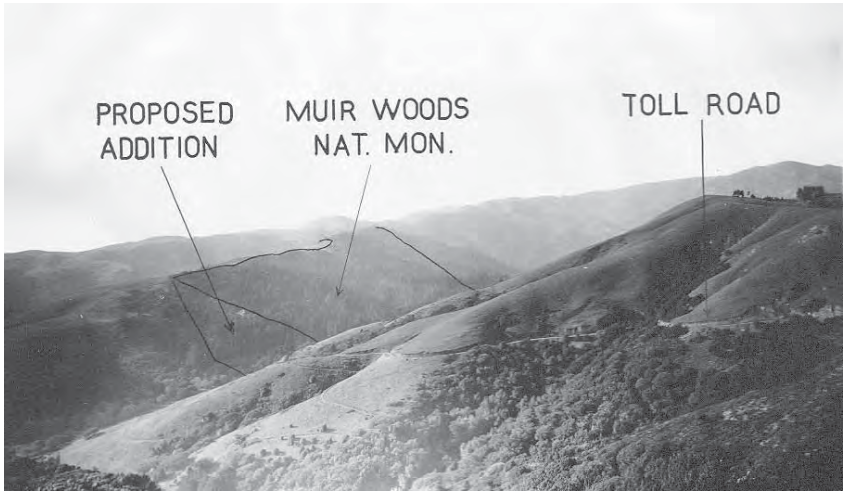


Figure 4.18: Panorama looking northwest over Muir Woods from the Panoramic Highway illustrating wooded character of proposed south addition to Muir Woods, 1931. J. Barton Herschler, "Report For Extension of Boundary and Acquisition of Land for Muir Woods National Monument October 1931." National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1917-1933, Muir Woods, box 601.

tion building would be located. The state agreed to acquire the remaining thirty-one acres of the tract from the William Kent Estate, incorporate it into Mount Tamalpais State Park, and then lease a parcel of nineteen acres encompassing the monument entrance and parking area to NPS for a period of twenty-five years. A joint agreement among the estate trustees, NPS, and state park commissioners was reached by the spring of 1934. The Estate of William Kent, through Kent's widow, Elizabeth Thacher Kent, agreed to donate the 1.36-acre tract to NPS, while at the same time gifting half the value of the larger thirty-one acre tract to the State of California.[42]

On November 16, 1934, Elizabeth Kent signed the deeds for the two tracts, and soon after that time, the state accepted the deed for its portion.[43] The Secretary of the Interior was slower to act due to lack of a suitable title search, but the deed to its 1.36-acre tract was finally accepted on March 9, 1935. On April 5, 1935, the property, referred to as the Entrance Tract, was incorporated into Muir Woods National Monument through proclamation by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This was the third proclamation for Muir Woods, following the original (1908) that established the monument, and the second that expanded boundaries to include the Hamilton, Mount Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, and Kent Tracts (1921). Unlike the earlier proclamations, the stated purpose of this proclamation was for the "public interest" in expanding the monument boundaries, rather than the scientific value of old-growth redwoods.[44] [Proclamation in Appendix B]

Through the 1940s, the Estate of William Kent retained ownership of land to the west and south of Muir Woods, including a 42-acre buffer strip along the Dipsea Ridge and an eleven-acre parcel on the creek flats along Frank Valley Road. During this time, there was little concern over the fate of this land, but by the late 1940s, William Kent, Jr. began liquidating the estate's ranch lands, raising the specter of development. By the spring of 1947, Kent had finalized sale of Ranches X and W (west of Muir Woods in Kent Canyon and containing the Dipsea Trail) to the Brazil brothers, who operated a dairy ranch farther south along Frank Valley Road. Kent did not sell the Brazils the west buffer strip (located between Ranch X and Muir Woods) because he felt the NPS should acquire it to protect Muir Woods from adverse development. In June 1947, he used this threat to urge the NPS Regional Director in San Francisco, O. A. Tomlinson, to purchase the west buffer strip, noting that the property had private development value for cabin sites. With apparently no funds available for acquisition, Tomlinson approached the state park commissioners in September 1947 to see if they would acquire the property, writing, "…[I]f this strip is acquired by private interests for subdivision purposes it would have a most detrimental effect on the Monument."[45] The state was initially unwilling to acquire the buffer strip, and so acquisition stalled for a number of years. By the summer of 1950, however, the NPS Regional Office

worked out a deal with William Kent, Jr. in which he would donate the buffer strip, and the NPS would purchase from the estate the eleven-acre tract on the creek flats, south of the state-leased parking lot tract. This eleven-acre tract, called the Kent Entrance Tract (not to be confused with the earlier Entrance Tract), was the first parcel that the NPS proposed for National Monument status that did not contain any redwoods. It was instead intended for park support purposes. According to Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, the proposed expansion would meet "…the present and foreseeable future needs of the Monument with respect to land areas…"[46]

As it was acquiring these properties, the park worked out a plan to incorporate a total of four new tracts into the National Monument through Presidential Proclamation. The so-called West Buffer Strip was identified as Tract 1; the Kent Entrance Tract, Tract 2. [Figure 4.17] To round out the monument boundaries, NPS negotiated an agreement with the state to incorporate the nineteen-acre leased parking lot parcel (identified as Tracts 3, 4) within an expanded boundary of Muir Woods National Monument [see Figure 4.17]. Under the agreement, the state retained ownership of the land, and entered into a new, twenty-five year leasehold with the NPS, without monetary consideration, for the use of the parcel commencing September 6, 1950 for parking and sanitation (comfort station) purposes.[47] On August 11, 1950, William Kent, Jr. signed a deed conveying the forty-two acre West Buffer Tract (Tract 1), and the NPS accepted the deed on January 19, 1951. On June 26, 1951, this parcel, along with the eleven-acre Kent Entrance Tract (Tract 2) and the nineteen-acre state-leased parking lot parcel (Tracts 3, 4), were incorporated into Muir Woods National Monument through Proclamation #2932 signed by President Harry Truman, which stated the purpose of the boundary expansion as supporting the "proper administration and development of the monument," rather than protection of old-growth redwoods.[48] [See Appendix B for proclamation text] The proclamation stated that upon acquisition of the Kent Entrance Tract, it would become a part of the monument. On June 29, 1951, three days after signing of the proclamation, the NPS completed purchase of the Kent Entrance Tract for $8,000, fulfilling an earlier purchase option. Including this last addition, the proclamation increased the acreage of Muir Woods National Monument to 504.27 acres, 19.09 of which were under state ownership, enjoying dual status as part of both Mount Tamalpais State Park and Muir Woods National Monument. [49]

MANAGEMENT OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1928-1953

William Kent's close involvement in the management of Muir Woods and personal relationship with senior park officials was part of an intimate administrative structure within the National Park Service during its first decade of existence. The NPS

changed and expanded considerably during the decade following Kent's death, a time when overall funding increased, numerous new parks and historic sites were established, and many other properties such as battlefields, cemeteries, and national monuments were transferred from other agencies. By 1931-32, park budgets were nearly four times as large as those of 1925.[50] The administrative structure of the NPS necessarily became more complex in response to the increasing extent of the National Park System and its expanding program responsibilities, including management of federal work-relief programs such as the CCC. Major reorganizations included the establishment of District Offices in 1933 and Regional Offices in 1938, but through it all, Muir Woods remained under NPS administrative offices based in San Francisco, which were reorganized as District 4 and then as Region IV.[51] Staff from this office who were involved in planning and design issues at Muir Woods through the 1940s included Chief Landscape Architect Thomas C. Vint who later became NPS Chief of Planning, Associate Landscape Architect W. L. Bigler, Resident Landscape Architect Dale H. Hawkins, Chief Engineer F. A. Kittredge, Engineer H. F. Cameron, and Regional Architect Edward A. Nickel, among others.

In the absence of William Kent, the Custodian took on more responsibility for the management of Muir Woods, but was still responsible for reporting to the Director of the NPS, and after 1933, to the District/Regional Office. The position also required adherence to an increasingly institutionalized and standardized system of design and planning within the NPS and New Deal work relief programs. This was reflected through better-organized paperwork and regular filing of monthly reports beginning in 1929, and the development of master plans.[52] Two Custodians dominated the quarter-century after Kent's death: J. Barton Herschler, who served between 1930 and 1938, followed by Walter Finn, who served until 1953. As a lasting legacy of William Kent and the Tamalpais Park Movement and due in part to the joint CCC program, the Custodians during this period maintained a close relationship with the surrounding park entities and private property owners in the Mount Tamalpais park area: Mount Tamalpais State Park, the Marin Municipal Water District, and the trustees of the William Kent Estate, as well as the outdoor clubs, particularly the TCC. William Kent, Jr. continued the relationship maintained by his father that allowed the NPS to treat estate lands adjoining Muir Woods as part of the monument.[53]

John Needham, who had been appointed in 1923, served as Custodian for two years beyond William Kent's death. He continued his interest in enhancing visitor facilities, and with the professional assistance of designers and planners from the San Francisco Field Office, he oversaw construction of the first permanent revetments in Redwood Creek in February 1930, a project that Kent had been advocating since the flood of 1925. Soon after this time, Needham requested a transfer

to Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and left in July 1930. F. A. Warner, superintendent of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company (which at the time was planning on constructing an inn near the monument entrance), filled in as temporary Custodian.[54]

THE HERSCHLER YEARS, 1930-1938

In September 1930, J. Barton Herschler became the fourth Custodian of Muir Woods, transferring from a position as ranger at Yosemite National Park. [Figure 4.19] During his eight-year term, Herschler oversaw marked changes in the administration, use, and development of Muir Woods. During his term, the canyon floor—the main area of visitation—increasingly became a place of recreation as it was a place for spiritual renewal and reflection. The increasing use of private automobiles allowed many more visitors to bring their picnics and other recreational equipment directly to the woods. The development of the picnic areas, advanced during John Needham's tenure, also apparently lent the woods more of a recreational atmosphere, as reflected in NPS Assistant Landscape Architect Merel S. Sager report on his visit during a Sunday in April 1931:

Figure 4.19: Custodian J. Barton Herschler (right) seated at the Muir Woods Shop located inside the entrance gate, September 9, 1933. Seated with Herschler is seasonal ranger Wagner (left) and Mr. Montgomery, owner of the concession. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

> *Ninety per cent of the visitors were of the hiking variety who had brought their lunches along and good use was being made of the fire place* [in lower picnic area]. *A number of ball bats were in evidence and there were a number of groups participating in a modified form of the great American sport. For the most part they were a lively young group who would possibly enjoy any Russian River resort more than Muir Woods.*[55]

Such use reflected a subtle change that had been occurring for years. More significant from an operational and landscape perspective was the arrival of the CCC in October 1933, which provided Herschler with the staffing and resources necessary to carry out many improvements, but also initially brought on a large increase in his administrative responsibilities. He spent much of his time preparing projected work needs, reporting on work accomplished by the CCC, and supervising the CCC Camp, Muir Woods NM-3. While the camp was under his supervision, Herschler was also responsible for managing all of the CCC work done in the Mt. Tamalpais park area. With the 1934 transfer of the camp and program administration to Mount Tamalpais State Park and the NPS district office in San Francisco, Herschler reported in April 1934 that this change was "…a welcome relief to this

office in that it will relieve us of a tremendous amount of office routine."[56] Herschler still was responsible for planning and managing CCC and other program work within Muir Woods.

In his approach to management, J. Barton Herschler took a very active interest in all aspects of the monument's operation and development. F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer of the NPS, noted soon after Herschler started as Custodian that he was "…extremely aggressive and is eager for contacts and the carrying on of developments which he feels are necessary…For example, there is the matter of the toll road and also certain boundary changes."[57] Coming from Yosemite National Park where the NPS had constructed extensive improvements during the 1920s, Herschler was well aware of the facilities that were lacking at Muir Woods, and quickly tapped into a new system of master planning in the NPS, first proposed in 1929 by Thomas Vint and Merel Sager of the San Francisco Field Office, and implemented beginning in 1931.[58] In preparation for a master plan for Muir Woods, Herschler worked with the Field Office to develop the first topographic survey of the canyon floor that illustrated the major built and natural features. Completed in March 1931, this survey provided the base map for the first master plan that was completed in c.1932 and revised five times by 1939. [Figure 4.20] In this master plan, Herschler worked with the Field Office staff to identify priorities, and to graphically depict the physical relationship between Muir Woods and the adjoining state park [see Figure 4.7]. Aside from a public, toll-free access road and increasing the boundaries at the monument's south entrance, priorities included new buildings for administration, maintenance, and concession purposes; revamped utilities, notably water and electricity; modern comfort stations (most were old-fashioned privies in 1931); expanded parking; a more prominent entrance; improved trails; signs; and an interpretive program.[59]

Figure 4.20: Cover page of the Master Plan for Muir Woods National Monument, fifth edition of 1939 based on a first edition of c.1932 begun under Custodian Herschler's term. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Muir Woods Collection, oversize plans.

Although the 1930s brought change to Muir Woods, Custodian Herschler continued many of the earlier management approaches, including close cooperation with the surrounding park entities and private property owners. This cooperation was fostered in large part by the CCC program and its shared work in the three park entities. During the mid-1930s, Herschler progressed the concept of consolidating Muir Woods National Monument with Mount Tamalpais State Park into a single park unit, but there was little agreement about whether the new entity should be a national monument or a state park. The TCC advocated absorbing the

state park into Muir Woods, but Herschler and other NPS administrators including Director Albright felt that the area "would eventually all be state park."[60] Given limited resources, the state was apparently not willing to extend its administration over Muir Woods, and the NPS did not feel the state park area was worthy of monument status. The regional NPS director, Lawrence Merriam, largely ended the discussion in 1936, when he wrote that although he favored consolidation of Muir Woods and Mount Tamalpais State park under one agency as a state park, "[t]he time is, however, not considered ripe as yet for such a consolidation."[61]

In addition to fostering cooperation with the surrounding park lands, Herschler also continued Kent's wise-use approach to conservation that balanced visitor needs with natural resource protection, and placed great value on landscape beauty. He continued the previous management pertaining to erosion and fire protection, emphasizing the detrimental impact of creek-bank erosion on the appearance and supposed health of the woods, and continuing the program of installing revetments along the banks of Redwood Creek. With the help of CCC staff and funding beginning in 1933, Herschler greatly expanded the effort, and also oversaw the clearing of additional firebreaks, as well the construction of a fire road along the west side of the monument.[62]

A significant factor in Herschler's management of Muir Woods was shifts in visitation. When he arrived, visitation had declined by nearly a quarter from its height of 103,571 persons in 1928 during the early years of the toll road, and by the depths of the Great Depression in 1933, had fallen to 39,568, probably the lowest recorded number since the NPS had taken over the park in 1917. For most of these years, the number of hikers entering the monument far outnumbered, often by a factor of four, those entering by automobile or bus.[63] Yearly visitation slowly climbed to 51,422 in 1936, and then jumped to 73, 396 in 1937, the year that the Golden Gate Bridge opened. June 1937—the month that the bridge opened—proved very busy for Muir Woods, with increases of three to four-hundred percent in visitation over the previous June, leading Custodian Herschler to report: "San Francisco, and the entire Bay area, have suddenly awakened to the fact that they have a most attractive National Monument right in their very midst, and they are doing something about it. So much so that the present personnel is not only taxed to the limit, but is unable to properly protect the area…"[64] The visitation increases for that month, however, proved to be short-lived. The existence of tolls on the automobile road to Muir Woods apparently soon dampened the expected continual increases in visitation. In 1938, the first full year in which the Golden Gate Bridge was open, visitation increased an overall modest four percent, to 76,116 persons.[65]

Unhampered by crushing visitation aside from the summer of 1937, J. Barton Herschler was able to focus much of his efforts on planning physical and opera-

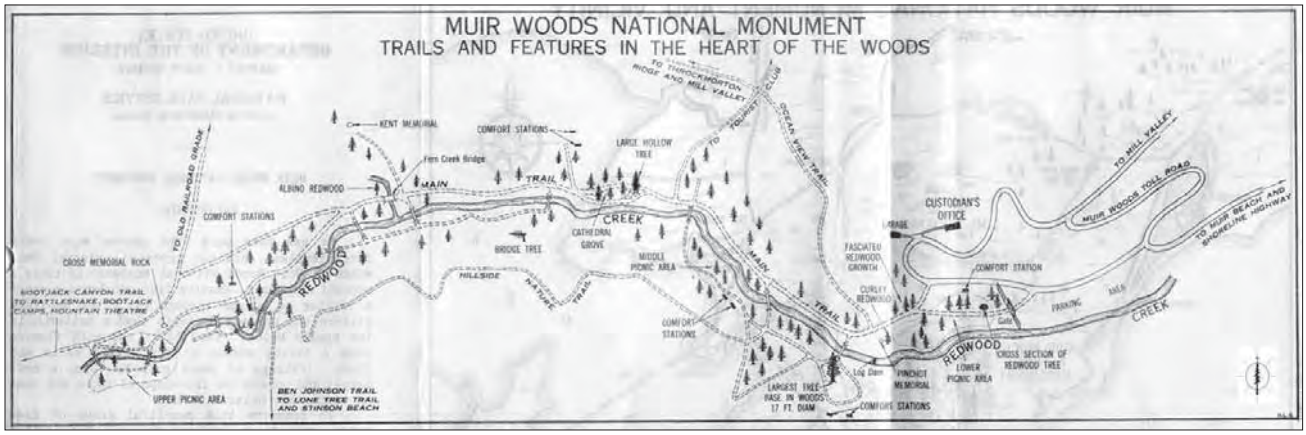


Figure 4.21: Map of the canyon floor of Muir Woods on first known brochure produced by NPS, printed in 1934. The reverse side (partly visible through map) contained a brief description of Muir Woods and a regional map. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-49, Muir Woods, box 2294.

tional improvements. One of his earliest efforts was enhancing interpretation and education, which had apparently been almost non-existent. Soon after he arrived in 1930, Herschler began to set up interpretive displays and added interpretive signage along the trails. He also announced to Director Albright that Muir Woods should have a museum. In 1934, he oversaw the first study of redwood ecology and paleobotany in Muir Woods. Herschler was also responsible for producing the first NPS park brochure and map identifying the monument's notable natural features and visitor amenities. Planning for the brochure was begun in 1932, and in 1934 the first 3,000 copies were made.[66] [Figure 4.21] The need for the brochure was due to the loss of the tour guides employed by the mountain railway, but also to rising visitation, which made guided walking tours infeasible during busy periods.

Herschler's idea for a museum was part of his larger plans to construct a new administration building near the lower south entrance of Muir Woods that would also contain park offices and food and gift concessions. With the recent demolition of the railway's Muir Inn, the monument lost its primary visitor concession, and the Custodian's Cottage, built in 1922 on the hillside along the upper entrance off the Muir Woods Toll Road, had never proved adequate as a point for visitor contact and park office. The cottage was not only too small, but its location was too far removed from the main gate and parking area. Herschler found visitors rarely made the walk uphill. The need for a new administration building with concessions, identified earlier by Custodian Needham, was motivated not just by the park's needs, but also by Herschler's desire to prevent private commercial development on the adjoining Kent Estate land, where the mountain railway company had planned to build an inn along the main trail between the main gate and monument boundary. It was this property that Herschler identified as the site for the new administration building in November 1930, the fall that he arrived at Muir Woods. It would be another five years, however, before the 1.36-acre tract would be incorporated into the monument, and in the meantime a ramshackle building, known as the Muir Woods Shop, was constructed on the tract by a private concessionaire. Herschler was unable to see construction of the new administration

building, but did succeed in having a temporary administration building erected in 1935. He used this building to continue to advocate for the permanent building he long envisioned. In his monthly report for July 1935, Herschler wrote: "The advantage of having the monument office [temporary administration building] in its new location near the main entrance becomes more and more apparent as time goes on. Visitors are continually stopping in for information, and the contact brought about in this way create a condition whereby a much better administration and control of the area may be had."[67]

Herschler's plans for the administration building, developed with regional park planners, were part of the master plan to make the south end of Muir Woods into the primary developed zone of the park, and to further enhance the visibility of the entrance. Here, Herschler progressed a number of additional improvement plans, including the construction of a new and more prominent entrance gate, the consolidation of the automobile entrance to the lower access off the toll road, addition of comfort stations, expansion of the parking area, and enhancement of the surrounding landscape. He also oversaw the consolidation and expansion of maintenance facilities outside of public view, adjoining the Custodian's Cottage along the old upper entrance road. With the hiring of a permanent ranger in 1937, Herschler also called for the building of a second park residence in this area.

Outside this administrative and maintenance area, much of Custodian Herschler's management increasingly dealt with balancing visitor use and natural resource protection. With decreasing visitation early in his term, there was little apparent need for additional controls on visitor use, aside from the question of maintaining picnic facilities within the woods. Already in 1929, Custodian John Needham—who had made significant improvements to the three main picnic grounds—eliminated the Fern Creek picnic area. He did this because compaction was injuring the undergrowth and detracting from the beauty of the woods. Herschler continued to maintain the three picnic areas, but took concern with the issue of fireplaces, which had been built by Needham. In February 1932, Herschler had all of the fireplaces removed from the picnic areas, following approval of a special regulation on February 27th banning all fires within Muir Woods National Monument. [68] Even with decreased visitation, there was trampling of the delicate ground cover, such as oxalis, along the heavily traveled trails and popular trees. To prevent this, Herschler planned in 1935 to place "logs & guard rails to protect plant life."[69]

Based on his experience with crowding following the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge in June 1937, and the likelihood that visitation would increase further once tolls were lifted on the Muir Woods Road, Custodian Herschler began to plan for additional protective measures in the woods in the summer of 1937. On August 27, 1937, he wrote to the NPS Director Arno Cammerer: "There seems to be a real

danger that more people will go to Muir Woods than can be adequately accommodated or handled without damage to natural features…This condition, without doubt, will become reality in the very near future, and the only way that serious damage can be averted is by enforcement of stringent regulations, and the immediate construction of protective development…"[70] The following fall, Herschler worked with landscape architect Dale Hawkins of the NPS Regional Office in San Francisco to design protective features. Hawkins observed that crowds were indeed already having a significant impact on the health and beauty of the woods:

> *A visit to the woods at this season of the year will clearly show the effect of the crowds during the summer on the appearance of the woods and the effect of the vegetation. In walking over the trails with Mr. Herschler and Mr. Nelson* [ranger] *I could not help but notice the damage which had been done to the existing vegetation, new small paths are being worn thru the grove, in many places existing vegetation has been tramped out completely except perhaps a small patch of green under a low limb which naturally furnished protection for ground cover…*[71]

Hawkins and Herschler proposed surfacing the main trails to eliminate dust and keep visitors to a defined path; eliminating picnicking within the woods (canyon floor); confining benches to the trails, and possibly erecting barriers along the trails. Building on Hawkins' report, Herschler wrote a policy statement for the future administration of Muir Woods that would address the probable imbalance between visitor use and natural resource protection. In a situation paralleling the effort to ban automobiles in the early 1920s, Herschler advocated for restriction of visitors to protect the flora. His policy, finalized in December 1937, was apparently the first time that an administrator of Muir Woods clearly stated an inherent incompatibility between recreation and natural resource protection:

> [T]*he monument was intended to be maintained as a natural outdoor museum, a botanical garden wherein people of future generations can observe the redwoods, and their plant associates growing under natural conditions as they grew centuries ago…Fallen trees and branches are just as natural in a forest as standing trees, and fallen trees in a redwood forest have an especial beauty…I have never assumed that Muir Woods was set aside as a playground, picnic area, nor a place of recreation, other than for the recreation of ones soul…Muir Woods is too small to permit a continuation of the same kind of use that has prevailed, and is too priceless to permit of being desecrated by use as a physical recreation area. Its highest use would be to return it more nearly to its original condition by rigid enforcement of regulations designed for the preservation of flora and fauna…*[72]

Figure 4.22: Custodian Walter Finn in Muir Woods, c.1938. Note clean appearance of the forest floor, reflecting Finn's management approach. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-49, Muir Woods, box 2294.

THE FINN YEARS, 1938-1953

In February 1938, two months after completing his policy statement, J. Barton Herschler transferred to a position as Chief Ranger at Rocky Mountain National Park. He was replaced by Walter Finn, who had been serving as Chief Ranger at Muir Woods (the first full-time ranger position) since 1937. [Figure 4.22] Finn remained as Custodian until 1953 (his position was reclassified as Superintendent in c.1951), spanning a challenging period of large increases in visitation, elimination of the CCC program, and war-time funding cuts.[73] Much of Finn's term during the late 1930s and early 1940s was dominated by physical improvements carried out by the CCC and other work-relief programs, much of which had been initially planned during Herschler's term. In these projects, Finn continued to work closely with design professionals from the San Francisco regional office of the NPS and the master planning process. These projects included continuing revetment work in Redwood Creek, expansion of the parking area, the expansion of the Custodian's Cottage and construction of a second staff residence, construction of long-planned administration building, further utility work, new signage, and addition of modern comfort stations.

Finn's early management prior to World War II was characterized by an emphasis on maintaining visitor amenities, rather than on protecting the natural environment, representing a shift from Custodian Herschler's policy statement. Certainly the huge increases in visitation during the late 1930s provided Finn with ample reason for enhancing visitor services. Unlike Herschler's relatively calm eight years, Walter Finn had to contend with an enormous increase of over 100,000 new visitors in 1939, his second year as Custodian, due primarily to the lifting of the tolls on the Muir Woods Road, but also to the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco. From 76,116 in 1938 (fiscal year), the first full year that the Golden Gate Bridge was open, visitation jumped to 179,365 in 1939. This number represented 37,843 private cars and 1,317 buses carrying 166,745 visitors; only 12,620 hikers entered the monument on foot, a new low. The following year, the numbers dropped modestly to 135,823 (hikers more precipitously to 7,560) and remained about the same until 1942 with the beginnings of World War II.[74] While presenting a management challenge, the huge increase in visitation for 1939 also provided the impetus for securing long-planned improvements as well as increases in staffing. In addition to Finn, the park now had two permanent rangers, and several seasonal rangers. On March 31, 1939, NPS Director Arno Cammerer wrote to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes notifying him of the urgent needs at Muir Woods, and requesting Project Works Administration (PWA) funds to carry them out: "The increase in visitors and additional monument personnel will necessitate the construction of certain physical improvements in the area. It is proposed to

construct a combination Administration-Operators Building for the custodian and concessionaire, an addition to the old existing employees' residence to provide particularly for the additional employees and a checking station…"[75]

Aside from requiring physical improvements and staffing increases, the most important management implication of the huge increases in visitation was the impact to the forest floor along the main trail. In December 1939, NPS Associate Forester J. B. Dodd made an inspection of Muir Woods and found that the canyon floor was suffering from compaction and trampling. Dodd found the areas of most serious compaction around the trees that had special interest, such as the curly redwood near the Pinchot memorial. He felt that the compaction was harming not only the understory vegetation, but could also lead to the death of the trees. Dodd recommended that this situation be remedied by placing log barriers or dead brush around the circumference of the trees.[76] J. Barton Herschler had also warned of such damage in his policy statement of December 1937, and already in October 1938, the San Francisco Regional Office had recommended that natural log barriers be installed, as had been done at Sequoia's Giant Forest area.[77] Walter Finn, however, apparently did not initially implement such protective work. This may have been due to his preference for a more tidy appearance in the woods. For example, during his second month as custodian, Finn had a CCC crew cleaning up the canyon floor, "…removing unsightly fallen branches, and fallen trees that were obstructions to the trails, or were unsightly."[78] Finn also did not implement Herschler's call to eliminate picnicking, apparently because he did not see significant impacts from the number of visitors during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Finn was supported by a finding of the San Francisco regional office, which identified that wear and tear on the vegetation on the canyon floor was due primarily to heavy visitation, and not in particular to picnicking.[79]

Despite the support of Finn and the Regional Office staff for allowing picnicking in designated areas (upper, middle, and lower picnic areas), the Secretary of the Interior issued an Executive Order on March 26, 1941 banning all picnicking within Muir Woods, apparently based on Custodian Herschler's 1937 policy statement. Finn argued against the regulation, which caught him by surprise: "Visitors that I have talked to who have not been here for 8 or 10 years all say the park is in better condition than they ever remember seeing it—i.e. in regard to ground coverage. Therefore, I recommend that no picnickers be turned away until we have had time to make a systematic photographic study of the situation, which should cover a number of years, unless we see earlier that picnicking is damaging the monument."[80] Merel S. Sager, then Acting Regional Chief of Planning who helped assess the impact of picnicking, supported Finn's position and recommended that a study be done on the wider impact of visitation on the ecology of forest before any changes in the regulations were made. Sager also issued a memorandum to

the Regional Director in which he argued, much as William Kent had, that Muir Woods would have to be both preserved and used:

> *Muir Woods…not only is one of the finest redwood groves but it is the most accessible to a large population…Because of its quality and accessibility this woodland gem is in a unique position to serve the American public out of all proportion to its diminutive size. The problem which confronts us now and in the future is how to assure perpetual fulfillment of its high purpose, that is,* [to] *be used and to be preserved.*[81]

The Executive Order was either ignored or revoked, because picnicking continued and became less of an issue as visitation slowed somewhat with the onset of World War II. The war years were, like everywhere, lean ones at Muir Woods and physical improvements were largely halted. Visitation reached a still busy low of 65,456 in 1943, a decrease of over 100,000 from 1939 but still above that for 1936, the year prior to the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge. Much of the visitation was attributed to defense workers and military personnel, owing to the strong presence of the military in the Bay Area. Gas rations in 1944 actually helped raise visitation, to 71,347, due to Muir Woods' close proximity to population centers and military bases. The war years were also a time of several notable events at Muir Woods, including the dedication of the "Victory Tree" in the Bohemian Grove in November 1942 corresponding with the launching of the S. S. John Muir at Sausalito, a visit by the Saud royal family in 1943, and most notably the ceremony held at Cathedral Grove on May 19, 1945 by the United Nations Conference on International Organation (UNCIO) in honor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his leadership in conservation. The year closed with visitation increasing by forty-two percent, to 117,943. [82]

Walter Finn's last eight years following the end of the war were relatively uneventful in terms of physical improvements to Muir Woods, owing to the post-war shortages and limited funding for the National Park System. This period did, however, witness increases in visitation as dramatic as those of the late 1930s, spurred by rising automobile ownership and tourism in the Bay Area, among other factors. The once-dominant use by hikers continued to dwindle, amounting to only 4,286 persons in 1952. Overall visitation increased to 158,623 by 1946, followed by modest gains each year through 1949. Then in 1950, the numbers jumped by nearly 120,000 to 280,534, and in 1953, when Finn left the custodianship, a remarkable 401,252 people visited Muir Woods (computed by estimating an average number of passengers per vehicle), arriving in 89,028 cars and 2,040 buses. An indication of the increasing popularity of Muir Woods was the private proposal in the spring of 1949 to erect an aerial tramway over the monument, stretching over two thousand feet from Throckmorton Ridge to the Dipsea Trail.[83]

The ballooning visitation to Muir Woods after World War II resulted in a number of administrative shifts, but overall Walter Finn continued to maintain the monument much as he had prior to the war. He continued to favor a tidy appearance to the woods, keeping the canyon floor free of natural debris. Lowell Sumner, an NPS Biologist, visited Muir Woods in the summer of 1950 and remarked about Finn's maintenance, recommending "…that a reasonable amount of twigs, limbs, and logs, representing normal forest litter, be left on the ground as in a normal forest, and also in the creek bottom."[84] A similar indication of Finn's intensive management was that he planned to continue the erosion and flood control work in Redwood Creek, most of which had been done by the CCC during the 1930s. In 1949, he reported that CCC work in the creek had not been "quite adequate or complete," and requested construction of five or six new rock check dams to slow the flow of the creek, and about one thousand additional feet of stone revetment to control erosion.[85] The years after the war did witness, however, some of the first ecological management initiatives, apparently at the behest of naturalists from the Regional Office rather than from Finn. In August 1950, Regional Forester Moore found invasive exotics, primarily broom (*Cytisus sp.*) spreading rapidly from the fields on the northern and eastern sides of the monument, as well as Klamath weed (*Hypericum perforatum*).[86] It would be several years, however, before an eradication program was implemented.

The massive visitation did cause Finn one major shift in management, to reconsider his position on picnicking, which he had supported prior to the war. As early as 1946, he began to downplay the three picnic areas by eliminating them from a revised edition of the park brochure. Then the following year, he wrote Regional Landscape Architect Thomas Carpenter that he was "…very much concerned with the heavy impact of visitor use at picnic areas in the Monument."[87] New studies by the Regional Office found that picnicking not only impacted the natural environment, but exacerbated crowding problems, because it encouraged visitors to extend their stay. In 1947, the Regional Office formally recommended that picnicking be prohibited within the monument, but did not effect the ban and instead two years later recommended that, as a temporary measure, picnicking be restricted to the lower picnic area adjoining the Administration Building. This was in keeping with Finn's opinion that visitors needed somewhere to picnic. Within a couple years, Finn and the Regional Office were planning to consolidate the picnic areas outside of the woods proper to an area south of the parking lot, on the Kent Entrance Tract.[88] By the fall of 1950, however, Walter Finn had become convinced that all picnicking should be banned from Muir Woods due to the massive increases in visitation. In his monthly report for August 1950, he wrote: "The picnickers are surely spoiling Muir Woods." [89] In a turn of events, however, the Regional Office thwarted the picnicking ban: R. G. Manbey, Regional Chief of

Lands, reported in September 1951 that it would be "a very great mistake to eliminate it, neither do I think it to be necessary that we do so."[90] For the remainder of Finn's tenure, picnicking continued to be allowed within Muir Woods.

Aside from the picnicking issue, Custodian Finn apparently did little to control impacts to the forest floor from heavy visitation. Although he apparently had railings put up around the "Big Tree" (near the Bohemian Grove) to reduce trampling, he did not implement a system of barriers and surfacing trails as recommended earlier by Custodian Herschler and the Regional Office. In 1947, a Regional Forester identified that the throng of visitors along the main trail had resulted in exposing of tree roots and trampling out of all vegetation for a width in excess of twenty feet, as well as on adjoining steep hillsides. The damage at the time was being exacerbated by an unusual dry spell. Finn, however, apparently did not see the dire nature of the problem, remarking in his 1947 and 1948 annual reports that the woods were "in good shape," and that only "some" vegetation was suffering."[91] By the summer of 1950, no further protective work had been done, as reflected in a report from the Regional Office that remarked: "Three of the finest Redwoods in the monument could easily be spared in large measure from pavement-like ground compaction by means of unobtrusive barriers…"[92]

The other means of controlling such impacts—limiting visitation—was not something that was seriously considered during this period, although in 1948, Walter Finn did suggest to the Regional Office that a two-hour parking limit be instituted, but to no avail. Yet the NPS did consider a plan in 1948 to collect admission fees as a way of controlling visitation. For Muir Woods, this was a surprising plan, given the vehement opposition to tolls on the approach road, which had been lifted less than a decade earlier. Walter Finn concurred with the idea, but recommended that fees not be collected from hikers arriving on the "back trails," but only from cars as they entered the parking area. [93] Finn did not see the plan implemented, and Muir Woods would remain open to the public free of charge.

LANDSCAPE OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1928-1953

The major shifts in administration, visitation, and transportation in the quarter-century following William Kent's death resulted in several significant changes and additions to the landscape of Muir Woods National Monument. Yet all were implemented according to the same general rustic style that William Kent and the mountain railway had instituted in 1905, and the general organization and circulation system centered along the canyon floor remained largely unaltered. The most significant change during this period was the reorientation of Muir Woods toward the south entrance following the closing of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway in 1929. Although the CCC camp set up on the site of the railway terminus

and Mt. Tamalpais State Park developed park facilities north of Muir Woods, the decline in hiking and dominance of automobile transportation transformed the north end of the canyon floor, originally the main entrance into the park, into an increasingly remote part of the landscape.

RUSTIC DESIGN IN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The improvements made to Muir Woods from Kent's death in 1928 through the 1930s were all designed in keeping with the mature phase of the so-called NPS rustic style.[94] Arno Cammerer, Director of the National Park Service, summed up the design philosophy of his agency in a 1935 publication on park design, reflecting the refinement of the rustic style over the course of the previous two decades:

> *In any area in which the preservation of the beauty of Nature is a primary purpose, every modification of the natural landscape, whether it be by construction of a road or erection of a shelter, is an intrusion. A basic objective of those who are entrusted with development of such area for the human uses for which they are established, is, it seems to me, to hold these intrusions to a minimum and so to design them that, besides being attractive to look upon, they appear to belong to and be part of their settings.*[95]

Figure 4.23: The Tioga Pass Ranger Station (1931), Yosemite National Park, representing the mature phase of rustic design in the NPS, with its romantic reference to pioneering building practices and exaggerated use of rough materials. National Park Service photograph, 1932, from William Tweed et al, "National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942" (National Park Service, February 1977), 58.

The maturation of the style corresponded with an era of increased funding and building activity in the western National Park System, as well as reorganization of design staff into the San Francisco Field Office, established in 1927-28. A critical part of the Field Office was the Landscape Division, headed by Thomas Vint and including a team of landscape architects and architects. As with the earlier office of Landscape Engineer based at Yosemite and Los Angeles, the division undertook not only traditional landscape design such as roads, trails, and plantings, but also design of structures such as bridges and small buildings. Under Vint's lead, the Landscape Division expanded into comprehensive design and master planning services having to do, in his words, with "…the preservation of the native landscape [that] involves the location and construction of communities, buildings, etc. within an existing landscape.[96]

Prior to the enactment of New Deal-era work relief programs, the western National Parks witnessed an expanded building program during the late 1920s and early 1930s that represented a continued romanticism toward pioneering building practices, making use of log construction and rough-hewn timbers, sometimes to an exaggerated degree. [Figure 4.23] Parks were outfitted with administration buildings, staff residences, service buildings, campgrounds, comfort stations,

Figure 4.24: The Ahwahnee Bridge over the Merced River (1928), illustrating use of modern construction (concrete) beneath a rustic skin of stone veneer characteristic of mature phase of rustic design in the NPS, photographed 1991. Historic American Engineering Record, CAL 22-YOSEM, 21 (CA-100).

trails, parking areas, and roads. Some of these buildings, such as duplex comfort stations with screened entrances, were based on a standardized plan adopted throughout the system. Although plans were standardized, the outward appearance was generally adapted to the specific environment, with many parks developed according to a recognizable architectural theme. Notable examples from this period relevant to the forested environment of Muir Woods included several new buildings at Giant Forest Village at Sequoia National Park, which continued to employ exposed timber framing details. This period was also marked by increasing sophistication in the use of new structural materials such as steel and concrete, but generally masked by a rustic skin. This was especially evident in bridge construction, with concrete-arch stone-faced bridges such as the Ahwahnee Bridge at Yosemite, built in 1928, a popular design. [Figure 4.24] The Landscape Division worked with the NPS Bureau of Public Roads, also located within the Field Office, on the design of many similar bridges through the 1930s, including one at Muir Woods.[97]

Outside of buildings and structures, the Landscape Division began to emphasize what it termed "landscape naturalization" during the 1930s, a program that was made necessary by increases in visitation that required more and more infrastructure. Although the NPS had long employed a naturalistic style in landscape work, Thomas Vint emphasized use of native plants, elimination of exotics, and screening and softening of built features such as utility roads, parking lots, and road cuts with vegetation and grading. Part of naturalization work included extending the rustic style to small-scale features such as benches, picnic tables, and water fountains. According to historian Linda McClelland, "[P]ark designers faced the challenge of solving urban-scale problems without sacrificing natural features and scenic qualities. The program of landscape naturalization enabled park designers to create or maintain the illusion that nature had experienced little disturbance from improvements and that a stone water fountain or flagstone terrace was as much at home in a park as a stand of hemlocks or meadow of wild flowers."[98]

In 1932, federal funding for the NPS was cut back, but the following year, the establishment of New Deal work-relief programs through the Public Works Administration (PWA) and Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) carried out by the CCC, made possible a massive expansion of park development that would last until World War II. In response to the workload, the Landscape Division was reorganized in 1933 as the Branch of Plans and Designs, and under Thomas Vint's direction became responsible for all design in the Western parks, including architecture and engineering. The work done to date by the Landscape Division,

Figure 4.25: A privy at Mt. Tamalpais State Park built by the CCC in 1933, published as a prototype of simplicity in the rustic style. The exposed-timber motif was employed at many park buildings in the Mount Tamalpais park area. Albert Good, editor, Park and Recreation Structures (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service 1935), 201.

and most notably its master planning process, would prove invaluable to the implementation of improvements. Because of the NPS role in the CCC program and extension to state park development, the NPS rustic style was employed at an unprecedented scope and scale, generally reflecting design developments that had been made through the 1920s and early 1930s. Much of the work of the CCC thus became synonymous with the NPS rustic style, emphasizing environmental protection and harmonious design. The CCC applied the rustic style and Vint's program of landscape naturalization to a full range of park development. In forested landscapes such as Sequoia and Muir Woods, CCC work became known for its use of primitive building techniques, such as log construction and rubble masonry, and hewn signs and benches that clearly showed craftsmanship. Yet the CCC work was also often characterized by straightforward design appropriate to particular building types and landscapes. In its 1935 publication, *Park and Recreational Structures*, the NPS devoted a full page to the design of a comfort station at Mt. Tamalpais State Park, built by the CCC in c.1934 with a straightforward exposed frame design.[99] [Figure 4.25]

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the NPS rustic style began to undergo a significant shift away from its romantic and primitive characteristics. With labor-intensive construction and maintenance, NPS rustic-style buildings proved to have major disadvantages in the wake of declines in the CCC labor pool after 1935 and increased infrastructure needs due to rapidly expanding visitation. The rustic style was also falling out of favor among some of the young design professionals within the NPS who had been educated with an awareness of the Modern Movement and the advent of the International style with its emphasis on expression of volume and structure, functionalism, lack of ornament, and disdain for romanticism. While the traditional rustic style continued to be employed through the 1930s and early 1940s, an increasing number of projects, particularly residences and utility buildings but also inns and administration buildings, were being designed in a stripped-down fashion. NPS designers began to acknowledge that simplicity and restraint often could result in the non-intrusive and harmonious characteristic sought in the traditional rustic style.[100] This design shift was well expressed in the Administration Building at Olympic National Park, completed in 1941. [Figure 4.26] This building featured stripped-down detailing, a marked horizontality, exposed rafters, and coursed stone and wood-

Figure 4.26: Olympic National Park Administration Building nearing completion, illustrating streamlined rustic style, 1941. Courtesy Olympic National Park archives, photograph OLYM293110072.

shake siding. The new administration building at Muir Woods, completed a year before, reflected the same stylistic shifts.[101]

For the most part, the shift in the rustic style was not wholesale, nor did it generally impact the treatment of landscape features other than buildings and their immediate settings; the program of naturalization remained a hallmark of landscape design in the NPS beyond World War II. The traditional rustic style also retained an ardent supporter in NPS Director Newton Drury, who served until 1951, but the lack of funding available for construction after World War II limited implementation of the rustic style in the post-war years.

PRE-CCC WORK, 1928-1933

Although the CCC's arrival at Muir Woods in the fall of 1933 marked the beginning of a very busy period in the monument's development, visitors would have noticed a number of marked changes in the landscape during the preceding five years. The most noticeable change was at the north end of the woods at the old terminus of the mountain railway, which had been closed in July 1929. By the following November, the Muir Inn and the inn's cabins were stripped and abandoned. [Drawing 4] The buildings remained standing until the fall of the following year, when the mountain railway tore them all down except for two of the cabins. While some of the materials from the buildings were salvaged for building projects within Muir Woods, the mountain railway apparently did not finish restoring the site and left much debris and concrete foundations scattered about. [102]

During the remainder of his term as custodian through August 1930, John Needham continued to make minor improvements to the picnic areas and visitor amenities. One example was his installation of two additional benches made from sections of giant redwood logs, which he placed near the west end of the natural log bridge at the Bohemian Grove in May 1930.[103] Much of Needham's work during the early part of this year was intended as a preservation measure and was not highly visible to visitors. This work involved the construction of revetments and dams in Redwood Creek, the beginning of an extensive program of flood and erosion control measures that William Kent had first proposed in 1925. From February through June 1930, Needham had three brush dams built in Redwood Creek to collect gravel during high water, and placed approximately 500 feet of brush fill along the banks where trails were being undermined. Needham also experimented with the use of revetments built of rock-filled wire baskets, and reported that Chief Architect Thomas Vint and K. C. McCarter of the San

Figure 4.27: The redwood cross-section conceived by Custodian Herschler and erected near the lower picnic area, view looking north from main trail, August 1931, photographed 1937. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 31/1, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 4.28: The new (lower) garage, completed in May 1931, illustrating exposed timber framing detail. The garage was built on the site of a smaller garage built in 1923. J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods May 1931 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 601.

Francisco Field Office had visited Muir Woods and approved the work.[104]

Soon after J. Barton Herschler was appointed as Custodian in September 1930, he began several improvement projects focused on the entrance area, between the main gate and the lower picnic area including the land belonging to the William Kent Estate, to enhance its visibility and use as a visitor orientation area. Although he was unable to immediately realize his plans for a new gate and a new administration building for this area, he quickly set up his interpretive display in the fall of 1930 comparing the giant and coast redwoods (exact location unknown), and in August of 1931, built the redwood cross section to display growth rings and age of the tree, set along the main trail near the lower picnic area within a small, rustic log-post and gable-roofed pavilion. [Figure 4.27] He conceived this feature based on an example at Yosemite that had proved to be a popular attraction.[105] Uphill from this entry area, Herschler also began to plan improvements to the maintenance facilities near the Custodian's Cottage, which also served as the park office. The first project was the expansion of the garage, which had been built in 1923. In October 1930, Landscape Architect Thomas Carpenter, along with a fellow staff person, Mr. Albers from the San Francisco Regional Office, visited to plan the expansion. By April of the following year, the regional office had designed a completely new building, to be built around the existing garage (subsequently demolished), using materials salvaged from the old Muir Inn.[106] The new building, completed in May 1931, used the same exposed framing detail used on the Custodian's Cottage and the main comfort station. [Figure 4.28, see also Drawing 4] Situated along the old upper entrance road, by then closed to public vehicles, the new building was along the route visitors walked in order to reach the park office, but would not have been highly visible from the main trail.

Figure 4.29: The concession stand in the parking area, opened in July 1931, view looking northwest with the main gate off to the left, photographed August 9, 1931. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

The biggest change to the entrance area prior to the arrival of the CCC was the establishment of private concessions on the Kent estate land at the monument entrance, which filled the void left by the railway's Muir Inn. In July 1931, the Kent Estate trustees gave permission to Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Montgomery, former operators of a curio shop at Tavern of Tamalpais, to set up a refreshment stand in the parking area near the main gate. [Figure 4.29] The stand operated through August 1932, and in February 1933, the

Montgomerys discussed building a more permanent structure inside of the main gate, where the mountain railway company had planned building a replacement inn. The estate trustees approved the plan, and the Montgomerys began construction of a somewhat ramshackle, shingled building known as the Muir Woods Shop, halfway between the gate and the monument boundary [see Drawing 4]. This building consisted of two wings, one of which was a shed that was relocated from the east side of the parking area. The Muir Woods Shop sold gifts and food, and featured outdoor picnic tables in the front along the main trail. As the only commercial establishment at the park aside from Joe's Place and Coffee Joe's out on the public road, the Muir Woods Shop became a popular place for meetings and a focal point of the park, although the facility itself was short of typical NPS rustic design standards [see Figure 4.19].[107] Given its location within the main gate, most visitors considered the shop part of the monument.

Figure 4.30: The log bridge placed in March 1931 across Redwood Creek at the site of the log cabin, view looking southwest from main trail, June 1931. J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods June 1931 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 601.

Farther down the main trail into the heart of the redwood forest, Herschler added several new footbridges across Redwood Creek that created more connections to the side trails. In March 1931, he erected what was probably the first bridge intentionally designed from a single log, placed near where the old log cabin had stood. [Figure 4.30, see also Drawing 4] This bridge was fashioned from a single redwood log, but with the bark removed and the top hewn level to give a better walking surface than the natural log bridge that John Needham had made from a fallen redwood near the Bohemian Grove in 1926. In 1932, Herschler placed two similar log bridges at the upper picnic area, which brought the number of bridges across Redwood Creek to fourteen within the monument and immediately adjoining land.[108] In designing the new log bridges, Herschler was following the recommendations of NPS Assistant Landscape Architect Merel Sager, who had written in his April 1931 report on Muir Woods that all bridges "…should be of the rustic log variety, rather than the cut timber type now in use…The present bridges should be gradually replaced by bridges of more permanent nature" (i.e., log bridges). Sager also recommended, unheeded, that only one additional bridge be built near the main entrance, and that if further crossing were needed, stepping stones—which he thought would not be "conspicuous in the landscape"—should be used.[109]

Probably Herschler's most noticeable improvement prior to the CCC was his improvement in spring 1931 of the old Nature Trail, which was renamed the Hillside Nature Trail. No longer used as a fire break, Herschler envisioned it as a contemplative trail for interpreting the canyon's natural flora. Merel Sager noted in his inspection of April 1931 that Herschler maintained the narrow, naturalistic character of the trail, which crossed steep, fern-lined banks.[110] [Figure 4.31] Soon

after Sager's visit, Herschler had plant labels on redwood stakes installed along the trail to identify the lush ferns and other vegetation. Herschler also worked on improving other outer trails, such as the Ocean View. His rebuilding of a bridge on this trail in May 1931 displayed his keen sense for harmony with the natural environment and knack for working with found materials, as he reported:

> *An old pole bridge which was wobbly and unsafe, near the upper end of the Ocean View Trail was removed and replaced with an entirely new structure. Heavy stringers were cut from a sound redwood which had fallen many years ago in a canyon some distance below…Then decking was made by splitting redwood ties which were salvaged from the old railroad. The stringers were covered with moss of many years accumulation and especial care was exercised not to mar it more than necessary. The split surfaces of the ties were then placed downward leaving the dull weathered side to the top and the final appearance is that of a bridge having been there many years…*[111]

Figure 4.31: The Hillside Nature Trail following improvements made under direction of Custodian Herschler, April 1931. The identity of the woman and exact location of the photograph are not known. Merel S. Sager, "Report to the Chief Landscape Architect on a Visit to Muir Woods National Monument," 12 April 1931. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 601.

Aside from trail work, Custodian Herschler also made some changes to the landscape of the canyon floor and main trail. Here in his early years he maintained a well-tended appearance by removing natural debris, apparently in contrast to Custodian Needham's practices. The Acting Director of the NPS, A. E. Demaray, wrote Thomas Vint about this in April 1931: "…there is a very decided difference between the former and present custodian's policies in regard to clearing brush along the trails. It would appear that this is a landscape problem and one on which the Landscape Division might recommend a policy so that there would not be such wide apparent differences in matters of this kind."[112] Other improvements Herschler made included renovation of all eight of the privies, and in the winter of 1933, removal of all of Custodian Needham's stone fireplaces as part of the renewed regulation banning all fires.[113]

Herschler's biggest project on the canyon floor prior to the arrival of the CCC was a continuation of Needham's erosion control work on Redwood Creek, which Herschler carried out to preserve the landscape and prevent the loss, as he wrote, of "...the main roadway [main trail] thru the woods and many of the fine redwood trees along the creek."[114] Working with staff from the San Francisco Field Office, including Chief Architect Vint, Herschler oversaw the continued placement of brush "mats" to serve as temporary revetments, and more permanent stone-filled wire basket revetments. By September 1932, a total of 576 lineal feet of basket revetments had been installed along the banks of Redwood Creek.[115] In 1932,

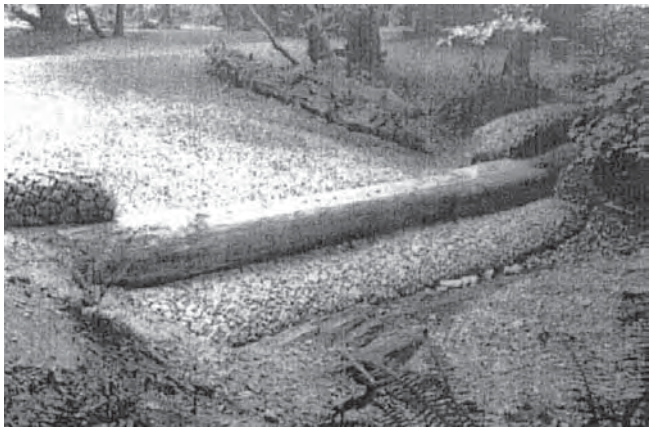


Figure 4.32 (left): Log check dam in Redwood Creek near the Emerson tree during construction, September 20, 1932. The log had a diameter of 36 inches. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 4.33 (right): View of same log check dam after completion illustrating naturalized effect, 1936. 1936 report, Mt. Tamalpais State Park Camp SP-23. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Camp Inspection Reports 1933-1942, California, box 10.

Herschler also oversaw construction of the first flood-control dam in Redwood Creek: a log check dam, which created an area of interest in the creek but was intended primarily to slow the velocity of the water to protect the flats in the lower monument area where the main trail ran close to the creek. The dam was built from a large, thirty-six inch diameter redwood positioned in the streambed near the Emerson tree, and was labeled as one of the attractions on the first park brochure map printed in 1934. The streambed behind the dam was lined with the same stone-filled wire mesh baskets used for the revetments. [Figure 4.32, see also Drawing 4] To make the dam look more natural and slow the velocity of the water, rock rubble was placed on the downstream side of the log. [Figure 4.33]

CCC-ERA IMPROVEMENTS, 1933-1941

Once the CCC had most of its camp erected on the old mountain railway property by November 1933, it soon set to work on carrying out improvements at Muir Woods, Mount Tamalpais State Park, and on land belonging to the estate of William Kent. Under Custodian Herschler's direction through 1937, followed by Custodian Finn's through 1941, the CCC worked on many types of projects, including those dealing with natural resource management throughout the monument, such as fire protection and flood control; improvements to the trails such new bridges and visitor amenities such as signs, benches, comfort stations, and picnic facilities; expansion of the monument's utility area, including enlargement of the Custodian's Cottage and construction of a new equipment shed; and improvement of the entrance area with the paving of the parking lot, erecting of a new entrance gate, and construction of a new administration building. In addition, the CCC and other work-relief programs also surveyed the monument, improved the monument's water, telephone, electrical, and sewer systems, and helped with administration and interpretation. Most of the CCC's work was a continuation of projects or plans begun prior to 1933, and employed the rustic, naturalistic style that had been used at the monument for decades. The CCC was largely responsible for making the year 1934, in Custodian Herschler's words, "the greatest period of develop-

ment ever in Muir Woods."[116] By 1936, the work began to slow, but it continued until the beginning of World War II.

Natural Resources

One of the CCC's biggest projects on Mount Tamalpais was vegetation management for fire control purposes, but in Muir Woods, it was a relatively minor task. The old fire lines along the Nature Trail and upper Ocean View trail were abandoned apparently in favor of a water system (Herschler planned in 1934 for a six-inch line through the canyon floor to feed a system of hydrants that could "properly combat serious conflagration"), as well as a larger system of firebreaks and fire roads outside of the monument. [117] The only firebreak maintained within the monument was at the lower part of the old Ocean View fire trail. Here in the winter of 1934, CCC crews reopened a portion of the old firebreak along the east property boundary to protect the Custodian's Cottage and monument utility area, outside of the redwood forest [see Drawing 4]. The general treatment in these firebreaks was to remove brush and small trees to a width of forty feet, grub the stumps, and dispose of the debris.[118]

In the 1930s, truck trails were a relatively new resource being developed on Mount Tamalpais for fighting fires, designed to access remote areas off the main roads. One of these areas was the expanse of ranchland west of Muir Woods and south of Steep Ravine. In the fall of 1933, Herschler wrote to William Kent, Jr. requesting permission to have the CCC build a fire road south and west of Muir Woods, across Ranch X that was owned by the William Kent Estate. The road was planned to run from the lower Muir Woods Toll Road (Frank Valley Road) up along the Dipsea Ridge to the northwest corner of the monument, where it would connect with another planned fire road, the Old Mine Truck Trail, to connect with the Panoramic Highway at Pantoll. The Old Mine Truck Trail was the first part of the network to be completed in February 1934. It was not until December 1934 that CCC crews began work on the southern part through and bordering Muir Woods. Known as the Muir Woods or Dipsea Fire Road (later as the Deer Park Fire Road), it paralleled and in certain areas obliterated the Dipsea Trail [Figure 4.34, see also Drawing 4]. The road was completed in the summer of 1935. [119]

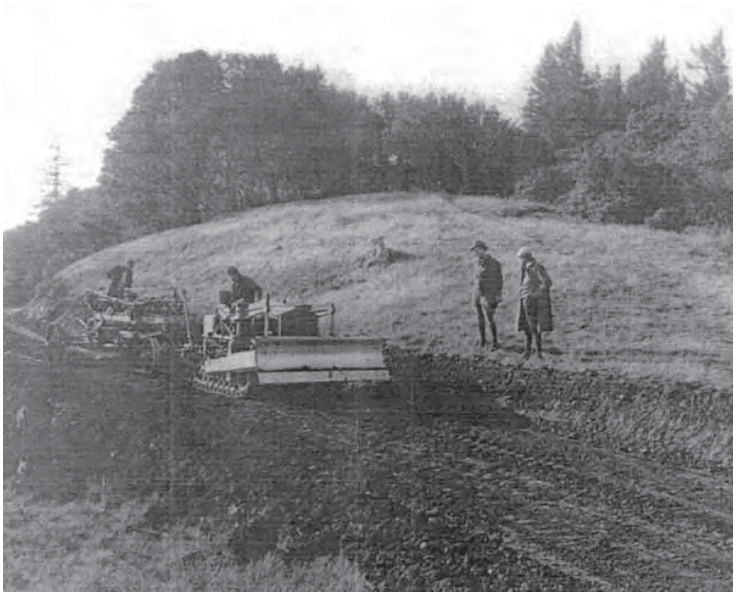


Figure 4.34: The Dipsea Fire Road under construction, probably looking from Ranch X toward Muir Woods, January 17, 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 38/8, Muir Woods Collection.

Both Custodians Herschler and Finn also had the CCC remove woody debris from the understory along trails and roads in keeping with fire safety standards of the time. This did not, however, involve clearing of live vegetation, and the CCC crews were in fact trained, accord-

ing to the report of a regional landscape architect, "…to maintain respect for the natural condition of the woods and to remove only those plants and trees which were absolutely necessary…and which the Custodian and Landscape Division approved."[120] As time went on, Herschler softened on his initial instinct to keep the woods tidy, deciding in 1935, for example, to leave rather than remove a redwood that had fallen along the main trail. He also left the jagged stump standing, which became the popular attraction known as the "bear stump."[121]

Aside from general clean-up, Herschler also had CCC crews replant understory where it had been trampled or otherwise degraded, in order to maintain a lush looking landscape. Soon after they arrived in the fall of 1933, for example, CCC crews replanted native shrubs and ground cover at the site of the demolished Muir Inn, which Custodian Herschler also hoped would prevent hikers from cutting across the steep slope at the sharp bend in the road. The CCC also transplanted ferns to the banks of Redwood Creek to "obliterate scars."[122] Although heavy visitation was generally the most pressing concern for protecting the forest understory, dairy cattle coming into the monument from the ranches to the west also were a problem, which Custodian Herschler made one of the CCC's early priorities. In the spring of 1934, crews built a post and barbed wire fence along the entire west monument boundary adjoining the open ranchland, near the Dipsea Trail. The fence included "V"-type stiles where it intersected hiking trails. [123] [Figure 4.35, see Drawing 4]

Figure 4.35: Looking southwest across Ranch X showing the west boundary fence and "V" stile under construction by CCC crews, June 1934. J. Barton Herschler, June 1934 ECW report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

By far the largest natural resource management project that the CCC undertook at Muir Woods was erosion control in Redwood Creek, continuing the construction of revetments and check dams carried out by Custodians Needham and Herschler. CCC crews began work in the late fall of 1933 by building brush dams and brush revetments. This was followed by construction of rock channel (check) dams in the lower part of the monument that were intended to slow the flow of the water and thereby protect against erosion caused by winter flooding. According to NPS Chief Engineer Kittredge, the rock check dam was a tested design:

> *It is planned to provide a sufficient apron of boulders below each one of the channel dams, and thus the water after flowing over the obstruction will come to its normal status before it encounters the gravel covered clay bottom. We have followed this procedure in other areas, and especially in the southwest where erosion is much worse than it is in this country, and have found that the rock has worked very satisfactorily. Furthermore the rock takes on the aged appearance within a few years, and vegetation will be intermixed, and we believe that the appearance will be very satisfactory.*[124]

Figure 4.36 (left): View looking northeast across Redwood Creek at stone check dam being built by CWA crews opposite the log cross section, March 1937. J. Barton Herschler, ECW-CWA report, 1934. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2292.

Figure 4.37 (right): Rock check dam built by the CCC near the main gate in 1934, photographed March 22, 1937, showing reconstruction and stone revetments built following the flood of April 1935. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

Undertaken by CWA crews (the short-lived program that was terminated in 1934), construction of the first rock check dam was begun in January 1934 opposite the redwood cross-section near the lower picnic area (near current Bridge #1), downstream from the log dam [see Drawing 4]. Stone for the dam was quarried on the Kent Estate off Frank Valley Road, about one mile south of Muir Woods. Between January and March 1934, CWA crews hauled 135 truckloads of rock to the creek bed, extending an apron of stone for approximately thirty feet downstream. [Figure 4.36] The following May, CCC crews began construction of a second rock check dam downstream from the first, near the main gate. During periods of high water, these dams created areas of slack water upstream and white water downstream where the water rushed over rock rubble. [125] [Figure 4.37] The dams also disturbed the natural runs of steelhead trout, which became caught on the rocks or trapped in the pools behind the dams.[126]

While the rock check dams were an initial emphasis of the CCC/CWA program, most of the CCC's work in Redwood Creek through the 1930s involved bank stabilization work. The wire basket revetments used up until then had proved inadequate against erosion from winter flooding because they were not sufficiently high. [Figure 4.38] Instead, by December 1933, Herschler and Kittredge had decided to use a system of stone revetments, a labor-intensive prospect but one that, with the help of the CCC, allowed the chance to "build permanently."[127] Constructed of the same stone used in the dams that was quarried from the Kent Estate, the revetments were built by toeing-in large slabs of stone on graded banks, mostly along bends, near bridges, and at the entrance of tributaries. They were generally built during the dry summer and fall months. During a big flood in April 1935, most of the stone revetments held up well, although some were not high enough to prevent erosion. The NPS Regional Office had its Associate Engineer, W. E. Robertson, survey the damage from the flood and recommend additional revetment work. Robertson concluded that for future work, "revetments built of large rock will offer the most

Figure 4.38 (below): Erosion around old basket-type revetment, photographed 1937. The identity of the person is not known. J. Barton Herschler, April 1937 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

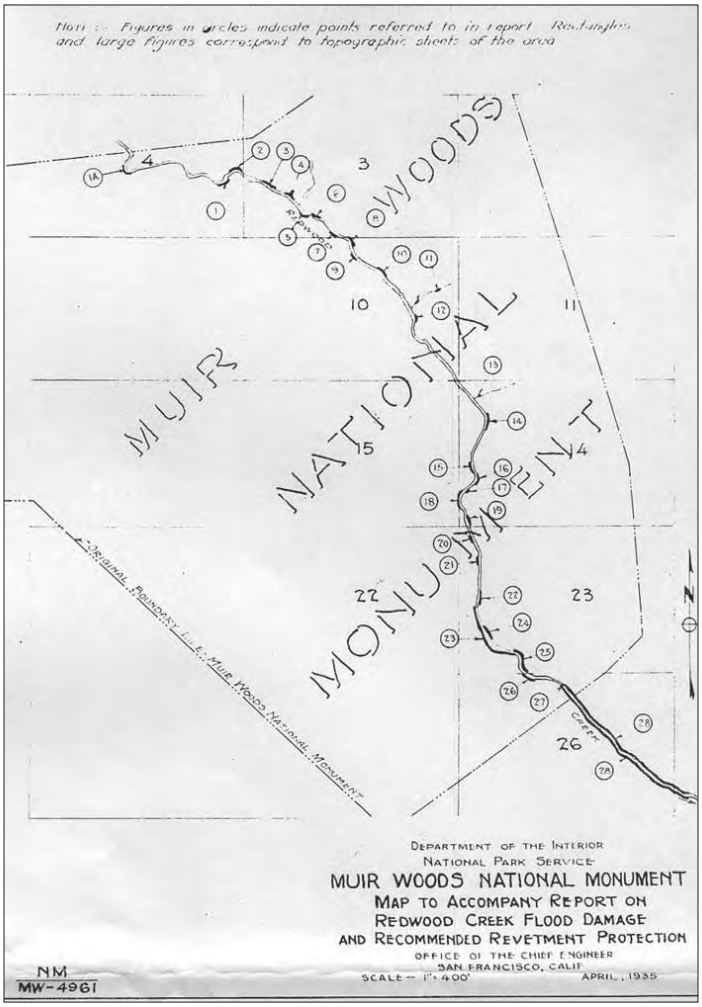


Figure 4.39: Map of banks recommended for new or improved revetments. W. E. Robertson, "Report on Redwood Creek Flood Damage and Recommended Revetment Protection," April 11, 1935. National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California, RG 79, 332.

satisfactory method of preventing wash along the banks of the creek."[128] As part of his report, Robertson mapped twenty-eight areas along the creek where he felt stone revetments should be built or improved, the largest single area of which bordered the parking area on the state park land. [Figure 4.39] Some of these areas already had revetments, but how much had been built by this date is not known. After this time, the CCC accelerated the revetment program, constructing 2,690 square yards along Redwood Creek through March 1936. By this time, the project—apparently based on Robertson's recommendations—was only 75% complete. The CCC camp reported that the work "…entails the use of much heavy equipment and hard work," including hauling rocks that weighed over two tons, but with the help of a specially equipped tractor.[129] [Figure 4.40] The Landscape Division of the NPS took concern with the potential impact of the accelerated program on the landscape, and directed the CCC to make further efforts to blend the stone work with the landscape to make it as inconspicuous as possible, and to limit the revetments only to those areas where irreparable damage might be done during times of flood.[130]

In his December 1935 annual report, Custodian Herschler had reported that much of the critical revetment work had been done: "…Most of the really bad situations are now fairly well protected. The woods should weather normal high water without damage of consequence…"[131] Despite this, the work continued at several areas along the creek, such as along the Bohemian Grove and at the junction of Fern Creek which were completed by the spring of 1937. [Figure 4.41] Some additional revetments were constructed under Custodian Finn's tenure, but most stopped by 1938, except for stacked log revetments that were built beneath some footbridges in 1941.

Figure 4.40: CCC crews at work building stone revetments in Redwood Creek, June 1936. Mt. Tamalpais State Park Camp SP-23, June 1936 report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, California, box 10.

Figure 4.41: Revetment at junction with Fern Creek completed by the spring of 1937, view looking west from main trail. J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods April 1937 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

The only other erosion-control structure built after 1938 in Redwood Creek by the CCC was a rock check dam on the state park land above the Dipsea Trail bridge, adjoining the parking area, completed in 1940 [see Drawing 4].[132]

The Trails

Trail work in the Mount Tamalpais park area made up a large part of the CCC work program. While they built no new trails within Muir Woods, the CCC did make extensive improvements to the existing trails to make them more "comfortable and attractive," according to NPS Assistant Landscape Architect Russell McKown. In certain areas, vistas were opened through the forest, trails were realigned to bring hikers near areas of special interest, and amenities such as comfort stations and benches were built. The NPS San Francisco field office staff developed plans for the CCC's trail work, and placed a special emphasis on scenic value, as McKown described in a project on Bootjack Trail above Muir Woods, completed in 1934:

> *At one point where Redwood Creek had to be crossed it was decided to build a log bridge to span from the trail to a very large boulder which rests partly in the creek but which meets the opposite bank. This resulted in quite a spectacular feature of the trail because the bridge has a clearance of approximately fifteen ft. above the creek-bed and is sighted from a bend in the trail below and at a lower elevation…*[133]

Figure 4.42: CCC/CWA crews at work on the Dipsea Trail through the northwestern corner of Muir Woods, June 1934. Note drainage swale along left side of trail. J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods June 1934 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

All of the trails in Muir Woods were listed for improvement as part of the initial CCC work plan. McKown, however, subsequently excluded the Hillside Nature Trail, because he felt it was "…an interesting one as it now exists in a very naturalistic state and it was feared the beauty of the native ground cover and other existing growth might be unnecessarily damaged…"[134] In 1933-1934, the CCC and CWA worked on the outer trails in Muir Woods—the Ocean View, Fern Creek, Bootjack, Ben Johnson, and Dipsea Trails through realignment, widening, grading, and building of drainage swales. [Figure 4.42] At the upper end of the Ben Johnson Trail where it converged into the Stapelveldt Trail, a new spur was built to connect it to the Dipsea Trail at Deer Park, a clearing in the forest at the northwestern corner of the monument [see Drawing 4]. The steep slope of this trail required the construction of log steps, completed in March 1936.[135]

A large part of the CCC's trail work involved replacing bridges. Three new bridges were built on the Ocean View Trail and another three on the Fern Creek Trail using local fallen ten-inch diameter logs as stringers with four-inch wide decking sawn from larger logs. Several

crossings on the Ben Johnson Trail were spanned with large-diameter logs with a planed walking surface. Smaller spans were crossed through the use of corrugated iron culverts. An original part of the Ocean View Trail that descended into Fern Canyon to reach the mountain railway terminus (later known as the Lost Trail) was abandoned during this period because of a landslide [see Drawing 4].[136] Custodian Herschler took great pride in the trail and bridge work. When the CCC had completed improvements on the lower section of the Ben Johnson Trail in late 1934, replacing old stringer bridges with log bridges, he remarked in his December monthly report: "The results are quite pleasing in that the woods appear much more primitive, much more natural than had ever been expected."[137] Thomas Vint's program of landscape naturalization was being realized at Muir Woods.

Figure 4.43: One of two matching dry pit toilets built at the Deer Park area off the Dipsea Trail, June 1934. J. Barton Herschler, June 1934 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

Most of the outer trails in Muir Woods were not improved with visitor amenities, except for the Deer Park area. Here in June 1934, CCC crews built two dry pit toilets (privies) as a Public Works Administration (PWA) project, one each for men and women, near where the new spur from the Ben Johnson Trail met the Dipsea Trail. [Figure 4.43, see Drawing 4] This outer area was apparently selected for providing toilets because of its remoteness from those along the main trail, as well the location at the nexus of a number of popular trails. The design of the privies, the same as that employed elsewhere in the Mt. Tamalpais Park area and featured in the 1935 edition of the NPS publication, *Park Structures and Facilities* [see Figure 4.25], was a simple rustic design with the exposed timber detailing that had become a uniform building detail throughout Muir Woods.

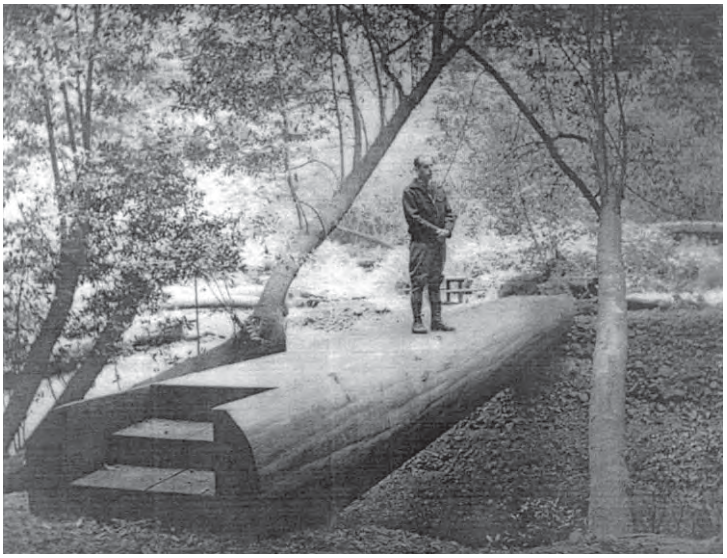
A large part of the CCC's trail work at Muir Woods was concentrated along the main visitor corridor on the canyon floor. Although some improvements were made to the trails themselves, most of the work involved constructing new bridges. The most extensive bridge project in Muir Woods was the replacement of the wooden Fern Creek bridge carrying the main trail. Unlike most other trail bridges in Muir Woods, the replacement bridge was intended for vehicle use, as the main trail continued to function as a service road. By late fall 1933, Regional Architect Edward A. Nickel had drawn up plans for a concrete-arch bridge with stone facing, not unlike those built on main park roads such as Yosemite's Ahwahnee Bridge, but on a much smaller scale [see Figure 4.24]. The general design of the new bridge was apparently suggested by Chief Engineer F. A. Kittredge, as he wrote to Custodian Herschler in December 1933: "…I presented the thought that this would be a fine opportunity when there were both E.C.W. and P.W.[A.] money in the monument to build a fine masonry structure and one which would be fully in keeping with all landscape architectural principles…"[138] In February 1934, work was begun on the bridge by CWA crews who demolished the old bridge, erected a temporary bridge downstream, and poured the concrete arch during the spring.

Figure 4.44: The Fern Creek bridge, designed by Regional Architect E. A. Nickel, view looking downstream toward Redwood Creek across the main trail, August 1934. J. Barton Herschler, 1934 annual report, figure 1. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2292.

Construction of the stone walls was completed by the CCC in August.[139] [Figure 4.44] In addition to the Fern Creek bridge, other work on the main trail included building three wooden bridges across intermittent side streams to replace small corrugated iron culverts, which Custodian Herschler found clogged with debris during rainstorms. The new bridges, built in c.1937-1941, were designed to accommodate vehicles and featured plank surfaces with wooden curbs.[140]

Aside from the Fern Creek bridge, the most conspicuous trail project on the canyon floor during the CCC era was the installation of six large-diameter log bridges across Redwood Creek, four as replacements for existing bridges, and two for new crossings at the lower and middle picnic grounds [see Drawing 4]. Custodian Herschler called for these new bridges because the old stringer types, built by the NPS in 1918, were in poor condition. In specifying log bridges, Herschler was following Merel Sager's 1931 recommendations, as well as employing a typical NPS rustic design of the period.[141] Each of the six crossings for the new bridges were approximately forty feet in width, requiring logs far more massive than those Herschler had earlier used on the narrower upper part of Redwood Creek. In February 1934, the Regional Office approved the project, and Herschler received bids from Gamerston & Green of San Francisco to provide and deliver six logs, which were brought in on truck from Eureka, California between April and July 1934. Using cribbing, CCC crews positioned the logs, which measured upwards of five feet in diameter and came milled with a level surface and bark removed. The largest logs required two and three steps on the approaches. Upon completion of the first bridge in April, Herschler reported that it "…makes a very attractive appearance and comments from visitors have been exceedingly favorable."[142] [Figure 4.45] No additional bridges were built across Redwood Creek until 1938, when Custodian Finn had a seventh log bridge, fifty-five feet long and four and one-half feet in diameter, built across from the redwood cross section near the lower picnic area (at current site of Bridge #1).[143]

Figure 4.45: Log bridge #3 soon after completion, September 22, 1934. The identity of the ranger is not known. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.



Along with the bridges, other improvements along the main trail included the replacement of the old-fashioned privies with modern comfort stations, designed under the direction of architect Edward A. Nickel of the San Francisco

Figure 4.46: The Cathedral Grove comfort station under construction, August 25, 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

district office in a matching style to the main comfort station built in 1928 near the lower picnic area. The first of the new comfort stations was built in the small side-canyon near Cathedral Grove where two privies stood [see Drawing 4]. Built with PWA funds under contract to Joseph F. Childs of Mill Valley in August and September 1934, the building featured the same plan as the main comfort station with screened side entrances, and featured the exposed timber-framing detail used throughout the monument. [Figure 4.46] The building utilized a septic system.[144] In April 1937, CCC crews began work on a matching comfort station at Bohemian Grove, which replaced two privies there as well as two privies at the middle picnic area [see Drawing 4]. In 1939, the main comfort station was doubled in size from three to six toilets on each side to meet the demand of increased visitation anticipated from the lifting of tolls on the Muir Woods Road. A fourth comfort station was planned for construction in 1941 at the foot of Fern Creek Trail, but was never built probably owing to the war and end of the CCC program. [145]

Another CCC improvement along the canyon floor was a PWA-funded project entitled "Picnic Grounds Improvements," completed between 1934 and 1936. This project included the construction of sixteen new picnic tables to replace existing ones which had been severely carved or decayed, built according to a standard plan using milled redwood; and nine animal-proof metal refuse receptacles, matching the design of others previously installed. [Figure 4.47] Also installed were eighteen large "rules and regulations" signs, which were built of redwood boards with glass covers and framed with rabbeted moldings, and mounted on four-by-four redwood posts. The project also included installation of seats fashioned from large redwood logs, continuing the same rustic design used by Custodian Needham in 1930 for the benches at either end of the natural log bridge. The new seats, built of logs received in January 1935 as a gift from Prairie Creek State Park in northern California, were placed along the main trail and around the picnic areas. [Figure 4.48] In placing the seats and tables, Custodian Herschler reported, "…it was necessary to do considerable grading so that the desired landscape effects could be secured." He also wrote that the picnic grounds

Figure 4.47: Twelve-foot long picnic table and animal-proof refuse receptacle installed at Muir Woods between 1934 and 1936 with PWA funds. J. Barton Herschler, "Final Construction Report, Picnic Grounds Improvements 1936," 21 November 1936. National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California, RG 79, 333, Muir Woods Construction.

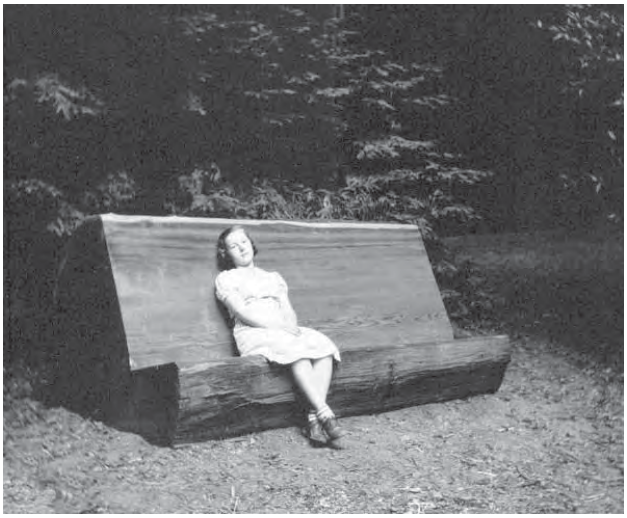


Figure 4.48: One of the ten log benches installed between 1934 and 1936 along the main trail and in the picnic grounds with PWA funding. J. Barton Herschler, August 1935 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

program "…has produced a very satisfactory appearance throughout the heart of the woods, and favorable comments from visitors have been frequent."[146]

The last set of improvements to the canyon floor and main trail corridor was the addition in 1939 of twenty-eight rustic redwood post signs. These directed visitors to comfort stations and points of interest, and posted regulations. The signs replaced the earlier green-on-white NPS signs, and extended a log motif throughout the landscape in typical NPS rustic fashion. Each log post was approximately fourteen inches in diameter, with sign faces split into the upper part of the log and incised with lettering. [Figure 4.49] The signs were made by enrollees of the Mt. Tamalpais Camp SP-23. A similar log motif was used for six new drinking fountains installed around the same time along the main trail, supplementing the pre-existing one that stood near the main gate. There were built of redwood logs fitted at the top with a basin. [147]

Figure 4.49: Redwood log post signs installed in 1939, photographed April 1939. Left: being made by CCC enrollees; Right: Completed sign near main entrance. Walter Finn, April 1939 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

Utility Area

One of Custodian Herschler's management priorities was the improvement of what had become the utility area of the monument, also known as the headquarters area prior to 1940, containing the garage and Custodian's Cottage/park office along the old upper entrance road, then closed to public vehicles [see Drawing 4]. The first project in this area during the CCC era was construction of a new equipment shed (upper garage), sited for the bank above the garage built in 1931. Plans for the new building were designed by the NPS San Francisco district office, and featured the same exposed timber framing detail as used on all of the other main buildings at Muir Woods. CWA crews began construction in January 1934, but work was soon halted due to a lack of materials. In March, work resumed with completion of the concrete foundation pad, but only the frame and roof of the building was finished by the time the CWA program was discontinued in April 1934. The CCC picked up the job and finished the building the following July. [Figure 4.50] Two years later, CCC crews returned to lay down concrete on the approach drive to the new building. [148]

Custodian Herschler's greatest desire for the utility area was to relocate the park office from the Custodian's Cottage to a separate administration building along the main trail. Herschler also hoped to secure a more commodious residence for himself. He first explored the possibility of

Figure 4.50: The Equipment Shed nearing completion by CCC crews, July 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

NPS building a new Custodian's residence outside of the park, and in September 1934 he had arranged for the private donation of a lot in Mill Valley. Later in the year, however, the deal fell through and Herschler settled on enlarging the Custodian's Cottage.[149] In December 1934, plans were developed through Regional Architect Edward Nickel and W. G. Carnes, Regional Landscape Architect, for an 18' x 14' addition to the north side that required removal of the log pergola, but maintained the exposed timber frame and shingle/clapboard design of the original 1922 building. CCC crews began work on the addition on January 22, 1935, and it was completed the following summer. The addition contained a bedroom, bathroom, and fireplace, and due to the slope of the hill, a lower level above grade on a stone foundation.[150] At the same time, CCC crews built a stone retaining wall along the slope below and east of the cottage along the road. The following year, they also built a long run of rustic stone steps up the adjoining hillside from the newly-paved drive to the Equipment Shed. The steps curved gently into the hillside, and featured stone slabs as cheek walls, thus avoiding the need for much grading or disturbance to the wooded site.[151] [Figure 4.51]

Figure 4.51: Stone steps to the Custodian's Cottage built by the CCC in 1936, view looking southeast from drive to Equipment Shed (upper garage). Mt. Tamalpais State Park Camp SP-23, June 1936 report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, California, box 10.

With the hiring of the first permanent ranger at Muir Woods in 1937, Custodian Herschler began to make plans for erecting a second residence in the utility area. For the six-year plan (1939-1944) Herschler received approval from the Regional Director in May 1937 to include the second residence, which he envisioned as the new custodian's residence. Custodian Finn continued to plan for this project, and for the revised master plan of 1939, a site in the bank to the east of the existing Custodian's Cottage was selected [see Drawing 4]. In January 1940, the Regional Landscape Architect visited the site to make preparations for construction, and Finn planned on requesting funds for fiscal year 1942, but apparently due to the onset of the war, the project was dropped and the building was never built. [152] Finn had more luck with his plans for a second addition to the Custodian's Cottage. On February 13, 1939, he wrote to the Regional Director requesting a twelve-foot square addition be built off the existing living room (west side) during the next CCC work period. Finn explained: "…there is a combination living and dining room that is only 12' x 17', which is very small when we have company and the dining table is out from the wall."[153] On April 25, 1939, the project was approved for CCC funding, but was then shifted to PWA funding and contract labor. Final plans and specifications were drawn by NPS Assistant Architect L. H. Skidmore, and the project was contracted to J. Henry Ross of Mill Valley. Work began on August 31 and was completed

Figure 4.52: Later view (1961) of the Custodian's Cottage, looking north from old Muir Woods Road showing original building (right) and 1939 addition (left). Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

on October 24, 1939. The new wing, measuring 9' x 16', featured the same exposed-frame detailing as the existing building.[154] [Figure 4.52]

Entrance Area

The CCC program allowed Custodian Herschler to realize plans for improving and clustering park facilities related to visitor services, administration, and interpretation in the entrance area at the south end of the monument and adjoining state park lands. One of his early priorities in this area was the building of a more prominent entrance gate, like those found at parks such as Mount Rainier. Plans for the new gate had been drawn up on November 1, 1930 and the following month, Herschler had secured a permit from the Kent Estate to build it on the location of the existing gate that was erected in 1918. Construction was delayed, probably due to the pending expansion of the monument boundary to the line of the existing gate. In June 1933, plans for the gate were revised, but it was not until September 1934 that the CCC began construction, although by this time the land had not yet been incorporated into the monument. The old gate was relocated to the monument boundary along the upper entrance on old Muir Woods Road (service drive) [see Drawing 4]. The new gate was completed in April 1935 during the same month that the Presidential Proclamation expanding the monument boundary was executed.[155] For the first time, the formal entrance to Muir Woods corresponded with the boundary of the National Monument. The new gate was a far more impressive structure than the earlier one, and in keeping with the NPS rustic style featured sizeable logs with cross braces and stylized hewn ends, and rough-faced stone block footings. [Figure 4.53] The gate also featured a large hanging sign carved by CCC enrollee A. J. Ahern, the first time that Muir Woods had a prominent entrance sign. In contrast to the earlier gate, the new one was also permanently closed to vehicles through a centrally located log bollard (vehicles accessed the monument on old Muir Woods Road/service drive). The adjoining fence along the parking lot was replaced with log curbs. The rest of the lot, on land belonging to Mount Tamalpais State Park, was graded and surfaced with gravel in October 1935 by the CCC, but was not otherwise redesigned.[156]

Figure 4.53: Postcard of the CCC-built main gate completed in 1935, view looking north from parking area, c.1941. Note log signs in background. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

Figure 4.54: The temporary administration building, built in March 1935, view looking north from the main trail with the redwood cross section in the left background, October 1936. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

On March 7, 1935, a month before the main gate was finished, Custodian Herschler received approval for another of his main objectives for the entrance area: an administration building. This project was not, however, the large, $20,000 administration building he put on the work plans in 1934 to house the park offices, concessionaire, and museum, but rather a small building intended to temporarily free up space in the Custodian's Cottage and relocate the park offices to the entrance area along the main trail. The building was sited on the east side of the main trail just south of the redwood cross section and lower picnic area [see Drawing 4]. Construction of the building was completed by the CCC in March 1935. The building measured 13' x 21' and was a simple design with room for two desks and an information counter, more bungalow than rustic in style and not in keeping with the exposed timber framing of the other park buildings. It had a gable roof, shingle siding, and casement windows with shutters. [Figure 4.54] A rustic-style sign reading "Information National Park Service" hung from the single entrance door. The park concession remained to the south at the first building encountered by visitors: the Muir Woods Shop, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Montgomery since 1933 and located on the 1.36-acre Entrance Tract incorporated into the monument in 1935. With this acquisition, NPS entered into a lease agreement with the Montgomerys to allow them to continue to operate the business. The Muir Woods Shop remained a focal point of the monument and a popular place for meetings and other large gatherings through the late 1930s. [Figure 4.55] Custodian Finn, in continuing to press for the large administration-concession building Herschler had earlier proposed, was critical of the Muir Woods Shop, especially in terms of meeting the needs of the greatly expanding visitation, as he reported in c.1938:

Figure 4.55: Meeting of the Mill Valley Rotary Club at the Muir Woods Shop, May 24, 1938, looking northeast from the main trail. J. Barton Herschler, May 1938 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

The Public Utility Operator's Building [Muir Woods Shop] *is owned by the operator himself, and consists of a small souvenir room, a small dining room, and a still smaller kitchen. The quarters are entirely inadequate to satisfactorily operate the combined souvenir and lunch business, and a good many of the souvenirs must be displayed and sold outside the building. Dining tables outside are used to take care of most of the lunch customers but the arrangement is far from satisfac-*

tory…Travel is expected to increase considerably in the near future, when the purchase of the private toll road is completed, and the operator's activities are expected to increase correspondingly. Even under present travel, he is seriously handicapped on Sundays and holidays, and cannot take care of the business properly owing to lack of room.[157]

Given the large increases in visitation, a project with greater priority than a new administration-concession building was expansion and improvement of the parking area on the state park land. On May 30-31, 1937, the first weekend following the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge to vehicles on May 28th, the parking area quickly overflowed. Herschler reported: "Every available space was taken and it was also necessary to park machines under adjacent trees and along the approach road."[158] [Figure 4.56] By the spring of 1938, plans and approvals had been secured for expanding the parking area and redesigning it to be more aesthetically pleasing and more efficient. The work was conceived as a CCC project, and was approved by the State Park Commission, which owned the land. The Muir Woods Toll Road Company cooperated in the project by improving the access onto the toll road.

Figure 4.56: The jammed Muir Woods parking area, view looking north toward main gate, May 31, 1937, three days after the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge. J. Barton Herschler, May 1937 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

In the spring of 1938, CCC crews began work on the project, which was overseen by Regional Landscape Architect Harry Langley who may have been responsible for the design. [Figure 4.57] The project was largely completed in August 1938, but surfacing of the lot with gravel and oil, and addition of hitching rails for horses were not completed until the following summer.[159] The new lot was a naturalistic design in a curving layout with upper and lower sections, and planted medians de-

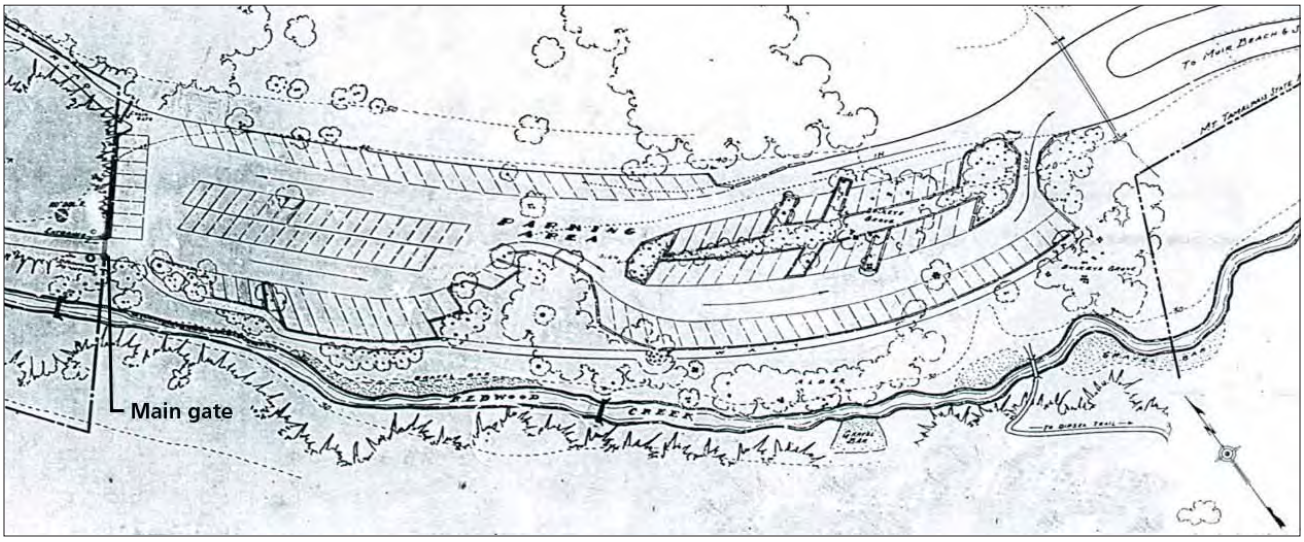


Figure 4.57: Plan of the redesigned parking lot as completed in 1938. Detail, NPS Branch of Plans and Design, "Entrance Area, Part of the Master Plan for Muir Woods National Monument," surveyed January 1, 1939, annotated by SUNY ESF. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, oversize plans, Muir Woods Collection.

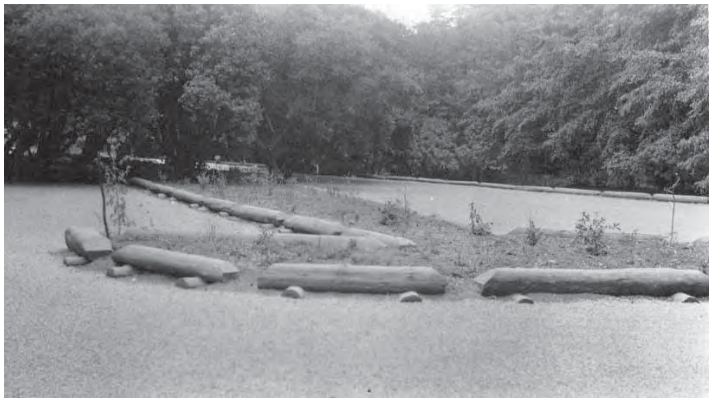


Figure 4.58: The completed lower section of the parking area, view looking south at planted median, August 1939. Walter Finn, August 1939 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

signed to minimize the visual impact on the natural setting. In keeping with the rustic character of the rest of the landscape, the CCC installed chamfered redwood log curbs, a typical NPS design of the period.[160] [Figure 4.58] The new lot doubled the size of the parking area, accommodating 250 cars in marked stalls, and featured travel lanes and a drop-off area. Separate entrance and exit ways were built at the Muir Woods Toll Road, and a wood sign was put up at the entrance. [Figure 4.59] Despite these improvements, the expanded lot proved insufficient on the busiest summer days, with cars forced to park for considerable distances along the approaches from Muir Woods Road (toll road). [Figure 4.60]

With the new parking area complete, Walter Finn could concentrate on progressing the long-planned building for park offices and the concessionaire (officially

Figure 4.59: Later view of the main entrance from Muir Woods Toll Road, showing wood sign and separated entrance/exit built by the CCC in 1938, photographed 1962. The NPS arrowhead logo was added during the 1950s. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 31/1, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 4.60: Overflow parking along the Muir Woods Road at entrance to National Monument (at right), view looking south down Frank Valley Road following completion of the expanded parking area, July 1940. Walter Finn, July 1940 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

known as the Administration-Operator Building, later as the Administration-Concession Building), a project initially progressed by Custodian Herschler soon after he arrived in 1930. The final site selected for the new building, as specified on the 1939 fifth edition of the Muir Woods Master Plan, was between the main trail and old Muir Woods Road (service road), south of the lower picnic area and straddling the boundary of the Entrance Tract [see Drawing 4]. In May 1939, the spring after the parking lot was constructed, Congress appropriated $15,000 for the project with funding through the PWA, and plans were soon progressed by the San Francisco Regional Office. Thomas Vint, Chief of Planning, and C. L. Gable, Chief Park Operators Division, visited the site to make suggestions about the site design of the new building; final design was probably by Regional Architect Edward Nickel, who had previously designed several other buildings in the monument. [161] Plans called for three main parts to the building: administration wing, operator wing (lunchroom and gift shop), and museum wing. These were connected by a porch and faced Redwood Creek and the main trail across a raised terrace designed as an outdoor dining area. The plan did not call for public toilets, since these were provided by the near-by main comfort station. Access to the building was from two walks leading down to the main trail, with the service entrance at the rear, off the old Muir Woods Road. [Figure 4.61] In September 1939, the project was awarded to John Branagh of Piedmont, California. Due to the high cost of labor and materials in Marin County, the museum wing was dropped from construction.[162]

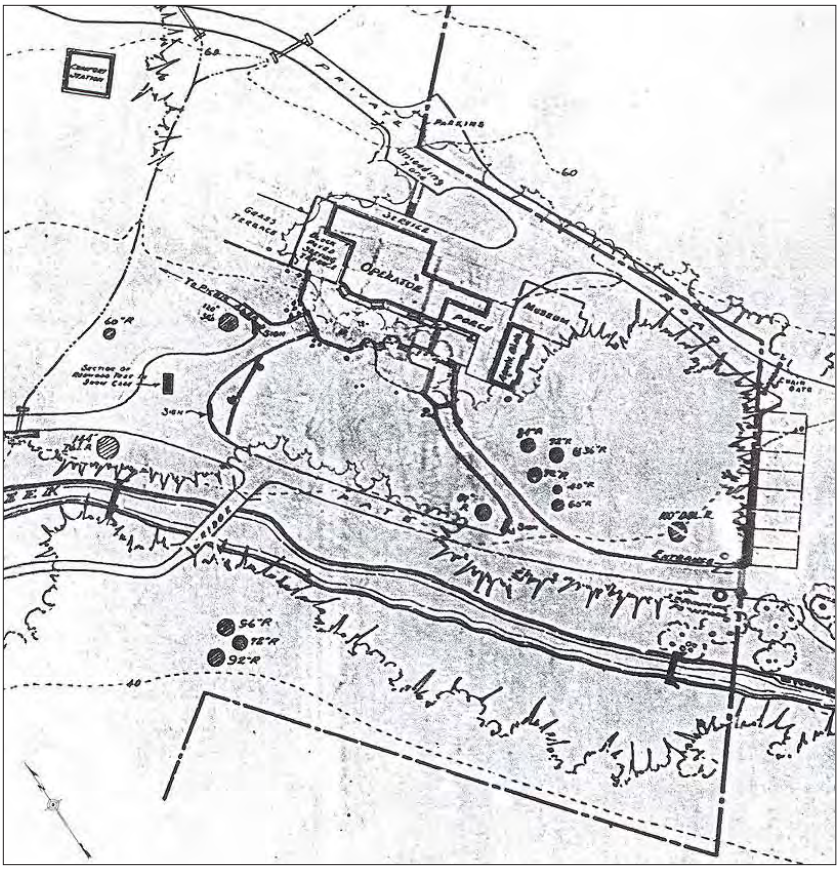


Figure 4.61: Survey of Administration-Operator Building, showing as-built without museum wing (upper right), 1942. Detail, NPS Branch of Plans and Design, "Entrance Area, Part of the Master Plan for Muir Woods National Monument," surveyed January 1, 1942. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, oversize plans, Muir Woods Collection.

Work on the Administration-Operator Building began in March 1940 with the CCC clearing the site, and Branagh completed construction except for the terrace between April 18th and August 30th, 1940. The new building had a modern appearance marked by lack of ornament and a strong horizontality with low, long gable roofs, broad redwood clapboard siding, large plate-glass windows, and horizontal muntins in the doors and other windows. [Figures 4.62, 4.63] It was the first major building in the monument to break from the exposed timber framing detail, and clearly represented the shift in the NPS rustic style away from romanticism toward a more modern, streamlined aesthetic. In many re-

spects, it displayed the same design qualities of a contemporary building: the park headquarters for Olympic National Park, completed in 1941 [see Figure 4.26]. On September 30, 1940, park offices were relocated from the temporary administration building (which was sold and moved out of the monument), and on October 2nd, Mr. Montgomery moved his concession from the Muir Woods Shop to the new building. [163]

Figure 4.62: The new Administration-Operator Building looking northeast toward the operator wing with recently completed log steps in foreground, April 30, 1941. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 4.63: The north approach to the Administration-Operator Building showing completion of the landscape by CCC Camp Alpine Lake, April 1941. Walter Finn, April 1941 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

Figure 4.64: The terrace illustrating redwood rounds paving built by CCC Camp Alpine Lake along the south front of the operator wing, April 1941. Walter Finn, April 1941 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

Figure 4.65: The intersection of the main trail (left) and south approach to the Administration-Operator Building illustrating log edging and sign installed in May 1941. Walter Finn, May 1941 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2293.

Due to lack of funds, the terrace and surrounding landscape were not completed under the PWA contract. This part of the project was instead picked up by CCC Camp Alpine Lake MA-1, which began work in December 1940 with demolition of the old Muir Woods Shop and restoration of its site to natural conditions. The CCC then began building the terrace, which featured distinctive paving of redwood rounds that extended around the adjoining trees. [Figure 4.64, see also Figure 4.63] The terrace was outfitted with picnic tables built of milled and finished redwood, with more rustic half-log benches lining the perimeter of the terrace. The approaches to the building from the main trail continued the log motif used throughout the monument, using wood steps with log cheek walls and earthen walks edged by chamfered logs, matching those used in the parking area. The log edging along the walks extended down to the main trail, where a wooden directional sign, using a streamlined rustic style, was installed at the intersection. [Figure 4.65]

WARTIME MAINTENANCE AND POST-WAR REPAIRS, 1941-1953

The Administration-Operator Building with its terrace and surrounding landscape improvements transformed the entrance area into the focal point and operational center of the monument long envisioned. It was the last major project of the CCC era, which had proved enormously successful in achieving physical improvements planned by Custodians Herschler and Finn; the only substantial project not realized was the second residence. With the onset of World War II and through the post-war years of the late 1940s, work in the landscape primarily involved maintenance. Yet due to lack of funds and labor, Walter Finn reported that even maintenance was neglected, especially for the roads and trails.[164] It was probably during the war years that the lower half of the Nature Trail, leading to the Dipsea Trail, was abandoned.

During the early post-war years, the only addition to the landscape was a memorial to President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Cathedral Grove. For the ceremony held by the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) on May 19, 1945 at the initiation of the Save-the-Redwoods League, a temporary plaque had been installed on a bark pole that read:

HERE IN THIS GROVE OF ENDURING REDWOODS,
PRESERVED FOR PROSPERITY, MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS
CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
MET ON MAY 19, 1945
TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT,

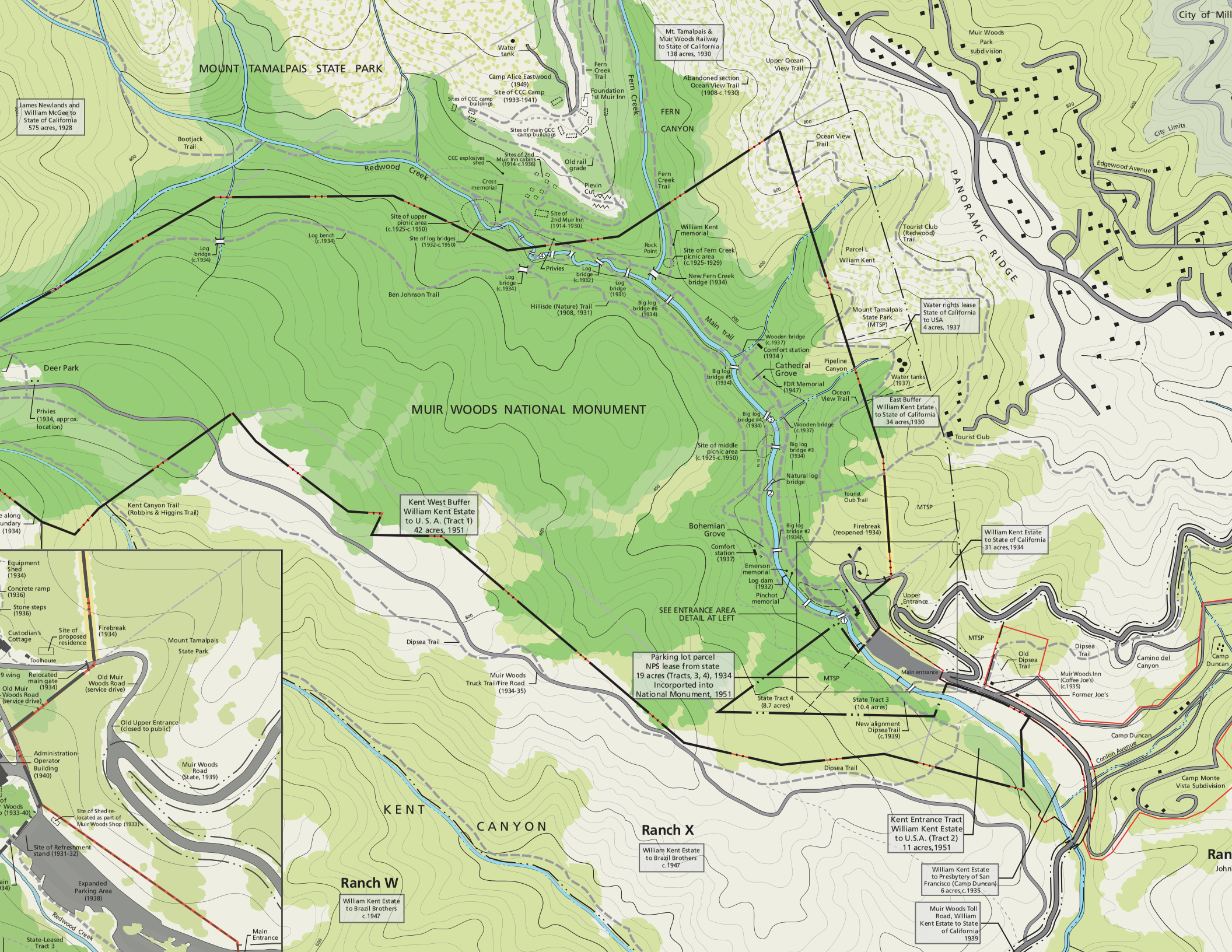
THIRTY-FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
CHIEF ARCHITECT OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND APOSTLE OF LASTING PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND

Following the ceremony, the NPS made available funds for a permanent memorial. The original idea was to install a bronze plaque on a boulder, as had been done with earlier memorials including the ones for Pinchot and Kent. Regional Director O. A. Tomlinson, however, wrote Custodian Finn suggesting an alternative design: "…A natural appearing location for the plaque, we believe, would be in keeping with the surroundings and the spirit of the memorial…Our thought has been that the plaque might best be mounted on a half-buried redwood log, at a suitable location along the path which follows the stream at Cathedral Grove…"[165] Finn had trouble securing a proper log, but in early 1947 found one at the Log Cabin Ranch School in La Honda, California, a technical school operated by the City of San Francisco. The school donated the log in February 1947 and it was installed along the east side of the main trail in Cathedral Grove. The memorial was completed in May 1947. [Figure 4.66] Finn and others referred to this as the "United Nations plaque," rather than the FDR memorial. [166]

Figure 4.66: The FDR memorial at Cathedral Grove, view looking east from main trail, May 1947. The identity of the person is not known. Walter Finn, May 1947 monthly report. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2294.

Through the remainder of Walter Finn's tenure as Custodian into the early 1950s, there were no recorded improvements to the landscape of Muir Woods, although wear and tear on the trails and vegetation increased along with the ballooning visitation. The 1951 change in the monument's boundaries that incorporated the Kent Buffer Strip along the west side and the Kent Entrance Tract south of the parking area resulted in no immediate physical changes, although plans were being progressed for a new picnic area and overflow parking area on the Kent Entrance Tract. (The Kent Entrance Tract encompassed the site of the old Keeper's House, torn down in 1922.) When Finn retired as custodian (by then classified as superintendent) of Muir Woods in February 1953, he left a landscape that was little changed from the improvements made during the CCC era through 1941. This landscape reflected the maturity of the NPS rustic style and its late shift toward modernity, as well as the craftsmanship of CCC enrollees. The log foot bridges, stone Fern Creek Bridge, utility buildings, comfort stations, privies, Administration-Operator Building, redwood-cross section, entrance gate, stone revetments and check dams, log signs, redwood picnic tables, trail improvements, and parking area all remained intact, as did the circulation system that represented decades of

evolution. The only dramatic change occurred with the demolition of the CCC camp in the late 1940s and its redevelopment as Camp Alice Eastwood in 1949, but this change was outside of the monument boundaries. Within and immediately adjoining the monument, the only substantial built changes were the loss of two foot bridges at the upper picnic area, probably in the flood of 1950, and deterioration of Herschler's Hillside Nature Trail, which apparently had become overgrown and probably had lost many of its plant labels by the early 1950s.[167]


MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
FERN CANYON
KENT CANYON
PANORAMIC RIDGE
James Newlands and William McGee to State of California 575 acres, 1928
Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway to State of California 138 acres, 1930
Water tank
Camp Alice Eastwood (1949)
Site of CCC Camp (1933-1941)
Sites of CCC camp buildings
Sites of main CCC camp buildings
Fern Creek Trail
Foundation 1st Muir Inn
Fern Creek
Abandoned section Ocean View Trail (1908-c.1930)
Upper Ocean View Trail
Muir Woods Park subdivision
City of Mill
City Limits
Edgewood Avenue
Ocean View Trail
Bootjack Trail
Redwood Creek
CCC explosives shed
Sites of 2nd Muir Inn cabins (1914-c.1936)
Old rail grade
Plevin Cut
Cross memorial
Site of upper picnic area (c.1925-c.1950)
Site of log bridges (1932-c.1950)
Log bench (c.1934)
Log bridge (c.1934)
Site of 2nd Muir Inn (1914-1930)
Privies
Log bridge (c.1932)
Log bridge (1931)
Log bridge (c.1934)
Ben Johnson Trail
Hillside (Nature) Trail (1908, 1931)
Big log bridge #6 (1934)
Rock Point
William Kent memorial
Site of Fern Creek picnic area (c.1925-1929)
New Fern Creek bridge (1934)
Main trail
Tourist Club (Redwood) Trail
Parcel L
Wiliam Kent
Mount Tamalpais State Park (MTSP)
Water rights lease State of California to USA 4 acres, 1937
Wooden bridge (c.1937)
Comfort station (1934)
Cathedral Grove
Pipeline Canyon
Water tanks (1937)
FDR Memorial (1947)
Ocean View Trail
East Buffer William Kent Estate to State of California 34 acres,1930
Big log bridge #5 (1934)
Big log bridge #4 (1934)
Wooden bridge (c.1937)
Tourist Club
Site of middle picnic area (c.1925-c.1950)
Big log bridge #3 (1934)
Natural log bridge
Deer Park
Privies (1934, approx. location)
Kent Canyon Trail (Robbins & Higgins Trail)
Kent West Buffer William Kent Estate to U. S. A. (Tract 1) 42 acres, 1951
Tourist Club Trail
MTSP
Bohemian Grove
Comfort station (1937)
Big log bridge #2 (1934)
Firebreak (reopened 1934)
William Kent Estate to State of California 31 acres,1934
Emerson memorial
Log dam (1932)
Pinchot memorial
Upper Entrance
SEE ENTRANCE AREA DETAIL AT LEFT
Dipsea Trail
Muir Woods Truck Trail/Fire Road (1934-35)
Parking lot parcel NPS lease from state 19 acres (Tracts, 3, 4), 1934 Incorported into National Monument, 1951
MTSP
Main entrance
Old Dipsea Trail
Dipsea Trail
Camino del Canyon
Camp Duncan
Muir Woods Inn (Coffee Joe's) (c.1935)
Former Joe's
State Tract 4 (8.7 acres)
State Tract 3 (10.4 acres)
New alignment DipseaTrail (c.1939)
Camp Duncan
Conlon Avenue
Dipsea Trail
Camp Monte Vista Subdivision
Kent Entrance Tract William Kent Estate to U.S.A. (Tract 2) 11 acres,1951
Ranch X
William Kent Estate to Brazil Brothers c.1947
Ranch W
William Kent Estate to Brazil Brothers c.1947
William Kent Estate to Presbytery of San Francisco (Camp Duncan) 6 acres,c.1935
Muir Woods Toll Road, William Kent Estate to State of California 1939
Equipment Shed (1934)
Concrete ramp (1936)
Stone steps (1936)
Custodian's Cottage
Site of proposed residence
Firebreak (1934)
Mount Tamalpais State Park
Toolhouse
Relocated main gate (1934)
Old Muir Woods Road (service drive)
Old Upper Entrance (closed to public)
Administration-Operator Building (1940)
Muir Woods Road (State, 1939)
Site of Shed re-located as part of Muir Woods Shop (1933)
Site of Refreshment stand (1931-32)
Expanded Parking Area (1938)
Redwood Creek
Main Entrance
State-Leased Tract 3

CHAPTER 5
MISSION 66 AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL ERA, 1953-1984

With Superintendent Walter Finn's retirement in February 1953, Muir Woods National Monument began a new era that coincided with broad shifts in design and planning throughout the National Park System, as well as regional administrative changes and continued large increases in visitation. In 1956, the National Park Service embarked on an ambitious ten-year, one-billion dollar improvement plan coined "MISSION 66" to address the backlog in maintenance that had built up throughout the system since World War II, as well as to accommodate the tremendous increases in visitation and automobile use, establish new parks, and protect natural values. [1] Muir Woods faced many of the needs identified in MISSION 66 and initially made big plans under the program. In the end, however, it realized few major physical improvements, but did acquire additional land and modernize existing facilities. More profound was the shift toward ecological management particularly during the 1960s, a legacy of the MISSION 66 era that continued to gain importance through the 1970s and 1980s with the passage of stricter federal environmental laws. Another significant legacy of the MISSION 66 era at Muir Woods was the administrative changes that came about with the establishment of new National Park Service units in the Bay Area, notably Point Reyes National Seashore in 1962 and Golden Gate National Recreation Area in 1972. By 1984, Muir Woods had become administratively consolidated within Golden Gate National Recreation Area, but it continued to maintain its identity as a distinct unit of the National Park System.

From the end of Superintendent Finn's term in 1953 through the early 1980s, the landscape of Muir Woods was altered as many of the built features introduced in the years after William Kent's death in 1928 through the CCC era were changed, demolished, or replaced, largely as a result of a MISSION 66 objective to remove development from within the redwood forest and better accommodate crowds. Visitor services, along with administrative offices and parking lots, were retained and expanded at the south end of the monument. New construction reflected stylistic and budgetary shifts in NPS during the MISSION 66 era that favored modernism over the romantic NPS rustic style that had its heyday during the CCC years. In addition to built changes, the landscape of Muir Woods was also changed during this period by the incorporation of fifty-six acres at the south end of the monument along Frank Valley Road, although only a small part received National Monument status. The land was acquired as part of plans, never fully realized, to relocate park facilities out of the redwood forest. Further changes to the landscape occurred along the peripheries of the monument, where natural succession on former grazing and bottom lands resulted in reduction of grasslands and chaparral, and increased forest cover.

DEVELOPMENT & CONSERVATION ON MOUNT TAMALPAIS

The period from the 1950s through the early 1980s was a time of continued development in Mill Valley and areas surrounding Mount Tamalpais, but also continued achievements in conservation, with large areas set aside as public parklands. From 85,619 residents in 1950, the population of Marin County nearly tripled to 208,652 by 1970, with the 1950s witnessing the highest rate of growth at seventy-two percent, followed by the 1960s at forty-two percent. Much of this growth occurred in the northeastern part of the county, in the area surrounding the county seat, San Rafael.[2] Here, a new bridge to Richmond and Interstate 80 on the east side of San Pablo Bay completed in 1956 ushered in a new wave of development. The 1950s and 1960s were also a period of significant growth for Mill Valley, which increased from 7,331 residents in 1950 to 12,942 in 1970, with new construction occurring along the ridges east of Muir Woods. Growth slowed greatly during the 1970s as available land became more scarce and expensive, with the population in Mill Valley remaining largely unchanged during the decade.[3]

EXPANSION OF MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK

In the early 1950s, the region surrounding Muir Woods National Monument and Mount Tamalpais State Park extending south to the Golden Gate and north toward Bolinas and Point Reyes was in many ways the last frontier for development. By this time, a large part of this region had been set aside as public parklands: Muir Woods, Mount Tamalpais State Park, and the Marin Municipal Water District, together encompassing more than 15,000 acres. Yet an even larger area, used largely as dairy ranches and military reservations, was potentially open for development. These lands had remained undeveloped in part due to their remoteness—most were inaccessible from the primary highways in the eastern part of the county. US 1 (Shoreline Highway), the Panoramic Highway, and Ridgecrest Boulevard were the only main thoroughfares, but all three were twisting, narrow two-lane roads. Although there were several proposals for extending new freeways through the region, none were built.

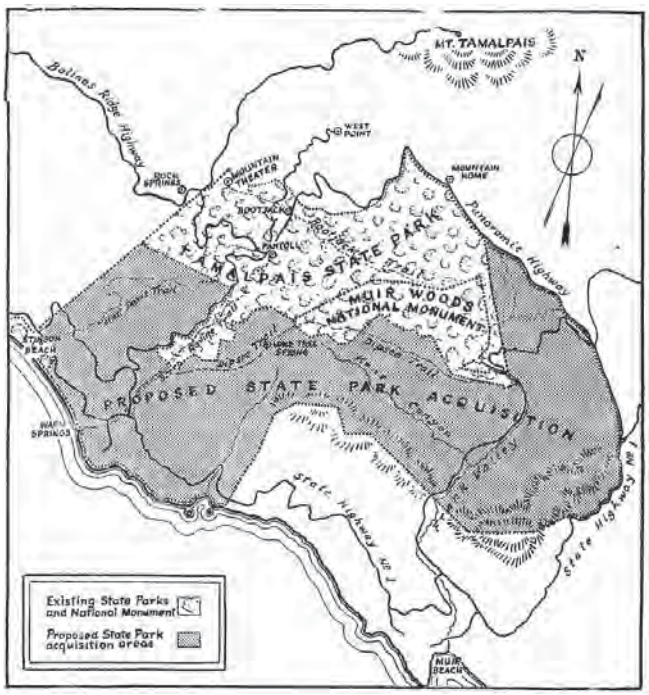


Figure 5.1: Map of Mount Tamalpais State Park, attributed to the California State Park Commission, showing proposed additions, c.1957. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 17, Muir Woods Collection.

In order to protect the natural character of West Marin, conservationists first focused on expanding state park lands, which led to the creation of Marin Headlands State Park in southern Marin, and Samuel P. Taylor State Park near Lagunitas on the northern slope of Mount Tamalpais. Despite these successes, the expansion of Mount Tamalpais State Park remained one of the top priorities among area conservationists. By c.1957, a

plan was drafted calling for the acquisition of lands south of Muir Woods and the existing park extending to the Pacific Coast. [Figure 5.1] These proposed additions included the lower part of Steep Ravine, a large tract near Stinson Beach known as the Matt Davis Tract, the upper part of Frank Valley including Kent Canyon and the Brazil Ranch, and the Dias Ranch extending up to the Panoramic Highway and Route 1. The acquisition of these lands was becoming urgent as development pressures increased: in 1954, there was a proposal for a garbage dump in Frank Valley, and in 1959, Kent Canyon was logged.[4] By 1964, the state had acquired twenty tracts that increased the total acreage of Mount Tamalpais State Park to 2,160, more than double the original 892 acres within the park's boundaries when it opened in 1930. Several of these tracts, including the Steep Ravine property, were made possible through gifts from the William Kent Estate (William Kent, Jr.), and members of the Tamalpais Conservation Club (TCC) and the Sierra Club. Most of the parcels, notably a portion of the Dias Ranch, were purchased with state bonds passed in 1960.[5] The Brazil Ranch for the time being remained privately owned.

In the early 1960s, development pressure continued to mount, and the state passed legislation in 1964 authorizing a "Mt. Tamalpais State Park Expansion Study." The study, completed in October 1964 by the state Division of Beaches and Parks, recommended expanding the park to 31,808 acres, including the acquisition of 10,332 acres of private land and 16,649 acres then within the Marin Municipal Water District, the latter intended to provide a connection to Samuel P. Taylor State Park on the north side of Mount Tamalpais. A second state bond issue was approved for further acquisitions. By 1965, Mount Tamalpais State Park extended to the Pacific Coast at Rocky Point and Stinson Beach, and south and east to the Panoramic Highway and Route 1. [Figure 5.2] The big hole in the region was the Brazil Ranch and some adjoining parcels between Muir Woods and the Pacific Coast. By this time, the Brazil Ranch had been sold to developers who were fronted by the First Christian Church of America, which announced plans for building an expansive campus on the land to house up to 2,000 persons. With funds from the second bond issue, the state completed purchase of the 2,150-acre Brazil Ranch in 1968 after lengthy legal proceedings. Several additional parcels were acquired according to the expansion study, the last of which was a 1,311-acre tract along Bolinas Ridge north of Stinson Beach, which the state acquired in 1971.[6] [Figure 5.3]

Figure 5.2: Map of enlarged Mount Tamalpais State Park in 1965, showing the land south of Muir Woods (Brazil Ranch) outside of the state park. Note that north is to the left. U.S. Government Printing Office, Muir Woods National Monument park brochure, 1967. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 22/4, Muir Woods Collection.

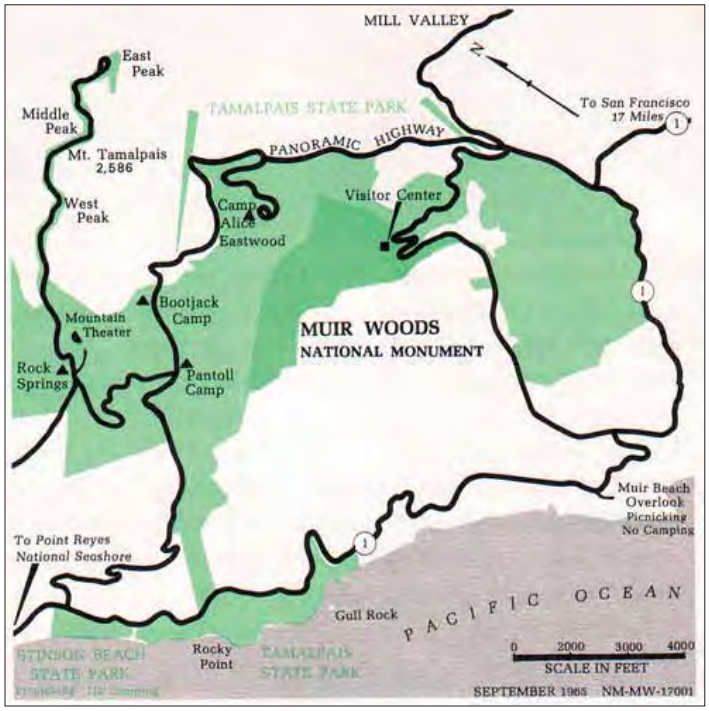


Figure 5.3: Map of West Marin in vicinity of Muir Woods National Monument showing extent of the water district, state park, and Golden Gate National Recreation Area lands by c.1984. The letters and numbers refer to the original subdivided ranches. SUNY ESF, based on USGS Point Bonitas quadrangle (1993), and Mt Tam Trail Map (San Rafael, CA: Tom Harrison Maps, 2003).

EXPANSION OF THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM IN MARIN COUNTY

While progress was being made at expanding Mount Tamalpais State Park during the 1950s and 1960s, a parallel effort was occurring at the federal level to expand national park and recreation lands in the Bay Area. This effort was certainly not new, since park advocates had been calling for a national park on Mount Tamalpais since the turn of the century. In the 1950s, Muir Woods National Monument remained the only National Park Service site on the Marin Peninsula, and in fact the only NPS property in the Bay Area aside from the regional offices in San Francisco. Federal efforts at creating parkland in the Bay Area began to grow along with an increasing interest nation-wide in conserving coastal areas that were under tremendous development pressure with suburban growth following World War II. The effort at expanding the National Park System in the Bay Area also owed much to new NPS initiatives to establish parks in urban regions, and to the MISSION 66 program. Following a study of coastal areas, the first expansion of the National Park System on the Marin Peninsula occurred with the establishment

of Point Reyes National Seashore in 1962, located along twenty miles of Pacific coastline north of Bolinas [see Figure 0.2].[7]

Following the creation of Point Reyes, Bay Area conservationists began to focus on the Marin Headlands, the hilly southern-most region of West Marin along the Golden Gate. Although a portion had earlier been set aside as a state park, much of the area consisted of several large and under-utilized military installations, which were being proposed for de-accessioning in the 1960s. One proposal for the military land made in 1964 called for the development of an 18,000-person community. The effort to conserve the Marin Headlands and other military property in the Bay Area led to the introduction of federal legislation in 1970 for the establishment of a new national recreation area in the Bay Area, extending from San Francisco north to Point Reyes National Seashore. On October 27, 1972, President Nixon signed a bill establishing Golden Gate National Recreation Area (NRA) encompassing more than 34,000 acres and with an allocation of over $120,000,000.[8] It would take years for the land to be transferred to the new park unit, but by the early 1980s, Golden Gate NRA had within its boundaries numerous tracts in the Mount Tamalpais region, including the southern extent of Frank Valley, a portion of Muir Beach, and areas of the coastline to Stinson Beach [see Figure 5.3]. While most of the new park was composed of undeveloped lands, it also included significant cultural resources, such as Fort Mason in San Francisco. Muir Woods National Monument was included as part of the new recreation area, but retained its own identity, and for a time, its own administration.

The establishment of Golden Gate NRA was in many ways an extension of the long-held plans for a national park on Mount Tamalpais. The initial vision for Golden Gate NRA, as called out in the enabling legislation, was to incorporate most of the undeveloped and public park areas in the Mount Tamalpais region within its boundaries, including Point Reyes National Seashore (this was separated from Golden Gate NRA in 1977), and Mount Tamalpais State Park, although the latter remained under state ownership and administration. The enabling legislation allowed for the transfer of state park lands to the NPS, but this provision met with significant local opposition. In a 1975 compromise, Mount Tamalpais remained a part of the state park system, but Marin Headlands, Stinson Beach, and Muir Beach were transferred to Golden Gate NRA. Through the 1980s, many thousands of additional acres in West Marin were incorporated into Golden Gate NRA, notably the one hundred-acre military reservation at West Peak, which was conveyed to the NPS in 1982 [see Figure 5.3].[9]

OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE IN REDWOOD CANYON, 1953-1984

Although much of West Marin was preserved as public park land either by the state or federal governments during the three decades following Custodian Finn's retirement in 1953, there was substantial development not far from Redwood Canyon. Between 1954 and 1980, more than one hundred new houses were built in areas overlooking Redwood Canyon and adjoining ridge tops at the head of Homestead Valley. [Figure 5.4] The area of new development closest to Muir Woods was east of Muir Woods Road and the Tourist Club, in a subdivision laid out in the 1920s as Muir Woods Terrace. A new road and approximately seven houses were built in this area by 1980.

Figure 5.4: Detail, U.S.G.S. San Rafael quadrangle map, 1954 updated to 1980, showing development adjoining Redwood Canyon. The buildings and areas in lavender indicate development that occurred between 1954 and 1980; green indicates area of forest and chaparral. The area south of Muir Woods is mistakenly indicated as part of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and the additions to Muir Woods made after 1954 are not shown.

Most of this development was accessed from the Panoramic Highway, which remained a two-lane road that ran above the eastern edge of Redwood Canyon, connecting with Route 1 (Shoreline Highway) on the south at the Dias Ranch, and Stinson Beach on the northwest. The only vehicular access to Redwood Canyon remained the Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road (former toll road) that had been purchased by the state in 1939 but subsequently remained little changed aside from basic maintenance. With visitation to Muir Woods continually increasing, the Marin County Supervisors felt that they were assuming costs for the road that should be borne by the federal government. In October 1951, as the public was pressuring the county to make improvements, the county urged the local Congressman to sponsor a bill calling for the federal government to take over the Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road, but the legislation went nowhere. By 1957, NPS was proposing that a new approach road to Muir Woods should be built to bypass the steep upper part of Muir Woods Road. Not unlike earlier proposals from the 1910s and 1920s, NPS recommended that the new approach road extend through the Dias Ranch from Route 1, intersecting Frank Valley Road at Kent Canyon. NPS did not, however, recommend that the federal government build this road, and without state and county support, the new approach road was never built.[10]

MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK

Between 1960 and 1969, nearly all of the lands adjoining Muir Woods National Monument were acquired as part of Mount Tamalpais State Park. Edgar Wayburn,

the Chairman of the Conservation Committee of the Sierra Club and President of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, was one of the chief advocates for expanding the state park into the Dias and Brazil ranchlands, the expansive tracts of private land south and west of Muir Woods. [Figure 5.5] In January 1956, he wrote NPS Regional Director Lawrence Merriam, telling him that he should expect this land to be incorporated into the state park within two years, and that it would then be made available for picnic and camping use for visitors to Muir Woods. It would take almost a decade, however, for the state to acquire this land, the first parcel being the Dias Ranch acquired in 1965. [Figure 5.6] With the state's acquisition three years later of the 2,150-acre Brazil Ranch from the Christian Church of America, the lands formerly owned by William Kent in Ranches X, W, and Y south and west of Muir Woods at last became permanent parkland, securing the preservation of the larger natural setting for the national monument. With this purchase, Mount Tamalpais State Park completely surrounded Muir Woods, except at the Camp Monte Vista subdivision off Frank Valley Road.[11]

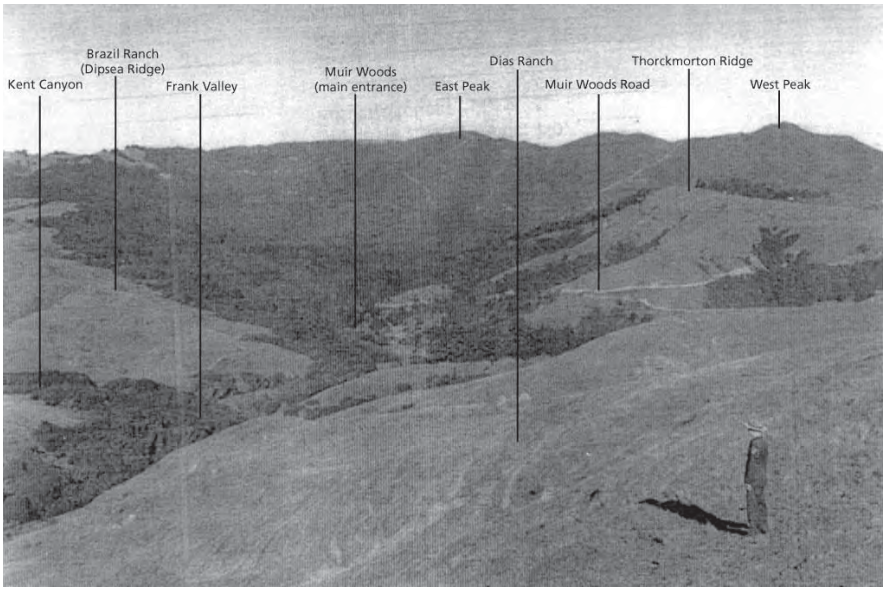


Figure 5.5: Panorama looking north from the Dias Ranch to Muir Woods, park ranger Lawson Brainerd in foreground, November 14, 1956, annotated by SUNY ESF. This view shows the character of the ranchlands that were being considered for incorporation into Mount Tamalpais State Park at the time. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 33/3, Muir Woods Collection.

While the state was working on acquiring the Brazil Ranch through 1968, it was also considering a plan that would have given it ownership of Muir Woods National Monument, reviving plans first discussed in the early 1930s. The new plan, announced as early as 1966, was part of proposed federal legislation creating Redwood National Park in northern California. As part of this proposal, the federal government would incorporate state park lands at Redwood into the new national park in exchange for transferring Muir Woods to the state. The swap, planned in the years before Golden Gate NRA was conceived, was seen as a way to improve administration of Muir Woods, since it was surrounded by Mount Tamalpais State Park and used state park lands for parking. Public opposition to the state takeover quickly mounted, with arguments centering on the erosion of recognition and protection if Muir Woods lost its National Monument status. The Board of Supervisors of Marin County issued a resolution against the proposed transfer, citing "strong sentimental and historical ties to the Federal Government," and that "[i]ts world-wide renown would be diminished by its merger into the adjoining State Park."[12] The proposal was never advanced.

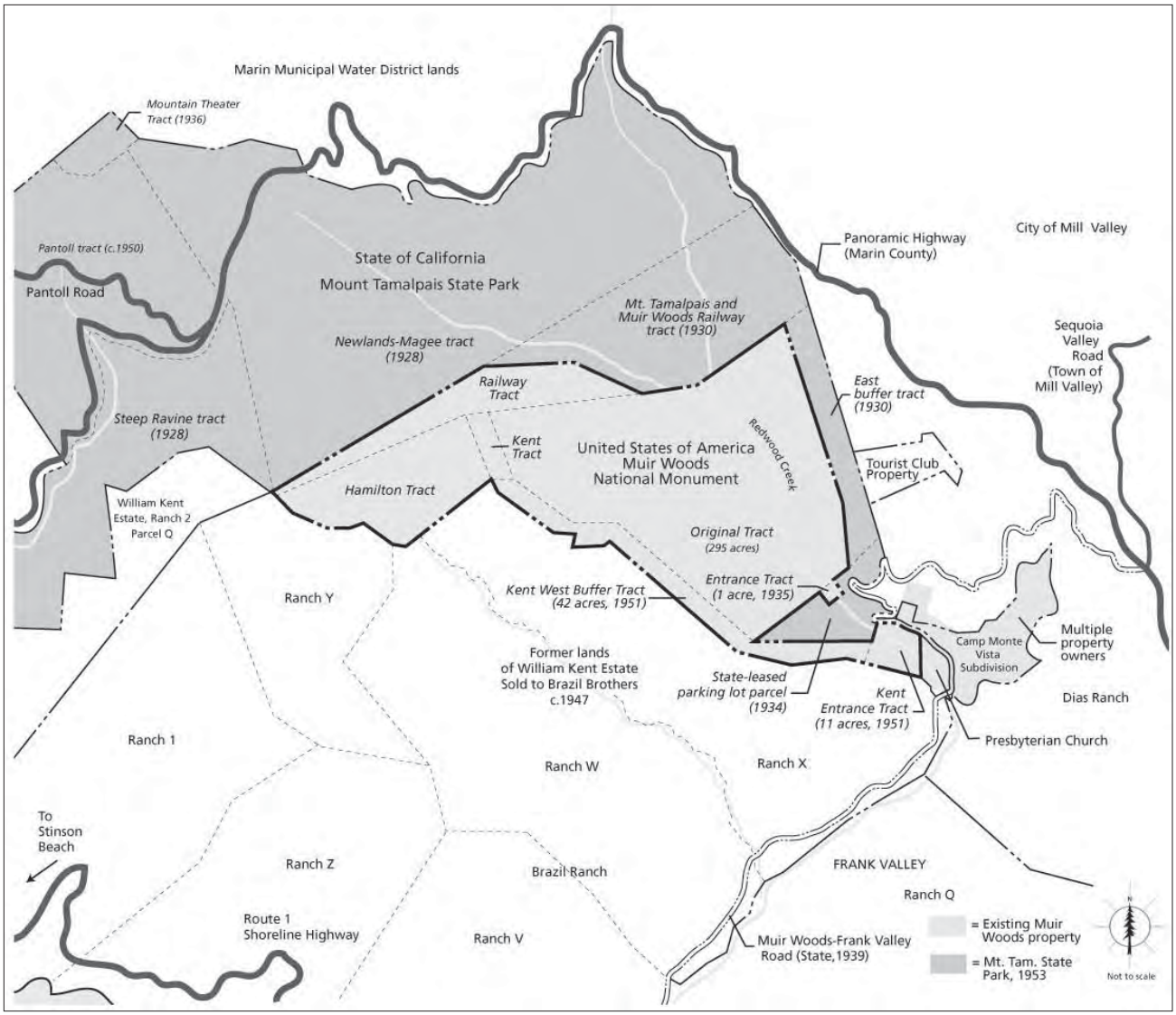


Figure 5.6: Map of property ownership within and adjoining Muir Woods National Monument, 1953-c.1984. The Dias and Brazil Ranches were incorporated into Mount Tamalpais State Park in the 1960s. SUNY ESF, based on Mt Tam Trail Map (San Rafael, CA: Tom Harrison Maps, 2003).

With state acquisition of the Brazil and Dias ranches, the dairy operations on the lands ceased (the last dairy ranches in the area, Golden Gate Dairy near Muir Beach and White Gate Ranch near Stinson Beach, operated until 1974, when the lands were acquired by Golden Gate National Recreation Area).[13] The state managed the Brazil and Dias Ranches largely as natural areas. Without grazing, the grasslands began to revert to chaparral and forest. No new major trails, camping areas, or other recreational features were built on either ranch. The state also began to dismantle some of the recreational facilities in the original park area north of Muir Woods during this period. It transferred the main visitor facility from the Bootjack area to a small parcel it owned at East Peak, at the site of the terminus of the mountain railway. The existing trail system linking to Muir Woods was maintained, but some of the campgrounds were removed, including those at Rattlesnake and Van Wyck, directly upstream from Muir Woods. Pantoll and Bootjack were retained as picnic areas; the only overnight campground in the state park was maintained at Camp Alice Eastwood, adjoining Muir Woods on the site of

the CCC camp and terminus of the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway. The decline in the camping and picnic areas coincided with the rise of vandalism as well as the continued decline in hiking on Mount Tamalpais, marked by the disbanding of many of the old-time hiking clubs by the late 1950s. [14]

CAMP MONTE VISTA SUBDIVISION & CAMP HILLWOOD

Camp Monte Vista—the only land adjoining Muir Woods that the state park did not acquire—comprised fifty acres originally laid out in 1908 with 257 lots. By the mid-1950s, the subdivision contained one commercial establishment, approximately ten private residences, and two institutional youth camps; most of the original lots remained undeveloped.[15] The most prominent building of the subdivision for visitors to Muir Woods was the Muir Woods Inn and Redwood Gift Shop, which had been operated since the 1940s by the Schlette family. [Figure 5.7] The Muir Woods Inn (not to be confused with the railway's Muir Inn that ceased operation in 1929) catered primarily to monument tourists, as the owners advertised in 1971: "After a walk in the woods, it's always pleasant to stop at the Muir Woods Inn for a light meal. The adjoining gift shop offers a variety of attractive items that will enable you to recapture the vivid experience of your visit to Muir Woods."[16] Directly south of the Muir Woods Inn was the Baumgarten residence, formerly the refreshment stand and dance hall known as Joe's Place, which remained unoccupied after the mid-1960s and was torn down by 1974. [Figure 5.8] Unimproved public roads ran around the perimeter ridges of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision and up through the floor of the canyon. Farther back in the subdivision and centered along the floor of the side canyon were two youth camps: at the upper end, Camp Hillwood, part of the private Hillwood Academic Day School in San Francisco established by Mary Libra in 1949; and lower in the canyon, Lo Mo Lodge, part of the Donaldina Cameron House in San Francisco's Chinatown, a mission of the Presbyterian Church to Asian women dating back to 1874.[17]

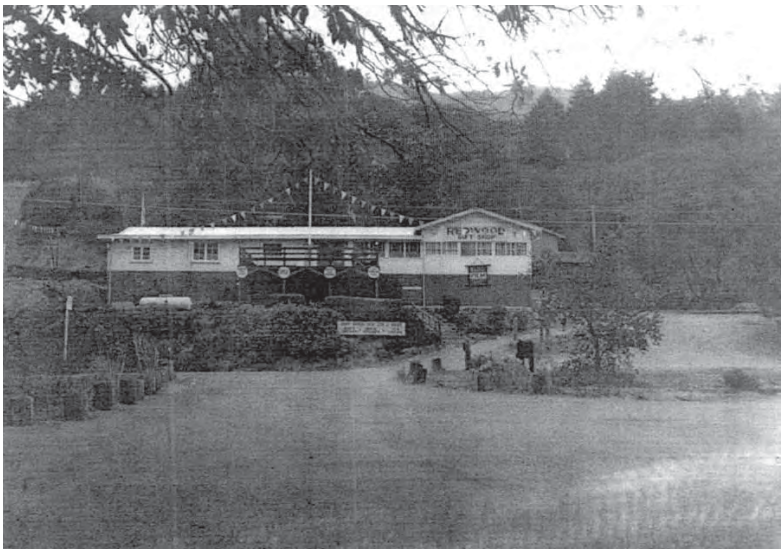


Figure 5.7: The Muir Woods Inn and Redwood Gift Shop looking east from the lower parking lot at Muir Woods National Monument, photographed November 1965. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

Mary Libra began Camp Hillwood in 1956 at the site of Camp Duncan—the camp founded in the 1890s and known prior to 1942 as Camp Kent. Camp Duncan was owned by the Presbytery of San Francisco (Presbyterian Church) and in the early 1950s was officially called Presbyterian Point Ranch. In 1955, the church began to look for a new and larger camp site in the Sonoma Valley, and the following year sold most of Camp Duncan to Mary Libra. The church retained approximately

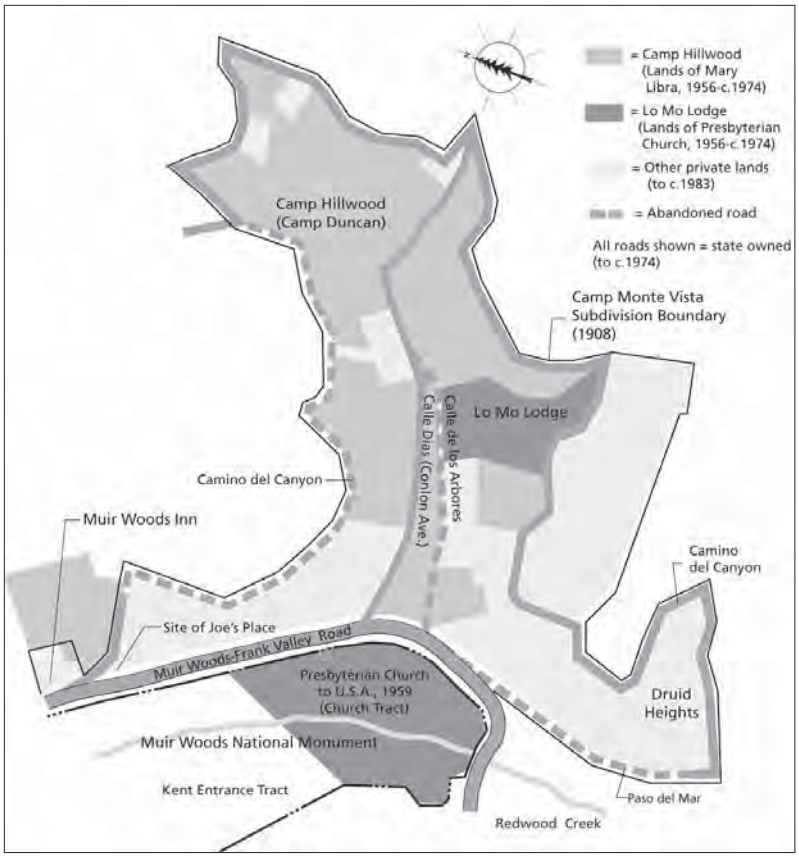


Figure 5.8: Diagram of property in the Camp Monte Vista subdivision illustrating land associated with Camp Hillwood (Mary Libra), Lo Mo Lodge (Presbyterian Church), and other private property owners, c.1956-84. SUNY ESF based on Muir Woods National Monument property survey, 1984.

three acres of the lower camp area closer to Frank Valley Road for Lo Mo Lodge, along with a six-acre tract across Frank Valley Road. Mary Libra undertook an extensive improvement program at Camp Hillwood in the late 1950s and early 1960s, rehabilitating and expanding the existing lodge, cabins, and roads. In 1965-66, she acquired approximately three acres (most of which was outside of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision) from the Schlette family to the rear of Muir Woods Inn, and in 1969, purchased approximately one hundred lots from A. D. Carrozzi, bringing her total holdings for Camp Hillwood to approximately twenty acres, nearly half of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision. For financial reasons, Libra did not purchase another fifty-three lots that Carrozzi owned fronting on Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road.[18]

Along Camino del Canyon (the upper loop road around the subdivision), a number of houses remained in private ownership. Several cottages and shacks at the southeastern end of the road, on a high ridge planted with eucalyptus trees, became a bohemian enclave known as Druid Heights beginning in the 1950s [Figure 5.8]. The origins of this small community began in 1954, when the New York City poet, lesbian, and anarchist Elsa Gidlow purchased a five-acre tract at the southeast end of Camino del Canyon. The community flourished through the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Beatnik-era historian Erik Davis writes that following Gidlow's arrival, Druid Heights:

> *…would soon blaze into a hidden hearth of bohemian culture, a "beatnik" enclave years before the term was born or needed, and later a party spot for famous freaks. Scores of sculptors, sex rebels, stars and seekers lived or visited the spot over the decades, including Gary Snyder, Dizzy Gillespie, John Handy, Alan Watts, Neil Young, Tom Robbins, Catherine McKinnon and the colorful prostitute activist Margo St. James. Too anarchic and happenstance to count as a commune, Druid Heights became what Gidlow jokingly called "an unintentional community:" a vortex of social and artistic energy that bloomed out of nowhere, did its wild and sometimes destructive thing, and, for the most part, moved on.*[19]

EXPANSION OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1959 & 1974

As Mount Tamalpais State Park was planning ambitious expansion of its boundaries during the 1950s, Muir Woods National Monument was looking to secure claim to the dwindling amount of potentially available land to support park operations, primarily at its southern end. Around the same time that Elsa Gidlow moved to Druid Heights and Mary Libra purchased Camp Duncan, the NPS was looking at the Camp Monte Vista subdivision as a possible area for expanding park administrative and parking facilities as part of its MISSION 66 prospectus finalized in April 1956. Although the expansion of the monument in 1951 with the acquisition of the Kent Entrance Tract was made with the expectation that it would fulfill the park's property needs, continually increasing visitation and a desire to shift development out of the redwood forest led NPS to look for more land. In its MISSION 66 prospectus, the park called for acquisition of a six-acre parcel across from Camp Monte Vista that was owned by the Presbyterian Church [see Figure 5.8]. The property, on the flats of Redwood Creek on the west/south side of Frank Valley Road adjoining the Kent Entrance Tract, was mostly meadow and was part of the Camp Duncan property that the church was trying to sell off at the time. The parcel had been the site of the second lodge for Camp Duncan (Kent), which stood between c.1910 and 1924. The park noted in its MISSION 66 prospectus that the church was "…anxious that the National Park Service purchase the property." The park reported that the reason for acquiring this parcel was "for much needed parking space and controlling the entrance to the area." The park at the time was also considering the parcel for a new picnic area and staff housing.[20] The MISSION 66 prospectus also called for NPS to acquire the four-acre Muir Woods Inn property located across from the monument entrance, then owned by Muriel Schlette. According to the prospectus, the reason for this acquisition was to "round out boundary and to control area entrance and/or use as possible future building site." [21] The park had also proposed to swap the Hamilton Tract (northwestern portion of the monument) with the state park in exchange for the state's east buffer strip and parking lot parcel, but this was dropped from the final version of the MISSION 66 prospectus.[22]

In May 1957, Muir Woods Superintendent John Mahoney conveyed his disappointment over the progress of land acquisition to the NPS Regional Director: "As I have been given very little encouragement in the matter of land acquisition, the MISSION 66 program will probably have to be accomplished on lands now in federal ownership…"[23] Within a year and a half, however, things began to progress and on October 20, 1958, NPS closed on its purchase from the Presbyterian Church of the six-acre parcel, which became known as the Church Tract [see Figure 5.8]. The deed included an easement at the southeastern corner to allow NPS access from Frank Valley Road to the portion of the tract west of Redwood Creek.

On September 8, 1959, the parcel was incorporated into Muir Woods National Monument through Proclamation #3311 signed by President Dwight Eisenhower, bringing the total acreage of the monument to 510.43 acres including the 19.09-acre parking lot parcel owned by the state [see Appendix B for proclamation text]. The proclamation cited the boundary expansion as being "…essential to the proper care, management, and use of Muir Woods National Monument," in contrast to earlier proclamations that were based on the purpose of preserving old-growth redwoods, none of which existed on the Church Tract. [24]

While acquisition of the Church Tract was in progress in 1958, the park pursued the recommendation in the MISSION 66 prospectus to acquire the Muir Woods Inn property, valued at $30,000, as a potential building site for park support purposes and as a means to protect the approaches to the monument. This acquisition was discussed at a regional meeting on February 2, 1959 held to discuss the expansion of Muir Woods given the pending state purchase of the Brazil and Dias Ranches. Fred Martischang, Superintendent of Muir Woods, reported that the Muir Woods Inn acquisition, which also included additional frontage within Camp Monte Vista along Frank Valley Road, was considered, but that "…since there was doubt our Service would be able to acquire funds for the purchase of the property this location was abandoned."[25] Apparently no further planning was done at the time to acquire any property within Camp Monte Vista, and the proposal was not included in the monument's revised master plan completed in 1964. The master plan instead revived plans calling for NPS to exchange the Hamilton Tract for the adjoining state park lands on the east (east buffer strip) and on the north (old mountain railway tract, Camp Alice Eastwood). As part of this expansion but apparently not part of the exchange, the master plan also called for NPS to acquire the 19.09-acre parcel containing the parking area that was leased from the state.[26]

Soon after the master plan was revised, the state signed a two-year option in 1966 to purchase a tract in Camp Monte Vista from the Cardozzi family, bordering Frank Valley Road, and soon closed on its acquisition of the Brazil Ranch south and west of Muir Woods. The state let its option on the Cardozzi property expire, but meanwhile NPS renewed its interest in Camp Monte Vista, probably due to the possibility that the state would acquire all of the remaining private land near the monument.[27] In December 1969, Muir Woods staff made general reference to expansion there as one of its management objectives: "Acquire sufficient private lands adjacent to the monument to permit development, protect scenic approaches and improve vehicular access."[28] By the following summer, the park made public plans for acquiring the entire fifty-acre Camp Monte Vista subdivision, then consisting of approximately eighty lots belonging to fifteen different owners, including Elsa Gidlow and other beatniks in Druid Heights, the Cardozzi

family, Mary Libra (Camp Hillwood), and Donaldina Cameron House (Lo Mo Lodge). NPS gained the support of local Congressman Don Clausen for the acquisition of Camp Monte Vista. On July 9, 1969, the Mill Valley *Record* published an article titled "Expansion Plans for Muir Woods Cost $400,000," and quoted Congressman Clausen on the reasons for the acquisition: "The private lands near the entrance are the key to proper development of the park…At present the park's buildings are in the redwood groves. With the purchase of this land many of the facilities could be relocated and expanded in the new area."[29]

By 1971, NPS was completing ownership data and making legal preparations for the planned acquisition, in conjunction with revision of the master plan completed the same year.[30] The proposal to acquire Camp Monte Vista caused some controversy among the property owners, particularly from Mary Libra and Enid Ng Lim, Administrative Secretary of the Donaldina Cameron House. In the summer of 1971, they wrote a joint letter to the Director of the NPS Western Regional Office that was published in the *Pacific Sun*, protesting their expected removal from the property:

> *The National Park Service would have you believe that the purchase of 50 acres to expand Muir Woods National Monument will cause no hardship. In the words of park officials, "just remove a few buildings and return the property to its natural state."…We do not object to expansion of Muir Woods but we do object to our being ousted and deprived of Hillwood Lodge and Lo Mo Lodge, where Bay Area children of all races enjoy campouts, nature walks and education in ecology and conservation…our age-old program of service to youth should be allowed to continue…*[31]

NPS soon worked out an agreement with the Hillwood School and Donaldina Cameron House that allowed for their right of use and occupancy, as well as that of other residents including Elsa Gidlow, for a term not to exceed twenty-five years or for the life of the owners. This language was inserted into the legislation authorizing NPS to acquire the fifty-acre Camp Monte Vista subdivision, as part of a larger bill authorizing the expansion of other NPS units. Entitled "An Act to provide for increases in appropriation ceilings and boundary changes in certain units of the national park system, and for other purposes," the bill was passed by Congress on April 11, 1972, along with an appropriation of $950,000 for acquisition, development, and administration of Camp Monte Vista, none of which was in NPS ownership at the time.[32] Unlike previous expansions of Muir Woods, the 1972 legislation was not a Presidential Proclamation made under the Antiquities Act of 1906; it therefore did not increase the boundaries of the National Monument, only the boundaries of the Muir Woods administrative unit within which NPS was authorized to acquire land. The area designated as a National Monument

remained as it had been when last expanded in 1959 with the incorporation of the Church Tract.

On November 10, 1974, NPS acquired the Camp Hillwood property owned by Mary Libra, and around the same time also acquired the Lo Mo Lodge property from the Donaldina Cameron House and the public rights-of-way along the roads from the State of California. By 1981, acquisition of the lands was not yet completed, but most of the owners had chosen or would soon choose to retain rights to use and occupy the lands, including those in Druid Heights. The park anticipated that roughly half of the Camp Monte Vista subdivision would remain under use and occupancy rights for up to twenty-five years.[33] By August 1984, NPS Western Regional Office completed a property survey showing federal ownership of all of the land within Camp Monte Vista and the lot north of Muir Woods Inn, excluding several easements [see Appendix H]. Amounting to 49.7 acres, the Camp Monte Vista tract increased the total acreage owned by NPS within the Muir Woods administrative unit to 541.04 acres. The total land designated as Muir Woods National Monument remained at 510.43 acres, including the 19.09-acre parking lot parcel leased from Mount Tamalpais State Park.

MANAGEMENT OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1953-1984

Upon Walter Finn's retirement as superintendent (custodian) in February 1953, he left behind unresolved, long-standing management issues: balancing visitor use and protection of the natural environment, enhancing interpretation, providing adequate staff housing, and updating and implementing master planning. Most of these issues became more urgent in the context of ever-increasing visitation. In 1953, 401,252 visitors came to Muir Woods, an enormous increase of nearly 108,000 from the previous year. Within ten years, visitation climbed to 577,894, and by 1973, it reached 798,354. In 1977, visitation surpassed one million people per year, and in 1981, it increased by another quarter million. These 1.25 million visitors arrived in over 310,000 vehicles. Crowding was concentrated in a very narrow area from the entrance and parking lot up along the main trail to the Cathedral Grove, beyond which only a small percentage of visitors walked. [34]

While management issues during the three decades between 1953 and 1984 were similar to those faced in the 1920s and 1930s, there were also marked differences. NPS began to take a more aggressive approach to controlling the impact of visitation on the natural environment, and began to implement policies that took into account a more ecological approach to conservation. Another change was related to personnel, which tended to turn over more rapidly during this period. Between 1908 and 1953, there had been just five Custodians at Muir Woods, plus one acting; between 1953 and 1984, there were ten occupying the parallel posi-

tion of Superintendent and Supervisory Park Ranger, with another four serving in acting positions.[35] The staff also increased to an average of ten positions aside from the superintendent, including two to three maintenance positions, five park rangers, a park technician, and two clerks.[36] Another management change came about with the incorporation of the surrounding lands into Mount Tamalpais State Park, which diminished the threat of incompatible development that had been a long-standing concern. At the same time, however, the management relationship with the state park diminished from its height during the CCC days, and there was a decreasing overlap in use among the two parks, with most visitors using Muir Woods largely as a single destination rather than part of a regional park and hiking system.

The most significant change in management during this period was in the administrative structure of Muir Woods. In 1953, Muir Woods was the only National Park unit in the Bay Area, and was managed as an independent unit under the supervision of the NPS Regional Office in San Francisco. This changed during the 1960s and 1970s as larger park units were established in the region. On May 22, 1967, the administration of Muir Woods was placed under the Superintendent of Point Reyes National Seashore, which had been established in 1962. All personnel, fiscal, and procurement records from Muir Woods were transferred to Point Reyes as part of the San Francisco Bay Area Cluster Office of the NPS, which also included John Muir National Historic Site across the bay in Martinez, acquired in 1964. Muir Woods, however, retained its own superintendent and remained a distinct administrative unit. With the establishment of Golden Gate National Recreation Area in 1972, Muir Woods became associated with the Marin Unit of the new park, but it still retained its position of Superintendent and distinct administrative status. One of the goals of the new park was, however, common administration of the various units within its boundaries, and by 1974 efforts were underway to consolidate Muir Woods with Point Reyes National Seashore and Fort Point National Historic Site under common administration within Golden Gate NRA. By 1978, Muir Woods had been administratively reorganized as one of three units of Golden Gate NRA in Marin County, along with Stinson Beach and the Marin Headlands. At this time, the position of Superintendent at Muir Woods was abolished and the position of District Ranger was made into the head position, but the monument still retained vestiges of administrative independence. In 1984, final administrative consolidation of Muir Woods into Golden Gate National Recreation Area was completed with implementation of a district management system. Law enforcement, personnel, and many other administrative functions once part of Muir Woods were transferred to the regional Mount Tamalpais Unit.[37] Despite consolidation of many of its administrative functions into the larger structure of Golden Gate NRA, Muir Woods retained its National Monument status and public identity as a distinct unit of the National Park System.

MISSION 66 ERA, 1956-1972

From 1955 through 1972, management and planning at Muir Woods were carried out largely through the structure of the MISSION 66 program, first proposed by NPS Director Conrad Wirth in 1955 and approved by Congress in 1956 as a ten-year improvement program, replacing the earlier cycle of yearly budgets that had hindered post-war planning and construction. Although MISSION 66 was comprehensive in its scope, it in effect emphasized building construction. Park-specific objectives of MISSION 66 included the building of visitor centers (a new building type coined as part of the program), modern comfort stations, administration buildings, and staff housing. As part of MISSION 66 and continuing the tradition of master planning begun in the 1930s, each park unit had to develop a plan or prospectus for future management and a program of development for the ten-year period. Although MISSION 66 formally ended in 1966, Director Wirth's successor, George B. Hartzog, Jr., initiated "Parkscape" as a successor program that continued the MISSION 66 program through 1972.[38]

In July 1955, the staff of Muir Woods completed their tentative MISSION 66 prospectus, and on April 17, 1956, produced a final version. The primary goals of the prospectus were to protect and enhance the natural environment of the redwood forest by removing development from within it and by better controlling visitor access; making the trails more safe and accessible; and building new visitor services outside of the woods to the south. The park articulated these goals through its general program statement in the MISSION 66 prospectus:

> *Development within the Woods will be limited to preservation and restoration of the area, trail improvement and general rehabilitation as required. The general program for Muir Woods is for the development outside of the wooded area. In order to accomplish this, the first consideration must be given to the acquisition of land for building, parking and picnic sites. After this is accomplished the development outside can proceed as outlined.* [39]

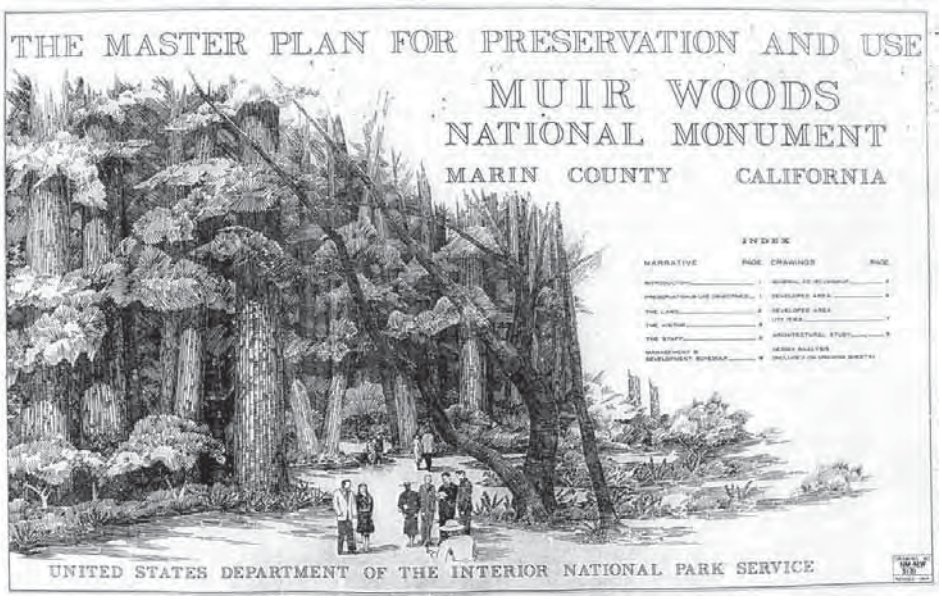
To accomplish this, the prospectus outlined a series of recommended improvements and management considerations that, in addition to proposed property acquisition, retained the overall operation and organization of the park, and relied on "self-service visual methods" for interpretation and visitor use. Staffing was proposed to increase from six positions to eleven. Physical improvements and changes included removal of all buildings from within the woods; improvement of picnic facilities outside of the woods; protection and restoration of vegetation through use of natural and built barriers; improvement of visitor access and safety by blacktopping trails and replacing the log footbridges; construction of a new trail along the west side of Redwood Creek to better dissipate crowds; building of a self-guided nature trail; construction of a comfort station in the parking area;

adding new water storage tanks and upgrading the sewage system; installation of an entrance kiosk for collection of entrance fees (then being studied but not yet implemented); building of a new staff residence; and—the most ambitious proposal—building a visitor center at a new site outside of the woods. The total cost for the program was estimated at $389,000. [40]

With finalization of its MISSION 66 prospectus, the staff of Muir Woods soon began to plan for implementation, and in August 1957 submitted the following list of work to be completed by the 1960 fiscal year:

MAJOR ROADS PROGRAM	
Resurface upper parking area	*$ 6,000*
MINOR ROADS AND TRAILS PROGRAM	
Trail bridge replacement	*$ 41,000*
Access road to residence	*$ 75,000*
Replace bumper logs and steps	*$ 3,500*
BUILDINGS AND UTILITIES PROGRAM	
Employee's residence	*$ 25,000*
Comfort station	*$ 30,000*
Interpretive center building [visitor center]	*$125,000*
Employees' residences	*$ 50,000*
Enlarge administration-concession bldg.	*$ 25,000*
Improvements to sewer disposal system	*$ 35,000*
Construction of redwood signs	*$ 2,500*
Replace rustic log and wood work	*$ 4,000*
Revetment and check dam rehabilitation	*$ 20,000* [41]

Figure 5.9: Cover page for the 1964 master plan for Muir Woods. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 15, Muir Woods Collection.



In the years after the MISSION 66 prospectus was completed, NPS began work on a new master plan to replace the one last updated in 1939. Developed by the Division of Landscape Architecture in the NPS Western Office in San Francisco, the new master plan was completed in 1964. [Figure 5.9] It incorporated many of the objectives of the MISSION 66 prospectus, and provided design development for new

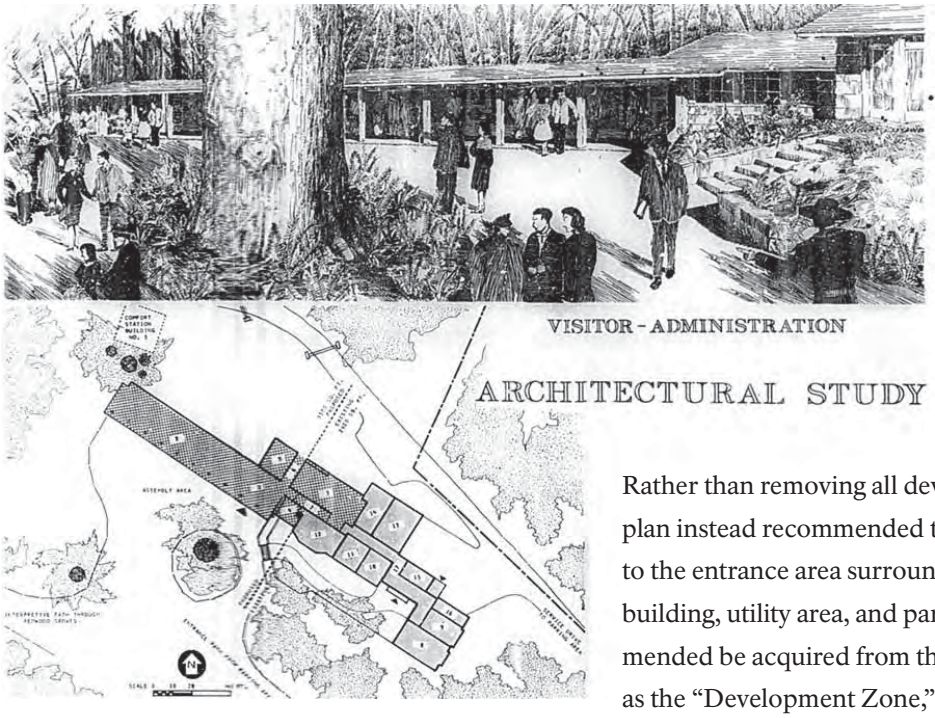


Figure 5.10: Detail of the 1964 master plan showing proposed northern extension of the Administration-Concession Building, and removal of the main comfort station. This plan was not implemented. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 15, Muir Woods Collection.

construction such as the enlargement of the administration building and construction of an entrance kiosk. [Figure 5.10] The master plan did not, however, recommend sites for new staff residences, which the park had considered constructing on the Church Tract, nor did it locate or design the new proposed visitor center. Rather than removing all development from the woods, the plan instead recommended that development be restricted to the entrance area surrounding the existing administration building, utility area, and parking lot (which the plan recommended be acquired from the state). This area it identified as the "Development Zone," while the area to the north comprising the heart of the redwood forest, the plan identified as the "Natural Environment Zone."[42]

While MISSION 66 plans for Muir Woods made important strides toward enhancing natural resource protection and interpretation, this area of management subsequently took on increasing priority through the 1970s in step with broadening environmental awareness throughout the country and new federal environmental laws. By 1960, the park completed a report entitled "Suggested Protective Plans for Muir Woods," which set forth as the first objective that the "…irreplaceable virgin qualities that give Muir Woods National Monument status must be protected for all time," not unlike Custodian Herschler's 1937 policy to treat the woods as a natural outdoor museum, but with a more ecological perspective. The report identified the spread of exotic invasive plants and visitor impacts (including ground compaction and climbing on root swells) as being the primary threats to the virgin quality of the woods. [Figure 5.11] The report also detailed impacts on native fauna from domestic animals and poaching of spawning fish; disturbance of the natural environment by collectors who upturned logs and stones and removed vegetation; and the flood-control structures in Redwood Creek, specifically the CCC-era check dams that, the report stressed, "…have done more to reduce the fish population than all other factors combined."[43] For the first time, plans called for treating Redwood Creek as a part of the regional ecology, rather than as a threat to the preservation of the redwood forest—a marked change from the MISSION 66 prospectus. These issues were reiterated in a 1969 statement of management objectives, which under the topic of resource management called for maintaining Redwood Creek as a "natural fresh water fishery," initiating a pro-

gram to reduce off-trail use, and eradicating exotic flora and fauna.[44] The extent to which ecology was becoming central to NPS management during this period was evident in an operations evaluation of Muir Woods made in 1970, which recommended that "…NPS ecologists and resource management experts should help the Superintendent to determine what techniques should be used for the proper management of the ecological communities at Muir Woods and what further research projects are needed to provide additional facts…"[45]

To address the impacts from heavy visitation, the park studied several administrative changes, including whether to collect entrance fees, allow commercial tours, and ban picnicking. By 1967 after years of consideration and as authorized under the Land & Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, the park instituted a system of entrance fees that were collected daily during the busiest days in an effort to dissipate visitation. Around the same time, the park also banned commercial group tours within the woods to reduce congestion.[46] More problematic was the issue of picnicking, which had been a thorny issue for decades given its long association with public use of Muir Woods. Soon after Superintendent Finn retired in February 1953, picnicking within the woods was removed to the newly-acquired Kent Entrance Tract, south of the main parking area. This change did much to lessen visitor impacts to the fragile floor of the redwood forest, but even with this move, NPS considered eliminating picnicking altogether in the hopes that such a ban would reduce congestion and lead to quicker visitor turnover. In February 1955, NPS Director Conrad Wirth issued a memorandum stating: "…picnicking is an incidental, not an essential, facility to visitor enjoyment of the Monument." He requested that the Superintendent proceed to eliminate picnicking, citing concern that it could further increase overuse by local residents, since few tourists used the picnic area.[47]

Figure 5.11: Image in Lawson Brainerd's "Suggested Protective Plans for Muir Woods" (November 9, 1960) used to illustrate visitor impacts to the "largest tree" (near Bohemian Grove). Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 14, Muir Woods Collection.

The greatest objection to removing the picnic area apparently came from the local hiking clubs. In June 1955, Edgar Wayburn, President of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, wrote to NPS Regional Director Herbert Maier asking that they be involved in the discussions to eliminate the picnic area, which Wayburn cited as being heavily used by hikers: "A number of our people have asked why the National Park Service has not seen fit to discuss changes of such import with the people who are among its closest

friends, and who have such interest in its problems…"[48] Hikers objected to removing the picnic area, located along the Dipsea Trail, because it was the only one in the vicinity. Due to local opposition and opposition within the Regional Office, the decision to remove the picnic area was put off pending state development of new picnic areas on adjoining lands in Frank Valley that were being considered for acquisition as part of Mount Tamalpais State Park. In 1964, with development of the master plan, the issue of picnicking was revisited. Park planners found that picnickers were responsible for using up approximately forty percent of available parking time, staying four times as long as the first-time visitor. This statistic, along with worsening parking problems, led NPS to finally ban all picnicking from Muir Woods National Monument in 1964.[49] For the first time since it had been developed into a public park by William Kent in 1905, all active recreation aside from walking and hiking had been removed from Muir Woods.

While the park was protecting the natural environment, it was also working to better interpret it to the public. The formal effort toward enhancing interpretation during this period had begun before MISSION 66 with the hiring of the first seasonal naturalist in 1954, a position made permanent in 1960. In 1962, the park instituted its first organized system of plant identification, and the same year, the Muir Woods Natural History Association was formed (it was later renamed the Muir Woods-Point Reyes Natural History Association when the administration of the two parks was joined).[50] The coast redwood and other native plants, and the fish of Redwood Creek were featured on natural history sheets available to the public, and interpretative plaques and signs were installed along the trails. The only interpretive program on cultural history, as recommended in 1969, was to "Emphasize man's impact on the redwood environment."[51] There had been efforts to interpret the cultural history of Muir Woods in a museum that was being planned during the late 1950s as part of a new visitor center, continuing the earlier efforts of Custodian Herschler from the 1930s. A museum prospectus prepared in 1958 called for museum cases to interpret not only the natural environment, but also the history of efforts to preserve redwoods in California, the local history of the area, commercial uses of redwood, and background on individuals such as William Kent and John Muir, using collections owned by the park but not then on view to the public. The museum proposal was subsequently abandoned, and by 1973, the park was being advised to de-accession its collection of historic photographs, ephemera, correspondence, and archeological artifacts then stored in the attic of the Equipment Shed.[52]

EARLY YEARS OF GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA, 1972-1984

By the end of the Parkscape program and MISSION 66 era in 1972, Muir Woods National Monument had made progress in achieving the primary goals of its prospectus and 1964 master plan: removing development from within the redwood

forest, controlling visitor impacts, and acquiring land to the south. The legislation for acquiring the Camp Monte Vista tract, approved in 1972, coincided not only with the end of the MISSION 66 era, but also with the founding of Golden Gate National Recreation Area (NRA). The purpose of the Camp Monte Vista tract, meant primarily for park support purposes, would in the end be largely negated as some of the administrative functions for Muir Woods were transferred to regional Golden Gate NRA offices, headquartered in San Francisco. Despite this, NPS continued to acquire all of the land in Camp Monte Vista as authorized through the 1972 enabling legislation. In 1976 following the acquisition of the Muir Woods Inn parcel through the National Park Foundation, the offices of the Acting Unit Manager of the Marin Unit of Golden Gate NRA were moved from the administration building to the Muir Woods Inn, and other park offices were moved there in subsequent years.[53] In the other Camp Monte Vista lands, Camp Hillwood and the Donaldina Cameron House continued to operate following NPS acquisition of their properties, but no plans were progressed for building new park structures on the land at the termination of their leases, such as new staff residences or a new visitor center.

Under Golden Gate NRA administration, Muir Woods continued to grapple with many of the same management issues it had during the MISSION 66 era, as well as new issues such as the monument's place within the larger park system, and changing uses in the Mount Tamalpais area, including a resurgent interest in hiking. Unlike most other units of Golden Gate NRA in Marin County, Muir Woods was fortunate because it had a history of planning documents on which to rely; at the other units, the NRA largely operated in a reactive mode until 1980, when it completed its first comprehensive master plan, known as a General Management Plan (GMP). For Muir Woods, the GMP set out proposals that were mostly the same as those contained in the monument's master plan (1964, revised 1971), reconfirmed through the public involvement process. The GMP stressed, however, that there was one object central to all others: to eliminate the "inconvenient and unsightly congestion that now plagues the entrance to the monument…"[54] There was also an emphasis on sustaining the native characteristics of the redwood forest, which the plan indicated would require "…continued intervention in the normal ecological succession of the forest. This may involve, for example, the planting of new trees and the selective thinning of old stands, or even prescribed burning."[55] The GMP also renewed the objective of the MISSION 66 era to remove development from the redwood forest (original monument tract), and called for new facilities to be built on the floor of the side canyon in the Camp Monte Vista subdivision, on the old Camp Kent campgrounds. The plan went a step farther than prior efforts in calling for the main parking area to be removed and the area returned to natural conditions. A new one-hundred space parking lot was envisioned below the newer parking lot on the Kent Entrance Tract.[56]

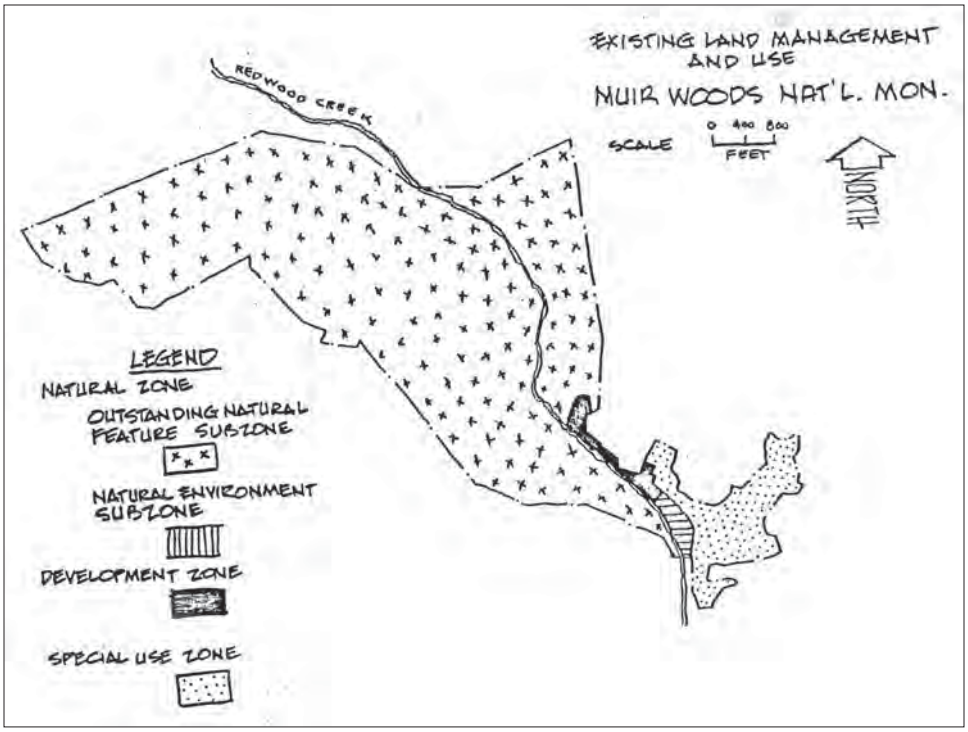


Figure 5.12: Management zones of Muir Woods National Monument as outlined in the Statement of Management completed in 1981. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 15, Muir Woods Collection.

In 1981, Golden Gate NRA staff completed a "Statement of Management" for Muir Woods that set forth three management objectives that built off the GMP. In terms of the physical environment, the Statement called for reducing visitor congestion on peak days; minimizing "man-made intrusions" within the redwood forest; eradicating exotic flora and fauna; and controlling visitor access to preserve the natural environment. The Statement also offered several new directions, recommending "mechanical forest management" to perpetuate the redwood forest, as had been suggested in the GMP; discouraging use of the monument as a trailhead (reflecting resurgence of hiking); and ascertaining a "carrying capacity based upon the sociological and physical limitations of the monument." This last objective was intended to preserve the serenity of the woods, a characteristic that William Kent had long ago prized. The Statement further directed, perhaps to discourage any calls for active recreation: "Visitor use of Muir Woods will be essentially a brief inspirational and educational experience, relying on the peaceful majesty of the towering trees and the enriching color and texture of their allies."[57] In order to carry out these management objectives, the Statement divided the park into three zones: "Natural Zone," consisting of the redwood forest as the "Outstanding Natural Feature Subzone" and the deciduous woods at the south end of the monument as the "Natural Environment Subzone;" the "Development Zone," consisting of the existing parking area, administration building, and Muir Woods Inn property; and the "Special Use Zone" covering the remainder of the Camp Monte Vista tract with non-NPS use by Camp Hillwood, Lo Mo Lodge, and Druid Heights residents.[58] [Figure 5.12]

LANDSCAPE OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1953-1984

In 1953, the landscape of Muir Woods National Monument was little changed from the end of the CCC era in 1941, with the notable except of additional wear and tear from heavy visitation, primarily along the main trail. The implementation of MISSION 66-era plans beginning in the mid-1950s, however, soon resulted in

marked changes. With an emphasis on lessening development from within the heart of the redwood forest along the main trail, many of the features built by the CCC were removed, and in an effort to protect natural resources and better accommodate crowds, the trails were altered. Following the establishment of Golden Gate National Recreation Area in 1972 through the administrative consolidations occurring by 1984, there were few additional changes made to the landscape of Muir Woods, aside from the addition of property in the Camp Monte Vista subdivision.

New construction during this period generally reflected broader shifts in the NPS in a style coined by historian Sara Allaback as "Park Service Modern."[59] Although architecturally quite different from the NPS Rustic style, Park Service Modern in most cases still emphasized harmony with the natural setting, using native materials and unobtrusive massing. The 1964 Muir Woods master plan stated: "The very woodsy character of the monument invites a continuation of the rustic informal architecture that has been established."[60] High building costs and slim budgets, however, sometimes resulted in inharmonious development, especially in utility areas that were not visible to the public. Although the monument never had the massive development that some parks witnessed under MISSION 66, the improvements that it did see during this era nonetheless reflected a more streamlined, simplified approach to design intended to efficiently accommodate large numbers of visitors and more visibly market the park, especially to the car-driving public. This shift in design built off changes first exhibited in the Administration-Operator Building (known during this period forward as the Administration-Concession Building), built in 1940. Much of the design work at Muir Woods during the MISSION 66 era continued to be developed out of the regional NPS offices in San Francisco, which had been reorganized as the Western Regional Office, and in particular through its Division of Landscape Architecture in the Office of Design and Construction. By 1967, this office was reorganized into the San Francisco Planning & Service Center, and in 1971, its function was consolidated into the Denver Service Center, responsible for the entire National Park System. [61]

Figure 5.13: 1966 edition of the Muir Woods brochure, celebrating the native character of the redwood forest. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 22, Muir Woods Collection.

NATURAL RESOURCES

During this period of increasing ecological awareness, management of natural resources within Muir Woods was carried out with a light touch, especially from the 1960s onward. Gone were the days of clearing extensive firebreaks, erecting flood control structures in Redwood Creek, or clearing brush and natural litter on the canyon floor. The native character of the forest—with stumps, downed trees, and abundant understory vegetation—was celebrated, as evident on the cover of the park's new brochure printed in

1966. [Figure 5.13] This same brochure also featured two out of five pages of text on the ecology of Redwood Creek, including photographs of giant salamanders and silver salmon.[62] By this time, the rock check dams constructed by the CCC in the 1930s had been broken up to restore spawning grounds for the salmon, following recommendations by NPS biologists and naturalists made in 1953 and restated in the park's "Protective Plans" drafted in 1960 (the park had actually called for rehabilitating the revetments and check dams in 1957, but this was soon reversed).[63] Enough of the rock was removed to re-establish the flow of the creek, but some of the rock was left in the creek bed. There was no program to remove the stone revetments, although collapsed sections were apparently not rebuilt.

Much of the natural resource work done during this period involved eradication of exotics and restoration of trampled ground. Some of this occurred naturally as uses were changed, trails realigned, and barriers erected. The removal of the lower picnic area near the administration building in 1953 relieved that area of trampling, and the native understory began to regenerate. This was observed by a H. Wagner, a visitor who returned to the park in 1957 after a ten year absence. He wrote to NPS Director Conrad Wirth:

> *…I do want to tell you that [Muir Woods] appeared much better than it appeared ten years ago. First of all, it was immaculately clean and the absence of picnic tables within the area traversed after leaving the automobile accounts for that, in a large measure in my opinion. The recovery of the old picnic area was well under way and it is assisted conspicuously at this season by the regeneration of the oxalis and other perennials…*[64]

The erecting of barriers along the trails in the 1950s and 1960s led to significant regeneration of the native understory. Park staff placed brush around the popular trees that were being damaged by trampling, loosened soil, and transplanted native plants to help speed the natural regeneration process. In one notable exercise, forty-two redwood seedlings were planted between the administration building and main trail in 1976 and 1977 to establish a new redwood grove in an area that had been heavily used (these seedlings apparently did not survive). As a result of such intervention and protection, as James Morely (a long-time park observer and author) noted in 1982: "…oxalis is recarpeting much of the forest floor, and the ferns (many of them transplanted from upper hillsides by Monument personnel) are spreading their tracery again. Apparently encouraged by more vegetation and the confining of humans (plus the banning of dogs), deer now browse near the trails, while remaining wild."[65]

THE SOUTH APPROACH: CAMP MONTE VISTA AND THE CHURCH AND KENT ENTRANCE TRACTS

The property at the south approach to Muir Woods that was acquired by NPS during this period and shortly before featured no mature redwood groves and was largely treated as peripheral to the earlier monument tracts. One of the first developments on this land related to park support purposes was the establishment of a new picnic area on the Kent Entrance Tract, the only major change to the landscape of Muir Woods prior to 1955 when planning began for MISSION 66. In March 1953, following the 1952 decision to remove picnic areas from the monument proper, Superintendent William Gibb oversaw the relocation of existing picnic furniture from the middle and lower picnic areas to a wooded spot beneath red laurel, California buckeye, live oak, and willows bordering Redwood Creek. The spot was just below the main parking area and near where the Dipsea Trail crossed Frank Valley Road, across from the Muir Woods Inn. [Drawing 5] The new picnic area contained twenty-two redwood tables, made by the CCC during the 1930s. In 1955, Superintendent Donald Erskine reported: "On busy days during the summer the area has attracted more than sixty picnic parties at one time. Plainly the present area is inadequate to meet the present demand…"[66]

Figure 5.14: The Church Tract looking north from Frank Valley Road with Camp Monte Vista in the middle ground and the East Peak of Mount Tamalpais in the distance, 1956. Appraisal Report, Presbyterian Point Ranch, 1956. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 1, Muir Woods Records.

Soon after the new picnic area was established, planning was underway to build a new overflow parking lot on the Kent Entrance Tract to address the more than 100,000 annual increase in visitation that had occurred since 1952. In the spring of 1956, the new lot was constructed along Frank Valley Road, with two entrances, one of which was directly opposite the Muir Woods Inn [see Figure 5.7, Drawing 5]. The unpaved lot measured approximately four hundred feet long and featured log curbs, similar to those used on the main parking area, and log bollards. Access to the monument entrance was by a footpath that extended through the picnic area and along the side of the main parking area. The new lot encroached onto the south end of the picnic area, requiring removal of approximately a third of the picnic tables. As visitation continued to increase, plans were developed by 1964, at the time the picnic area was removed, to double the size of the parking area, extending it onto the Church Tract that had been acquired in 1958, but this extension was never realized.[67] The Church Tract at the time [Figure 5.14] was also being considered as the site of three new staff residences, but these were never built and

the tract remained undeveloped during this period.[68] It was mostly open meadow formerly used for grazing, with deciduous woods lining Redwood Creek. Over the course of the next several decades, most of the field reverted to woods through old-field succession.

Across from the new parking lot and the Church Tract was the Camp Monte Vista subdivision, which by the late 1950s included the Muir Woods Inn, Camp Hillwood, Lo Mo Lodge, and approximately ten private residences, some of which were part of the beatnik community, Druid Heights. During the period that NPS acquired the fifty-acre subdivision between c.1972 and 1984, the land continued to be used largely as it had been for the previous two decades, with the exception of the Muir Woods Inn, which closed in c.1970, when the National Park Foundation purchased the property. The owners of the inn, the Schlette family, acquired the park concession located in the Administration-Concession Building from the Montgomery family, and moved their business there in 1970.[69] With transfer of the Muir Woods Inn property to NPS in c.1972, the park retained the main building and several outbuildings, making few changes to the structures except for painting them brown.

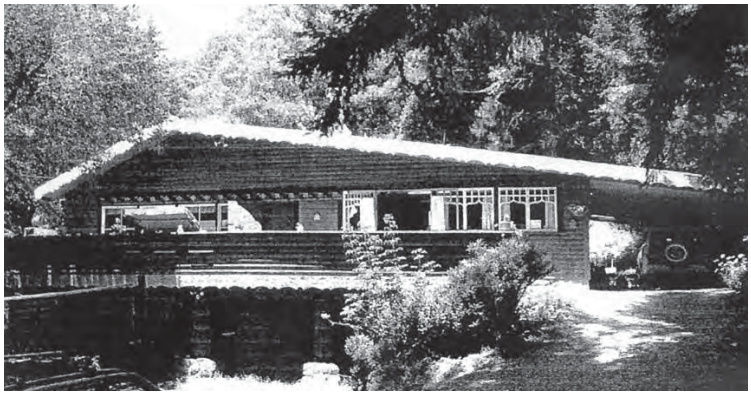


Figure 5.15: The lodge at Camp Hillwood showing renovations of c.1957-1960, from a recent photograph, 2004. Bright Eastman, "Draft DOE, Camino del Canyon Property" (Prepared for NPS, September 2004), 43.

Elsewhere in Camp Monte Vista, the owners of Camp Hillwood, Lo Mo Lodge, and the remaining private residences apparently made few improvements to their buildings once the NPS acquired the land with a twenty-five year lease arrangement, the last few of which were begun in c.1984. Most of the area was heavily wooded, except along the steep ridges above Frank Valley Road [see Figure 5.14]. Camp Hillwood was the most extensive complex, located at the far eastern end of the side canyon at the end of Conlon Avenue (Calle de Dias) [see Drawing 5]. Most of the buildings had been erected as part of Camp Duncan (Kent) by the Presbyterian Church when it acquired the Judge Conlon property in 1924, and others had been expanded and renovated by Mary Libra after she purchased the camp in 1956. Primary buildings included the main lodge, built in c.1940 and substantially enlarged and remodeled in a Swiss Chalet style between 1957 and 1960. [Figure 5.15] There were also eight frame cabins, arranged in two clusters, that were erected in c.1925, and two water tanks, a playground, informal ampitheater, drives, and footbridges. The other camp was Lo Mo Lodge, located lower on the canyon floor on the east side of Conlon Avenue. The camp was originally a private residence built by the Evans family in c.1930 and was acquired by the Presbyterian Church as part of Camp Duncan in c.1940, and then expanded as part of Lo Mo Lodge from the 1950s through the 1970s. The build-

ings, all of frame construction with some metal siding, were arranged in a cluster around the main lodge (former Evans house), and included a dining hall, two girls' cabins, and two boys' cabins. The remaining residences were all simple, frame bungalows, with numerous additions and alterations made over the years.[70]

Some of the more unusual structures in Camp Monte Vista were in Druid Heights at the southwestern end of Camino del Canyon, many designed by resident Roger Sommers, including a round library for Alan Watts. Beatnik-era historian Erik Davis has described Sommers' work as a "flamboyant, organic, deeply Californian style influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright, Japanese architecture, and the twists and turns of living things."[71]

THE ENTRANCE & UTILITY AREAS

There were many small additions and alterations that changed the character of the public entrance to Muir Woods during this period, but not the substantial redevelopment that the MISSION 66 prospectus had outlined. One change was natural—the grasslands east and uphill from the parking area gradually reforested during this period, and the existing woods matured. Built changes included renovation of the Administration-Concession Building completed in c.1958. This work involved construction of a rear office wing, enclosure of the porch that connected the concession and administration wings, and reconstruction of the terrace, including removal of the redwood rounds paving. During the same time, the main parking area was paved with "hot mix" (asphalt) for the first time, along with the service road leading up to the superintendent's residence. [72] The remainder of the service road extending to the public road was apparently closed off and the old entrance gate was removed.

Given its difficulties in progressing plans for new staff housing, in 1959 the park considered placing a trailer in the utility area as housing for the park ranger, Arthur Volz. Not until 1967, once efforts to build permanent housing had largely been exhausted, was a used trailer installed to the rear of the administration building along the service road.[73] Other work in the area included the construction of a 40,000-gallon steel water tank three hundred feet uphill from the superintendent's residence in 1957 to replace the three redwood tanks on the state park land near the Ocean View Trail built in 1937; and the construction of an unpainted metal shed in 1966 between the Equipment Shed and Garage to house paint and other supplies [see Drawing 5].[74] The utilitarian, machine-like design of these new structures contrasted with the rustic wood style of the adjoining buildings constructed in the 1920s and 1930s.

The most substantial changes to the entrance area occurred in the latter 1960s, beginning with minor realignment of the entrance onto Muir Woods Road in

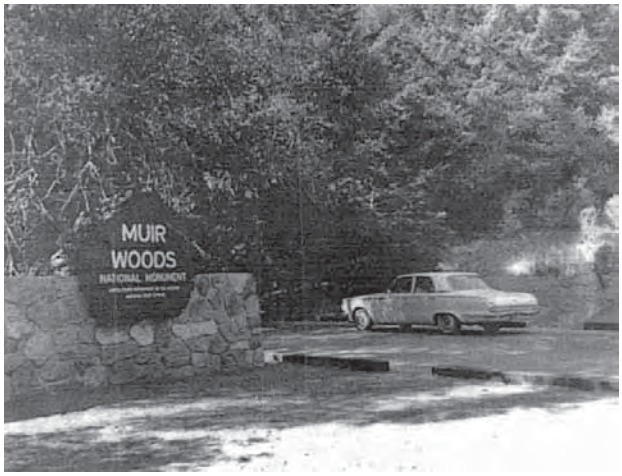


Figure 5.16: The redesigned main entrance to Muir Woods at Muir Woods Road, view looking northeast illustrating entry drive and new walls and sign, October 1965. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, box 37/7, Muir Woods Collection.

1965. At this time, the CCC-era wood sign was removed, and stone walls were erected to either side of the entrance, along with a new sign fashioned out of a redwood cross section and employing a modernized NPS font.[75] [Figure 5.16] In May 1967, two years after the entrance work, plans were finalized for construction of a new main comfort station in the parking area, conceived as a replacement for the Bohemian Grove and Cathedral Grove comfort stations and part of the larger plan to remove development from within the woods. The new comfort station also replaced two existing privies in the lower parking area that may have been relocated from Deer Park some years before. Designed by the NPS San Francisco Planning and Service Center, construction was contracted to A. E. FitzGerald of Klamath Falls, Oregon. The design for the building illustrated the so-called Park Service Modern style, with a broad gable roof, simple board and batten siding, and large areas of glazing in the gable walls. [Figure 5.17, see also Drawing 5] The design of the grounds surrounding the building reflected the continued importance of harmonizing with the natural setting. Surrounding mature trees were retained and were supplemented with native plantings of California lilac, coffee-berry, tanbark oak, California buckeye, and giant holly fern, protected from trampling by rail fences built of split redwood.[76]

As the comfort station neared completion in the summer of 1968, work began on another project to redesign the layout of the main parking area and pedestrian entrance at the main gate. The project, contracted to Neil & Burton of Kentfield, California, included new concrete curbs, asphalt paving, and new circulation patterns, as well as construction of a permanent entrance kiosk at the site of the main gate, replacing a small temporary kiosk that had been built in 1967 in the middle of the main trail just inside the main gate. The new kiosk, designed by the NPS Western Office of Design and Construction as an information and admission fee collection station and built in the fall of 1968, was an octagonal structure with a shingle roof and glazing on all sides.[77] [Figure 5.18, see also Drawing 5] The rustic main gate, built by the CCC in 1934-35, was removed for construction of the kiosk most likely because it conflicted with the redesigned entrance to the main trail that included separate exit and entry points defined by rail fences. The kiosk was the last major new construction project in the entrance area through the early 1980s.

Figure 5.17: The north side of the new comfort station built in 1968 and adjoining paths, fences, and plantings, photographed 1972. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 5.18: The entrance kiosk built at the site of the main gate in 1968, view looking northwest across the parking area, 1970. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 34/4, Muir Woods Collection.

THE TRAILS

The greatest amount of change to the landscape of Muir Woods between 1953 and 1984 was along the trails on the canyon floor, where most of the MISSION 66-era objective to remove development from within the redwood forest was carried out. The park adhered closely to this objective, even deciding against the addition of memorials that could exacerbate crowding and trampling in the woods. When, for example, there was a proposal in the early 1960s to erect a memorial for the late United National Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, the park accepted to host the memorial ceremony in 1965 and erect a temporary sign, but the permanent memorial—a grove of redwoods—was located by the Save-the-Redwoods League near Humboldt Redwoods State Park in northern California.[78] Four years later, there was another proposal to erect a United Nations-related memorial at Muir Woods. In fall 1969, the United Nations Association of San Francisco proposed placing a nine-foot high statue of Saint Francis by sculptor Benjamino Bufano in Cathedral Grove in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Facing negative publicity regarding its "web of federal bureaucracy," the park agreed to the placement of the statue, but only on a temporary basis: it provided a permit for the statue to remain at Cathedral Grove just from September 15, 1969 to October 25, 1969, the latter being the United Nations anniversary (the statue was removed on November 6th).[79] The only exception to erecting permanent memorials and other development was the dedication in 1976 of a 200-year old redwood near Bohemian Grove as the Bicentennial Tree, which included the placement of a small plaque. The plaque was installed as part of a designation of the Bohemian Trail as a National Recreational Trail, which in turn was part of a larger Bicentennial tribute to Muir Woods entitled "Americans, Ethics, and Environment."[80]

The designation of the National Recreation Trail was one small change among many to the trail system in Muir Woods during this period. Some of these changes began before the MISSION 66 prospectus was finalized in 1956 as park staff grappled with maintenance of the numerous log bridges that extended from the main trail across Redwood Creek. Including the bridge that carried the Dipsea Trail near the parking area and those on the adjoining state park lands to the north, there was a high of sixteen log bridges across Redwood Creek, most of which were built by the CCC during the 1930s. During the early 1950s, the park began to remove some that were little used. All of the bridges north of Fern Creek, except for the one carrying the Ben Johnson Trail, were removed or closed off by 1955

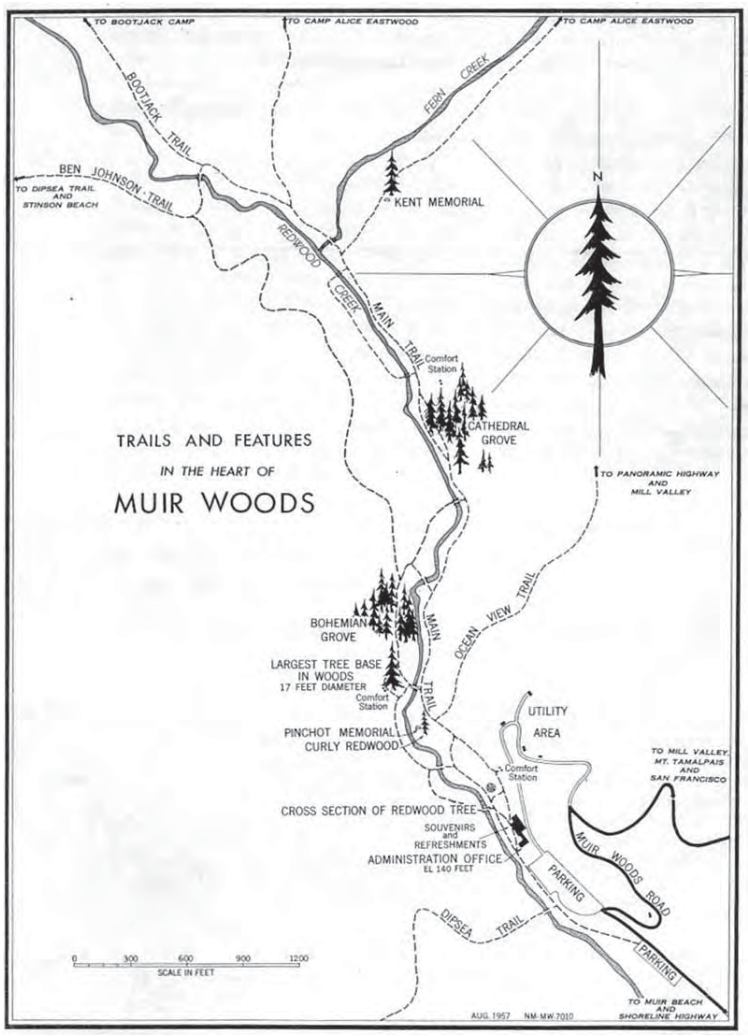


Figure 5.19: Map of Muir Woods from 1957 park brochure, illustrating trail system and nine bridges across Redwood Creek, down from the sixteen that existed in 1950. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area,, Park Archives, box 22, Muir Woods Collection.

[see Drawing 5]. This upper area, once a focal point of the monument with its location adjoining the Muir Inn, railway, and upper picnic area, had become remote from the main visitor circuit by the 1950s and so there was apparently little need for all of the bridges, some of which may have been damaged by a flood in 1955. By 1957, several more log bridges had been removed, including the one directly across from the Administration-Concession Building and the natural log bridge near the Emerson Memorial, leaving nine bridges. [Figure 5.19]

Another point of concern with the log bridges was safety. Narrow for crowds and without handrails, several visitors had fallen off the bridges, apparently without serious injury. In September 1955, the Regional Chief of Operations wrote to the Muir Woods Superintendent: "Because of the increased number of accidents involving falls from the trail bridges at Muir Woods this summer, we believe that every effort should be made to correct the situation by providing a hand rail at least on one side of each bridge which is to be continued in use and close off or remove those bridges which are not needed or are beyond rehabilitation."[81] Soon after this letter, the park ordered metal pipe to install as railings. NPS Director Conrad Wirth learned of the park's plans and directed Paul Miller, Acting Chief of Design and Construction, to stop the work. Miller wrote to the Regional Director that Director Wirth "…questioned the need for a guard rail of any type on these wide low foot bridges. He thought that if they were necessary, it was unfortunate that an incongruous material such as galvanized iron pipe was chosen."[82] Director Wirth's objection to the handrails along with extensive rot found in some of the bridges soon led the park to develop plans for building entirely new bridges. Due to the high costs of new construction and in keeping with the MISSION 66 objective of removing development from the woods, just four crossings were identified for replacement; all others with the exception of the Dipsea Trail bridge were eliminated by 1965.[83] The four new bridges included one directly across from the Administration-Concession Building, the second at the site of the natural log bridge north of Bohemian Grove, the third just south of Cathedral Grove, and the fourth at the Ben Johnson Trail.

Figure 5.20 (left): Rendering of the replacement bridge design included in 1964 master plan for Muir Woods. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 15, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 5.21 (right): Bridge #3 built near Cathedral Grove, photographed soon after completion, January 13, 1963. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 36/6, Muir Woods Collection.

Designers at the NPS regional offices developed plans for a new type of bridge that had handrails and a plank surface, and at eight feet wide, could better accommodate crowds. A marked departure from the rustic logs, the new bridges were a stringer design still built of redwood, but with milled laminated timber, concrete abutments, and a streamlined appearance in keeping with the Park Service Modern style. [Figure 5.20] The first bridge constructed according to the new design was Bridge #3 near Cathedral Grove, built under contract by Ceccotti & Sons, Inc. and completed in January 1963. The abutments were naturalized with rocks and plantings of ferns. [Figure 5.21] Replacement of Bridges #1 and #2 was detailed in the 1964 master plan using the same design, and were constructed soon thereafter. Bridge #4 at the Ben Johnson Trail was replaced in 1967-1968 as part of the same contract for construction of the new comfort station at the main parking area awarded to A. E. FitzGerald.[84]

Figure 5.22: Workers removing trail (asphalt) on former alignment of Sequoia Valley Road, view looking toward main trail, November 1965. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

With the reduction in bridges, there came a number of changes to the trail system. All of the side trails on the west side of Redwood Creek were eliminated, except for the section between Bridges #1 and #3 (Bohemian Grove Trail).[85] Other underused trails, such as the section from the Utility Area to the main trail originally part of Sequoia Valley Road, were closed and the ground loosened to encourage regeneration of the understory. [Figure 5.22] By eliminating these trails, the park hoped to alleviate trampling in areas that it considered not essential to visitors.[86] The desire to reduce trampling led to several other changes to the trails on the canyon floor. In areas where there was significant visitor impact to notable trees (so-called exhibit trees), NPS landscape architects called for shifting the alignment and creating areas where visitors could stand and view without trampling on the roots and trunk and surrounding ground. [Figure 5.23] One case in which the park implemented this design occurred in 1963, when it realigned the Bohemian Grove trail away from the "largest tree."[87]

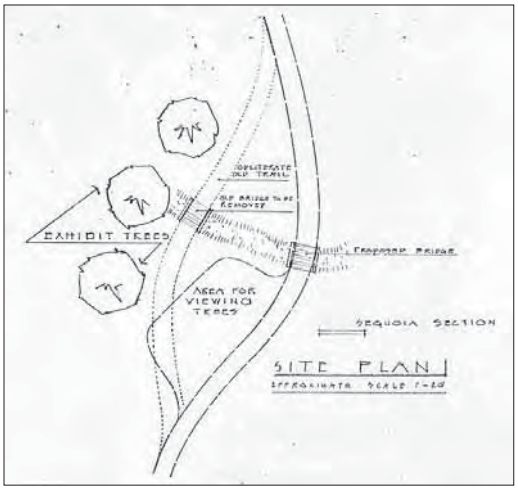


Figure 5.23: Detail of proposed trail realignment in areas of heavy compaction and trampling near popular trees included in "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964). Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 15, Muir Woods Collection.

One of the most visible changes to the trail system during this period was the installation of barrier fencing. Although this was somewhat counter to the MISSION 66 objective to remove development and built features from the woods, the fences were intended to enhance the natural environment by keeping visitors on the trails and to eliminate trampling in the heaviest used areas. Plans for erecting barriers had been discussed during the 1930s, but the crowding of the 1950s forced the park to take action. In 1955, three-rail spilt-rail redwood fences were first installed along portions of the main trail from the main gate to the administration building [Figure 5.24]. This apparently sufficed until visitation topped half a million and more annually in the mid 1960s, a period when the park also began to take protection of the natural environment more seriously. Between 1965 and 1968, redwood split-rail fencing was extended along the main trail to Cathedral Grove, and along the Bohemian Grove trail.[88] [Figure 5.25] The portions of the trails that were fenced were also widened and paved in asphalt around the same time, with paving of the lower section of the main trail to Bridge #3 occurring first in 1955, and the Bohemian Grove trail to Bridge #2 in 1968.[89] The paving was intended to not only reduce wear-and-tear on the ground, but also to make walking more pleasant by reducing mud and dust. In 1970, a NPS planner wrote to the Regional Director expressing satisfaction with the overall trail improvements: "The trails in the monument have been greatly improved in the last few years especially on the main loop trail—widened treadways, hard surfacing to keep down the dust, split rail fences to keep people on the trail, and new footbridges with almost vandal-proof railings…"[90]

Figure 5.24: The first fences on the main trail, view toward redwood cross-section in front of Administration-Concession Building, spring 1955. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 32/2, Muir Woods Collection.

Aside from physical changes to the trails on canyon floor, built features in the adjoining landscape were modified during the MISSION 66 era, resulting in removal of most traces of work done by the CCC aside from the Fern Creek Bridge. The redwood log signs made by the CCC were replaced by the late 1960s with various other types of signs to enhance interpretation, including redwood and plastic with incised text, and "metalphoto" types affixed to the split-rail fences.[91] The redwood water fountains and log benches also disappeared by the late 1960s, with the exception of one bench on the upper Ben Johnson Trail. With completion of the new comfort station at the parking area in 1968, the park progressed plans to remove the two CCC-era comfort stations. In August 1968, the Bohemian Grove comfort station was demolished, and in 1970, the Cathedral Grove comfort station was closed. This building stood for several years until

Figure 5.25 (left): Workers extending two-rail split-rail redwood fence along the main trail, 1966. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 35/5, Muir Woods Collection.

Figure 5.26 (right): The Cathedral Grove comfort station being demolished in March 1974. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 38/8, Muir Woods Collection.

it was disassembled in spring 1974. [Figure 5.26] The demolition of the comfort stations removed the last buildings from the redwood forest, with the exception of the Administration-Concession Building and main comfort station at its southern edge.

Outside of the primary trails on the canyon floor, the park maintained much of the outer trail system consisting of the Ben Johnson, Fern Creek, and Ocean View trails, which did not suffer the pressures of heavy visitation. Maintenance and repairs were, however, still necessary. In 1966, the Ben Johnson and Hillside Trails were improved, probably through clearing swales, grading, repairing steps and bridges, and cutting back vegetation, along with some realignment, such as through the swale above the Bohemian Grove [see Drawing 5]. At least two log bridges were retained on the Ben Johnson Trail. Some of the outer trails were maintained in part with the cooperation of Mount Tamalpais State Park, and with other assistance. A flood in 1955, for example, washed out several bridges on the Fern Creek Trail, and these were rebuilt by the National Guard, apparently using a similar log stringer design. One of the biggest projects of the period was on the old lower section of the Ocean View Trail through Fern Canyon, located mostly within Mount Tamalpais State Park. In c.1970, the trail, which had been obliterated by a landslide decades earlier, was rebuilt and renamed "Lost Trail" [see Drawing 5]. [92]

The changes to the landscape by the close of this period in the early 1980s, when NPS was completing administrative consolidation with Golden Gate National Recreation Area and acquisition of property in the Camp Monte Vista subdivision, reflected the ongoing effort to protect the redwood forest and make it accessible to the public through manipulation of built features. While there was little acknowledgement at the time of historical significance in any of the built features in the landscape, there was growing awareness of the long history of conservation at Muir Woods. The seventy-fifth anniversary of Muir Woods in 1983 was occasion for celebrating the monument's long history of conservation. [Figure 5.27] A gala

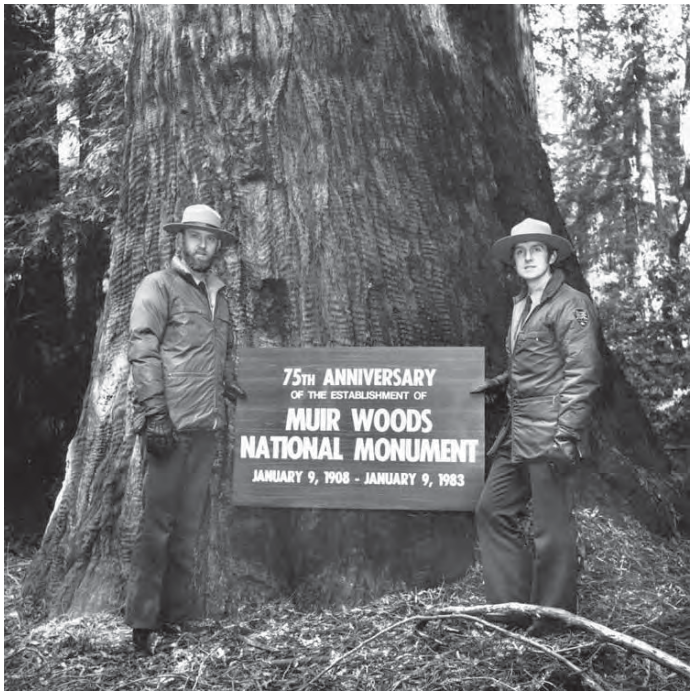
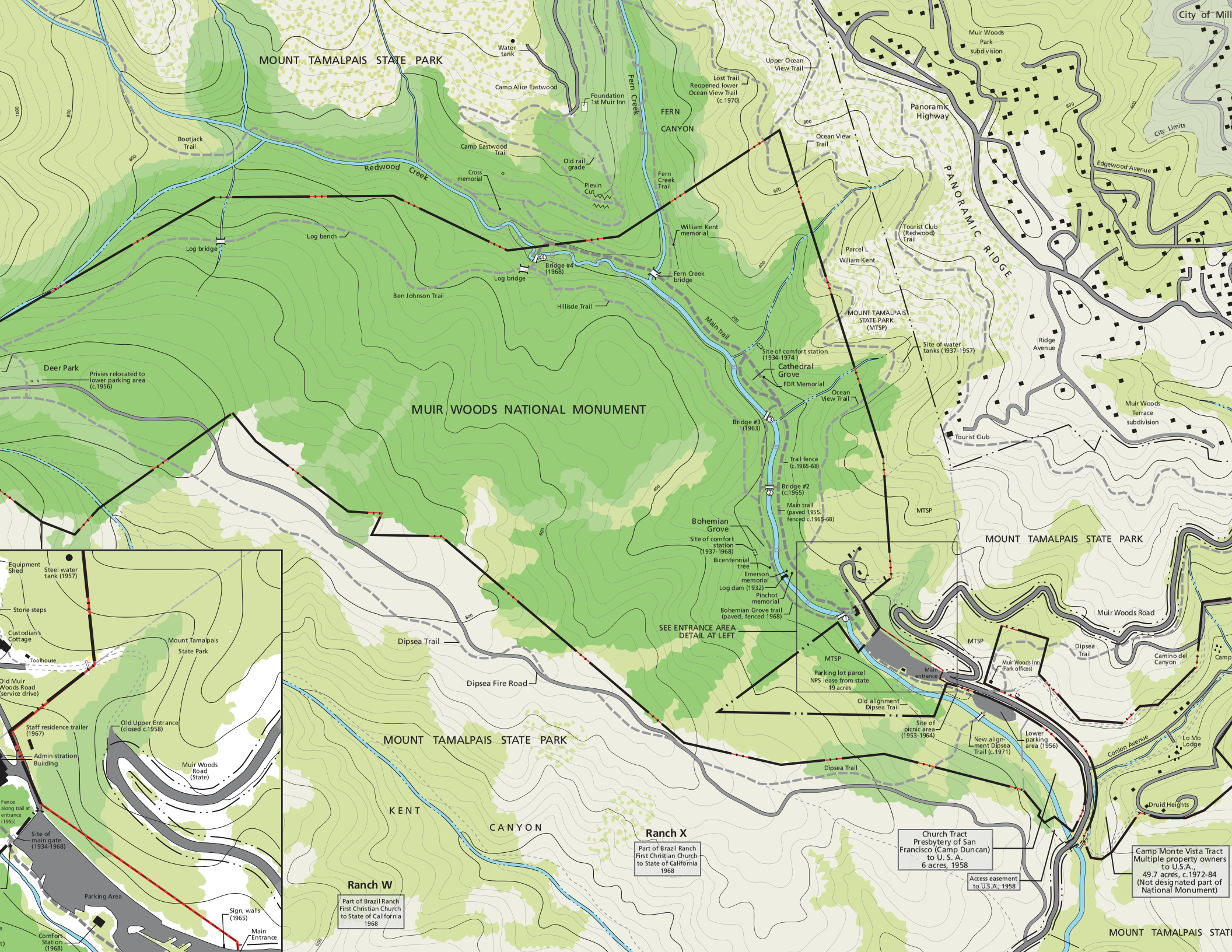


Figure 5.27: Sign created for 75th anniversary of Muir Woods National Monument, park rangers Charles Visser (left) and Ronald Dawson (right), 1983. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 25, Muir Woods Records.

event and exhibit was held at the California Academy of Sciences, a commemorative poster was printed, and a national passport stamp was issued in honor of Muir Woods. [93] In the decades following the seventy-fifth anniversary, interest in the monument's cultural history was continued through several studies as well as through built changes that would recall the rustic character of the landscape developed by William Kent and continued by the National Park Service and the CCC.


MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Water tank
Camp Alice Eastwood
Foundation 1st Muir Inn
Fern Creek
FERN CANYON
Upper Ocean View Trail
Lost Trail
Reopened lower Ocean View Trail (c.1970)
Panoramic Highway
Muir Woods Park subdivision
City of Mill
City Limits
Edgewood Avenue
Ocean View Trail
PANORAMIC RIDGE
Bootjack Trail
Redwood Creek
Camp Eastwood Trail
Old rail grade
Cross memorial
Plevin Cut
Fern Creek Trail
Tourist Club (Redwood) Trail
Parcel L
Wiliam Kent
William Kent memorial
Log bench
Log bridge
Bridge #4 (1968)
Fern Creek bridge
Ben Johnson Trail
Hillside Trail
Main trail
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK (MTSP)
Site of water tanks (1937-1957)
Ridge Avenue
Deer Park
Privies relocated to lower parking area (c.1956)
Site of comfort station (1934-1974)
Cathedral Grove
FDR Memorial
Ocean View Trail
MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
Bridge #3 (1963)
Muir Woods Terrace subdivision
Tourist Club
Trail fence (c.1965-68)
Bridge #2 (c.1965)
Main trail (paved 1955, fenced c.1965-68)
MTSP
Bohemian Grove
Site of comfort station (1937-1968)
Bicentennial tree
Emerson memorial
Log dam (1932)
Pinchot memorial
Bohemian Grove trail (paved, fenced 1968)
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
SEE ENTRANCE AREA DETAIL AT LEFT
Muir Woods Road
Dipsea Trail
MTSP
Camino del Canyon
Muir Woods Inn (Park offices)
Main entrance
Parking lot parcel NPS lease from state 19 acres
Old alignment Dipsea Trail
Site of picnic area (1953-1964)
New alignment Dipsea Trail (c.1971)
Lower parking area (1956)
Conlon Avenue
Lo Mo Lodge
Druid Heights
Dipsea Fire Road
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Dipsea Trail
KENT CANYON
Ranch X
Part of Brazil Ranch First Christian Church to State of California 1968
Church Tract Presbytery of San Francisco (Camp Duncan) to U. S. A. 6 acres, 1958
Access easement to U.S.A., 1958
Camp Monte Vista Tract Multiple property owners to U.S.A., 49.7 acres, c.1972-84 (Not designated part of National Monument)
Ranch W
Part of Brazil Ranch First Christian Church to State of California 1968
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATI
Equipment Shed
Steel water tank (1957)
Stone steps
Custodian's Cottage
Mount Tamalpais State Park
Toolhouse
Old Muir Woods Road (service drive)
Staff residence trailer (1967)
Old Upper Entrance (closed c.1958)
Administration Building
Muir Woods Road (State)
Fence along trail at entrance (1955)
Site of main gate (1934-1968)
Parking Area
Sign, walls (1965)
Main Entrance
Comfort Station (1968)

EPILOGUE: MUIR WOODS TODAY

Since the seventy-fifth anniversary of Muir Woods in 1983, there have been few significant changes to the monument's boundaries, administration, use, or landscape. Muir Woods remains one of two units within Golden Gate National Recreation Area that retains its own park identity despite common administration, a distinction it shares with Fort Point Historic Site. The monument also continues to be one of the most popular and heavily visited units of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, with more than five thousand people typically visiting each day of the peak summer season. In 2004, annual visitation amounted to a total of 778,367 people, a substantial number, but representing a reduction from the more than one million visitors who came annually during the late 1970s and early 1980s.[1] Heavy visitation, along with related issues of natural resource protection, access and transportation, and the appropriate location of park facilities, remain central management considerations as they were during the MISSION 66 era and even earlier.

Management of Muir Woods since the early 1980s has been guided primarily by the 1980 General Management Plan (GMP) and the Statement of Management completed the following year, both of which remain the monument's principal planning documents. Interim planning reports have been developed to address changing priorities and refine the recommendations of the GMP, most focusing on visitor access and environmental protection. In 1982, the park completed an "Interpretive Prospectus" that recommended the construction of a visitor contact station at the monument entrance. This was followed in 1985 by a "Draft Developed Area Site Plan/Comprehensive Design" report that focused on issues pertaining to parking and wastewater treatment. In 1992, a draft "Task Directive" was prepared to further progress the Developed Area Plan. This document recommended changes to a number of the GMP recommendations. In terms of land use, these included implementation of a visitor reservation and shuttle system to control crowding; not relocating parking to the Church Tract due to the ecological sensitivity of that parcel in the Redwood Creek floodplain; and using the Muir Woods Inn site as future administrative and maintenance area, rather than the Camp Monte Vista subdivision (referred to as the Conlon Avenue land), property that was also recognized as being ecologically sensitive.[2]

Since the year 2000, the monument has been progressing a "Resource Protection and Visitor Use Plan," which will address the needs of Muir Woods as well as the surrounding Redwood Creek Watershed. As with previous plans, issues to be addressed in the plan include relocation of developed facilities outside of the redwood forest, public access, visitor capacity, interpretation, visitor services,

and protection of natural resources. In a significant shift from previous planning efforts and representing acceptance of ecologically-based conservation, the plan has established the Redwood Creek watershed as the base planning and study area, rather than limiting concerns to the area within and adjoining Muir Woods National Monument. Stakeholders include the state park, the community of Muir Beach, and Green Gulch Farms, which together with the NPS formed a "watershed group" of property owners and administrative units within the study area. Also in contrast to earlier plans, the Resource Protection and Visitor Use Plan is calling for evaluation and protection of significant cultural resources within the Redwood Creek watershed, particularly related to the early agricultural history, recreational use, and development by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).[3]

Of the changes in the landscape of Muir Woods since 1984, perhaps the most noticeable has occurred through natural succession and the natural dynamics of growth and decline. The most dramatic change was the falling of the giant Douglas-fir at the Kent Memorial in 2003. [Figure 6.1] In contrast to earlier management practices that would have cleared such downed trees, the Kent tree was left in place across Fern Canyon, and Fern Creek Trail was rerouted around it. [Drawing 6] The area opened by the fallen tree is now interpreted to show natural dynamics in the forest. A more widespread natural change has occurred at the south end of the monument on the Church and Kent Entrance Tracts, where fields have naturally converted into deciduous woods on the Redwood Creek floodplain along Frank Valley Road. Some of the formerly open slopes in the adjoining Camp Monte Vista tract have also become wooded over the past two decades. Similar changes have continued to occur along the upper edges of the monument as woods encroach onto former grazing lands, but most of this area is outside of the monument boundaries. Other changes have occurred in stands of younger redwoods and Douglas fir along the west bank of Redwood Creek on the state-leased parking lot tract, as well as in the upper portions of the monument, such as along the Ocean View Trail (which no longer has views of the ocean in the monument due to growth of the forest). These stands have continued to mature, becoming taller with more open understory.

Figure 6.1: The fallen Douglas-fir across Fern Creek Trail at the Kent Memorial, July 2003. The boulder with the brass plaque and realigned trail are at left. SUNY ESF.

The effort to enhance the native environment of Muir Woods has been supported by the presence of the spotted owl, an endangered species that lives in old-growth forests. In an effort to protect the spotted owl's natural habitat, management in recent years has stressed protection of old-growth qualities in Muir Woods, reinforcing efforts that were previously directed at the appearance and health of the redwoods and understory vegetation. An old-growth quality vital to the spotted owl is daytime quiet, so the park today enforces a period during mid-day where

no noises louder than ambient conversation are allowed. Although beneficial to the spotted owl, this management also preserves the tranquil and contemplative environment of Muir Woods that William Kent and many other early supporters of the monument so cherished.[4]

In keeping with the direction of the 1980 GMP, the park has also intervened in the natural ecology in an effort to restore natural balances interrupted by past management practices or construction. To restore the natural balance in areas of the forest, notably between fire-resistant redwoods and fire-sensitive Douglas fir, NPS undertook a prescribed burn in the Hamilton Tract along the Dipsea and Ben Johnson Trails on October 11, 1985, and repeated the effort during the next two years [see Drawing 6]. The prescribed burn was also intended to reduce the artificially high level of fuel on the forest floor that had accumulated through fire suppression efforts dating back nearly one hundred years.[5] Another effort at restoring the natural ecology has been underway for more than a decade: returning Redwood Creek to its natural conditions by altering the stone revetments and check-dam remnants to protect the winter spawning grounds of rare and endangered steelhead and Coho salmon. These efforts represent a continuation of work begun in the 1960s when the three CCC-era rock dams were first broken up. In 1994, additional rock was removed and dispersed along the creek bed in a way that allowed the salmon to swim upstream unimpeded. Around the same time, the CCC-built stone revetments along the creek banks, which ecologists consider an impediment to natural spawning grounds, were removed in limited areas to re-create natural banks. Today, NPS is continuing to study the impact of the stone revetments and whether further alterations are warranted to enhance spawning grounds, or whether the revetment system should be preserved for its association with the CCC and as significant part of the monument's cultural landscape. In related efforts undertaken to protect the health of Redwood Creek, portions of the pavement of the upper main parking area were removed in the 1990s to reduce runoff into the creek and restore natural vegetation to the creek floodplain. Here and in other disturbed areas, the park continues to plant native vegetation, which it raises in a small nursery established in 1992 on the Church Tract. [6]

Although natural resources have continued to be a focus of management, the cultural history and resources of Muir Woods have continued to gain attention in the years since the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1983. Many have recognized the historic relationship between Muir Woods and the United Nations—tracing back to the memorial service for FDR in 1945—and the importance of Muir Woods in the history of the American conservation movement. In 1995, for example, Muir Woods played a central role in the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations, and in 2005, the monument was the site for welcoming ceremonies for the World Environment Day.[7] In an effort to recognize and preserve the built

features of Muir Woods that reflect its relationship to the history of conservation and rustic design in the National Park System, a draft nomination was prepared in 1996 to list Muir Woods in the National Register of Historic Places. In 2003, NPS completed a List of Classified Structures (an NPS planning inventory for buildings and structures), which identified that most of the monument's features built prior to World War II should be preserved and maintained. The preparation of this Historic Resource Study represents the continued effort to understand, interpret, and preserve the history of Muir Woods National Monument.

As the cultural history of Muir Woods was being studied and celebrated, management of the monument's built environment during the late 1980s and through the 1990s began to shift toward preservation, although protection of the natural environment remained the basis for most construction projects. An important objective in the late 1980s was removal of the monument's septic fields to eliminate leaching into Redwood Creek. On the Camp Monte Vista tract at the southeast end of the monument, a sewer lift (pumping) station, a 1,300-square foot one-story building, was constructed in 1990 along Conlon Avenue, set back from public view of Frank Valley Road. It was constructed along with underground sewage holding tanks across Frank Valley Road on the Church Tract [see Drawing 6]. These structures were built as part of the project to connect Muir Woods to the regional sewerage treatment system recommended in the 1985 Draft Developed Area Site Plan. The pumping station was located in the area on the floor of the side canyon intended for development as a park maintenance and administration complex in the 1980 GMP. Due in part to an unexpected level of impacts to the mouth of the oak/bay riparian drainage and Redwood Creek floodplain from this construction, further plans for development of the Conlon Avenue area were abandoned, but the area remains used in part for maintenance staging.[8] Administrative and maintenance facilities were instead concentrated at the Muir Woods Inn site, opposite the monument entrance.

Elsewhere on the Camp Monte Vista tract, many of the old cottages and camp buildings deteriorated as they were abandoned following end of the special permit uses held by the former owners. The Hillwood School today continues to operate Camp Hillwood out of the main lodge, which is used by several other groups, including the Mill Valley Boy Scouts. Many of the camp's outbuildings, however, are not in use and are falling into disrepair. The Cameron House Youth Ministries continues to use Lo Mo Lodge for camping and excursions to Muir Woods, but on a limited basis with few resources being put into maintenance of the facility. [Figure 6.2] The future of the buildings in Camp Monte Vista, includ-

Figure 6.2: Looking southwest at Lo Mo Lodge from Conlon Avenue, May 2005. SUNY ESF.

Figure 6.3: The visitor center-bookstore and main entrance gate completed in 1989-1990, view looking northwest from the parking area, July 2003. SUNY ESF.

ing those in Druid Heights, is currently being evaluated by NPS. [9]

Within the area of Muir Woods visited by the public, the most noticeable built changes since 1984 have occurred at the main entrance and along the main trail. Much of the development undertaken here has been made with a nod to the monument's legacy of rustic design. In 1989, NPS completed construction of a small, two-winged octagonal visitor center-bookstore (visitor contact station), designed in a rustic style reminiscent of park architecture of the 1930s. [Figure 6.3] The building, constructed on the premise of being temporary in keeping with the GMP mandate to remove development from the woods, was sited on the eastern edge of the parking lot parcel leased by NPS from Mount Tamalpais State Park [see Drawing 6]. With opening of the new visitor center, the old ticket kiosk, built in 1968, was removed. In its place, a new entrance gate (log arch) was built in 1990 on the main trail where it crossed the National Monument boundary. In another gesture to the cultural history of Muir Woods, the design of the new gate was based on the rustic gate built in the same location by the CCC in 1935 and removed in 1968.[10] More recently, an interpretive pavilion was built near the Pinchot Memorial in a rustic style reminiscent of the redwood cross-section pavilion initially built in 1931. New wood benches and wood interpretive signs, designed in a simple rustic style, have also been added along the main trial in recent years.

Figure 6.4: View down the boardwalk on the main trail near the main gate, July 2003. SUNY ESF.

Aside from these features, the most noticeable change in the heavily visited canyon floor has been the introduction of boardwalks on the main trail. [Figure 6.4] Built between 1999 and 2003 and constructed of recycled redwood, the boardwalks extend from the main gate to the Pinchot Memorial, connecting through a circular gathering area at the redwood cross-section in front of the Administration-Concession Building. Another section was built north of Cathedral Grove as part of a realignment of the main trail away from Redwood Creek. Boardwalks addressed the long-standing issue of how to keep crowds on the trails and reduce damage to the sensitive forest floor. The boardwalks also relieved soil compaction and provided accessible circulation to the Administration Building. With curbs and a raised elevation, the boardwalks allowed the park to remove the split-rail fencing first erected in the mid-1950s, giving visitors

unobstructed views into the redwood forest.[11] Further extension of the boardwalks is currently being considered along the main trail and Bohemian Trail.

The future of the two-winged Administration-Concession Building (originally known as the Administration-Operator Building), constructed by the WPA in 1940, has been debated since the MISSION 66 era, in particular whether the building and its functions should be moved outside of the redwood forest. The issue has not been resolved for the long-term, but in 2003, the park and its concessionaire made improvements to the building and constructed an adjoining new structure to house the main restrooms. Although significant changes were made to the interior, the exterior of the Administration-Concession Building retains many of its features that characterized its then-innovative style. The new restroom building, funded in part through a public/private partnership with the park's concessionaire, was constructed in a style similar to the Administration-Concession Building, to which it was linked by an accessible boardwalk deck, built over the site of the CCC log-paved terrace removed in the 1960s. The old main comfort station, located one hundred feet to the north and originally built in 1928, was torn down and the adjoining access path removed. Removal of this building, not then considered historic and sited within a redwood grove, was intended in part to remove development from a sensitive natural area.[12]

A short distance above the site of the old comfort station is the utility area with three rustic buildings and stone walls constructed prior to 1940, mostly by the CCC. [Figure 6.5, see also Drawing 6] This area, outside of the redwood forest and closed to the public, is used along with the buildings at the Muir Woods Inn site for park maintenance and staff housing. Within the complex is the Superintendent's Residence, originally known as the Custodian's Cottage and built in 1921 to serve both as residence and park office. The building was the first major structure built by NPS in the monument, and represents an early example of the NPS rustic style that established a detail of exposed timber framing that was used on all buildings in Muir Woods until 1940. The building presently is used as a residence for the monument's law enforcement officer. Also within the utility area is a metal paint shed, built in 1966, and a wood storage shed, built in c.1985 for use by the park concessionaire. The utility area is located at a sharp bend in the original road into Muir Woods, built in c.1892 as Sequoia Valley Road and later renamed Muir Woods Road. This section was bypassed with improvement of the road in 1925 into the Muir Woods Toll Road. Due to failure

Figure 6.5: View looking northeast in the utility area, showing the 1931 Garage at left, 1934 Equipment Shed (main shop) built by the CCC in the right distance under repair, and newer sheds in middle ground, July 2003. SUNY ESF.

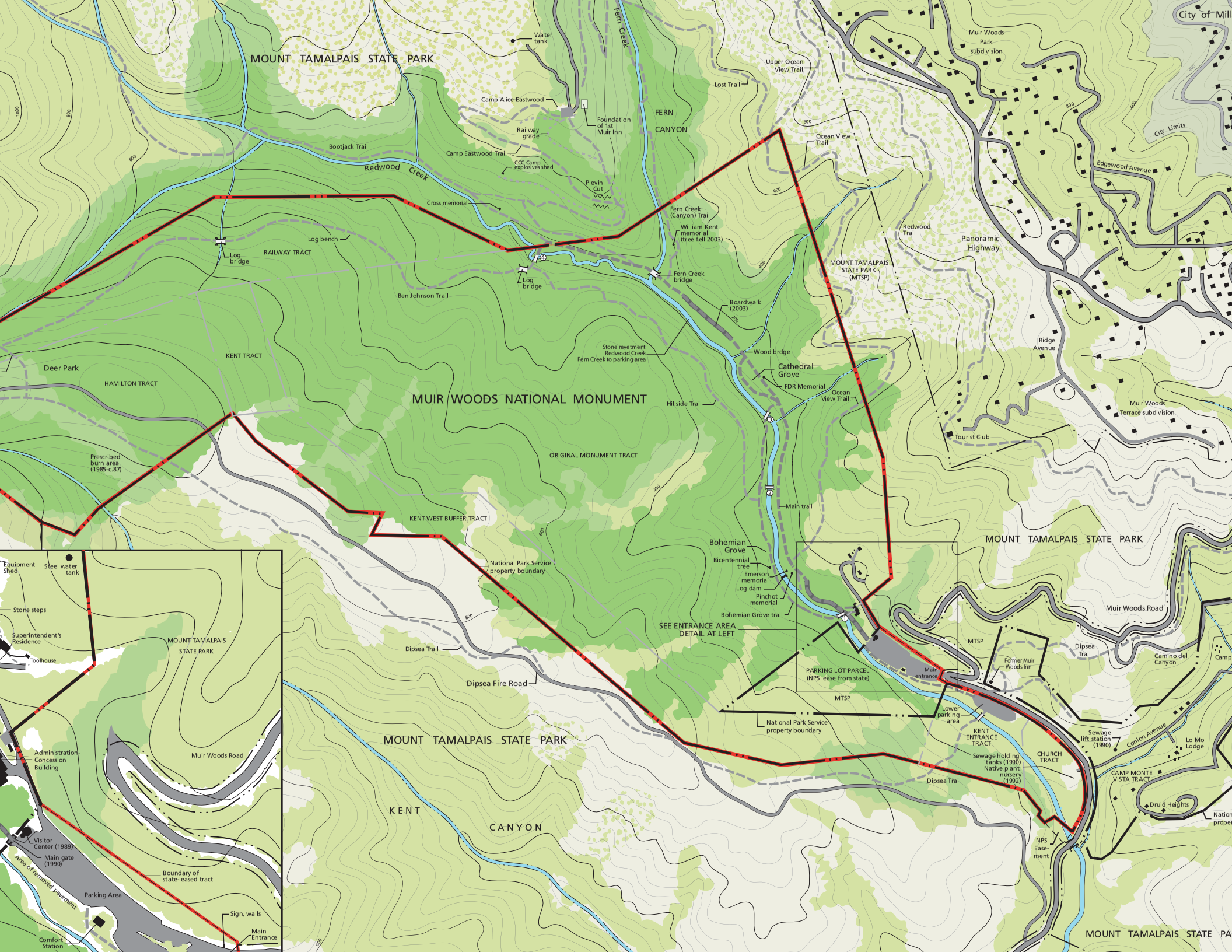
Figure 6.6: Visitors along the main trail in the heart of the redwood forest, July 2003. SUNY ESF.

of a culvert, a large section of the roadbed above the Superintendent's Residence was removed in 2004 to stabilize the hillside. This section had been out of use as a service road for decades.

Today, Muir Woods is a remarkably well-preserved and healthy redwood forest given its location in the heart of the metropolitan Bay Area and its visitation by many hundreds of thousands annually. [Figure 6.6] Preservation and use indeed remain the greatest legacy of William Kent and other early conservationists in founding this first of the National Monuments in the Bay Area—the forerunner of today's expansive Mount Tamalpais State Park and Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The old-growth redwoods of the canyon floor are little changed overall from the time the monument was designated in 1908. In contrast, the built features represent a layering of improvements illustrating continuing efforts to harmonize development and use with preservation of natural resources. These features range from the main trail dating back to the first major improvements in the 1890s, to the Administration-Concession Building, utility area, stone revetments, Fern Creek Bridge, and log bench and bridges on the Ben Johnson Trail that are the legacy of rustic park development by the NPS and CCC. The continued manipulation of the built landscape through the MISSION 66 era and establishment of Golden Gate National Recreation Area reflect changing attitudes toward conservation through the close of the twentieth century.

The landscape of Muir Woods today conveys its relatively long history of human stewardship and the lasting public interest in the natural and spiritual power of the big trees. President Theodore Roosevelt's words of thanks to William Kent for his gift of Muir Woods to the people of the United States remain as relevant today as they were when they were written in 1908:

> *I thank you most heartily for this singularly generous and public-spirited action on your part. All Americans who prize the natural beauties of the country and wish to see them preserved undamaged, and especially those who realize the literally unique value of the groves of giant trees, must feel that you have conferred a great and lasting benefit upon the whole country.*[13]


MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Water tank
Fern Creek
Camp Alice Eastwood
Foundation of 1st Muir Inn
Railway grade
Camp Eastwood Trail
CCC Camp explosives shed
Bootjack Trail
Redwood Creek
Plevin Cut
Cross memorial
Log bench
Log bridge
RAILWAY TRACT
Log bridge
Ben Johnson Trail
Fern Creek (Canyon) Trail
William Kent memorial (tree fell 2003)
Fern Creek bridge
Boardwalk (2003)
Stone revetment Redwood Creek Fern Creek to parking area
Wood brdge
Cathedral Grove
FDR Memorial
Ocean View Trail
Hillside Trail
Deer Park
HAMILTON TRACT
KENT TRACT
MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
ORIGINAL MONUMENT TRACT
Prescribed burn area (1985-c.87)
KENT WEST BUFFER TRACT
Main trail
Bohemian Grove
Bicentennial tree
Emerson memorial
Log dam
Pinchot memorial
Bohemian Grove trail
National Park Service property boundary
SEE ENTRANCE AREA DETAIL AT LEFT
Dipsea Trail
Dipsea Fire Road
PARKING LOT PARCEL (NPS lease from state)
Main entrance
Lower parking area
MTSP
National Park Service property boundary
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
KENT CANYON
KENT ENTRANCE TRACT
CHURCH TRACT
Sewage holding tanks (1990) Native plant nursery (1992)
Dipsea Trail
Sewage lift station (1990)
Conlon Avenue
Lo Mo Lodge
CAMP MONTE VISTA TRACT
Druid Heights
NPS Ease-ment
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PA
Muir Woods Road
Dipsea Trail
Camino del Canyon
Former Muir Woods Inn
MTSP
Upper Ocean View Trail
Lost Trail
Ocean View Trail
Redwood Trail
Panoramic Highway
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK (MTSP)
Muir Woods Park subdivision
City Limits
Edgewood Avenue
Ridge Avenue
Muir Woods Terrace subdivision
Tourist Club
City of Mill
Equipment Shed
Steel water tank
Stone steps
Superintendent's Residence
Toolhouse
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Muir Woods Road
Administration-Concession Building
Visitor Center (1989)
Main gate (1990)
Area of removed pavement
Boundary of state-leased tract
Parking Area
Sign, walls
Main Entrance
Comfort Station

PART I ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1: NATIVE ENVIRONMENT & THE RANCHO ERA, PRE-1883

[1] Colin Cornelius and Glen Kaye, *Vegetation of Muir Woods National Monument* (National Park Service: park brochure, 1973), 1.

[2] William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California, 1860-1864*, quoted in Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 6, 8.

[3] Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 6, 8. This book is the main source of information for this chapter on the early history of Marin/Mount Tamalpais.

[4] Tom Harrison Trail Maps, *Mt Tam Trail Map* (San Rafael, CA: Tom Harrison Maps, 2003). These are current measurements, refinements over the 2,600 feet recorded by Brewer in 1862.

[5] "California's Coastal Mountains," on-line excerpt from "California Coastal Resource Guide" (California Coastal Commission, no date), ceres.ca.gov/ceres/calweb/coastal/mountains/html (accessed 2004).

[6] James M. Morley, *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, revised edition, 1991), 56.

[7] Harrison, *Mt Tam Trail Map*.

[8] In the outer limits of the Bay Area are several additional old-growth redwood groves preserved in municipal parks along the Coastal Range. South of San Jose, state redwood parks include Portola, Butano, Big Basin (California's oldest state park, established in 1902, six years before designation of Muir Woods National Monument), Wilder Ranch, Henry Cowell, and the Forest of Nisene Marks. This area also includes Purisima Redwoods, part of the Midpeninsula Regional Open Space District. To the north, the last surviving old-growth redwood forest in Sonoma County is the Armstrong Redwoods State Park. The most extensive coast redwood forests are found in northern California, and include Redwood National Park and 21 state parks with redwood forests. Source: John B. Dewitt, *California Redwood Parks and Preserves* (San Francisco: Save-the-Redwoods League, 1993).

[9] Lieutenant Henry Wise, quoted in Anna Coxe Toogood, *Historic Resource Study, A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore* (Denver: National Park Service Denver Service Center, June 1980), volume 1, 56.

[10] Reed F. Noss, editor, *The Redwood Forest: History, Ecology, and Conservation of the Coast Redwoods* (Washington, D. C.: Island Press for Save-the-Redwoods League, 2000), 2, 42, 49, 50.

[11] Morley, 10, 24.

[12] Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in Northern California, *San Francisco: The Bay and Its Cities* (New York: Hastings House, 1940), 10-11.

[13] Morley, 20.

[14] Noss, 57-58.

[15] Cornelius and Kaye, 2, map.

[16] Morley, 70.

[17] "Mediterranean Shrublands," on-line, undated article at http://www.runet.edu/~swoodwar/CLASSES/GEOG235/biomes/medit/medit.html (accessed 2004); Cornelius and Kaye, 2.

[18] Fairley, 44, 50.

[19] The last major fire on Mount Tamalpais occurred in 1913, and extended close to, but not into, Muir Woods.

[20] Cornelius and Kaye, 3-4.

[21] Fairley, 2, 7; Morley, 12.

[22] Faith L. Duncan, "An Archaeological Survey of Slide Ranch, Golden Gate National Recreation Area" (Unpublished report prepared for the National Park Service, 28 May 1989), 1.

[23] Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), s. v. "Miwok."

[24] Rachel Schuett, EDAW, "Environmental Assessment, Lower Redwood Creek Interim Flood Reduction, Measures on Floodplain/Channel Restoration" (Prepared for the National Park Service, c.2002), 35. The most recent study of the Coast Miwok is: Randall Milliken,

Chapter 1: Pre-1883, Continued

"Ethnohistory and Ethnogeography of the Coast Miwok and Their Neighbors, 1783-1840" (Draft report prepared for the National Park Service, October 2004), Historian's Office, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. This report was not examined for this HRS.

[25] Pritzker; R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, editors, *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, second edition 1971), 74-75, 76-77, 376.

[26] Marion J. Riggs, "Muir Woods National Monument: An Archeological Survey" (Unpublished report prepared for the National Park Service, 1 December 1967), 1-2; Pritzker, s. v. "Miwok."

[27] Duncan, 1989, 7. The possible village site is catalogued as CA-MRN-333. The most recent source for archeological data at Muir Beach is Leo Barker, with contributions by Jack Meyer, Hans Barnaal, Martin Mayer, Frank Ross, and Wesley Barker, "Big Lagoon Wetland and Creek Restoration Project: Cultural Resources Survey Muir Beach, Marin County, California" (Draft, report prepared for the National Park Service, February 4, 2004), Historian's Office, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. This report was not examined for this HRS.

[28] Riggs, 3.

[29] Fairley, 167; Mount Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway, "Muir Woods Guide" (Park brochure, c.1920), Golden Gate National Recreation Archives collection 13238, box 1, file 2: "Log cabin built in 1886 by the old Tamalpais Hunting Club on the camp site of the Tamal Indians."

[30] Fairley, 2-3, 16; Barry Spitz in association with the Mill Valley Historical Society, *Mill Valley: The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potrero Meadow Publishing Company, 1997), 5-6, 8. Note: Spitz does not give specific documentation for his sources. For the most current research on the Coast Miwok, see Milliken, "Ethnohistory and Ethnogeography of the Coast Miwok and Their Neighbors, 1783-1840."

[31] Spitz, 8-10.

[32] Toogood, volume 1, 51-52, 54.

[33] Toogood, volume 1, 75-76.

[34] "Chronological Overview of Cultural Events in the Slide Ranch Area," in Duncan, 1989, Appendix 2.

[35] Fairley, 16, 56; Spitz, 217.

[36] Toogood, volume 2, 192.

[37] Fairley, 28; Charles H. Clapp, C. E. "Tamalpais Land and Water Co. Map No. # 3 Showing Subdivisions of Farming and Grazing Lands Sausalito Ranch" (Surveyed 1892, recorded 1898), Marin County Recorder's Office, San Rafael.

[38] Cora Gardener Burt, quoted in Fairley, 29.

[39] Spitz, 62.

[40] Throckmorton court testimony, 1878, cited in Spitz, 28.

[41] Throckmorton court testimony, 1878, cited in Spitz, 28.

[42] Fairley, 60.

[43] *Illustrated Press* (San Francisco), "Mount Tamalpais," vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1873), page 1, Mount Tamalpais clipping file, Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, California.

[44] *Harper's Weekly,* "Suburbs of San Francisco," 29 May 1875, 422, 440.

[45] This trail branched at Throckmorton Ridge, one trail leading to Redwood Canyon, the other toward the East Peak. This latter branch was known as the Throckmorton Trail (Sanborn, Tourists' Map, 1898/1902), and was later replaced in part by the Panoramic Highway.

[46] *Harper's Weekly*, "Suburbs of San Francisco."

CHAPTER 2: PARK ORIGINS IN REDWOOD CANYON, 1883-1907

[1] Harold French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan: Wild Places on Mount Tamalpais," *Overland Monthly*, vol. 44, no. 4 (October 1904), 456.

[2] Barry Spitz in association with the Mill Valley Historical Society, *Mill Valley: The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potrero Meadow Publishing Company, 1997), 62.

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[3] Spitz, 45-46.

[4] Spitz, 107.

[5] *Marin Journal*, Editorial, 5 June 1890, quoted in Spitz, 59.

[6] Spitz, 62, 122, 124, 144.

[7] Spitz, 117.

[8] William Kent, quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "Biography of William Kent, Independent" (Unpublished manuscript, Marin County Free Library, NPS transcript, 177, park history files, Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California [hereafter, "Muir Woods park files"]. Elizabeth Kent quotes her father as writing: "This corporation [Tamalpais Land & Water Company] at first reserved for water purposes considerable areas on the brushy slopes of Mt. Tamalpais, above Mill Valley, to provide water supplies from stream and spring flows, there being no available storage capacity..."

[9] A. H. Sanborn, "Tourists Map of Mt. Tamalpais & Vicinity, Showing Railways, Wagon-Roads, Trails, Elevations &c." (San Francisco: Edward Denny & Company, 1902, originally published in 1898); Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 31. The "Tourists Map" does not show specific boundaries, but rather identifies a broad swath extending from the summit of Mount Tamalpais south to Elk Valley (north of the government reservation) as the "Tamalpais Sportsman's Association Game Preserve."

[10] Anna Coxe Toogood, *Historic Resource Study, A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore* (Denver: National Park Service Denver Service Center, June 1980), volume 2, 193; Charles N. Clapp, "Tamalpais Land & Water Company Map No. 3 Showing Subdivision of Farming and Grazing Lands, Sausalito Ranch" (Surveyed 1892, filed 1898), Map 3, R. M., book 1, page 104, Marin County Recorder's Office, San Rafael.

[11] Spitz, 34; National Park Service, Memorandum, LCS Historian to NPS Park Planner , "Re: Historical Evaluation of Caddell, Rapozo and Bettencourt Properties," 1 September 1993, Muir Woods file, Historian's Office, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

[12] Fairley, 33, 36; "The Country Club in Bear Valley Photograph Album," Marin County Free Library website, 20 September 2004, http://www.co.marin.ca.us/depts/lb/main/crm/kentmain.html (accessed 2005).

[13] Fairley, 175; *Harper's Weekly*, 29 May 1875, 440

[14] Fairley, 61.

[15] Tamalpais Land & Water Company resolution, quoted in Spitz, 62. Spitz does not indicate the date or specific audience for this resolution.

[16] "A Vacation on the Installment Plan," *Overland Monthly*, October 1904, 455.

[17] Spitz, 63.

[18] Spitz, 107, 109; Fairley, 143.

[19] Fairley, 146.

[20] William Kent, quoted in "Biography of William Kent, Independent," 2.

[21] Toogood, volume 2, 10. Kent purchased Ranches W, X, and Y along the west side of Redwood Canyon in c.1907-1908; the specific dates of his purchases were not researched.

[22] Roger Kent (son of William Kent), transcript of interview by Carla Ehat and Anne Kent, 15 February 1978, Oral History Project of the Marin County Free Library, San Rafael.

[23] Toogood, volume 2, 180.

[24] Toogood, volume 2, 181. Toogood cites an editorial from the San Francisco *Call* in 1895 calling for the preservation of Redwood Canyon.

[25] Quoted in Fairley, 169.

[26] William Kent, quoted in "Biography of William Kent, Independent," 1; Toogood, 180.

[27] Toogood, volume 2, 185-186.

[28] Wes Hildreth, "Historic Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity" (Unpublished prepared for the National Park Service, 1966), Master copy, Muir Woods Collection, box 3, Park Archive and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco [hereafter, "GGNRA Archives"].

[29] This road is not shown on the 1897 USGS map, but is shown as the "old road to the ocean" on "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista" (November 1908). The date of construction is not known;

Chapter 2 (1883-1907), Continued

it probably originated as a trail, but probably became a ranch road once Samuel Throckmorton began leasing the land in the 1860s.

[30] Spitz, 84; Mt. Tam History Project, "Incidents Leading up to the Forming of the Marin Municipal Water District," taken from John Burt's autobiography written in 1940, 1987 newsletter. Henry Gillig of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco purchased an eighty-acre lot in Redwood Canyon in 1892, indicating that the company had dropped its plans for the reservoir by that time.

[31] Notes from interview with Thomas Bickerstaff, Mill Valley, on October 31 and November 7, 1962, Memorandum from Park Naturalist, Muir Woods, 7 November 1962, Muir Woods park files: "...The [Tamalpais Sportsman's] club was probably organized by William Kent." No records pertaining to the founding and operation of the club have been found.

[32] A newspaper published in July 1907: "...Mr. Kent, more than any one else in Marin county, has stood guard over the redwoods, and to insure their preservation finally acquired the entire grove [in 1905]." The article suggests Kent had been involved in the care of the redwoods for some time prior to 1905. *San Francisco Sunday Call,* "A Railroad to Wonderful Redwood Canyon," vol. 12, no. 37 (7 July 1907), magazine section, 3.

[33] William Kent, quoted in "Biography of William Kent, Independent," 1; Thomas Bickerstaff, whose grandfather had worked for William Kent, recalled that the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association "was probably organized by William Kent." Interview by Park Naturalist, Muir Woods, 7 November 1962, Muir Woods park files.

[34] Mary Libra, Hillwood School, "A Brief Account of the History of Camp Hillwood and Lo Mo Lodge, formerly known as Camp Kent and later, as Camp Duncan," (Unpublished paper, 1969), 1, Muir Woods park files; A. H. Sanborn, "Tourists Map of Mt. Tamalpais & Vicinity" (San Francisco: Edward Denny & Company, 1902, originally published in 1898); Fairley, 31; Spitz, 37; "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista, Marin County, Cal. (November 1908), Muir Woods Collection, 37/7, GGNRA Archives. This guide map labels the building, "Keeper's House." The Tourist Map shows the Alders south of where other documentation suggests, at the point where Frank Valley Road crosses Redwood Creek (near Camp Monte Vista tract). This same location is shown on the Northwest Pacific Railway's "Hiking Map of Marin County" (1925), California Room, Marin County Free Library. No other documentation from the 1920s indicates the Alders or the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association still existed at that time.

[35] Spitz, 34.; Libra, 1. Libra states: "1890: ...Through the generosity of the late Congressman William Kent, it [Camp Kent] was located in the six-room cottage that he loaned to the church for that purpose. From this nucleus camp, the campers made use of the surrounding area, but most particularly the secluded side canyon which is the present location of Camp Hillwood..."

[36] Spitz, 34; Dias's ownership of the side canyon is documented on C. E. Wetherell, "Map of Subdivision of Camp Monte Vista Being a Portion of Ranch 'P,' October 1908, Marin County Recorder, book 3-5, page 132; Libra, 1.

[37] Bohemian Club Bylaws, 1887, quoted in Peter Philips, "A Relative Advantage: Sociology of the San Francisco Bohemian Club" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univeristy of California Davis, 1994), 20. The Bohemian Club still exists today, with its clubhouse in San Francisco and a permanent encampment at a redwood forest on the Russian River in Sonoma County. It remains a private, secretive, male club with many notable businessmen and politicians; requests by the author for access to the club archives were not returned). For further information on the Bohemian Club today, see Philips, "A Relative Advantage."

[38] Annals of the Bohemian Club, referenced in letter from Henry L. Perry, Historiographer of the Bohemian Club, to John Mahoney, 29 June 1956, Muir Woods park files; Philips, 21-22; Robert B. England, *The Centennial Grove Play: Celebrating the One-Hundredth Anniversary of The Bohemian Club* (San Francisco: Published by the Bohemian Club, 1972), 28.

[39] Annals of the Bohemian Club, c.1892, quoted in letter from Paul A. Pflueger, Bohemian Club member, to Lawson Brainerd, 8 July 1957, Muir Woods park files.

[40] England, 28.

[41] Tamalpais Land and Water Co., Map No. 3 (1892); USGS Tamalpais quadrangle map, 1897.

[42] England, 28; Annals of Bohemian Club, in Perry to Mahoney and Pflueger to Brainerd; Hildreth, 2 (reference to cold climate as the reason for the move); "A Railroad to Wonderful Redwood Canyon," *San Francisco Sunday Call*, volume 12, no. 37 (7 July 1907), magazine section, 2-4. The article stated: "The Bohemians did not move because they did not like the grove, but because it was too near civilization; they did not have ground enough to be quite [sic] to themselves."

[43] Annals of Bohemian Club, in Perry to Mahoney and Pflueger to Brainerd; Hildreth, 2.

[44] Harold French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan," *Overland Monthly*, vol. 44, no. 4, October

Chapter 2 (1883-1907), Continued

1904, 456. The article states: "The forests of Sequoia Canyon are strictly primeval, no lumbering ever having been carried on in this secluded place, and unprofaned to this day have its public-spirited owners preserved its virgin loveliness."

[45] Spitz, 218.

[46] Hildreth, 2.

[47] *Overland Monthly*, 458.

[48] Spitz, 177.

[49] Spitz, 84; "Tamalpais Land and Water Company," unattributed research paper, Marin Municipal Water Company clipping file, Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Public Library, San Rafael, 1-2.

[50] William Kent recalled that Lovell White, the president of the Tamalpais Land & Water Company, informed him that the company was "unable to preserve Redwood Canyon." "Biography of William Kent," 1; Spitz, 84.

[51] Yaryan, *The Sempervirens Story*, 15-17.

[52] Toogood, volume 2, 181-182.

[53] Catharine Huttell to Miss Parsons, 26 December 1907, Kent Family Papers, box 3/46, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. In this letter, Huttell writes: "Quite a while ago, years ago, Mr. John Muir, Mr. Sargent of Boston, Mr. Pinchot—etc. went with Mr. Lovell White to look at Redwood Canyon with the idea of starting a subscription to buy it as a public park. I think these three men first mentioned promised [sic] $500.00 a piece toward this park and they found that—Mr. White wanted $60,000 (as I think it was) for the woods, which they considered too much money to raise by subscription…"

[54] "Biography of William Kent," 2.

[55] Fairley, 148.

[56] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 3 December 1907, Kent Papers, Box 3/46, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut [hereafter, "Kent Papers."]. Research at Yale courtesy of John Sears, Providence, Rhode Island.

[57] "Biography of William Kent," 2.

[58] "Biography of William Kent," 2, footnote 10.

[59] Tamalpais Land & Water Company to William Kent and Elizabeth Thacher Kent, 29 August 1905, Marin County Recorder, Liber 95, page 58-60.

[60] Marin County Recorder, Liber 95, page 58; Fairley, 171; Spitz, 115.

[61] Marin County Recorder, Liber 95, page 59.

[62] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 3 December 1907 (unsent letter), William Kent Papers, box 3/46, Kent Papers.

[63] Tamalpais Land & Water Company to North Coast Water Company, Marin County Recorder, Liber 103, pages 108-109.

[64] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, "A Railroad to Wonderful Redwood Canyon," volume 12, no. 37 (7 July 1907), magazine section, 3.

[65] Libra, 1; Hildreth, 3; *Marin Journal,* obituaries, "Old Settler and Nimrod Passes Away," 15 September 1904. Johnson's obituary stated "...Ever since the Tamalpais Game Club [sic] was formed, Johnson had been one of its most trusted keepers..." "...The Mountain Railway has always had guides of its own, who have worked without pay to the traveling public..." Quote from William Kent to Horace Albright, National Park Service, 22 March 1917, RG 79, PI 166, E7, central classified files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, Box 600, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland [hereafter, "Muir Woods, box 600, NA II"].

[66] Ida Johnson Allen, transcript of oral interview, 1973, page 2. Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael.

[67] French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan," *Overland Monthly*, October 1904, 457.

[68] Libra, 1; Map of Muir Woods National Monument, "Diagram Attached to and Made a Part of the Proclamation Dated January 9, 1908 (Department of the Interior, General Land Office), Muir Woods Records, GGNRA Archives.

[69] "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista" (November 1908). This map indicates "Pavilion & Picnic Grounds" and "Camp Fire" along the creek, features which most likely had been established prior

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to the Monte Vista subdivision by the church school.

[70] Libra, 1.

[71] USGS Tamalpais quadrangle map, 1897.

[72] Annals of Bohemian Club, in Perry to Mahoney and Pflueger to Brainerd. While the Eastern style of the Buddha and the bridge were exotic, the style was not unprecedented in Mill Valley. During the same year as the encampment, George Marsh began construction of an elaborate Japanese-style estate, Owl's Nest, in the woods of Blithedale Canyon outside of Mill Valley. Spitz, 81. Asian design was also an important influence in the burgeoning Arts and Crafts Movement.

[73] England, 28; French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan," *Overland Monthly*, October 1904, 457.

[74] French, October 1904, 456.

[75] Notes on c.1919 photograph of south end of Redwood Canyon, Muir Woods Collection, box 32/2, folder E: area history, GGNRA Archives. The note reads" "Looking west from the top of the Hog's Back [Throckmorton Ridge]. Building is the Caretaker's House for MUWO. Dipsea Trail crossed the left of the house thence up Butler's Pride to Lone Tree."

[76] French, October 1904, 456.

[77] Hildreth, 2.

[78] William Kent to Horace Albright, Acting Director, National Park Service, 25 April 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NA II [re: inadequacy of staffing, Andrew Lind custodian] "...The interests of the [rail]road and the Park Service are exactly parallel and as a matter of fact the [rail]road has done most of the improvement in the park today."

[79] Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; With a View to the Improvement of Country Residences* (New York: Dover Publications reprint of 1865 edition, 1991), 32.

[80] Harvey Kaiser, *Landmarks in the Landscape, Historic Architecture in the National Parks of the West* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997), 17. The origins of such rustic Adirondack camps may also have been in the log-and-canvas tents or log lean-tos built by settlers, and early campers and guides.

[81] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Yosemite and The Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report, 1865* (N.p., Yosemite Association, 1995), 3-8, 8-9.

[82] Olmsted, 21.

[83] Kaiser, *Landmarks in the Landscape*, 95.

[84] Ethan Carr, *Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 62.

[85] Spitz, 64, 137, 150; Willie Yaryan and Denzil & Jennie Verardo, *The Sempervirens Story: A Century of Preserving California's Ancient Redwood Forest 1900-2000* (Los Altos, California: Sempervirens Fund, 2000), 20.

[86] This branch line and the inn would be known by the name "Muir Woods." However, at the time of their construction, Muir Woods National Monument had not yet been designated and the inclusion of the name "Muir Woods" was not worked out until late 1907, months after the branch line had begun. Thus, the line was probably referred to initially as the branch to Redwood Canyon.

[87] William Kent and Elizabeth Thacher Kent to Mill Valley & Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway, 11 July 1907, liber 110, page 5, Marin County Recorder.

[88] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 3.

[89] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 3 December 1907, Box 3/46, Yale Kent Papers.

[90] Photograph of Muir Inn looking west with clearing in the distance, published in Ted Wurm, *The Crookedest Railroad in the World* (Glendale, CA: Interurban Press, 1983), 42.

[91] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 3.

[92] W. T. Plevin was a member of the executive committee of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, founded in 1912, and also served as its president in 1927-28. Wes Hildreth, "Amendments to Muir Woods Chronology" (1968), 3, in "Historic Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity," #1 Master Copy, (Unpublished report prepared for the National Park Service, 1966), Muir Woods Collection, box 3, GGNRA Archives.

[93] Photograph of "Old Fern Creek bridge" dated 21 January 1934, Muir Woods Collection, box

Chapter 2 (1883-1907), Continued

36/6, GGNRA Archives.

[94] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 3.

[95] Hildreth, 2; Spitz, 114-115.

[96] "...The road from the Woods down the valley to meet the automobile road from Sausalito to Bolinas ought also to be put in order. Part of it is on my land, and I would cooperate in putting that portion in order. The balance is on some dairy ranches belonging to Portuguese, who I believe could be made to see the value of establishing decent communication between their houses and Mill Valley...Straightening out these two roads would help greatly in attracting the automobile trade..." William Kent to Stephen Mather, Director, NPS, 20 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NA II.

[97] Map of Muir Woods National Monument, 1908; "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista" (November 1908); "...Mr. Kent has probably told you that largely through personal contribution by himself to cover the expense, this Company had constructed a private roadway from the County highway [in Mill Valley?] to the line of the Government park for the use of the public..." R. H. Ingram, General Manager of Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway to Horace Albright, NPS, 23 October 1923, Muir Woods, box 600, NA II. The Monte Vista map shows a "New Road to Big Lagoon" on the southeast side of Redwood Creek, but this alignment was apparently only proposed at the time and never actually built.

[98] [Re: inspection of MUWO] "...A very good but narrow road leads from Mill Valley to the woods, a distance of six miles, but in the grove itself there is nothing but a wheel track winding through the trees..." M. B. Lewis, Supervisor, Yosemite National Park, to Stephen Mather, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, 22 January 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NA II.

[99] E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, vol. VI, no. 5 (June 1908), Plate 46. The four bridges are shown on the map of Muir Woods National Monument, 1908. These same bridges are shown with the connecting trails on a 1931 National Park Service topographic survey of the canyon floor, made prior replacement of the bridges later in the decade.

[100] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 4.

[101] Fairley, 167. The trail, known as the Ben Johnson Trail, does not appear on the Tourist Map of Mount Tamalpais (Denny, 1902).

[102] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 4; William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 3 December 1907, Box 3/46, Yale Kent Papers. The benches at the base of the trees are also shown in a photograph in Alexander McAdie, "The Message of the Redwoods (Muir Woods)," *The Tamalpais Magainze*, vol. 4, no. 2 (August 1914), 3. The specific location and appearance of these benches, tables, trash bins, and watering places is not known, and no graphic record of them has been found.

[103] The word "grove" was a common one at the time used in association with areas to picnic (hence, picnic groves), and is defined as "a small wood without underbrush." Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary, 10th edition 1993, s.v. "grove."

[104] "Notes from interview with Thomas Bickerstaff, Mill Valley, on October 31 and November 7, 1962," in memorandum from park naturalist (unnamed), Muir Woods, 7 November 1962; Photograph of the cabin, c.1913, with the inscription, "The Deserted Cabin." Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway photograph album, collection 4229, GGNRA Archives; John T. Needham, Custodian of Muir Woods, to Stephen T. Mather, Director National Park Service, 9 January 1926, RG 79, Central Classified Files 1907-1932, Muir Woods, Box 601, NARA II. The legend of this cabin being built by the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association appears to have been started by the Mountain Railway in a brochure it published in c.1920 (Muir Woods Records, box 1, file 2, GGNRA Archives), in which it stated: "Log cabin built in 1886 by the old Tamalpais Hunting Club..." This fact was repeated in Wes Hildreth's 1966 chronological history of Muir Woods.

[105] The south building is indicated on the 1908 map of Muir Woods National Monument; this same map does not show the north cabin. The San Francisco *Sunday Call* published in its July 7, 1907 article, following a description of the keeper's house (The Alders) at the south end of Redwood Canyon: "As a memento of the days of the hunter, there is a log cabin not far from the wagon road entrance." No visual record of this south building has been found.

[106] F. E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument" (Unpublished report prepared for William Kent, 26 December 1907), 2, Muir Woods park files. This report stated "The giants of Redwood Canyon have escaped the ax chiefly because the outlet is on the ocean instead of the bay side, thus making transportation to market difficult; and also because the various owners of the land have jealously guarded the timber from harm or destruction for sentimental reasons."

CHAPTER 3: FOUNDING OF MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT AND THE KENT-RAILWAY ERA, 1907-1928

[1] Kent remembered that prior to 1907, "I had long been worrying about how to dispose of the land—whether I would give it to the State or the University or the Federal Government." Quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "Biography of William Kent, Independent" (Unpublished manuscript, 2, typed NPS excerpt), page 2, in park history files, Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California [hereafter, "Muir Woods park files"]. For a broader perspective on the history of Kent's gift and the monument designation, see Part II of this report, "Muir Woods, William Kent, and the American Conservation Movement."

[2] John Burt, the first General Manager of the Marin Municipal Water District, recalled in his 1940 autobiography that he was asked, probably by the North Coast Water Company, to find a dam site in Redwood Canyon, and that the location he chose was just below Fern Creek. Burt wrote: "But one day while we were working, Mr. William Kent came along and asked what we were doing. I told him that we were looking for a place to store water as it had become necessary for Mill Valley's future water supply. He said nothing at the time but went over to San Francisco, saw Lovell White at the bank, and offered him a good sum of money for the redwoods, a sum accepted by the Tamalpais Land & Water Company." Excerpt reprinted in Mt. Tam History Project, 1987 newsletter.

[3] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 3 December 1907 (unsent letter), William Kent Papers, box 3/46, Yale University Manuscripts and Archives, New Haven, Connecticut (hereafter, "Kent Papers"). Research at Yale courtesy of John Sears, Providence, Rhode Island.

[4] "Biography of William Kent," 2; Thomas, Gerstle, Frick & Beedy, Attorneys at Law, to William Kent, 21 December 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/63.

[5] Kent restated his telegram in his unsent letter to Pinchot, 3 December 1907. Pinchot's involvement in the Mount Tamalpais park movement is discussed in "Tamalpais for a Public Park," San Francisco *Chronicle*, 13 September 1903, and in the San Francisco *Call* of the same date. Library of Congress, Gifford Pinchot scrapbooks, microfilm 19, 294, reel 1. Research courtesy of John Sears.

[6] Kent to Pinchot, 3 December 1907.

[7] S. B. Show, District Forester, to Frank Kittredge, National Park Service Chief Engineer, San Francisco District, 19 February 1930, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2295, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland [hereafter, "Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II"]. Show stated that Olmsted was a personal friend of William Kent.

[8] University of North Carolina at Asheville, D. H. Ramsey Library. On-line biography of Frederick E. Olmsted. Processed by Erica Ojermark, Special Collections/University Archives, n.d., http://toto.lib.unca.edu/findingaids/photo/usfs/biographies/olmsted.htm (accessed 2006). A t Biltmore, Frederick Law Olmsted planned one of the earliest large-scale scientifically-managed forests, which in turn was first managed by Gifford Pinchot in the early 1890s. After Biltmore, F. E. Olmsted continued his forestry education in Germany, receiving a diploma from the University of Munich in 1899. He resigned from the U. S. Forest Service in 1911 and became a consulting forester in Boston. He returned to California in 1914 and established the Tamalpais Fire Protective Association in Marin County, and in 1919, became president of the Society of American Foresters. He died in 1925.

[9] Robert P. Danielson, "The Story of William Kent," in *The Pacific Historian*, volume IV, no. 3 (August 1960), 83.

[10] "Biography of William Kent, Independent," 2. Kent wrote: "Mr. F. E. Olmsted, one of the early disciples of Gifford Pinchot in the Forest Service, brought to my attention the Monument Act, whereby the Government could accept from private individuals lands carrying with them things of historic or other great interest."

[11] Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 USC 431-433 (approved June 8, 1906), Sec. 2: "...That when such objects are situated upon a tract covered by a bona fide unperfected claim or held in private ownership, the tract, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the proper care and management of the object, may be relinquished to the Government, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept the relinquishment of such tracts in behalf of the Government of the United States."

[12]Michael Williams, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (New York: Cambridge University, 1989), 423.

[13] William Kent to William Magee, 10 December 1907, Kent Papers, box 3/46.

[14] William Thomas to William Kent, 6 December 1907; Benjamin Wheeler to William Kent, 11 December 1907; W. G. Eggleston, *The Star*, 12 December 1907; Eggleston to Kent, 12 December

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

1907, Kent Papers, box 3/46. Eggleston suggested publishing photographs of the redwoods and proposed writing something for *Sunset* and other local magazines.

[15] Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 62.

[16] Wes Hildreth, "Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity, #1 Master" (Unpublished National Park Service report, 1966, including Amendments dated January 1968), 3, Muir Woods Records, 1910-1967, collection #14348, box 3, Park Archive and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco [hereafter, "GGNRA Archives"]; William Thomas, Lawyer, to William Kent, 3 February 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/46.

[17] Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 USC 431-433, Sec. 2.

[18] F. E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument. Redwood Canyon, Marin County, California" (Unpublished report dated September 26, 1907),4-5, Muir Woods park files.

[19] F. E. Olmsted to William Kent, 14 December 1907, Kent Papers, box 3/46; F. E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument."

[20] William Kent to Secretary of the Interior James Garfield, 26 December 1907, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II [hereafter, "Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II"]. The acreage then cited was 295, a figure recorded on the monument designation, but later surveyed as 298.29 acres. Hildreth, 3.

[21] Copy, William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 26 December 1907, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. The copy of the survey Kent included with his letter to Pinchot has not been found.

[22] *Washington Star,* "A Munificent Gift," 19 January 1908, clipping in Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[23] James Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, to President Theodore Roosevelt, 9 January 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. The proclamation opened with the following reasons for establishing the monument: "Whereas, an extensive growth of redwood trees (Sequoia sempervirens) embraced in said land is of extraordinary scientific interest and importance because of the primeval character of the forest in which it is located, and of the character, age and size of the trees..." (goes on to state proclamation).

[24] Memorandum, General Land Office, 22 January 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[25] Roosevelt to Kent, 22 January 1908; Kent to Roosevelt, 30 January 1908 and Roosevelt to Kent, 5 February 1908, Kent Papers, copies in Muir Woods park files. Excerpts of all three letters were published in E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," Sierra Club *Bulletin*, volume VI, no. 5 (June 1908), 287-289.

[26] John Muir to Miss Hittell, 9 January 1908, Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[27] William Kent to John Muir, 10 February 1908 (unsigned copy), Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[28] William Kent to John S. Phillips, September 21, 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58.

[29] Hildreth, 4. Several photographs were taken by Herbert W. Gleason, including one of Muir in front of the Muir Inn, which was completed in 1909.

[30] William Kent to William Thomas, 22 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58.

[31] William Thomas to William Kent, 23 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/59. Thomas, Kent's lawyer who was also working on behalf of the U. S. District Attorney, wrote Kent: "... I have begged him time and time again to start me upon the legal proposition that the suit for condemnation cannot now proceed as the property has become vested in the United States, but he has not done anything in that direction as yet..."

[32] William Kent to Secretary James Garfield, 25 September 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[33] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 27 July 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/56.

[34] William Kent to George W. Woodruff, Assistant Attorney General, Department of the Interior, 12 October 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[35] William Kent to President Theodore Roosevelt, 22 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58.

[36] President Theodore Roosevelt to William Kent, 28 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/59.

[37] William Thomas to William Kent, 23 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/59; Barry Spitz in association with the Mill Valley Historical Society, *Mill Valley: The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potrero Meadow Publishing, 1997), 84.

[38] Kent to Woodruff, 12 October 1908.

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

[39] William Kent to Thomas, Gerstle, Frick & Beedy, 22 December 1908, Kent Family Papers, box 4/64, Yale University.

[40] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 14 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58.

[41] Secretary of the Interior James Garfield to President Theodore Roosevelt, 9 January 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[42] Harold French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," *Overland Monthly*, vol. 61, no 3 (May-June 1913), 426.

[43] Spitz, 183.

[44] Thomas Brothers, "Map of Mill Valley, Marin County" (San Francisco and Oakland: Thomas Brothers, 1929), reprinted in Spitz, inside back cover; Warren H. Manning, Landscape Designer, "Muir Woods—Mt. Tamalpais July 17, 1917" (Unpublished report), Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. Manning reported that a hill to the west of Muir Woods "...ought to be kept free from houses that are established on a similar ridge [Throckmorton Ridge] to the east."

[45] Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore" (Denver: National Park Service Denver Service Center, June 1980), volume 2, 10, 13.

[46] United States Geologic Survey, Mount Tamalpais Quadrangle, 1941. This map shows five houses along the ocean, which may have been built after 1928. No earlier documentation was found on Muir Beach.

[47] Ted Wurm, *The Crookedest Railroad in the World* (Glendale, CA: Interurban Press, 1983), 38-39.

[48] Wurm, 39, 42.

[49] Toogood, volume 2, 22.

[50] Spitz, 116.

[51] Toogood, volume 2, 35-38.

[52] Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 147; Spitz, 116, 217.

[53] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 19 February 1908, Gifford Pinchot Collection, box 114, Library of Congress. Research courtesy of John Sears.

[54] John E. Kipp, Clerk of the Board of Town Trustees, to William Kent, 29 January 1908, Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files; "Marin County Has A National Park," *Marin County Journal*, 9 January 1908, 1.

[55] William Kent to Mr. L. A. McAllister, 10 February 1908, Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[56] Fairley, 79.

[57] Fairley, 93.

[58] Fairley, 90.

[59] Toogood, 24, Fairley, 79.

[60] Toogood, 25-28.

[61] French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," 424.

[62] Toogood, 187-188; Fairley, 175, 180; Spitz, 202. No documentation was found on what properties Kent donated to the Marin Municipal Water District.

[63] French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," *Overland Monthly*, 427-428. One of the founding purposes of the Tamalpais Conservation Club was to advocate the needs of hikers against those of hunters.

[64] French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," 427.

[65] Toogood, 188.

[66] French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," 424.

[67] William Kent to Mr. N. L. Fitzhenry of Stinson Beach, 25 September 1915, Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[68] Tamalpais Park Fund of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, "Establish the Park on Tamalpais" (flyer with map), mailed June 1927, Kent Papers, box 64/49.

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

[69] Toogood, 188-189.

[70] Map on flyer, "Establish the Park on Tamalpais," mailed June 1927.

[71] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 26 December 1907, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[72] Fairley, 148.

[73] Hildreth, 1968 Amendment, 1; William Thomas to William Kent, 3 February 1908, Kent Papers, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[74] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 10 March 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/51.

[75] Little record has been found on Kent (Rocky) Canyon. If the canyon had considerable redwoods on it, it is likely that Kent would have suggested that it be incorporated into Muir Woods, much as he suggested for Steep Ravine. The 1892 Tamalpais Land & Water Company Map #3 [see Figure 2.4] indicates what may be forest cover on the southwest slope of the canyon, but the graphic used is distinct from the one used for the forest cover in Redwood Canyon, suggesting that Rocky Canyon did not have redwood forest.

[76] Hildreth, 1968 Amendment, 3; Toogood, 186; J. C. Oglesby, "Property of the Wm. Kent Estate," August 1929, Muir Woods Records, GGNRA Archives; U. S. Surveyor General's Office, San Francisco, "Plat Survey of the Muir Woods National Monument," 20 January 1914, Muir Woods Records, GGNRA Archives; Tamalpais Land & Water Company to Ruby Hamilton, 1 August 1905, liber 59, page 190 and Ruby Hamilton to William Kent, 1 April 1916, book 177, page 495, Marin Country Recorder, San Rafael.

[77] No information was found on when the railway acquired the narrow triangular tract to the north of the original monument and Hamilton Tracts, which would have brought its holdings to more than the approximately 150 acres in its original tract containing the railway terminus.

[78] Monte Vista Realty Company, "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista" (c.1908), Muir Woods Records, box 37/7, GGNRA Archives.

[79] Dias, J. et al to Charles Pore, 16 October 1908, Liber 118, page 30, Marin County Recorder. This deed was for the sale of lot 43 in Camp Monte Vista.

[80] Camp Monte Vista subdivision, no. 1 of Tier 1, filed for record on 13 October, 1908, map book 2, page 1321; no. 2 of Tier 1 filed for record on November 21, 1908, map book 3, page 5, Marin County Recorder. The text at the lower left of the map [Figure 3.9] reads: "Redwood Canon, comprising 295 acres of Virgin Redwood Forest, presented to the United States Government January 9, 1908 by William Kent Esq. To be perpetually used as a public park and known as **Muir Woods National Monument** Conceeded [sic] to be the finest Redwood preserve in the World."

[81] "Guide Map of Camp Monte Vista."

[82] Bright Eastman, "Draft National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility (DOE), Camino Del Canyon Property, Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA), Marin County, California" (Unpublished report prepared for the National Park Service, September 2004), 9-12, Park Historian's Files, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area (will be deposited at a future date in the Park Archive and Record Center, Building Presidio 667).

[83] Mary Libra, "A Brief Account of the History of Camp Hillwood and Lo Mo Lodge, formerly known as Camp Kent and later, as Camp Duncan," (Unpublished paper, 1969), 1; Hildreth, 4; USGS, Tamalpais Quadrangle, 1897 updated to c.1913, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. This USGS map shows a building on Parcel K that is most probably the new church school lodge.

[84] Libra, 1-2; Eastman, 12. No documentation has been found on the boundaries of the parcels purchased by the church during this time.

[85] The Ocean View Trail is not shown on the 1907 monument survey, but is shown on Kingsbury, "Plat of the Muir Woods National Monument Showing Fire Lines," 1914, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[86] "Sierra Club Local Walks Spring Schedule 1910," clipping in Muir Woods park files.

[87] Hildreth, 1968, Amendment, 3.

[88] Hildreth, 1968, Amendment, 1-3; Leroy Palmer to Commissioner of the General Land Office, 20 May 1914, Muir Wood, box 600, NARA II. No documentation was found on the designer of the Muir Inn or the appearance of the associated cabins and campground.

[89] The Mount Lowe Scenic Railway (1893-1897) was built in the San Gabriel Mountains above Pasadena. The system included a cable-operated incline railway up Mount Echo. The land is currently part of Angeles National Forest.

[90] *San Francisco Sunday Call*, 7 July 1907, 3, clipping in Muir Woods park files.

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

[91] Hildreth, 1968, Amendment, 2.

[92] William Kent to Stephen Mather, Director, National Park Service, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. Kent wrote: "…I have always felt that it was a mistake to have the station [inn] so near the woods. They would have been better served by our original plan of a tramway from the upper side…"

[93] M. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, 22 January 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; Hildreth, 5. No documentation has been found on exact location of the eight cabins. Two cabins remained standing on the north side of the tracks into the 1930s.

[94] The portion of Sequoia Valley Road within Mill Valley (east of Panoramic Highway/ Throckmorton Ridge) was known as Sequoia Valley Drive and not as Muir Woods Road.

[95] T. Bickerstaff, referenced in Hildreth, 3.

[96] M. B. Lewis, Superintendent of Yosemite National Park, to Stephen Mather, Director of the National Park Service, 7 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[97] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 1 April 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/53. No documentation was found on the proposed alignment of this road.

[98] U. S. Representative John Nolan to Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, 29 May 1914, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[99] J. W. Kingsbury, unpublished map of alternative road alignments surrounding Muir Woods, Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[100] M. B. Lewis to NPS Director Stephen Mather, 22 January 1917; William Kent to Mather, 20 December 1917; Lewis to Mather, 16 March 1918; Horace Albright, National Park Service, to Mather, 28 April 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[101] The company initially included four individuals aside from William Kent, Jr.: Thomas P. Boyd, Harry Petrie, M. H. Ballou, and W. H. R. Nostrand. Marin County Ordinance No. 191, 17 August 1925, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA Archives.

[102] Hildreth, 9.

[103] National Park Service, Muir Woods National Monument brochure, c.1932, Muir Woods Records, box 6, GGNRA Archives; Hildreth, 9.

[104] "Historic Day in Muir Woods Park; Toll Road Opens With Ceremony," *New Daily Record* [Mill Valley], 1 May 1926, editorial page, clipping in Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[105] William Kent to W. B. Lewis, Supervisor, Yosemite National Park, 2 December 1916, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[106] William Kent to Stephen Mather, Director, National Park Service, 20 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[107] The public road Kent referred to was a predecessor of the Panoramic Highway that would have taken a more southerly alignment than was later built, cutting into the Hamilton and railway tracts.

[108] William Kent to John Payne, Secretary of the Interior, 15 June 1920, 2 July 1920, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[109] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 3 August 20 December 1920, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[110] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 3 August 1920; Arno Cammerer, Acting National Park Service Director, to Kent, 21 August 1920, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. No information was found on the alignment of this proposed highway.

[111] Proclamation no. 1608, 22 September 1921, 12 Stat. 2249, copy in Muir Woods park files.

[112] *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth edition (2001), S. v. "General Land Office"; Department of the Interior, *Report on Sullys Hill Park, Casa Grande Ruin; The Muir Woods, Petrified Forest, and Other National Monuments…*" (Department of the Interior, 1915), 8. In 1946, the General Land Office was consolidated with the Grazing Service into the Bureau of Land Management. The GLO Division office was at 28 Canning Block, 13th and Broadway, Oakland.

[113] Memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior regarding monument regulations for Muir Woods National Monument (no author noted), received April 29, 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[114] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 10 March 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. Kent had also offered this ten-year funding for a custodian in his initial offer of Muir Woods to the federal

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

government.

[115] F. E. Olmsted to William Kent, 13 January 1908 [noted as 1907 on letter]; Gifford Pinchot to William Kent, 14 January 1908; Andrew Lind, Report to General Land Office for February 1908; Oscar Lange, Chief Field Division, General Land Office, to Commissioner, General Land Office, 10 July 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[116] Olmsted to Kent, 13 January 1908 [noted as 1907 on letter], Pinchot to Kent, 14 January 1908.

[117] F. E. Olmsted to William Kent, 12 February 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/50; F. E. Olmsted, "Recommendations for the Administration and Protection of the Muir Woods National Monument California" (Unpublished paper, 25 March 1908); Gifford Pinchot to James R. Garfield, 27 March 1908, Olmsted to Kent, 7 April 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; Olmsted also recommended keeping a strong Forest Service presence at Muir Woods by employing its inspectors (he felt Lind was not qualified for forest management), and also providing Lind with a Forest Service uniform.

[118] William Kent to George Woodruff, Department of the Interior, 9 April 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/33; Kent to Gifford Pinchot, Kent Papers, box 4/56.

[119] F. E. Olmsted to William Kent, 7 April 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/53. There was no mention of North Coast's water rights to the property, which it held per William Kent's 1905 deed to the property.

[120] Oscar Lange to Commissioner of the General Land Office (unnamed), 10 July 1908; William Kent to George W. Woodruff, Assistant Attorney General, Interior, 12 October 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. Kent wrote: "I am glad to say that Mr. Lange has actually taken up the work of looking after the National Monument although I have as yet been unable to connect with him…"

[121] George W. Woodruff to William Kent, 28 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/59.

[122] "Rules and Regulations of the Muir Woods National Monument, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., September 10th, 1908," Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. These regulations were apparently the first developed for National Monuments within the Department of the Interior. They were subsequently applied to all other National Monuments in Interior in November 1910.

[123] Fred Bennett, Commissioner, General Land Office, to O. W. Lange, Chief Field Division, Oakland, 10 September 1908, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[124] Lange to Commission of the General Land Office, 10 July 1908.

[125] Department of the Interior, *Report on Sullys Hill Park, Casa Grande Ruin; The Muir Woods, Petrified Forest, and Other National Monuments…1915* (Department of the Interior, 1916), 9.

[126] Oscar Lange to William Kent, 26 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/59; Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 28 April 1910, Gifford Pinchot Papers, box 133, Library of Congress. Research courtesy of John Sears. Kent wrote to Pinchot regarding the Sierra Club's request for permission to erect a memorial to Pinchot in the woods: "The Sierra Club wished my consent which I suppose I might have given as one of the custodians but seeing the humor of the situation I preferred that they should go to [Department of the Interior] headquarters…."

[127] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 14 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58. The dining and lodging facilities at the Muir Inn were operated by a lessee of the railroad.

[128] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 10 March 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/51.

[129] Ernest Mott, attorney for the Sierra Club, to Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior, 23 September 1911, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[130] Department of the Interior, *Report on Sullys Hill Park, Casa Grande Ruin; The Muir Woods, Petrified Forest, and Other National Monuments…1910* (Department of the Interior, 1911), 19.

[131] Andrew Lind, "Annual Report on Muir Woods Natl. Monument," 29 August 1911, 6 August 1912, 30 June 1913; 30 July 1914; 19 July 1915; Andrew Lind to Stephen Mather, Director National Park Service, 9 June 1920, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. No annual reports were found prior to 1911.

[132] J. W. Kingsbury, Mineral Inspector, General Land Office (GLO), to Commissioner GLO, 17 June 1916, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. In 1916 the GLO undertook some testing that found Redwood Creek to be polluted, probably from the septic system of the Muir Inn. The water was found to be unfit for drinking due to contamination from bacteria including typhoid germs.

[133] Preamble to The National Park Service Organic Act (16 U.S.C. l 2 3, and 4), 25 August 1916 (39 Stat. 535).

[134] Joseph J. Cotter, Acting Superintendent, National Park Service (San Francisco regional office),

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to Andrew Lind, 7 March 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[135] Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916- to 1942* (Washington: Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places, 1993), 73.

[136] William Kent to Horace Albright, Acting Director National Park Service (NPS), 25 April 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; Kent to Acting NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer, 17 July 1922, in Hildreth, 7.

[137] Horace Albright, Acting Director NPS to R. H. Ingram, 22 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[138] Horace Albright, Acting Director NPS to William Kent, 3 May 1917, Kent to Albright, 22 March 1917, Albright to Fred S. Robbins (tour guide), 3 May 1917; W. B. Lewis to Andrew Lind, 21 July 1920, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[139] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 7 May 1921, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II [hereafter, "Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II"]; William Kent to Arno B. Cammerer, Acting NPS Director, 17 July 1922, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA.

[140] Charles Punchard, "Landscape Design in the National Park Service," *Landscape Architecture: A Quarterly Magazine,* volume 10, number 3 (April 1920), 142.

[141] Albright to Kent, 3 May 1917.

[142] Stephen Mather, Director NPS, to W. B. Lewis, Superintendent, Yosemite National Park, 20 December 1917, William Kent to W. B. Lewis, 2 December 1916, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[143] William Kent to Stephen Mather, Director NPS, 13 September 1921, Kent to Mather, 22 June 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; John Needham, October 1927 monthly report, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II. In 1922, William Kent tried to end the relationship with Yosemite because he felt Lewis was micromanaging affairs at Muir Woods and felt a permanent superintendent was needed on site to better control law and order.

[144] Andrew Lind, annual report for 1918, 11 September 1918; Lind, Annual report for fiscal year 1920, 1 October 1920; Richard O'Rourke, annual report for fiscal year 1922, circa December 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; Hildreth, 8; Muir Woods National Monument Record of Visitors, 1926-1981, Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA. This record of visitors does not specify the method of transportation prior to 1943.

[145] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 21 April 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[146] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 21 April 1921, 13 September 1921; W. B. Lewis to Director Mather, 22 June 1922, 8 August 1923, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; Hildreth, Amendment to Muir Woods Chronology, 4.

[147] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 20 December 1917, 18 February 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[148] Horace Albright, Field Assistant to the NPS Director, to Stephen Mather, 28 April 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[149] Custodian Richard O'Rourke, memorandum (annual report), 3 October 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; William Kent to John T. Needham, 21 May 1925, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA. Kent wrote in this last letter, "…I have always wished people to believe that the lower end of the Woods [parking lot] was in possession of the government as they seem to have more respect for public than private property…"

[150] Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 26 January 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[151] Telegram, Stephen Mather to William Kent, 21 April 1921, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; R. M. Holes to Secretary of the Treasury, 3 August 1922, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[152] William Kent to Stephen Mather, 30 September 1925, Muir Woods, box 2, Area & Service History, 1922-1932, GGNRA; Walter Finn, Muir Woods National Monument, Narrative Report of Soil and Moisture Conservation Problems," 14 January 1949, Muir Woods, box 1, history, GGNRA.

[153] John T. Needham to William Kent, 11 December 1925, 20 June 1927, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA Archives.

[154] William Kent, "Redwoods," in E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," Sierra Club *Bulletin*, volume VI, number 5 (June 1908), 286-287.

[155] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 10 March 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/51.

[156] F. E. Olmsted, "Recommendations for the Administration and Protection of Muir Woods

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National Monument California, 25 March 1908; J. Kingsbury, General Land Office, "Plat of the Muir Woods National Monument Showing Fire Lines," 1914; N. F. Wadell, "Plat of Muir Woods National Monument, California, Showing word done in October and November, 1916" [fire lines, brush clearing], Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 14 September 1908, Kent Papers, box 4/58: "The Railroad Company have put in another fire trail as suggested in Olmsted's report. This ought to have been done by the government…"

[157] Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Company, "Muir Woods Guide," c.1915, Muir Woods Records, box 1, folder 2, GGNRA Archives.

[158] William Colby to Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of Interior, 14 April 1910, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. The timing of this memorial was related to Pinchot's recent dismissal for insubordination by President Taft.

[159] Hildreth, 4; M. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, 22 January 1917. There is little graphic documentation on the landscape of the monument during GLO management prior to 1916.

[160] William Kent to Gifford Pinchot, 16 March 1908, Kent Papers, box 3/52; "List of Signs for Muir Woods National Monument," c.1918, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; National Park Service, "Muir Woods National Monument Topography Sheet," March 1931. This list [Appendix E] and the 1931 topographic map together indicate there were two sets of "public toilets" at the beginning of NPS administration.

[161] American Society of Landscape Architects, resolution for endorsement of H. R. 8668, reprinted in *Landscape Architecture: A Quarterly,* VI (April 1916), 111-112; William Tweed and Laura Soulliere, and Henry G. Law, "National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942" (San Francisco: Unpublished report prepared for National Park Service Western Regional Office, February 1977), 20-21.

[162] National Park Service 1918 Annual Report, quoted in McClelland, 80.

[163] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 44-47; National Archives, *Preliminary Inventory: Records of the National Park Service, No. 166* (Washington, D. C.: General Services Administration, 1966), 11.

[164] Punchard, "Landscape Design in the National Park Service," 144-145.

[165] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, chapter III.

[166] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 35.

[167] McClelland, 151.

[168] Horace Albright, NPS Field Assistant to the Director, Stephen Mather, 26 January 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II: [site visit with Landscape Engineer D. R. Hull and assistant Mr. Kiessig] "...I might say also that they [Hull and Kiessig] were pleased with the old cabin in the heart of the redwoods, and they made some suggestions relative to the repair of the foundation, looking toward the preservation of the old cabin…"

[169] W. B. Lewis, "Sketch For Entrance Gate Muir Woods National Monument," December 6, 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; McClelland, 73.

[170] W. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, 7 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[171] Stephen Mather to W. B. Lewis, 20 December 1917; William Kent to Mather, 20 December 1917; Horace Albright to Lewis, 5 January 1918; Lewis to Mather, 30 January 1918; Albright to Mather, 26 January 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II; National Park Service, "Muir Woods National Monument Topographic Sheet" (San Francisco: Office of the Chief Engineer, March 1931), Muir Woods Records, GOGA.

[172] Andrew Lind, Monthly report for January 1918; Lind to Mr. Jos. J. Cotter, Acting Superintendent, NPS, 23 March 1917; W. B. Lewis to Marin County Board of Supervisors, 28 January 1918; W. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, 30 January 1918, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[173] W. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, 22 January 1917; William Kent to Mather, 20 December 1917, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[174] W. B. Lewis to Stephen Mather, 22 January 1917; Horace Albright to R. H. Ingram, General Manager of mountain railway, 22 December 1917; Andrew Lind, monthly reports for April and July 1918, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II. No graphic record of the toilet buildings, picnic tables, trash containers, or signs installed in the park up to this point has been found.

[175] Albright to Mather, 28 April 1921; McClelland, 85.

[176] Albright to Mather, 28 April 1921; Albright to Mather, 26 January 1922, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA II.

[177] Albright to Mather, 26 January 1922.

Chapter 3 (1907-1928), Continued

[178] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 26, 30-31. According to these historians: "The buildings erected during 1921 to plans developed by the Landscape Engineering Division were the first well-developed examples of a new architectural species, 'NPS-rustic.'"

[179] D. R. Hull to Stephen Mather, 6 March 1922; R. M. Holmes, NPS Chief Clerk, to Secretary of the Treasury, 3 August 1922; John Needham, 1924 annual report, 1 September 1924, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II. The small woodshed/storage shed behind the cottage was built in 1924.

[180] D. R. Hull to J. T. Needham, 7 December 1922; 1931 photograph of new garage under construction around the old (smaller) garage, June 1931 monthly report, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II

[181] John Needham, April 1927 monthly report, 10 May 1927, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[182] Hildreth, 8-9.

[183] Rob Murphy, "Visionaries," *Review of Optometry*, January-December 1991 issue, on-line at http://www.revoptom.com/archive/resource/visionaries.htm (accessed 2005). No information has been found about why Cross was memorialized at Muir Woods (mountain railway tract)

[184] William Kent to John Needham, 27 October 1924; Needham to Kent, 21 May 1925, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA Archives; Needham, June 1927 monthly report, 6 July 1927, F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, NPS San Francisco Field Office, to Director NPS, 18 March 1931; Custodian Barton H Herschler, Monthly Report, 1 October 1930, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II. Kittredge remarked: "…Mr. Herschler…has been especially complimentary of the very fine fireplace, comfort stations, tables, etc. which John built pretty much with his own hands…" Despite the fireplaces, illegal campfires still were set; one made in 1931 within the Cathedral Grove got out of control and burned the redwoods (Hildreth, 14).

[185] F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, San Francisco Field Office, to Director NPS, 18 March 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[186] John Needham, June 1927 monthly report; April 1928 monthly report, 10 May 1928, Muir Woods Records, box 4, GGNRA Archives.

[187] John Needham to Stephen Mather, 15 January 1927, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[188] Hildreth, 10.

[189] Department of the Interior, "Memorandum for the Press, Release for Morning and Afternoon Newspapers of June 30 [1924]," 23rd in a series of weekly news releases on National Monuments, Muir Woods Records, box 1, GGNRA Archives.

[190] John Needham to Stephen Mather, 9 January 1926, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[191] James Wright, "The William Kent Memorial," NPS transcript, *California Out of Doors*, April 1929, Muir Woods park files.

[192] John Needham to Stephen Mather, October 1928 monthly report, 8 November 1928, Muir Woods, box 601, NARAII; Hildreth, 11.

CHAPTER 4: THE STATE PARK-CCC ERA, 1928-1952

[1] Barry Spitz in association with the Mill Valley Historical Society, *Mill Valley: The Early Years* (Mill Valley: Potrero Meadow Publishing, 1997), 224; U. S. Census records, Marin County and Mill Valley, 1920-1950, Association of Bay Area Governments, http://www.agag.ca.gov (accessed 2005).

[2] U.S.G.S. Mt. Tamalpais quadrangle maps, 1941, 1950; San Rafael quadrangle map, 1954; Point Bonita quadrangle map, 1954.

[3] John Needham, October 1929 monthly report, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1916-33, Muir Woods, box 600, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland [hereafter, "NARA II"]. All of the custodian's monthly reports during this period are on file in boxes, 600, Central Classified Files 1916-33, and in boxes 601, 2293-2297, Central Classified Files, 1933-49, NARA II. Additional copies of the monthly reports are in Muir Woods Records, 1910-1967, collection #14348, Park Archive and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco [hereafter, "GGNRA Archives"]. This new inn project at the main entrance never materialized.

[4] Spitz, 118-119.

[5] Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Transportation Co., "Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Big Trees," brochure, c.1932, Muir Woods Records, 1910-1967, collection #14348, box 4, GGNRA Archives.

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

The ferry service from San Francisco was discontinued with the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937.

[6] Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, A Civil History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore" (Denver: National Park Service Denver Service Center, June 1980), volume 2, 37-38.

[7] Toogood, volume 2, 38-40.

[8] Toogood, volume 2, 189.

[9] North Coast Water Company to James Newlands and William Magee, 28 December 1923, Liber 53, page 117, Marin County Recorder, San Rafael, California.

[10] Toogood, volume 2, 189; Newton B. Drury, State of California Department of Natural Resources, to J. C. Strouss, Marvelous Marin, Inc., 21 March 1935, Muir Woods Collection, box 2, GGNRA Archives.

[11] Howe H. Wagner, written under auspices of the Works Projects Administration, Clark Wing, editor, *Mount Tamalpais State Park Marin County*; *California, Historical Survey Series Historic Landmarks, Monuments and State Parks* (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1941), 35, 59.

[12] Wagner, 52.

[13] U.S.G.S. San Rafael and Point Bonita quadrangle maps, 1954; Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 79, 97.

[14] J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods April 1934 monthly report.

[15] Richard Bartlett, "Preliminary Checklist of Records of the NPS Relating to the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps and Works Progress Administration Work Camps" (Unpublished paper, National Archives, June 1945), 3, NARA II. The actual work and administration of the various work-relief programs in the Mount Tamalpais park area was complex and changed often both in name and scope, and has not been discussed in full here.

[16] Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., *By the People, for the People: The Work of the Civilian Conservation Corps in California State Parks, 1933-1941* (Sacramento: California State Parks, 2002), 13.

[17] William Tweed, Laura Soulliere, and Henry G. Law, "National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942" (San Francisco: Unpublished report prepared for National Park Service Western Regional Office, February 1977), 76, 95; Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916- to 1942* (Washington: Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places, 1993), 201.

[18] Fairley, 105; J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, ECW Final Report, 12 May 1934, Muir Woods, box 2297, NARA II.

[19] Bartlett, 3.

[20] Herschler, ECW Final Report, 12 May 1934; "Period Summary Report, Sixth Period, October 1, 1935 to March 31, 1936, ECW Camp SP-23," L. P. Hart to Director NPS, April 1934 monthly report for Mt. Tamalpais SP-23, RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, California, box 10, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland [hereafter, RG 35, California, box 10, NARA II]; J. Barton Herschler, October 1937 monthly report.

[21] Russell McKown, "Report to the Chief Architect on E.C.W. and C. W. A. Activities at Muir Woods National Monument November 1933 through April 1934," 26 April 1934, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[22] J. C. Ogelsby, "Property of the William Kent Estate," August 1929 updated to June 4, 1947, Muir Woods Records, GGNRA Archives.

[23] O. A. Tomlinson, PS Regional Director, to State Park Commission, 8 September 1947, Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II; Walter Rivers, National Park Service (NPS) Region 4 to Sanford Hill, 3 August 1950, RG 79, PI 166, 333, National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California [hereafter, "NARA San Bruno"].

[24] Deed, William Kent et. al to the People of the State of California, 28 November 1930, liber 210, page 159, Marin County Recorder.

[25] William Kent, Jr. to J. Barton Herschler, 21 May 1934, Herschler to Kent, 19 June 1934, Muir Woods, RG 79, PI 611, 333, Muir Woods, box 600, NARA San Bruno; William Kent, Jr. and George Arnold to Park Commissioner of the State of California, 14 June 1934, Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II.

[26] Engbeck, *By the People, For the People*, 15.

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

[27] Wes Hildreth, "Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity, #1 Master" (Unpublished National Park Service report, 1966, including Amendments dated January 1968), appendix with map showing location of camp structures and railway buildings. An historic plan of the Muir Woods camp has not been found.

[28] Engbeck, 28, 86, 128.

[29] C. S. Morbio, President, Tamalpais Conservation Club, "Muir Woods Camp, N. M. 3," *California Out-of-Doors,* January 1934, 2.

[30] Fairley, 42.

[31] Hildreth, 23; J. Barton Herschler, May 1932 monthly report, October 1935 monthly report.

[32] Thomas C. Parker, "Muir Woods National Monument 1931 Toll Road Study" (Unpublished report by the NPS San Francisco Field Headquarters, 20 March 1931), 1, RG 79, 336, 630, NARA San Bruno.

[33] Parker, 3, attached map.

[34] William Kent, Jr. and George Arnold to Park Commissioners of the State of California, 14 June 1934, Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II.

[35] Joseph Taylor, NPS Regional Attorney, memorandum to the Region Director, Region IV, 1 August 1938; Unattributed new release on lifting of tolls, 3 February 1939, RG 79, 333, 600, NARA San Bruno; Department of the Interior, Memorandum for the Press, 8 August 1938, P. N. 32505, Muir Woods Collection, box 2, GGNRA Archives.

[36] J. Barton Herschler, 1931 Annual Report, caption for photograph #6, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[37] Walter Finn, December 1937 monthly report; Ogelesby, "Property of the Wm. Kent Estate," 1929 annotated to June 4, 1947. Annotation on this map shows the six-acre south half of Parcel K and a part of Ranch X belonging to "Presbytery of S. F."

[38] U.S.G.S., San Rafael 15' quadrangle map, 1954.

[39] Mary Libra, "A Brief Account of the History of Camp Hillwood and Lo Mo Lodge, formerly known as Camp Kent and later, as Camp Duncan," (Unpublished paper, 1969), 1; Bright Eastman, "Draft National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility (DOE), Camino del Canyon Property' (Prepared for the National Park Service, September 2004), 35-38.

[40] J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, "Request for Extension of Boundary and Acquisition of Land for Muir Woods National Monument October 1931," 1, 31 October 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[41] "Request for Extension," 1-4.

[42] *Ibid*. The estate retained ownership of the toll road, which cut through the south end of the tract.

[43] J. Barton Herschler to William Kent, Jr., 19 June 1934, RG 79, H14, NARA San Bruno; Herschler, May 1934 monthly report, November 1934 monthly report.

[44] Presidential Proclamation No. 2122, 49 Stat. 3443, 5 April 1935.

[45] Memorandum to Regional Director O. A. Tomlinson, 16 June 1947; Tomlinson to State Park Commission, 8 September 1947, Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II.

[46] Oscar Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, to President Harry Truman, 5 April 1951, RG 79, 333, 602, NARA San Bruno.

[47] Chapman to Truman, 5 April 1951; B. F. Manbey, Regional Chief of Lands, to Assistant Regional Director Hill, 18 September 1951, RG 79, 333, 602, NARA San Bruno.

[48] Presidential Proclamation #2932, 65 Stat. c20, June 26, 1951.

[49] Walter Finn, Boundary Status Report, 16 January 1952, RG 79, 333, 602, NARA San Bruno.

[50] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 48.

[51] Russ Olsen, "Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service 1917 to 1985" (National Park Service: On-line book, c.1985, section "Organizational Charts," www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/olsen/adhi/htm (accessed 2005).

[52] As reflected in the record keeping and types of records in the Muir Woods collection at NARA II.

[53] William Kent Jr. to Custodian J. B. Herschler, 14 March 1931, Muir Woods Collection, box 2, GGNRA Archives. Kent wrote Herschler authorizing him to use his powers on the estate land to

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the "extent of maintaining order on this property as you might employ your powers within the boundaries of the National Monument…"

[54] Hildreth, 12.

[55] Merel S. Sager, "Report to the Chief Landscape Architect on a Visit to Muir Woods National Monument," 12 April 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[56] J. Barton Herschler, April 1934 monthly report.

[57] F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, to Director NPS, 18 March 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[58] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 71.

[59] NPS, "The Master Plan for Muir Woods National Monument California Fifth Complete Edition 1939," Muir Woods Collection, GGNRA Archives. The first four editions of the master plan were not found.

[60] Lawrence C. Merriam, NPS Region 4 Officer, to NPS Branch of Planning and State Cooperation, 30 March 1936, Muir Woods, box 2295, NARA II.

[61] Merriam to NPS Branch of Planning and State Cooperation.

[62] F. A. Kittredge to Director NPS, 18 March 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[63] In April 1935, 1042 persons entered by car, 129 by bus, and an estimated 4,000 on foot (hikers). J. Barton Herschler, April 1935 monthly report.

[64] J. Barton Herschler, June 1937 monthly report.

[65] Muir Woods National Monument, Record of Visitors, 1926-1981, Muir Woods Collection, box 13, GGNRA Archives.

[66] J. B. Herschler to Director NPS, 3 October 1930; Herschler, May 1931 monthly report; Hildreth, 15; history file cards, K1815, photocopy, Muir Woods park files.

[67] J. Barton Herschler, July 1935 monthly report.

[68] John Needham, June 1929 monthly report, J. B. Herschler to Director NPS, 13 February 1933, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[69] J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, CCC Camp SP-23, Fifth Enrollment Period Work Program, April 1, 1935 to September 30, 1935, 20 August 1935, Muir Woods Collection, box 3, GGNRA Archives.

[70] J. B. Herschler to Director NPS, 27 August 1937, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[71] Dale H. Hawkins, NPS Region 4, Branch of Plans and Designs, to Regional Landscape Architect, 9 October 1937, Muir Woods, RG 79, 336, 630, NARA San Bruno.

[72] J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, 28 December 1937, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[73] Walter Finn, February 1938 monthly report.

[74] Muir Woods National Monument, Record of Visitors, 1926-1981; Walter Finn, 1939 annual report, 3 October 1939, Muir Woods, RG 79, 336, 332, NARA San Bruno; Hildreth, Chronology, 26-28.

[75] Arno Cammerer, Director NPS to Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, 31 March 1939, Muir Woods, box 2296, NARA II; Hildreth, 25.

[76] Associate Forester J. B. Dodd, to Regional Director B. F. Manbey, 13 December 1939, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[77] J. B. White, San Francisco Regional Office, to Director NPS, 21 October 1938, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[78] Walter Finn, March 1938 monthly report.

[79] Region Office Field Biologist (unnamed) to Regional Director, file copy, 13 June 1941; Memorandum, H. Maier, Acting Regional Director, to the Director, 15 July 1941, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno. The conclusion by the regional office on the impact of picnicking was based largely on a lack of documentation on the health of the understory over the years, as well as by the recent opening of the new Administration Building, which featured a food concession that allowed visitors to take their lunches outside for picnicking.

[80] Walter Finn to Regional Director, Region IV, 2 July 1941, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[81] Memorandum, Merel S. Sager, Acting Regional Chief of Planning, to Regional Director, 30 June

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

1941, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[82] Muir Woods National Monument, Record of Visitors, 1926-1981; Hildreth, 28-29. A bronze plaque was made for the Victory Tree, but was never affixed to the tree and was instead stored in the administration building.

[83] Muir Woods National Monument, Record of Visitors, 1926-1981; Hildreth, 30-31; "Ski Lift Expert Probing Plan for Aerial Tramway over Muir Woods as Tourist Attraction," *Southern Marin Messenger*, 14 April 1949, clipping in Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[84] Lowell Sumner, Biologist, to Regional Director, 30 August 1950, Muir Woods, RG 79, 336, 883, NARA San Bruno.

[85] Walter Finn, "Narrative Report of Soil and Moisture Conservation Problems," 14 January 1949, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives.

[86] Roger B. Moore, Forester, to Forester Region 4, 31 August 1950, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[87] Muir Woods park brochure, 1946 revised edition, Mill Valley Public Library, local history room; Memorandum, Thomas Carpenter, Landscape Architect, to Sanford Hill, 7 July 1949 Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[88] Sanford Hill, Regional Landscape Architect, to Regional Director, 25 September 1947; Memorandum, Regional Director Tomlinson to DeLong, 26 September 1949, Herbert Maier, Acting Regional Director, to Director NPS, 30 November 1949, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[89] Walter Finn to Regional Director, 7 September 1950, Memorandum, NPS Director Newton Drury to Regional Director, 5 October 1950, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[90] B. F. Manbey to Assistant Regional Director Hill, 18 September 1951, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, 208, NARA San Bruno.

[91] Walter Finn, 1947 Annual Report, 3 July 1947, 1948 Annual Report, 1 July 1948, Muir Woods, RG 79, 332, NARA San Bruno.

[92] Walter Rivers, Region Four, to Sanford Hill, Regional Landscape Architect, 3 August 1950, Muir Woods, RG 79, 333, 600, NARA San Bruno.

[93] Herbert Maier, Acting Regional Director to Custodian, Muir Woods, 19 May 1948; Memorandum, Marlow Glenn, Field Auditor, to Director NPS, 12 July 1948, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[94] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, "National Park Service Rustic Architecture 1916-1942," 48.

[95] Arno B. Cammerer, Foreword to Albert Good, editor, National Park Service Branch of Planning, *Park Structures and Facilities* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 1935), 1.

[96] Thomas Vint, quoted in McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942*, 117.

[97] McClelland, 130, 142.

[98] McClelland, 153.

[99] McClelland, 196, 200, 202.

[100] Tweed, Soulliere, and Law, 96-97, 104.

[101] Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part III* (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service 1938), 71.

[102] Needham, October 1929 monthly report.

[103] John Needham, May 1930 monthly report.

[104] John Needham, April, May, and June 1930 monthly reports.

[105] J. Barton Herschler to director NPS, 3 October 1930, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II; Hildreth, 15.

[106] Herschler, September 1930, April 1931, May 1931 monthly reports.

[107] Hildreth, 17.

[108] Map, Muir Woods National Monument, park brochure c.1932.

[109] Merel. S. Sager, "Report to the Chief Landscape Architect on a Visit to Muir Woods National Monument," 12 April 1931; Hildreth, appendix "Picnicking at Muir Woods and Vicinity."

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

[110] Sager, "Report to the Chief Landscape Architect," Herschler, May 1931 monthly report.

[111] Herschler, May 1931 monthly report.

[112] A. E. Demaray, Acting Director NPS to Thomas C. Vint, Chief Landscape Architect, 1 April 1931, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II. A year later, Herschler was still removing fallen limbs and branches "in the heart of the woods," which he used for stream revetment work. Herschler, March 1932 monthly report.

[113] J. B. Herschler to Director NPS, 13 February 1933, Muir Woods, box 601, NARA II.

[114] J. Barton Herschler to F. A. Kittredge, Final Report on Muir Woods 501 account, 23 May 1934, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods construction, NARA San Bruno.

[115] J. Barton Herschler to F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, Final Report on 501 Account December 1929-September 1932, 16 July 1934, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods Construction, NARA San Bruno; Herschler, September 1932 monthly report.

[116] Herschler, quoted in Hildreth, 21.

[117] J. Barton Herschler, "Muir Woods National Monument Physical Improvements" (plan for CCC work), 25 December 1934, Muir Woods, box 2296, NARA II.

[118] J. Barton Herschler, Muir Woods February 1934 monthly report; "Review of CCC Accomplishments in the Muir Woods-Mt. Tamalpais Region," Unattributed, undated paper, c.1935, Muir Woods park files.

[119] William Kent, Jr. to Robert Cunningham (Muir Woods Toll Road Company), 16 October 1933, RG 79, H14, Muir Woods, NARA San Bruno; Herschler, January and June 1935 monthly reports.

[120] Russell L. McKown, "Report to the Chief Architect on E.C.W. and C. W. A. Activities at Muir Woods National Monument November, 1933 through April, 1934," 26 April 1934, 3, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[121] J. Barton Herschler, October 1935 monthly report; Photograph with caption "Fallen redwood—across main trail…Now bear stump. October 21, 1935," Muir Woods Collection, box 35/5, GGNRA Archives.

[122] McKown, 5; J. Barton Herschler, January 1932 monthly report, January and February 1934 monthly reports.

[123] J. Barton Herschler, June 1934 ECW report, Muir Woods, boxes 601, 2293, NARA II.

[124] F. A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer, to William Kent, Jr., 29 December 1933, RG 79, H14, Area & Service History, NARA San Bruno.

[125] McKown, 26 April 1934, 5; J. Barton Herschler, April 1934 monthly report. During a big flood in April 1935, the banks along the channel dams had eroded, and they were subsequently lined with stone revetments.

[126] Claude A. Wagner, Junior, hand-written reminiscences of work at Muir Woods as ranger and CCC camp supervisor, 1932-1942, written 21 April 1998, Muir Woods park files.

[127] Kittredge to Kent, Jr., 29 December 1933.

[128] W. E. Robertson, "Report on Redwood Creek Flood Damage And Recommended Revetment Protection Muir Wood National Monument" (Branch of Engineering, 11 April 1935), 2, Muir Woods, RG 79, Box 332, NARA San Bruno.

[129] Harold Haynes, "Mt. Tamalpais State Park Camp SP-23, Narrative Report—Supplementary," 31 March 1936, RG 35, California, box 10, NARA II.

[130] "Mt. Tamalpais State Park ECW Camp SP-23, Period Summary Report Sixth Period October 1, 1935 to March 31, 1936," 31 March 1936, 2, RG 35, California, box 10, NARA II.

[131] Herschler, December 1935 annual report.

[132] Walter Finn, 1940 Annual Report, 3 October 1940, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II.

[133] McKown, 26 April 1934, 3. This bridge, located north of Muir Woods, has been replaced, but the site and boulder remain much as McKown described.

[134] McKown, 26 April 1934, 5.

[135] Mt. Tamalpais ECW Camp SP-23, Period Summary Report, October 1, 1935 to March 31, 1936.

[136] J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, CWA Report, 9 May 1934, Muir Woods, box 2296, NARA II; Barry Spitz, *Tamalpais Trails* (San Anselmo, CA: Potrero Meadow Publishing, 3rd edition, 1995), 119.

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

[137] J. Barton Herschler, December 1934 monthly report.

[138] F. A. Kittredge to J. B. Herschler, 15 December 1933, Muir Woods, box 2296, NARA II.

[139] J. Barton Herschler, February and August 1934 monthly reports, 1934 Annual Report, Figure 1.

[140] J. Barton Herschler, "Project Report for Planning of Federal Public Works," report no. 1627, approved May 25, 1937, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives. Two of these bridges survive today.

[141] Good, *Park and Recreation Structures, Volume 1* (1938 edition), 177-183. Good shows footbridges primarily of the plank and stringer type, most having rustic log railings. Log bridges were apparently used widely for back trails, but their use at Muir Woods for primary footbridges may have been unique.

[142] McKown, 26 April 1934, 5; July and September 1934 monthly reports.

[143] Hildreth, 26.

[144] J. Barton Herschler to F. A. Kittredge, 7 November 1934, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods Construction, NARA San Bruno; Ernest A. Davidson, Regional Landscape Architect, Memorandum to Chief Architect: Re: 6 Year Program 1938-1943, 7 August 1936, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives.

[145] Herschler, August 1934, April 1937 monthly reports; Herschler to Lawrence C. Merriam, 14 December 1936, RG 79, 255, 620, NARA San Bruno; Walter Finn, 1939 monthly report, 3 October 1939, RG 79, 332, NARA San Bruno.

[146] J. Barton Herschler, "Final Construction Report Public Works Project FP-80B Picnic Grounds Improvements 1936," 21 November 1936, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods Construction, NARA SB.

[147] Walter Finn, 1939 annual report, 3 October 1939, RG 79, 332, NARA San Bruno; Good, *Park & Recreation Structures Volume 1* (1938 edition), 40-56. No photographs of the drinking fountains have been found; the pre-existing one at the main entrance is visible to the left and rear of the main gate in Figure 4.53. The use of logs for signs was typical of NPS rustic style for forested parks, although this particular design may have been unique to Muir Woods.

[148] Herschler, CWA report, 9 May 1934, 2-3; Mt. Tamalpais Camp SP-23, 1936 report, caption for photo #206, RG 35, California, box 10, NARA II.

[149] "List of Lots submitted to J. Barton Herschler," City of Mill Valley, 19 June, 1934, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives; History note cards, L1425, photocopy, Muir Woods park files.

[150] Herschler, January 1935 monthly report; Herschler to Director NPS, 22 August 1935, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives.

[151] Mt. Tamalpais State Park Camp SP-23, June 1936 report, RG 35, California, box 10, NARA II.

[152] Frank A. Kittredge, Muir Woods National Monument Six Year Program 1939-1944, 30 November 1937, report #1629; Davidson [illegible], Regional Landscape Architect, Memorandum to the File, 25 January 1940; Walter Finn, Memorandum for the Regional Director, 23 February 1940, Muir Woods Collection, box 1629, GGNRA Archives; NPS Branch of Plans and Design, "Valley Floor Area Muir Woods National Monument From N.P.S. Data as of Jan. 1, 1939," Muir Woods Master Plan, Fifth Complete Edition, 1939, Muir Woods Collection, GGNRA Archives.

[153] Walter Finn to Regional Director, 13 February 1939, Muir Woods Collection, box 1, GGNRA Archives.

[154] Walter Finn, 1940 annual report, 3 October 1940, Muir Woods, box 2292, NARA II; Finn, "Final Construction Report Addition to Employees' Residence," May 1940, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods Construction, NARA San Bruno.

[155] J. Barton Herschler to Director NPS, 19 June 1934, Muir Woods Collection, box 2, GGNRA Archives; Herschler, September 1934, April 1935 monthly reports.

[156] Herschler, October 1935 monthly report.

[157] Walter Finn, "Justification for Individual Cost Projects, Muir Woods National Monument, Administration-0perators Building," undated, RG 79, 335, 620, Muir Woods, NARA San Bruno.

[158] Herschler, May 1937 monthly report.

[159] Walter Finn, July 1938 monthly report, August 1939 monthly report, 1939 annual report; William Kent, Jr. to Frank Kittridge [sic], 4 April 1938, RG 79, 333, 600, NARA San Bruno.

[160] Good, *Park and Recreation Structures, Volume 1* (1938 edition), 33-34; Hildreth, 26.

[161] Memorandum, B. F. Manbey, Assistant Regional Director, to Walter Finn, 7 July 1939, RG

Chapter 4 (1928-1953), Continued

79, 336, 620, NARA San Bruno. Regional Architect Nickel prepared the specifications for the administration building; no other documentation was found on the designer.

[162] Memorandum, B. F. Manbey, Assistant Regional Director, to Director NPS, 22 August 1939, RG 79, 335, 620, NARA San Bruno; Walter Finn to Director NPS, 3 October 1940, 1940 annual report.

[163] Harvey Kaiser, *Landmarks in the Landscape* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997), 38; Walter Finn, 1940 and 1941 annual reports.

[164] Walter Finn, 1942-1949 annual reports, RG 79, 332, NARA San Bruno.

[165] O. A. Tomlinson to Walter Finn, 26 September 1945, Muir Woods, box 2293, NARA II.

[166] Walter Finn to Edward P. McKean-Smith, Muir Woods Ranger, 22 February 1947, Muir Woods, box 2293, NARA II.

[167] Hildreth, 34.

CHAPTER 5: MISSION 66 AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL ERA, 1953-1984

[1] The term MISSION 66 was coined to mark the proposed completion of the program in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service in 1966.

[2] U. S. Census records, 1950-1980, Association of Bay Area Governments, www.abag.ca.gov (accessed 2005).

[3] Mill Valley City Historical Population, Association of Bay Area Government, www.abag.ca.gov, accessed 2005; USGS San Rafael quadrangle map, 1954, photorevised to 1968.

[4] Wes Hildreth, "Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity, #1 Master" (Unpublished National Park Service report, 1966, including Amendments dated January 1968), 32, 35, Muir Woods Records, box 3, Muir Woods Records, 1910-1967, collection #14348, box 3, Park Archive and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco [hereafter, "GGNRA Archives"]

[5] Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais: A History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987), 186-187; "Mount Tam Park vs. Church Institute," *Independent-Journal*, San Rafael, California, 18 April 1966, clipping in Muir Woods Records, box 26, GGNRA Archives; "Mt. Tamalpais State Park California State Land Acquisition 1928-1969," handwritten list, Historian's Files, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

[6] Fairley, 187-188; "Mount Tam Park vs. Church Institute."

[7] Hal K. Rothman, *The New Urban Park: Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Civic Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 10, 12-13. The Point Reyes legislation set up boundaries but did not initially include title to any land; it took nearly a decade before the NPS acquired sufficient land to formally open the park.

[8] Rothman, 30, 208. This book (op. cit.), recently published in 2004, provides an administrative history of Golden Gate NRA.

[9] Rothman, 36, 41, 209-210.

[10] Mill Valley Record, 9 October 1951, clipping in park history files, Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California [hereafter, "Muir Woods park files"]; Muir Woods staff, Clifford L. Anderson, Acting Superintendent, "Mission 66 Final Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument," 17 April 1956, 6, Muir Woods Records, box 14, GGNRA Archives; Thomas Carpenter to Regional Director, 27 March 1956, Muir Woods Records, box 17, GGNRA Archives.

[11] Fairley, 187.

[12] *Pacific Sun*, 27 August 1966, *Independent Journal*, c.1968, newspaper clippings in Muir Woods Records (32470) box 26, GGNRA Archives; Board of Supervisors of the County of Marin, California, Resolution No. 9287, c.1968.

[13] Fairley, 25.

[14] *Mt Tam* [sic] *Trail Map* (San Rafael, CA: Tom Harrison Maps, 2003); Fairley, 87.

[15] USGS San Rafael quadrangle, 1954 updated to 1980.

[16] John Schlette, advertisement for Muir Woods Inn in "Muir Woods National Monument" (Private brochure published by Peter J. Holter, 1971), clipping in Muir Woods file, Mill Valley Public Library.

Chapter 5 (1953-1984), Continued

[17] Hillwood Academic Dayschool website, http://www.hillwoodschool.com/index.shtml (accessed 2005); Donaldina Cameron House website, http://www.cameronhouse.org (accessed 2005).

[18] Mary Libra, "A Brief Account of the History of Camp Hillwood and Lo Mo Lodge, formerly known as Camp Kent and later, as Camp Duncan," (Unpublished paper, 1969), 2-4, Muir Woods park files.

[19] Erik Davis, "Druids and Ferries: Zen, Drugs, and Hot Tubs," excerpt from forthcoming book, *The Visionary State* (Chronicle Books, 2006), published in *Arthur* (May 2005), 1, reproduced on-line at www.techgnosis.com/druid.html (accessed 2006). Gidlow shared her property with Mary and Roger Sommers—Roger a carpenter who built and rebuilt many of the structures at Druid Heights. The history of Druid Heights is not covered here in detail because its history is peripheral to the history of the National Monument.

[20] Muir Woods National Monument, "MISSION 66 Final Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument" (Unpublished report, 17 April 1956), 17, Muir Woods Records, box 14, GGNRA Archives; Memorandum, George Collins to Director Maier, 20 January 1955, RG 79, PI 166, 332, National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California [hereafter, "NARA San Bruno"].

[21] MISSION 66 Final Prospectus, 17.

[22] Muir Woods National Monument, "MISSION 66 Tentative Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument" (Unpublished report, 29 July 1955), 3, Muir Woods Records, box 14, GGNRA Archives.

[23] John Mahoney to NPS Regional Director, 16 May 1957, Muir Woods Records, box 18, GGNRA Archives.

[24] Proclamation #3311, 8 September 1959, (73 Stat. c76).

[25] Memorandum, Fred Martischang to Regional Director, 4 February 1959, Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives.

[26] National Park Service, "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (NPS Division of Landscape Architecture, Western Office, Design & Construction, 1964), Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives.

[27] Libra, "A Brief Account," 4.

[28] Superintendent Leonard Frank, "Muir Woods National Monument Management Objectives," December 1969, 6, Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives.

[29] "Expansion Plans for Muir Woods Costs $400,000," Mill Valley *Record Shopping News*, 9 July 1969, clipping in Muir Woods Records, box 26, GGNRA Archives.

[30] A copy of the 1971 master plan was not found during research for this report.

[31] Mary Libra and Enid Ng Lim to Regional Director, Western Regional Office, circa August 1971, copy in Muir Woods Records, box 11, GGRNA Archives.

[32] 86 Stat. 120, section 301, 9; Sec. 302, 6.

[33] Golden Gate National Recreation Area, "Muir Woods National Monument, Statement of Management" (Unpublished report, 1981), 8, Muir Woods park files.

[34] Muir Woods National Monument, Record of Visitors, 1926-1981, Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA Archives; "Mission 66 Final Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument," 9. The park estimated in the prospectus that seventy-five percent of visitors did not "penetrate into the Woods beyond Cathedral Grove."

[35] Hildreth, appendix, "Superintendents of Muir Woods, 1908-1984."

[36] Muir Woods National Monument, organizational charts, c.1970 and March 14, 1974, Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA Archives.

[37] Howard Chapman, Regional Director to Chief, Office of Operations Consultation, 20 February 1974, Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA Archives; Robert E. Jordan, Park Technician to Superintendent, 1 February 1978, Muir Woods Records, box 7, GGNRA Archives; Hildreth, appendix, "Superintendents of Muir Woods;" Mia Monroe, Site Supervisor, Muir Woods National Monument, conversation with author, May 2005.

[38] Sara Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Center, The History of a Building Type* (National Park Service, 2000), online edition,appendix III, www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/allaback (accessed 2005).

[39] "Mission 66 Final Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument," 5.

Chapter 5 (1953-1984), Continued

[40] "Mission 66 Final Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument," 6-15. The program also called for acquisition of the Church Tract and Muir Woods Inn property, as discussed previously.

[41] John Mahoney to Regional Director, "Proposed 1960 Fiscal Year Construction Program," 21 August 1957, Muir Woods Records, box 9, GGNRA Archives.

[42] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964).

[43] Lawson Brainerd, Supervisory Park Ranger to Superintendent, "Suggested Protective Plans for Muir Woods," 9 November 1960, Muir Woods Records, box 14, GGNRA Archives. As early as 1953, L. Sumner, an NPS Biologist, had requested that the check dams in Redwood Creek be eliminated because they caused siltation that eliminated the pools where the salmon spawned. L. Sumner to Mr. Yeager, 6 Marcy 1953, RG 79, 335, 714, NARA San Bruno.

[44] Frank, "Management Objectives," 6-7.

[45] Fred Novak to Director, Western Region, Muir Woods Operation Evaluation, 24 April 1970, Muir Woods Records, box 12, GGNRA Archives.

[46] Frank, "Management Objectives," 1, 9; Hildreth, 40.

[47] Memorandum, Conrad Wirth to Regional Director, 17 February 1955, RG 79, 332, Muir Woods rules and regulations, NARA San Bruno.

[48] Edgar Wayburn, Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, to Herbert Maier, 30 June 1955, Muir Woods Records, box 3, GGNRA Archives.

[49] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964), 4; "Whadda Ya Mean There's No Picnicking in Muir Woods!!!," Muir Woods National Monument newsletter, 10 August 1975, Muir Woods park files.

[50] "Chronological Brief on Interpretation in Muir Woods National Monument" (Muir Woods, no date), Muir Woods park files. The Muir Woods-Point Reyes Natural History Association was a private non-profit organization that sold books and brochures at the administration building, and also published brochures, such as a vegetation map of Muir Woods completed in 1973.

[51] Leonard Frank, Superintendent, "Muir Woods National Monument Management Objectives," (Unpublished report, December 1969), 9, Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives.

[52] "Museum Prospectus Muir Woods National Monument, 1958 (no author noted), RG 79, 336, 620-46, NARA San Bruno; Roger B. Hardin to Regional Director, 5 August 1973, Muir Woods Records, box 2, GGNRA Archives. No information was found on the current location of this collection.

[53] Robert E. Jordon, Park Technician to Superintendent, 1 February 1978, Muir Woods Records, box 7, GGNRA Archives.

[54] National Park Service, *General Management Plan/Environmental Analysis, Golden Gate-Point Reyes,* (San Francisco: Western Regional Office, September 1980), Muir Woods summary, 53.

[55] *General Management Plan,* Management Objectives for Natural Resources, 96, on-line excerpt at http://www.nps.gov/goga/admin/foia/ (accessed 2005).

[56] Memorandum, Chief, Division of Resource Management and Planning to General Superintendent, Marin Unit Manager, and Muir Woods District Ranger, 26 March 1981, Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives.

[57] "Statement of Management" (1981), 13.

[58] "Statement of Management" (1981), 4-6.

[59] Allaback, *MISSION 66 Visitor Center: The History of a Building Type*, 1.

[60] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964), 8.

[61] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964); Allaback, *MISSION 66 Visitor Center: The History of a Building Type*, 1, 3-4.

[62] National Park Service, Muir Woods National Monument brochure (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Muir Woods Records, box 22, GGNRA Archives.

[63] Brainerd, "Suggested Protective Plans for Muir Woods," 9 November 1960.

[64] H. Wagner to Conrad Wirth, 26 March 1957, Muir Woods Records, box 3, GGNRA Archives.

[65] James M. Morley, essay "Muir Woods Now," 12 July 1982, Muir Woods Records, box 7, GGNRA Archives.

[66] Donald Erskine to Regional Director, 29 November 1955, Muir Woods Records, box 3, GGNRA archives.

Chapter 5 (1953-1984), Continued

[67] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964), Developed Area plan, 7.

[68] Superintendent James McLaughlin to Regional Director, 1 November 1963, Muir Woods Records, box 15, GGNRA Archives. The Church Tract site was abandoned in favor of building the residences on the hillside above the existing superintendent's residence (these were never built).

[69] Fairley, 197; Fred Novak to Director, Western Region, 24 April 1970, Muir Woods Records, box 12, GGNRA Archives.

[70] Bright Eastman, "Draft National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility (DOE), Camino del Canyon Property' (Prepared for the National Park Service, September 2004), inventory forms at back of report, no page numbers.

[71] Erik Davis, "Druids and Ferries: Zen, Drugs, and Hot Tubs," 2. The Druid Heights buildings have not been comprehensively surveyed to date.

[72] Theodore Rex, Highway Maintenance Engineer to Regional Chief of Operations, 23 May 1958, Muir Woods Records, box 11, GGNRA Archives; Memorandum, Acting Supervisory Engineer, WODC to Regional Director, 11 September 1957, Muir Woods Records, box 16, GGNRA Archives.

[73] Memorandum, George Whitworth, Regional Engineer, to Property and Procurement Management Officer, 11 February 1959, Muir Woods Records, box 17, GGNRA Archives; Hildreth, 40.

[74] Photograph of water tank under construction dated 6 December 1957, and photograph of the completed storage shed, July 1966, Muir Woods Records, box 36/6, GGNRA archives.

[75] Hildreth, 38. The stone walls were built by Bernard Jordan of San Francisco.

[76] NPS, Muir Woods National Monument Construction of Comfort Station, Utilities, Trail Bridge & Trail Resurfacing," Unit Price Contract, 14-10-7-971-90, 9 August 1968, schedule V, Muir Woods Records, box 4, GGNRA Archives.

[77] Memorandum, Allen D. Heubner, Chief of Contract Administration and Construction, to Regional Director, 26 February 1969, Muir Woods Records, box 4, GGNRA Archives; Hildreth, 32. Another kiosk for information purposes had been built near the main gate in 1954; no graphic record of this structure has been found.

[78] Hildreth, 38; Dag Hammarskjold memorial newspaper clippings, Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA archives.

[79] Hildreth, 42; "Bufano's Saintly Victory," San Francisco *Chronicle*, 13 September 1969, 5; memorandum, "Telephone Conversations Re: Bufano Statue," Muir Woods Records, box 13, GGNRA Archives.

[80] NPS brochure, "Americans, Ethics, and Environment: A Bicentennial Tribute to Muir Woods," c.1976; NPS, program, "Bicentennial Ceremony," May 16, 1976; Muir Woods Records, box 22, GGNRA Archives.

[81] Memorandum, Regional Chief of Operations to Superintendent Muir Woods, 1 September 1955, Muir Woods Records, box 16, GGNRA Archives.

[82] Paul Miller to Regional Director, 29 March 1956, Muir Woods Records, box 16, GGNRA Archives.

[83] Muir Woods park brochure, park map, September 1965, Muir Woods Records, box 22, GGNRA Archives.

[84] NPS, Muir Woods National Monument Construction of Comfort Station, Utilities, Trail Bridge & Trail Resurfacing," Narrative Statement, 9 August 1968. The 1964 master plan also called for replacement of the small bridges on the main trail, using a plank and stringer design.

[85] A portion of the Bohemian Grove Trail had apparently been made in 1956 into the "Self-Guiding Nature Trail," complete with leaflets and numbered stakes, and was maintained until 1964. Hildreth, 34.

[86] Donald Erskine to Regional Director, 12 September 1955, Muir Woods Records, box 11, GGNRA Archives.

[87] "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Muir Woods National Monument" (1964), "Foot Bridge" page, drawing 3119.

[88] Hildreth, 40, 41.

[89] Hildreth, 33, 41.

Chapter 5 (1953-1984), Continued

[90] Fred Novak to Director, Western Region, Muir Woods Operation Evaluation, 24 April 1970, Muir Woods Records, box 12, GGNRA Archives.

[91] Novak to Director, 24 April 1970.

[92] Hildreth, 35.

[93] Mia Monroe, Site Supervisor, Muir Woods National Monument, e-mail to author, 7 Nov. 2005.

EPILOGUE: MUIR WOODS TODAY

[1] National Park Service, "Project Agreement for the Development of a Resource Protection and Visitor Use Plan, Redwood Creek Watershed, Muir Woods National Monument Golden Gate National Recreation Area" (Draft, February 2000), park general files at Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California [hereafter, Muir Woods park general files]; Muir Woods National Monument, "Record of Visitors," 1926-2004, Muir Woods park files.

[2] National Park Service, "Completion of Planning Requirements, Muir Woods National Monument" (Unpublished paper, 1995), Muir Woods park general files.

[3] National Park Service, "Project Agreement for the development of a Resource Protection and Visitor Use Plan, Redwood Creek Watershed, Muir Woods National Monument" (Unpublished draft paper, February 2000), Muir Woods park general files.

[4] Mia Monroe, Supervisory Park Ranger, Muir Woods National Monument, e-mail to author, 7 November 2005.

[5] Muir Woods Monthly Report, October 1985 (Unpublished report, November 1, 1985), Muir Woods Collection, box 10, Park Archives and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco; Mia Monroe, Supervisory Park Ranger, notes on recent accomplishments at Muir Woods, May 2005, Muir Woods park general files.

[6] Mia Monroe, notes on recent accomplishments.

[7] Mia Monroe, notes on recent accomplishments.

[8] "Completion of Planning Requirements" (1995), 2.

[9] For a detailed description of remaining buildings in the Camp Monte Vista tract, see Bright Eastman, "National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility (DOE), Camino del Canyon Property, Golden Gate National Recreation Area" (Draft report prepared for NPS, September 2004), Historian's Files, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Further study of the Druid Heights section is anticipated in the near future.

[10] Mia Monroe, notes on recent accomplishments.

[11] Mia Monroe, notes on recent accomplishments; ARAMARK, "Accessibility Project at Muir Woods 3/5/02," online article at www.visitmuirwoods.com/access.htm (accessed 2005).

[12] "Accessibility Project at Muir Woods."

[13] Theodore Roosevelt to William Kent, reprinted in E. T. Parsons, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, vol. VI, no. 5 (June 1908), 49.

PART I REFERENCE LIST

KEY TO REPOSITORY ABBREVIATIONS

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GGNRA	Park Archives and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building PE-667, Presidio of San Francisco.
MUWO	Park history files, Administration-Concession Building, Muir Woods National Monument, Mill Valley, California.
NARA II	National Archives II, College Park, Maryland
NARA San Bruno	National Archives, Pacific Region, San Bruno, California

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PART II

Muir Woods, William Kent, and the American Conservation Movement

By John F. Sears, Ph.D.

Section title page photograph: Visitors to Muir Woods arriving on the mountain railway at the first Muir Inn, c.1910. From the collection of the Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Free Library, image 1639.001.016.

As the preceding land-use history makes clear, the preservation and development of Muir Woods required the creative and persistent efforts of William Kent and his allies. Seen in a larger historical context, Kent's achievement represents a significant contribution to the preservation of natural places and vividly illustrates the issues and the motives at work within the American conservation movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. This part of the Historic Resource Study briefly recapitulates the story of Kent's acquisition of Muir Woods, locates it within the history of the conservation movement, discusses Kent's conservation philosophy and vision of regional land-use planning, examines the role of the CCC in developing Muir Woods for recreational use, and recounts the history of Muir Woods as a sacred grove.

KENT'S GIFT

On January 9, 1908, using the power vested in him by the Antiquities Act of 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed a proclamation setting aside 295 acres of virgin coastal redwoods (*Sequoia sempervirens*) as Muir Woods National Monument.[1] William Kent, a progressive Republican, businessman, large landowner, reformer and philanthropist, and his wife, Elizabeth Thacher Kent, had made a gift of the forest to the federal government in order to prevent its appropriation by a water company intent on constructing a reservoir on the property.

Figure 7.1: William Kent, from a 1913 photograph. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 32/2, Muir Woods Collection.

The magnificent redwoods of Muir Woods grow in a narrow canyon on the southern slope of Mount Tamalpais and are watered by Redwood Creek and by mist drifting over the ridges of Mount Tamalpais from the Pacific a few miles away. F. E. Olmsted, Chief Inspector of the United States Forest Service, in evaluating whether the government should accept Kent's gift, estimated that the biggest trees were eighteen feet in diameter at the base and nearly three hundred feet high "rising with perfectly straight and clean stems." Kent estimated that the forest contained approximately thirty million feet of redwood, five million of fir, and a good deal of tan bark oak, an estimate that Olmsted thought conservative. The market value of the redwoods on the stump was $150,000.[2] Redwoods had been logged extensively in the area and no stands remained on the slopes of Mount Tamalpais, except for this grove and a remnant of virgin forest in Steep Ravine.[3] Because Redwood Creek emptied into the Pacific Ocean rather than into San Francisco Bay, making it more difficult to extract the logs, they had been spared the ax. Aside from a grove of redwoods in Big Basin, sixty-five miles south of San Francisco that the State of California set aside in 1902, this forest was the last significant remaining stand of coastal redwoods within a short distance of San Francisco.[4]

In "The Story of Muir Woods" Kent reports that he first became aware of the existence of the forest in Redwood Canyon around 1890 from his friend Morrison Pixley who urged its preservation. Much later, in 1903, Lovell White, President of the Tamalpais Land and Water Company, which owned the grove and leased it to the Tamalpais Sportsmen's Club whose members used it for hunting, asked Kent to purchase Redwood Canyon in order to save the trees. At first, Kent demurred since he was already in debt at the time. He changed his mind after visiting the area with S. B. Cushing, head of the Mt. Tamalpais Railroad. The two men saw the potential of the site as a tourist attraction and began planning how they could develop it for that purpose. Kent asked Cushing to negotiate as low a price as possible from White, since "the purchase was for preservation, and not for exploitation." Finally, in 1905 Kent reached an agreement with White and he and his wife Elizabeth bought a 611.57-acre parcel from the Tamalpais Land and Water Company that included Redwood Canyon for a price of $45,000. Fortunately, White himself, possibly with encouragement from his wife who was a prominent conservationist and ardent leader of efforts by the General Federation of Women's Clubs to preserve California's Big Trees,[5] cared enough about the preservation of the canyon that he rejected a $100,000 bid for the property, a price that Kent reported he could not have matched.[6]

Ownership of Redwood Canyon, however, turned out to be an insufficient means of saving the trees from destruction. In the late fall of 1907, the North Coast Water Company, a spin-off of the Tamalpais Land and Water Company, began condemnation proceedings in order to obtain the property for a reservoir. Knowing that he was likely to lose the property in court since the law authorized the condemnation of land for the purpose of domestic water supply, Kent sought an alternative way of protecting the redwoods. [7] On December 3, 1907, Kent wired his friend, Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the United States Forest Service, urgently requesting that the government accept a gift of Redwood Canyon as a national forest. In a letter, dated the same day, but apparently not sent, he reminded Pinchot that he had bought the property to preserve the forest for the enjoyment of future generations and outlined the improvements he had made to make it accessible to the public. Kent indicated in this letter that he was sending Pinchot a rough sketch of the property and promised to prepare a detailed survey.[8] At about the same time, according to Kent's own account, Kent contacted F. E. Olmsted, who as Chief Inspector of the Forest Service was Pinchot's right-hand man on the West Coast.[9] Olmsted told him about the recently passed Antiquities Act, which empowered the president to proclaim places of historic or scientific importance owned by the government as national monuments and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of such sites, which could then be designated national monuments.[10]

In response to Kent's telegram, Pinchot appears to have told Kent that if he were to make a gift of Redwood Canyon to the Department of the Interior, Pinchot would help ensure that the president proclaimed it a national monument. On December 14, Olmsted wrote Kent saying he would arrive the following Tuesday and making suggestions for the survey that Kent was preparing. He also said that he had written to Pinchot "requesting him to send a form of deed for the acceptance of Redwood Canyon by the Secretary of the Interior."[11] William Thomas, Kent's lawyer, used the form submitted to him by Olmsted to execute the deed. Kent and Thomas emphasized the importance of moving quickly fearing that the process of condemnation would proceed before the transfer of land took place. On December 26, 1907, Kent submitted a deed of gift for Redwood Canyon to James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, asking that the land be accepted under the provisions of the Antiquities Act.[12] Olmsted's evaluation of the property, citing its virtues as a candidate for becoming a national monument, supported Kent's request.

Figure 7.2: Photograph of Muir Woods that appeared with article, "William Kent's Gift," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, volume VI, no. 5 (June 1908), plate 43.

There may have been several reasons for the involvement of the Forest Service in the establishment of Muir Woods as a national monument, including the fact that the Forest Service had the staff and the expertise to advise the government about the acquisition and management of the land, whereas the Interior Department did not. The National Park Service, later established as a division of the Interior Department for the purpose of managing the national parks and monuments, did not yet exist. But the main reason was probably Kent's close friendship with Pinchot and Pinchot's first-hand knowledge of Kent's plans for the whole Mount Tamalpais area, including Redwood Canyon. In August 1903, Kent had invited Pinchot to Marin County to tour Mt. Tamalpais and attend a barbeque "to jolly along the Park Scheme." The "Park Scheme" was Kent's dream of creating a Mt. Tamalpais national park.[13] After he acquired Redwood Canyon in 1905, Kent made Pinchot aware of his vision for its future and probably took him to visit the grove. On April 26, 1907, he urged Pinchot to visit him that summer: "I want you to help me with my redwood forest," he wrote. And in his unsent letter of December 3, 1907, he said, "You are familiar with the grove and its history...As you know, I bought it out of sentimental reasons and to preserve the forest for generations."[14] Although the gift of Redwood Canyon would not accrue to his department, Pinchot remained Kent's key government contact, providing the information Kent needed and working with Olmsted to ensure and expedite the acceptance of the gift. Thomas

requested that Olmsted be sent a wire as soon as the Secretary of the Interior accepted the gift so that he could record the duplicate of the original deed immediately and he urged that the President issue his proclamation making Redwood Canyon a national monument soon after. He hoped that this could all be done by January 10, the date he expected he would have to file a reply to the condemnation suit. James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, accepted the gift on behalf of the United States on December 31, 1907.[15] At Kent's request, the forest was named Muir Woods in honor of John Muir, the pioneer wilderness preservationist whom Kent admired.

The establishment of Muir Woods embodies in significant, instructive ways the forces, ideas, concerns, hopes, and contradictions that characterized the conservation movement in the early twentieth century. Its interest flows from several sources, including: its protection under the newly enacted Antiquities Act, its expression of the role of private philanthropists in the early conservation movement, its role in stimulating the preservation of redwoods elsewhere in California, its relationship to the Hetch Hetchy controversy, its proximity to San Francisco, its resulting popularity as a destination for excursions, the vigorous way it was promoted by Kent and others, its role in Kent's regional vision for southern Marin County, the impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps on its development as a tourist site, and its function as a venue for special events, most notably the memorial service for President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1945.

THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT BEFORE 1907

The significance of Muir Woods can best be viewed in the context of the history of the conservation movement before 1907 and in the years just following its establishment as a national monument. Earlier pioneering efforts to set aside scenic areas of national significance—including Yosemite, Yellowstone, Niagara Falls, and the Adirondack wilderness—provided precedents for the protection of Muir Woods and, along with a growing national concern about the unrestrained exploitation of natural resources, helped stimulate the development of a preservation philosophy. The passage of national conservation legislation, particularly the Antiquities Act, and the emergence of federal conservation agencies, particularly the Forest Service, furnished the legal and administrative context in which it was possible to preserve Muir Woods.

YOSEMITE

The first act to preserve a significant natural site for the use of everyone occurred in 1864 when Congress granted the Yosemite Valley (and the nearby grove of Mariposa Big Trees, cousins of the coastal redwoods), to the state of California as a public park. Yosemite looms large in the background of Muir Woods history,

not only because it was the first example of the preservation of such a natural site, but because of its proximity to San Francisco and its relation to the controversy over the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley. In addition, the superintendent of Yosemite National Park helped supervise the management of Muir Woods during its early years as a National Monument.

Although a few explorers had glimpsed it earlier, Yosemite Valley did not become known to European Americans until the 1850s when the Mariposa Battalion pursued a band of Miwok-Paiute Indians into the valley. In the late 1850s and early 1860s James Mason Hutchings, a writer and publisher who immediately grasped Yosemite's potential as a tourist destination, quickly promoted it by publishing glowing accounts of its "wild and sublime grandeur."[16] He organized the first group of tourists to visit the valley and invited the painter Thomas A. Ayres to accompany them. When he returned he published a lithograph of one of Ayres's paintings, making an image of Yosemite available for the first time, and then, in 1856, published four more of Ayres's images, along with an account of Yosemite, in the first issue of his *California Magazine*. In 1859 Hutchings asked Charles Leander Weed to take photographs of Yosemite for the *California Magazine*. Weed also made stereographs from his Yosemite photographs, making images of the valley available in the new and popular medium that gave the illusion of three dimensions. Hutchings' publicity campaign, particularly his skillful use of Ayres's paintings and Weed's photographs, firmly established Yosemite as a major tourist attraction. In 1864 he bought the Upper Yosemite Hotel to capitalize on his success.

Figure 7.3: "The Valley, From the Mariposa Grove," Yosemite, by Charles L. Weed, 1864. Courtesy New York Public Library, Digital photograph 435071.

Meanwhile, the attention he focused on Yosemite quickly drew other writers, painters, and photographers to the scene. The newspaper editor Horace Greeley recorded his impressions of Yosemite in a series of articles in the New York *Tribune* and *An Overland Journey* (1860). Thomas Starr King, a Boston minister and travel writer who had recently moved to the Unitarian church in San Francisco, wrote poetic descriptions of the valley for the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1860-61 and preached a sermon on Yosemite based on the text "lead me to a rock that is higher than I." For King, who regarded mountains as "an overflow of God's goodness," and for many others at the time, Yosemite was a sacred place.[17] Greeley and King were followed by the photographers Carleton Watkins in 1861 and C. L. Weed in 1864, the painter Albert Bierstadt in 1863, and the writer Fitz-Hugh Ludlow, among others. These artists and writers found in Yosemite an American equivalent to both the Romantic sublimity of the Alps and the magnificent grandeur of European cathedrals. The work they produced—including Watkins' mammoth-plate photographs of Yosemite's sculptured granite forms and Bierstadt's

enormous paintings of the valley suffused with a golden, religious light—rapidly transformed Yosemite into a national cultural icon that rivaled Niagara Falls and symbolized the wonders of the American West. As Yosemite's fame grew a group of California men began to seek to preserve it. Israel Ward Raymond, the California representative of the California American Transit Steamship Company—the only member of this group who has been identified—wrote to California Senator John Conness on February 20, 1864 proposing that Yosemite be set aside permanently as a public park. Conness, in turn, requested that the commissioner of the General Land Office, which managed the disposition of public lands, draw up a bill for that purpose.[18] The bill granted the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa grove of *sequoia gigantea* or Big Trees nearby, to the State of California "for public use, resort and recreation...inalienable for all time." Introduced on March 28, 1864, the bill passed on June 30, 1864. Although Yosemite would continue to be administered by the state of California for the next twenty-six years, the bill, in effect, created the first national park.

As Alfred Runte documents in his history of America's National Parks, cultural and economic reasons, rather than environmental ones, motivated those involved in the preservation of Yosemite. The concept of conservation was only beginning to find expression and the idea of wilderness preservation was virtually unknown. The example of Niagara Falls no doubt influenced those concerned with Yosemite's future. Yosemite could match Niagara as a national icon and subject of art and it might eventually match it as a magnet for tourists. But Niagara had been in private hands, tourists had to pay admission to approach it, souvenir shops and sideshows crowded its banks, and mills and factories marred its beauty. By the 1860s many felt it had been ruined. Uncontrolled commercial development marred its image as a national icon and spoiled it for many tourists. Yosemite was a wonder, a curiosity, a unique phenomenon, like Niagara, and it perfectly fulfilled the Romantic identification of scenery with art. It would be far more valuable to steamship and railroad operators, hotel owners, guides and others involved in the tourist trade, not to mention artists and photographers, if it were maintained in as pristine a state as possible. And in that state, it would far better meet the cultural needs of Americans for places that matched the mountains and cathedrals of Europe in monumental grandeur. Frederick Law Olmsted observed a year after the passage of the bill that one of the motivations for setting aside Yosemite as a park must have been the "pecuniary advantage" to the United States in owning beautiful scenery that was free and open to the public. He pointed out that Switzerland had long benefited from natural scenery that stimulated a lucrative tourist trade and encouraged the construction of inns, railroads, and carriage roads. Yosemite, he asserted, would "prove an attraction of similar character and a similar source of wealth to the whole community."[19]

YELLOWSTONE

The preservation of Yellowstone as a public park followed closely the pattern of Yosemite. Explorers, geologists, writers, artists, photographers, leaders of the Montana Territory, and executives of the Northern Pacific Railroad all participated in publicizing its wonders, establishing its cultural importance to the nation, and contributing to its preservation. Trappers had told tales of Yellowstone's steaming pools of water, cauldrons of mud, and geysers as early as the 1830s, but not until David E. Folsom visited the area in 1869 and Henry Dana Washburn and some leading citizens of Montana Territory followed with an expedition in 1870 did its strange phenomena and peculiar beauties become known to the public. Accounts of the expedition appeared in the *New York Times* and other papers and Nathaniel Pitt Langford published an article in *Scribner's*. The painter Thomas Moran drew illustrations for Langford's piece based on Langford's account and rough sketches provided by a soldier on the expedition, thus providing the first visual images of Yellowstone's features. After hearing Langford lecture on Yellowstone in Washington, Ferdinand V. Hayden, director of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, secured funds from Congress to extend his survey into the Yellowstone.[20] Hayden took both Moran and the photographer William H. Jackson on his 1871 expedition, thus creating a thorough visual as well as scientific record of his explorations. Moran's large popular paintings of Yellowstone gave it some of the cultural status that Bierstadt's paintings had helped confer on Yosemite.

Several people appear to have discussed the preservation of Yellowstone earlier, but A. B. Nettleton set the process of making the area into a national park in motion. "Dear Doctor," he wrote Hayden in October 1871, "Judge Kelley has made a suggestion which strikes me as being an excellent one, viz.: let Congress pass a bill reserving the Great Geyser Basin as a public park forever—just as it has reserved that far inferior wonder the Yosemite valley and big trees. If you approve this would such a recommendation be appropriate in your official report?"[21] Hayden accepted Nettleton's suggestion and pursued it enthusiastically. Langford, Hayden, and the other early explorers and promoters of Yellowstone, awed and curious about what they saw, knew that it would become a popular tourist attraction. The question was: how would it be developed? Like those who backed the Yosemite bill, the supporters of the bill to make Yellowstone a national park feared that it could become another Niagara if it were not in public hands. As a national park, Yellowstone would draw visitors (and potential investors and settlers) to Montana Territory and it would promote passenger service on the Northern Pacific Railroad, when completed, by providing an exciting destination. The *Helena Daily Herald* declared on February 28, 1872 that the Yellowstone National Park would be "the means of centering upon Montana the attention of thousands heretofore comparatively uninformed of a territory abounding in such resources of mines

and agriculture and of wonderland as we can boast."[22] Langford himself had close ties with Jay Cooke & Co., agents for the Northern Pacific Railroad. The railroad sponsored his lectures on Yellowstone during the winter of 1870-71 and he acted as their agent in supporting the park plan. According to the *Helena Daily Herald* William H. Jackson and Thomas Moran joined the Hayden expedition "directly in the interest of the N. P. R. R. Company."[23] Jay Cooke covered Moran's expenses on the expedition and Nettleton, who was Cooke's office manager, wrote his letter to Hayden proposing the park idea on Jay Cooke & Co. stationery. Although Hayden's purposes were scientific, they were also economic, for his report was designed to provide practical information to farmers, miners, railroad surveyors, and others interested in settling or exploiting the resources of the area.

Given the backgrounds of those backing the proposal and the attitude toward natural wonders at the time, it is not surprising that the arguments in support of the bill to set aside the Yellowstone region as a national park, like the arguments on behalf of Yosemite, were economic and patriotic, not environmental. The House Committee on Public Lands reported that the region included neither arable land nor any promising sites for mining and was destined instead for development as a world-renowned tourist resort. The geysers of the Yellowstone and Fire-Hole Basins were far superior to those of Iceland, which drew scientists and tourists from all over the world, but, the report warned, commercialization could quickly ruin it: "Persons are now waiting for the spring to open to enter in and take possession of these remarkable curiosities, to make merchandise of these beautiful specimens, to fence in these rare wonders so as to charge visitors a fee, as is now done at Niagara Falls, for the sight of that which ought to be free as the air or water!"[24]

Hayden rallied support for the bill by creating an exhibit of geological specimens from the expedition, Jackson photographs, and Moran sketches and watercolors in the rotunda of the capitol. He distributed copies of Langford's *Scribner's* article, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" and Gustavus C. Doane's report of the Washburn expedition to senators and congressmen. In an article in *Scribner's Monthly* he emphasized the patriotic importance of creating a Yellowstone national park: "The intelligent American will one day point on the map to this remarkable district with the conscious pride that it has not its parallel on the face of the globe. Why will not Congress at once pass a law setting it apart as a great public park for all time to come, as has been done with that not more remarkable wonder the Yosemite Valley?"[25] On March 1, 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant signed the bill establishing Yellowstone National Park. Eventually, this act could be regarded as a precedent for efforts at wilderness preservation, but at the time it represented a victory for tourism. It recognized the cultural and economic importance of the nation's natural wonders, places that generated national pride by rivaling the natural and architectural monuments of Europe and often inspired works of art that

Figure 7.4: View from the Canadian side of industry at Niagara Falls, south of the New York State Reservation, c.1900. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-D428-15952, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

were themselves sources of pride. In 1872 Congress purchased Moran's seven-by-twelve foot painting, *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, and hung it in the capitol in Washington.

NIAGARA FALLS

Although a much older tourist destination than either Yosemite or Yellowstone, a successful effort to preserve Niagara Falls, at least partially, came only after the creation of these two other parks. Even before the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, Niagara Falls had become a symbol of America's seemingly inexhaustible resources and sublime beauty. After the opening of the canal, it became America's most popular tourist attraction, the essential stop on the American Grand Tour. Souvenir shops and sideshows, hotels and stables proliferated. The private individuals who owned the land around the falls until the 1880s charged tourists for access, and guides, photographers, and hack drivers harassed visitors. As William Howard Russell, a *London Times* correspondent, observed in 1863, Niagara became a "fixed fair."[26] In addition, industrialists soon tapped Niagara's waterpower to drive mills and factories, which polluted the river and disfigured the banks. By the time of the Civil War, the commercialization and industrialization of Niagara had become obnoxious for many visitors. Niagara "resembles a superb diamond set in lead," observed *Picturesque America* in 1872, "The stone is perfect, but the setting lamentably vile and destitute of beauty."[27] Frederic Church, the landscape painter, Frederick Law Olmsted, who had designed Central Park in New York City, and other prominent Americans, launched an effort to rescue the falls. In 1883, after a long campaign in which the organizers brought pressure to bear on the New York State legislature through editorials, newspaper articles and petitions, New York enacted legislation to create the New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls. Olmsted designed a park for Goat Island and a strip of land along the American side of the falls. Later Canada established a park on its side of the falls. Although industrial and commercial operations did not disappear, the creation of the reservation pushed them back, creating an oasis of green around the falls themselves.

NEW YORK STATE'S ADIRONDACK FOREST PRESERVE

Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Niagara Falls all featured natural wonders and curiosities that lent themselves to artistic representation and attracted tourists seeking symbols of national greatness, a transcendent experience of natural phenomena, or simply thrills. Their monumental qualities served the patriotic, cultural, and economic functions of tourism. When the New York State legislature set aside a 715,000-acre "Forest Preserve" in the Adirondacks in 1885 other motivations came

into play, though still not wilderness preservation for its own sake. Beginning in the 1850s the Adirondacks became a destination for campers, fishermen, and hunters in search of adventure, health, relaxation, spiritual renewal, and an escape from the stresses of urban life and intellectual exertion. Its popularity increased enormously after the publication in 1869 of William H.H. Murray's *Adventure in the Wilderness: or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks*. Murray, the pastor of Park Street Congregational Church in Boston and a graduate of Yale, claimed that "the wilderness provides that perfect relaxation which all jaded minds require." He recommended an immersion in wild nature particularly for clergymen like himself. The minister would come back from such an excursion "swarth and tough as an Indian, elasticity in his step, fire in his eye, depth and clearness in his reinvigorated voice, [and] wouldn't there be some preaching!" [28]

Figure 7.5: Photograph of Whiteface Mountain in the Adirondack Park by William Henry Jackson, c.1900. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-D4-32931, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

Even before Murray popularized the region, many became concerned that as railroads made remote areas increasingly accessible, logging and mining companies were quickly destroying the remaining wilderness. In 1857 Samuel H. Hammond proposed the preservation of a circle of wilderness one hundred miles in diameter, in 1859 the Northwoods Walton Club called for a fish and game preserve, and in 1864 the *New York Times* published an editorial asking the state to create a forest preserve in the Adirondack wilderness. The promoters of an Adirondack park insisted that they supported the march of civilization, but that, as the *Times* put it, a balance "should always exist between utility and enjoyment."[29]

The New York State Park Commission, charged with the task of studying the question of creating an Adirondack park, concluded, "We do not favor the creation of an expensive and exclusive park for mere purposes of recreation, but, condemning such suggestions, recommend the simple preservation of the timber as a measure of political economy." The most compelling argument put forth by the Commission was that a forest preserve would protect and regulate the water supply for New York's rivers and canals: "Without a *steady, constant* supply of water from these streams of the wilderness, our canals would be dry, and a great portion of the grain and other produce of the western part of the State would be unable to find cheap transportation to the markets of the Hudson river valley."[30] Sportsmen, campers, and lovers of Romantic nature happily embraced this argument to promote their own, non-utilitarian, ends. In the 1880s when water in the Erie Canal and Hudson River levels appeared to be declining, a major push to create an Adirondack preserve got underway. In 1883, the *New York Tribune* argued that the northern wilderness "contains the fountainheads of the noble streams that conserve our physical and commercial prosperity."[31] Supporters of the preserve ar-

gued that stripping the remaining forests could endanger municipal water supplies during droughts and cause flooding during wet periods. The New York Chamber of Commerce rallied business support for the effort and on May 15, 1885 Governor David B. Hill signed the bill permanently setting aside a "Forest Preserve" of 715,000 acres "as wild forest lands."[32]

Although New York lawmakers created the Adirondack preserve for predominantly economic reasons, the sentiment for wilderness preservation for non-utilitarian reasons continued to grow. In 1891, the New York Forest Commission recommended that the preserve be made a park. The Commissioners continued to use the watershed argument, but also suggested that a park would furnish "a place where rest, recuperation and vigor may be gained by our highly nervous and overworked people." In 1892, only sixteen years before the preservation of Muir Woods, the New York legislature created a three million acre Adirondack State Park. According to the bill, the park would serve as "ground open for the free use of all the people for their health and pleasure, and as forest land necessary to the preservation of the headwaters of the chief rivers of the state, and as a future supply of timber." [33] As Roderick Nash puts it, "The recreational rationale for wilderness preservation had finally achieved equal legal recognition with more practical arguments."[34] The New York State constitutional convention of 1894 went still further. It inserted an article in the new constitution, later approved by the legislature and the voters, which permanently preserved the Adirondack wilderness. Although David McClure, a lawyer sent by New York City businessmen to represent them at the convention, employed all the practical arguments about the maintenance of drinking water supplies, flood control, water for navigation and fire protection, he put forth as the principal reason for preservation, the creation of "a great resort for the people of this State. When tired of the trials, tribulations and annoyances of business and every-day life in the man-made towns, [the Adirondacks] offer to man a place of retirement. There...he may find some consolation in communing with the great Father of all...For man and for woman thoroughly tired out, desiring peace and quiet, these woods are inestimable in value."[35]

YOSEMITE II: YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

Both Yosemite and Niagara Falls came under renewed threat toward the close of the nineteenth century and preservationists fought new battles to protect them. In both cases, the issue of resource use as opposed to preservation—the issue that would be central to the future of Kent's Redwood Canyon—played a major role. What was the highest use of these resources and who would benefit? The second effort to preserve Yosemite, which began in 1889, involved a different set of concerns from the first. The central focus was no longer Yosemite's monumental qualities but the protection of its natural features from the depredations of sheep, cattle, and tourists. The commission that had been set up to oversee the park,

many of whose members were political appointees, did nothing to stop the cutting of trees in the park to make room for hotels, sheds, stables, and other structures to serve the needs of tourists. Livestock ate the wildflowers and other plants on the valley floor. The commissioners, the operators of tourist facilities in the park, and the owners of sheep, whose herds scoured away the vegetation necessary to protect the watershed around Yosemite, opposed the transformation of Yosemite into a federally managed park.

The leaders of the campaign to make Yosemite a National Park were John Muir, who had spent many years studying and writing about Yosemite's glaciated landscape, and Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of the *Century* magazine, which frequently attacked the power of monopolies and the corrupting influence of corporations on politics. They felt that the original purpose of Yosemite Park had been perverted through the corruption and mismanagement of the commission. In addition, "hoofed locusts," as Muir called the herds of sheep that were allowed to graze the area unchecked, were ruining the land surrounding the park. Muir and Johnson proposed the creation of a Yosemite National Park that would embrace not only the valley itself but also a large area around it. Through the creation of a national park, Muir and Johnson sought to place the whole area under federal control, leading they hoped to better management. By emphasizing the preservation of the watershed rather than the scenic qualities of the Yosemite area, Muir and Johnson received support from the farmers and irrigators who depended on water from the Sierra Nevada to grow crops.[36] The opposition included the Yosemite Stage and Turnpike Company, which transported tourists and operated concessions in the valley, the California state commission, which tended to cater to the desires of the turnpike company, the sheepherders and cattlemen who pastured their animals free-of-charge on the land, the lumbermen who sometimes extracted logs from it, and the Southern Pacific Railroad, a dominant force in California politics, one of whose lines ran to Raymond, one of the departure points for stage coaches to Yosemite. Heading the opposition to the park was John P. Irish, editor of a newspaper in Oakland, a power in the Democratic party, and the secretary and treasurer of the Yosemite board of commissioners who referred to Muir as a "pseudo naturalist."

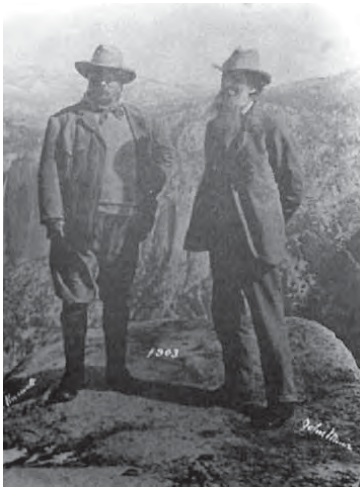


Figure 7.6: Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir at Yosemite, May 1903. Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.

Muir saw the struggle as a battle between the needs and desires of the public on the one hand and businessmen and their corrupt political allies on the other who sought to exploit the Yosemite tourist trade and the natural resources surrounding it for their own profit. Using the *Century* as their mouthpiece, Muir and Johnson hoped to go over the heads of local interests and appeal to lovers of natural beauty throughout the nation. Johnson secured support from his friends in the East, prevailed on Muir to write a statement on the importance of protecting the Yosemite Valley and the large area around it, and lobbied Congress. In March

Congressman William Vandever of Los Angeles submitted a bill that would have created a Yosemite national park containing 288 square miles. Muir and Johnson felt this was far too small and Muir provided Johnson with a statement arguing for a much larger reserve. The land that would be added to the original Yosemite reserve, he said, was "not valuable for any other use but the use of beauty." Frederick Law Olmsted expressed his support in an open letter and eastern newspapers, such as the New York *Evening Post*, came out in favor of the proposal. California Senator George Hearst, his wife and his son all expressed support. In September 1890, the *Century* published two articles by Muir praising the beauties of Yosemite and advocating for the larger national park. Sheep and tourists would destroy the landscape if something were not done, Muir argued: "Even under the protection of the Government, all that is perishable is vanishing apace. The ground is already being gnawed and trampled into a desert condition, and when the region shall be stripped of its forests the ruin will be complete." In the spring of 1890, after an internal struggle, Collis Huntington took over the presidency of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Leland Stanford, and declared that the Southern Pacific would no longer interfere in politics. This led to a shift in the Southern Pacific's position on Yosemite, as well, and the railroad's lobbyists worked quietly to support the Vandever bill. In September 1890, with the area to be reserved expanded five fold to 1500 square miles, the bill passed Congress, thus creating Yosemite National Park, the second national park in the United States. Later, with encouragement from Johnson and help from President Theodore Roosevelt and from E.H. Harriman, who had become the owner of the Southern Pacific, Muir led a successful campaign for the State of California to rescind the Yosemite Valley back to the federal government and for Congress to add it to the national park.[37]

The successful fight to create Yosemite National Park drew Muir more fully into the public arena and called attention to the need for an organization to carry on the struggle to preserve the wilderness. In the spring of 1892, two University of California Berkeley professors, Henry Senger and William D. Ames, called a meeting, which Muir chaired, "for the purpose of forming a 'Sierra Club.'" The formation of the Sierra Club represented another significant milestone in the history of the conservation movement. The group elected Muir president. Although he hated administrative work, he recognized the importance of having an effective organization behind him and served as president of the Sierra Club until his death in 1914.[38] Members of the Sierra Club frequently hiked in Redwood Canyon and on Mount Tamalpais and the club became a strong supporter of Muir Woods and of Kent's plan to create a much larger park.

NIAGARA FALLS II: ELECTRIC POWER

As in the case of Yosemite, the second effort to save Niagara Falls turned out to be the most contentious, and for the same reason: the issue was resource use.

Figure 7.7: Preserved areas of Niagara Falls, showing American and Horseshoe Falls, after water began being tapped for electrical power generation, 1901. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-D43-15095, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection.

The victory of 1883 that created the New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls turned out to be only the first battle to preserve Niagara Falls. By the end of the century, the advent of electric power and rapid industrialization sparked a new crisis. In 1901, with free permits granted by the New York State legislature, hydroelectric plants diverted 7.3 million gallons of water per minute above the falls, about 6% of the total volume, and were poised to take more. Mills and factories multiplied below the falls. J. Horace McFarland, leader of the American Civic Association and an ally of John Muir, took up the cause. He secured President Theodore Roosevelt's backing for his "Turn on Niagara" plan to prevent further diversion of the waters of the falls and Roosevelt endorsed it in his December 1905 message to Congress. Ohio Congressman, Theodore E. Burton, Chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, sponsored a bill to keep the water flowing over the falls. The power interests, including General Electric and the Niagara Falls Power Company, mounted a fierce resistance. McFarland rallied the public to his cause through a series of articles in *Ladies' Home Journal* that inspired an outpouring of letters in support of preserving the falls. Preservationist groups such as the Sierra Club and the Appalachian Mountain Club and magazines such as *Outlook* and the *Chautauquan* joined the effort.

Enacted into law in 1906, the Burton bill stripped the New York legislature of the power to grant permits to divert the waters of the falls and transferred this power to the War Department, froze the amount of water that could be diverted for three years, and deferred the question of the future distribution of waterpower to the negotiation of an international agreement with Canada. It took years to negotiate the treaty and, in the meantime, the power companies continued to press their case while McFarland struggled to keep the issue alive before the public. McFarland fought to restrict the amount of water diverted to the 34,000 cubic feet per second the power companies already used, but, in the end, the power companies received the 56,000 cubic feet per second they insisted on. This limit remained in place until 1950, however, and it might have been exceeded if the New York legislature had retained the power to issue permits.[39] The struggle to control the use of Niagara Falls for power generation went on throughout the period during which Kent acquired Redwood Canyon and then gave it to the federal government to prevent its exploitation by a water company. In both cases, the defenders of the natural sites asserted the principle that in certain circumstances, aesthetic and recreational uses could take precedence over power production or use as a water supply as the "higher" use of a natural resource.

THE MOVEMENT TO CONSERVE NATURAL RESOURCES

The primary motivations behind the first campaigns to establish Yosemite and Yellowstone parks and the Niagara Falls Reservation did not include the conservation of natural resources or even the preservation of wilderness. The creation of these parks grew out of the Romantic passion for sublime nature, the cultural yearning for national monuments that could match those of Europe, yet be distinctly American, and the desire of promoters to take advantage of the growing demands of tourists. But as the creation of the Adirondack forest reserve indicated, Americans felt a growing need to conserve natural resources in order to protect watersheds and maintain a timber supply and a desire to preserve wilderness areas in order to provide resources for recreation and health. The second battles to preserve Yosemite and Niagara Falls showed that many Americans were now willing to place the need for natural beauty on a par with the need for water, timber, and grazing resources.

Frederick Law Olmsted believed that nature could have a civilizing effect on the lower classes and ease class conflict. He designed Central Park, the Niagara Falls Reservation, and his unbuilt plan for the Yosemite Valley to temper passions, to slow the pace of urban dwellers and encourage a calm, leisurely contemplation of natural beauty. J.B. Harrison, author of *Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life* (1880), who feared the consequences of unchecked democracy and labor unrest, wrote a series of newspaper articles in 1882 in support of Olmsted's effort to restore the beauty of Niagara Falls. He argued that the proposed reservation would reinvigorate the spirits of those seeking relief from "the wearing, exhausting quality which is so marked in modern life," and inspire a "quickening and uplifting of the higher powers of the mind."[40]

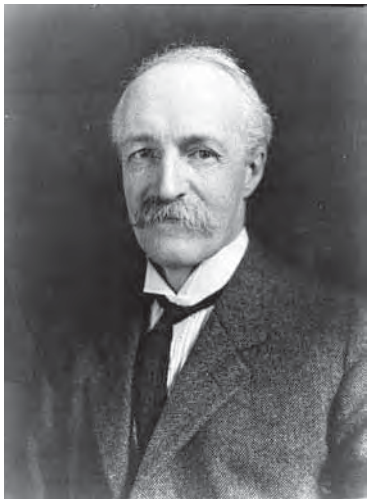
While some Americans worked to set aside scenic areas for aesthetic, spiritual, cultural, nationalistic, or touristic reasons, others became concerned with the depletion of America's natural resources. Americans had long acted as if America's resources were inexhaustible. George Perkins Marsh's pioneering work, *Man and Nature* (1864) warned of the dangers of unchecked exploitation of natural resources, but it had little effect on land use policies at the time. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, it became clear that the rapacious appetite of agriculture, industry, and the building trades for natural resources was fast consuming America's forests, eroding its lands, and threatening its water supplies. The rapacity threatened the beauty of places like Yosemite and Niagara Falls, but it also threatened the economic basis of American prosperity.

Figure 7.8: "A railway train of Sequoia sempervirens logs," c.1895. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 1/1, Muir Woods Collection.

As Stephen Fox says, "Conservation began as a hobby and became a profession."[41] Many of the early leaders of the movement were nature and outdoor enthusiasts. Some of them, like many of those who supported the creation of the Adirondack forest reserve, were hunters and fishermen. They did not want to see the game and fish their sports depended on disappear. Others, like Muir, loved trees or, like the members of the Audubon Society (first founded in 1886 by George Bird Grinnell), loved birds for their beauty. Many were hikers and campers who wanted the wilderness protected for the sheer enjoyment of being in it. Theodore Roosevelt, George Bird Grinnell, and other big game hunters, mostly easterners, formed the Boone and Crockett Club to promote the preservation of game lands and the wildness that they saw as an antidote to the enervating qualities of modern civilization.

These sportsmen, naturalists, and lovers of nature and outdoor life played key roles in the development of the conservation movement and in generating the political will behind it. But conservation also had its origins in scientific forestry. In this field, Europe, especially France and Germany, was far ahead of the United States in the management of its forests. Germany established state forests and France initiated both private and government reforestation efforts in the early nineteenth-century and both countries established forest service departments in 1820. They also established schools of scientific forestry where Gifford Pinchot and other early American foresters received their training later in the century (no professional forestry programs existed in the United States until Cornell opened one in 1898 and Yale in 1900). Private American landowners established the first scientifically managed forests in the United States. Among the earliest and most prominent of these landowners was Frederick Billings who made his fortune developing railroads in California. Upon returning to Woodstock, Vermont, his hometown, he bought George Perkins Marsh's childhood home in 1869 and under the influence of Marsh's *Man and Nature*, practiced reforestation, selective cutting, and forest fire prevention.[42] Another pioneer was George Vanderbilt, who established an enormous private forest in Asheville, North Carolina on his Biltmore estate and hired the young Gifford Pinchot, fresh out of a French forestry school, to manage it.

Figure 7.9: Gifford Pinchot, photograph by Underwood & Underwood, 1921. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, digital ID cph 3a07347, American Memory Collection.



Conservationists, like Pinchot, who were trained foresters, often shared some of the same love of nature and the outdoors with those whose motivations were primarily aesthetic, spiritual, or recreational, but as professionals they saw themselves as experts trained to manage natural resources in the most efficient way. They strove to prevent waste, make the best use of resources, and manage forest and water resources in such a way that they would never run out. This utilitarian approach to conservation embodied the increasing concern of progressives with planning, decision-making by experts, a "scientific" approach to management,

and efficiency. This management ethos would eventually come into conflict with the ethic of wilderness preservation in the controversy over the damming of the Hetch Hetchy valley.

Progress toward preserving America's forests was slow at first. Although Congress established a forestry division in the Agriculture Department in 1881, it gave it neither funding nor power. Early efforts at the scientific study and management of America's forests began outside of government. Charles Sprague Sargent, a naturalist and the most prominent early advocate of conserving America's forests, directed the Arnold Arboretum at Harvard. Influenced by Marsh's *Man and Nature* and backed by inherited wealth and a great knowledge of trees, Sargent pursued his passion with zeal. In 1880, he conducted a study of American forests on behalf of the federal government that persuaded him of the need for change. He secured the support of the American Forestry Association for his plan to preserve federally owned timber until a panel of experts could conduct a comprehensive survey. In March 1891, without apparently understanding the implications of what it was doing, Congress passed an amendment to a general land law granting the President power to establish "forest reserves" through the withdrawal of federal land from the public domain. He could do so without congressional approval or the need for a public hearing. Section 24, as it was called, had been devised by William Hallett Phillips, an attorney, well-to-do member of Washington society, and member of the Boone and Crockett Club who loved to rove the wilderness with his gun. Section 24 turned out to be a landmark in conservation history. Within two years, in response to requests from Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble, President Benjamin Harrison set aside thirteen million acres of forestland in fifteen reserves, including a 200-mile swath of forest on the Sierra ridge south of Yosemite. As Stephen Fox points out, the passage of Section 24 typifies the early years of the conservation movement when a small, dedicated elite that included Charles Sprague Sargent, John Muir, Robert Underwood Johnson, and members of the Boone and Crockett Club succeeded in effecting far-reaching changes by working behind the scenes without public support or even knowledge until after the fact.

In 1897, when President Grover Cleveland, at the request of the national forest commission headed by Sargent, created thirteen more reserves totaling 21.4 million acres, western lumbermen and politicians tried to block them. At first, lobbying by Johnson and Sargent helped preserve them, but in June 1897, Congress enacted the Forest Management Act, which put a hold on eleven of Cleveland's thirteen reserves until further review and canceled an 1894 ban on grazing and mining in the reserves already established. The act made it clear that one of the main goals of the reserves was "to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States."[43] Secretary Bliss then named Gifford Pinchot to conduct the studies of the suspended reserves, leaving out the

other members of the Forestry Commission. Because Pinchot was against locking resources up, this appointment tilted the outcome toward human use. With Pinchot's consent, Bliss permitted sheep grazing in the Washington and Oregon reserves. In 1898, at the invitation of James Wilson, President McKinley's Secretary of Agriculture, Pinchot became head of the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture. Sargent, who had helped launch Pinchot's career by involving him in the establishment of the Forestry Commission, felt betrayed. He abandoned the struggle for forest preservation in order to concentrate on his work at the Arnold Arboretum. Muir carried on the fight. With the help of Johnson, Muir and Pinchot stayed in contact, but their differences over use versus preservation had become clearly defined and they would clash bitterly in the future. As Roderick Nash writes, "Those who would preserve undeveloped land for its esthetic, spiritual, and recreational values as wilderness found themselves opposed to resource managers with plans for efficiently harvesting nature's bounties. In the fall of 1897 Muir abandoned his efforts to support professional forestry and, as a consequence, feuded with Gifford Pinchot, the leading exponent of the 'wise use' school. Thereafter Muir poured all his energies into the cause of preservation, particularly the national park movement. Yet Pinchot, W.J. McGee, Frederick H. Newell, Francis G. Newlands, and James R. Garfield among others were directing federal resource policy toward utilitarianism and even succeeded in appropriating the term 'conservation' for their viewpoint."[44]

Muir had a large following among the growing number of largely middle class nature enthusiasts who found spiritual or emotional renewal in nature. For them, nature provided a welcome retreat from the routines of modern life and the dirt and confusion of cities. Muir reached this audience through his articles in the *Century* and the *Atlantic* and his books: *The Mountains of California* (1894) and *Our National Parks* (1901). Pinchot, however, possessed far greater power among politicians and among professional conservationists who staffed the government bureaucracies that managed the nation's natural resources. The utilitarian conservationists were better organized and more continuously active because their profits and careers were on the line. They talked of the best use of natural resources, sustained yields, and jobs. They criticized Muir for being sentimental, impractical, vague, against progress, and undemocratic; Muir criticized them for being materialistic, shortsighted, and focused only on the dollar value of natural resources.

Although Theodore Roosevelt's early sympathy lay with the preservationists, under the influence of Pinchot his policies as president, particularly in his second term, shifted toward utilitarian conservation. In 1905, at the urging of Pinchot, and with support from Roosevelt and the Sierra Club, Congress transferred the forest reserves from the Interior Department to the forestry division in the Agriculture Department and created the U. S. Forest Service. Pinchot became its first head.

Secretary of the Interior Ethan Hitchcock, who opposed allowing sheep and cattle in the forests, the leasing of federal land for grazing, and commercial activity in the national parks, resisted Pinchot's influence. But in 1907 James R. Garfield, who shared Pinchot's views, replaced Hitchcock and Pinchot's views became dominant in the administration. During Roosevelt's final years as president, Pinchot organized the White House Governors Conference on natural resources, which he made a platform for the expression of the utilitarian view of conservation. Forty-four governors attended and hundreds of experts. Pinchot invited a few preservationists, but not Muir, thus revealing the depth of the schism between them.[45] In addressing the 1908 conference, President Roosevelt called the conservation of natural resources "the gravest problem of today" and declared the age of rampant individualism and the wasteful exploitation of the nation's resources dead:

> *In the past we have admitted the right of the individual to injure the future of the Republic for his own present profit. In fact there has been a good deal of a demand for unrestricted individualism, for the right of the individual to injure the future of all of us for his own temporary and immediate profit. The time has come for a change*.[46]

THE PRESERVATION OF MUIR WOODS: ITS IMPACT AND MEANING

THE ANTIQUITIES ACT OF 1906

By 1907, the year Kent made his decision to donate Redwood Canyon to the government, conservation had become an urgent national issue. Championed with moral and physical energy and enthusiasm by President Theodore Roosevelt, its goals defined by the able and ambitious Gifford Pinchot, conservation had become a national goal, although the resistance of private interests and their allies in Congress made the implementation of its principles often slow and halting. The advocates of wilderness preservation also had powerful advocates in John Muir, Robert Underwood Johnson, and Horace McFarland and a grassroots constituency made up of hikers, campers, birders, fishermen, and hunters. The struggles to protect Yosemite, Yellowstone, and the Adirondack wilderness, and the ongoing fight to save Niagara Falls, provided precedents for the preservation of exceptional scenic and recreational sites. The preservationists received an enormous boost from the American Antiquities Act of 1906, which gave the president a powerful tool for protecting sites of scientific or scenic importance in certain circumstances. Hal Rothman has called it, "the most important piece of preservation legislation ever enacted by the United States government." Despite its name, the act "became the cornerstone of preservation in the federal system."[47]

As its title suggests, the Antiquities Act primarily addresses the need to protect historic and prehistoric sites owned by the federal government. It provides for

the punishment of anyone disturbing or destroying "any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any other object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States." It empowers the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, and War to issue permits to qualified researchers to examine ruins, excavate archeological sites, and gather artifacts for scientific and educational purposes. It authorizes the President "to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected." Finally, it permits the Secretary of the Interior to accept the "relinquishment" of private land when objects of historic or scientific interest are located on such lands.[48]

Those who drafted the Antiquities Act did so to preserve ruins and other Native American archeological sites, particularly in the Southwest.[49] Since it consists entirely of natural, not man-made, features, Muir Woods is not the type of site that the Antiquities Act was originally intended to protect, but from the beginning the words "of historic and scientific interest" were broadly interpreted and the Act was employed to protect natural as well as historic or prehistoric sites, especially if the natural features were ancient. From 1900, when the effort to pass a bill protecting American antiquities first began, until the Antiquities Act was actually enacted in 1906, the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office had repeatedly argued that the bill should also include "scenic beauties and natural wonders and curiosities," but the sponsors of the bill feared that the bill would not pass if its powers appeared too inclusive. So the interest in protecting natural wonders was there, even if it did not get explicitly included in the bill.[50] Moreover, the broad interpretation of the act followed the American tradition of regarding natural objects and geological features, particularly in the American West, as substitutes for the ruins of the Old World that America lacked.

Figure 7.10: Devils Tower, Wyoming, the first National Monument, from an undated photograph, c.1930. Harold Bryant and Wallace Atwood, *Research and Education in the National Park Service* (National Park Service, 1932).

The nine sites that had been proclaimed national monuments before Muir Woods varied a good deal in character: Devils Tower, Wyoming; El Morro, New Mexico; Montezuma Castle, Arizona; Petrified Forest, Arizona; Chaco Canyon, New Mexico; Lassen Peak, California; Cinder Cone, California; Gila Cliff Dwellings, New Mexico; and Tonto, Arizona. Four of these were Native American archeological sites, one (El Morro) preserved the record of two centuries of Western history in the inscriptions carved by Spanish and American explorers, and four consisted of striking geologi-

cal phenomena (a rock tower, petrified logs, volcanic cones, hot springs, and mud volcanoes).[51] The geological time embodied in some of these natural features conferred on them a historic as well as scientific interest. Only Muir Woods featured living things as its main attraction. The size and limited geographical distribution of the redwoods (they only grow in the coastal region of the West Coast) and their dwindling number gave them scientific significance and their great age an historical interest. Muir Woods was also the first national monument presented to the government as a gift; all the others were situated on land already owned by the United States. Since the Antiquities Act authorized only the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of private property suitable for National Monuments, Kent had to make the gift of Redwood Canyon to the Department of the Interior rather than to Pinchot's Forestry Division within the Department of Agriculture. Muir Woods was also the first National Monument near an urban center and the first that did not possess some unique characteristics (there were even more magnificent groves of redwoods elsewhere).[52]

The Antiquities Act provided a quick and sure means of protecting a threatened site of historical or scenic value. The only alternative—a special act of Congress accepting the deed to the property—required a great deal of time and effort, including frequently a campaign to rally popular support, and might easily fail. A year after the passage of the Antiquities Act, Congress passed a law preventing the president from creating any more forest reserves without Congressional approval, thus making the Antiquities Act still more important.[53] No site better illustrates the usefulness of the Antiquities Act as a preservation tool than Muir Woods. The absence of bureaucratic or political hurdles and, hence, the speed with which a piece of property could be accepted by the government under the act, were essential to Kent's success in removing Redwood Canyon from the threat of the condemnation suit brought by the North Coast Water Company.

President Roosevelt's proclamation declaring Muir Woods a national monument stated that the grove of redwoods is "of extraordinary scientific interest and importance because of the primeval character of the forest in which it is located, and of the character, age and size of the trees."[54] This language reflected the language of the deed that Kent's lawyer drew up with the guidance of F. E. Olmsted and Pinchot, who probably suggested the language to make the gift conform as much as possible to the provisions of the Antiquities Act. The description of Redwood Canyon in the deed reads: Muir Woods "is of extraordinary scientific interest and value because of the prominent character of the forest, the age and size of the trees, their location near centers of population and instruction, and the threatened destruction of original redwood growth by lumbering."[55] In his evaluation of Redwood Canyon, F. E. Olmsted gave three reasons why the government should

accept Kent's proposed gift, first its availability, secondly its accessibility, and thirdly its scientific importance:

> *There are, of course, many finer stands of redwood in California, but there are none owned by the United States nor are there any which might be acquired by the government except at great expense. Moreover (and here is the chief argument for the acceptance of the land) there is no other redwood grove in the world so remarkably accessible to so many people. Here is a typical redwood canyon in absolutely primeval condition, not so much as scratched by the hands of man. It lies within an hour's ride of San Francisco, at the very doors of hundreds of thousands of people. The destruction of redwood by lumbering is so rapid that it is now only a question of years when the original growth will have wholly disappeared. The value of this grove in Redwood Canyon is therefore inestimable, provided it may be preserved as it stands. It is of extraordinary scientific interest because of the primeval and virgin character of the forest and the age and size of the trees. Its influence as an educational factor is immense because it offers what may some day be one of the few vestiges of an ancient giant forest, so situated as to make its enjoyment by the people a matter of course. It would make a most unique national monument because it would be a living National Monument, than which nothing could be more typically American.*[56]

Olmsted's appraisal of Muir Woods pays careful attention to the language of the Antiquities Act in arguing for the scientific and historical importance of Muir Woods, but he also points out how it would be unique among those sites already designated national monuments. The other national monuments were all situated in remote locations, far from centers of population and from railroad lines. He turns this fact to his advantage by arguing that the proximity of Redwood Canyon to San Francisco enhanced its value by making it possible to educate the public about the scientific importance of its ancient redwoods. The other national monuments were also largely archeological sites or unusual geological features, rather than living things, such as trees. It is not clear why this makes Muir Woods "typically American," unless he means that because the redwoods are unique to America they typify the nation's vital, natural qualities. In any case, the argument for the scientific importance of Muir Woods may be, in part, a disguise for something else. As Hal Rothman says, "The term scientific in the Antiquities Act rapidly came to function as a code word under which scenic areas could acquire legal protection."[57]

As Rothman points out, the Antiquities Act gave a small, elite group of managers within the federal bureaucracy the power, within a limited, though ambiguously defined sphere, to make decisions about the disposition of public lands without the need to consult Congress or appeal to public opinion.[58] Kent's close ties to

Roosevelt, Pinchot, and F. E. Olmsted made it possible for him to take advantage of this new power in order to transfer Redwood Canyon within just a few weeks into federal hands and protect it from use by the North Coast Water Company.

WHY DID KENT MAKE THE GIFT?

J. Leonard Bates argues that the conservation movement, especially between 1907 and 1921, was guided by "a fighting, democratic faith." While many of the advocates of conservation, appalled by the wasteful exploitation of natural resources during the nineteenth century, were motivated by the ideal of managing the nation's resources responsibly and efficiently, to varying degrees many of the leaders of the movement also regarded conservation as a means of achieving social justice or, in Bates's words, a "limited socialism in the public interest."[59] No prominent conservationist of the period possessed this vision more than William Kent. By the time William Kent moved to Marin County permanently in 1907, he was a veteran of progressive politics. He was optimistic and idealistic, energetic and determined. Like other progressives of the time, he objected not only to the waste of natural resources, but also to their control by private interests for the benefit of a few. In Chicago he had been a leader in the reform movement, fighting "boodlers" like "Bathhouse John" Coughlin and "Hinkey Dink" Kenna who controlled the city's business through a system of bribes and kickbacks. He knew political and corporate corruption first hand and had dealt personally and effectively with political bosses and manipulative company presidents. Beginning in 1895, he served as an alderman on the Chicago City Council and helped successfully negotiate reforms in the Chicago trolley car system, which placed the trolley lines under public ownership. He was immensely proud of his role in winning the public's right to own and manage a utility that met a common, basic need.[60] He saw the successful fight waged by the Chicago reformers in securing this right as a harbinger of progressive change: "the most prophetic thing that has happened in American business and politics and the combination of them."[61] This triumph shaped his vision of the importance of public ownership that would govern his approach to the battle over Muir Woods and, later, over Hetch Hetchy.

Kent shared with fellow conservationists, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, a love of vigorous outdoor life. His father had moved his family to Marin County in 1871 and, from age seven, Kent had grown up learning to ride, hunt, fish, and camp. He owned his first gun at age eleven and became a crack shot with rifle and pistol. He gained a love and knowledge of plants, birds, and animals from the tutor hired before his family sent him to Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, Connecticut when he was seventeen. After graduating from Yale in 1887, Kent managed his father's investments, including real estate in Chicago and ranches in Nebraska and Nevada. He understood issues related to natural resources first hand. His progressive ideals seemed to grow out of his experience

and sense of responsibility as a property owner. When Florence Kelley, the pioneering social reformer, publicized the unsanitary conditions in houses owned by A.E. Kent and Company, the family business, Kent gave the buildings to the Hull House settlement. Hull House tore the houses down and built a playground. Kent became friends with Kelley and her colleague Jane Addams and joined the Board of the National Playground and Recreation League.[62] This interest in the creation of public recreational facilities would express itself in his plans for the development of Muir Woods and the Mount Tamalpais region. It also made him a leader in a growing movement to provide outdoor recreational opportunities for everyone. "From Chicago's crowded nineteenth ward to the wooded slopes of Mount Tamalpais, across the bay from San Francisco, seems a far cry," wrote Graham Romeyn Taylor in *The Survey* in 1916. "But it so happens that the same man who gave the land for the first small playground for Chicago's tenement children also gave the magnificent Muir woods [sic] to the people of the United States. These two public-spirited gifts of William Kent, formerly citizen of Chicago and now congressman from California, typify the range of our public recreation facilities... Public recreation, thus broadly conceived, embraces the user of all sorts of spaces, from the small playground in the crowded city to the 'big outdoors' you find in the Yellowstone wonderland, the enchantingly beautiful Yosemite or the high snow fields of Mount Rainier."[63]

Kent, like Frederick Law Olmsted and John Muir, saw contact with nature as a fundamental human need and a means of physical and spiritual recovery from the destructive effects of urban life: "Whatever occupation man may follow, there is planted within him a need of nature, calling gently to him at times to come and enjoy, imperiously commanding at other times to seek recuperation and strength," he said in a speech calling for the creation of a Tamalpais National Park in 1903. "From the bountiful mother, man is never weaned, and the attempt in crowded cities means but physical, moral, and civic degradation."[64] Kent could describe the beauty of redwood forests rhapsodically, as he did when asked in 1908 what they meant to him: "The thick, soft, warm-tinted bark, with its vertical corrugations, suggests the clear, clean wood within. The delicate foliage sifts the sunlight, not precluded, but made gentle." He also read moral lessons in the trees, which seemed to reflect his own conception of the responsibilities of those like himself with power over others: "'Stand straight and strong, who can,' say the redwoods; 'protect and shelter the weak.' This is the chivalry of the forest; it is a chivalry the Christian world has hardly learned, despite the Master." The qualities of strength, endurance, quietness, and courage he found in the redwoods seemed to him to represent the ideal American virtues: "An American Wordsworth will one day come to sing these noble trees as teaching the ideal of the social and individual life of the American."[65]

Kent believed that the highest use of Muir Woods was as a public park. As he said in his letter to James R. Garfield of December 26, 1907 offering Redwood Canyon to the government: "In the opinion of experts it is a wilderness park such as is accessible to no other great City in the world, and should be preserved forever for public use and enjoyment."[66] Although he admitted that he had a small financial interest in the development of the area as a tourist attraction, Kent claimed that his main motivation was his wish to preserve Redwood Canyon for future generations. In a letter drafted but possibly not actually sent, Kent frankly challenged William Magee, President of the North Coast Water Company to aspire to a similar altruism: "My view is that you as a man cannot afford to rob coming generations of the unique privilege of a primeval wilderness near a great city, whatever the advantage may seem to be to your private fortune." Kent felt that he held his own property in trust for others and he urged a similar view on Magee: "While but possessing limited means I feel that those means such as they are have come from the work and sacrifice of others and are in a larger sense owing to the public, and properly dedicated to public service. I can conceive of no higher public service than in preserving to the public forever this most beautiful bit of nature, hitherto providentially saved from the woodman's axe."[67] Magee apparently did not agree.

MUIR WOODS AS A TOURIST SITE

Although Kent downplayed his financial interest in the future of Muir Woods, its preservation had, in fact, a great deal to do with its role as a major excursion destination. Kent improved its amenities as a tourist site both before and after gifting it to the nation. In this respect, Muir Woods was very much in the tradition of Yosemite and Yellowstone parks and Kent in the tradition of the promoters of those sites—people who protected the sites by helping to secure their park status and then promoted their use by tourists. Kent worked to make Muir Woods more accessible by road and railroad and to provide hotel and other facilities to meet tourists' needs. Working with Pinchot's Forest Service, the Department of the Interior, and the General Land Office, and later with the National Park Service, he remained involved in the management of Muir Woods.

Figure 7.11: A c.1908 postcard of tourists at Muir Woods. Courtesy Evelyn Rose, San Francisco, California.

F.E. Olmsted had argued that the most compelling reason for accepting Kent's gift was that "there is no other redwood grove in the world so remarkably accessible to so many people."[68] This fact not only helped ensure the designation of Muir Woods as a national monument, but was also among Kent's motivations for seeking its preservation. He recognized the forest's potential as a tourist destination and he stood to profit by the development of facilities to accommodate the needs of visitors. Indeed, he had already taken significant steps to

make the site attractive and accessible to visitors. Kent was perfectly open about his intentions for the property in his unsent letter to Pinchot on December 3, 1907 requesting acceptance of Redwood Canyon as a national Forest. He said he and his fellow shareholders in the Tamalpais Scenic Railway had constructed a spur to the edge of the woods and had plans for a hotel. But he noted that he had no plans to charge admission or restrict access to the forest and he said he had "placed more emphasis on this commercial side of the undertaking than it occupies in my mind" in order to explain why he would retain title to the portion of the land, though not the timber rights, on which the hotel would be built.[69]

Redwood Canyon was a popular site for hiking and picnicking even before Kent acquired the property. It could hardly be called pure wilderness, even though it was a virgin grove of redwoods, unspoiled by logging. In 1907, Kent himself called it "a wilderness park" which implies that its wildness existed within the civilized confines that the word "park" suggests. As Kent said in his letter to Secretary Garfield offering the land to the government, it "is now, and has long been used and enjoyed by the public."[70] Starting in the 1870s, possibly earlier, visitors came to Redwood Canyon on foot or on horseback in search of beauty and relaxation.[71] Its appeal to visitors prompted a reporter for the *San Francisco Call* in 1895 to urge "lovers of nature and beauty" to lobby for its preservation as a state park. After having purchased the property from Lovell White in 1905, Kent quickly set about developing its potential as a tourist destination. Tourists had been riding the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway to the eastern summit of Mount Tamalpais since August 1896. They experienced ever-shifting views of the mountain and the Bay Area as the train climbed 2,353 feet and traversed 281 curves on its 8.19-mile route. Kent sold a 2.5-mile right-of-way to the company that operated the railway, and in which he owned stock, so that they could build the gravity spur line from the main line down to the border of Redwood Canyon. In addition, he sold the company 190 acres at the terminus of the spur so that it could construct the inn that he later mentioned to Pinchot.[72] After he gave Muir Woods to the government, he conveyed additional land to the railroad company, but with a strict provision in the deed that no live trees could be cut.[73] When finished, the inn was named Muir Inn.

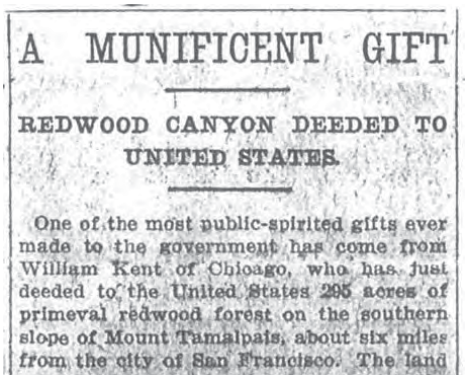
The Mount Tamalpais Railroad Company built trails into the woods and a road so that visitors who did not wish to walk from the end of the gravity line could ride. Kent made eighty acres of Redwood Canyon available for public visitation, upgraded the wagon road through the canyon so that visitors traveling by road from Mill Valley could reach the Muir Inn at the north end of the canyon, constructed trails, provided picnic tables and trash receptacles, and posted signs forbidding fires, injuring trees, hunting, littering, and removing vegetation.[74] By November, 1907, when the North Coast Water Company instituted its condemnation suit to

acquire Redwood Canyon, Kent had invested considerable effort and expense in developing the area. As Kent said in his letter addressed to William Magee, the water company president, "All these expenditures and plans would be lost and wasted would your condemnation suit be prosecuted and should you destroy the whole charm of the place by destroying the timber, for the only unique and remarkable feature is the virgin forest." The construction of a reservoir in Redwood Canyon would have wiped out the investment he and others had made in the site.[75] Nevertheless, he claimed that his financial interest was small and that his main goal was to preserve the forest and open it up for public enjoyment.[76] Kent not only wished to protect what he called in his letter to James R. Garfield enclosing the deed of gift, "the most attractive bit of wilderness I have ever seen,"[77] but he wished to protect this investment and continue to pursue his plans for Redwood Canyon. Although these plans would benefit him financially, Kent clearly regarded their fulfillment as a public service as well.

IMPACT OF THE GIFT

Kent's gift of Muir Woods to the federal government received praise and publicity throughout the nation. President Roosevelt, in thanking him, wrote, "All Americans who prize the natural beauties of the country and wish to see them preserved undamaged, and especially those who realize the literally unique value of the groves of giant trees, must feel that you have conferred a great and lasting benefit upon the whole country." Although he greatly admired John Muir, Roosevelt said, he asked permission to name the monument Kent Monument, an honor that Kent refused.[78] "I have five good, husky boys that I am trying to bring up to a knowledge of democracy and to a realizing sense of the rights of the 'other fellow,' doctrines which you, sir, have taught with more vigor and effect than any man in my time. If these boys cannot keep the name Kent alive, I am willing it should be forgotten."[79] Kent wanted to set an example of public service that would inspire not only his sons, but also other wealthy people. "I hope the President will not feel offended if I refuse to accept the suggestion made," he wrote to Pinchot. "I could not bear the thought of getting down to a Carnegie basis of stenciling my name on any deed that might be done for the public welfare. It would spoil my pleasure in the gift, and would, I think, tend to take the edge off the example set. I suppose anyone who has money enough has a right to pay for a monument for himself, but I don't think you or I want to spend our money in that way."[80]

Kent received many personal letters thanking him for his gift of Muir Woods. These letters indicated what a popular and beloved destination Redwood Canyon and the whole Mount Tamalpais region already was. "Having lived from childhood in San Rafael, and with Tamalpais as an excursion ground, its ridges, canyons, and forests have been an unfailing source of pleasure and inspiration," wrote Olcott Haskell, an appreciative resident of Marin County. "It was in Redwood



A MUNIFICENT GIFT

REDWOOD CANYON DEEDED TO UNITED STATES.

One of the most public-spirited gifts ever made to the government has come from William Kent of Chicago, who has just deeded to the United States 295 acres of primeval redwood forest on the southern slope of Mount Tamalpais, about six miles from the city of San Francisco. The land

Figure 7.12: Headline and excerpt from the *Washington* [D.C.] *Star*, January 19, 1908.

Canyon that I first explored a virgin Redwood forest; and now, after visiting the great Sequoia groves of the Sierras, I still find that, as a perfect grove in a perfect setting, this one at the base of Tamalpais is without an equal."[81]

Although, as the owner of the property, Kent ultimately acted alone, his gift should be seen as an expression of the growing conservation and preservation movements, and not an isolated act of philanthropy. Local and regional groups, some of which Kent had helped nurture, had also been seeking to preserve Redwood Canyon. In 1904 the Forestry Section of the California Club of San Francisco initiated an effort to make Redwood Canyon a national park and the clubwomen of San Francisco set out to raise $80,000 to buy it.[82] Hiking groups, art societies interested in the preservation of scenery, and conservation groups regarded Kent's gift as a contribution to the causes to which they devoted themselves. He received widespread praise from regional groups in California, such as the Sierra Club (which passed a resolution expressing its appreciation), the Outdoor Art League (a division of the California Club),[83] and the Town Board of Sausalito, but also from groups in other parts of the country, such as the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society in New York City.[84] Eastern papers, as well as local papers and periodicals praised his generosity. A writer in the *Washington* [D.C.] *Star* declared it "One of the most public-spirited gifts ever made to the government."[85] *The Marin County Journal* called it "a most generous and patriotic act."[86] The Rev. William Rader, reflecting, in part, the current vogue for nature as a source of health and relief from the stresses of city life, declared in the *San Francisco Bulletin*: "Fifty years from now this tract of magnificent trees will be more precious than the hanging gardens of Babylon and more beautiful than anything the genius of man can create. It is even now of immeasurable worth, and every school child and invalid and tired merchant, the rich and poor, share in its possession. Mr. Kent has given it to the government—that is, to the people. Thanks to Mr. Kent! He is the kind of citizen we are looking for here in California..."[87] In June 1908, probably partly prompted by this publicity, Yale awarded Kent an honorary degree.

When Kent declared his candidacy for Marin County supervisor in the spring of 1908, however, some people began to see calculation and self-interest rather than altruistic motives in his gift. In June 1908, the *San Francisco Examiner* ran an article headlined, "Politics Seen in Kent's Park Gift." According to the article, some citizens of Marin County now began to point out "that Kent owns 4000 acres of land surrounding the park, has a tavern at its entrance and is planning to build a $200,000 hotel on the boundary line. Because he owns a good share of the stock of the only railroad running into the park, a number of Marinites are sending abroad the insinuation that the park is a gilded brick so far as the govern-

ment is concerned, and that it may prove a good asset for the Kent railroad and the Kent hotels." The reporter noted that everyone agreed that if Kent had not made the gift, that the North Coast Water Company would have obtained the land for a reservoir, but that now the government had the responsibility of "defending the water company's suit and protect[ing] the big trees which are so essential to [the] success of the Kent hotels and railroad."[88] An article in the Marin County *Tocsin*, on June 13, 1908 asserted that Kent exploited the condemnation suit by the North Coast Water Company—whose proposed reservoir, the article claimed, would not have harmed the redwoods—as "a magnificent chance to advertise himself as a philanthropist." By making the gift and then arranging for his correspondence with President Roosevelt about his contribution to be published in the press throughout the country, Kent had set off a tourist boom at Muir Woods. "Hundreds and thousands who had never heard of the park made pilgrimages there," and, as a result, traffic on the mountain railroad in which Kent was a stockholder increased. The stockholders in the railroad now had plans to build a hotel on the edge of Muir Woods: "In other words, the Federal Government is to guard, improve and protect a beautiful pleasure ground for the guests who register at William Kent's hotel." The *Tocsin* reporter even suggested that the articles in *Collier's* and other Eastern magazines praising Kent's gift might have been written by Kent himself.[89] Such charges would have been natural in a political campaign but there is no doubt that Kent did stand to benefit financially from the preservation of Redwood Canyon, a fact he was open about in his communication with Pinchot. An article in the *Mill Valley Record-Enterprise* in May 1908 about the scheduling of additional trains indicated that traffic into Muir Woods did increase as a result of Kent's gift, probably substantially.[90] Mindful of such criticism, Kent wrote in his account of how he preserved Muir Woods: "I am frank to confess that I did as much advertising as possible of the Woods in order that the country might be stirred up and public opinion might be focused to prevent the depredation and ruin entailed by carrying out the condemnation proceedings."[91] Most people at the time regarded Kent's gift as a generous and public-spirited act. The financial benefit to a man of his resources was probably modest and looked at in the context of Kent's lifelong effort to create a large public park and water district on Mount Tamalpais and his later gifts of land to help realize this goal, not his primary motivation.

On the national scene, Gifford Pinchot not only praised Kent's act, but also reported that it was helping the cause of conservation. In a letter to Kent dated January 27, 1908, he wrote, "Your service in giving the Muir Woods, or Kent Woods as I hope they will be called, is a very growing one. It is doing much more good than I had any idea it could at first, and my idea was not a small one, as you know."[92] The contributions of private philanthropists, like Kent, remained especially important until the federal government greatly expanded its role in conservation during the New Deal.

ACADIA NATIONAL PARK

Part of the significance of Kent's gift is that it helped inspire at least one other substantial gift of scenic property to the federal government by wealthy private individuals. In 1901 a group of rich, socially prominent landowners on the island of Mount Desert in Maine, organized by Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, formed the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations. Beginning after the Civil War, members of prominent, patrician families (Eliot, Dorr, Dana, Scheffelin, Vanderbilt, and Rockefeller) had built summer places in the area, creating a privileged enclave of leisure and tranquility. By the end of the century middle class families had begun to purchase property in the area. Fearing further development, the wealthy landowners sought a way to protect the unspoiled beauty of the area. The charter from the Maine state legislature granted the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations the power to receive donations of land and to hold them tax-free, in perpetuity, for the purpose of public recreation. Aside from two small parcels, no contributions were made until 1907 when Charles Homans donated a large tract, including a lake. George B. Dorr, whose family had been among the first of the patrician families to build a house in Bar Harbor, then purchased eighty-five acres on Cadillac Mountain, which he turned over to the Trustees. In 1909 he added a substantial portion of the land his family owned.[93] From then on he devoted himself to preserving Mount Desert, making additional gifts as he grew older and seeking donations from others. Unlike Kent, Dorr and the wealthy landowners who contributed land to the Hancock Trustees of Public Reservations had no desire to see the reserved land developed as a tourist attraction, but were willing to open it to use by the general public as the price for preserving it.

In 1909 when the construction of small cottages on Eagle Lake threatened Bar Harbor's water supply, Dorr sought to block development. In this case, unlike the case of Muir Woods, the local water company became an ally. The Bar Harbor Water Company condemned the properties on the lake, then financed their purchase by the Hancock County Trustees. The real estate developers retaliated by introducing a bill in the state legislature to revoke the Trustees' charter. Dorr succeeded in getting the bill blocked, but he sought a more secure means of protecting Mount Desert. Citing Muir Woods as a precedent, he offered to give the land held by the Trustees to the government as a national monument. With lobbying help from Eliot and support from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson with whom Dorr met, Woodrow Wilson declared Mount Desert a national monument in 1916. In 1918 it became a park, later acquiring the name Acadia National Park. Like Kent, Dorr, who lived to be 91, watched over the park he had created until his death. Dorr shared the view of the nineteenth-century Americans who found in American scenery a substitute for the historical monuments of the Old World: "Our national parks alone," he said, "can supply the imaginative appeal that is made in older lands by ancient works of art, by ruins and old historic associations."[94] As in the

case of Muir Woods, Dorr's gift showed public spiritedness and generosity, but also helped preserve the beauty and limit the development of an area in which the donor lived and owned property.

SAVING THE REDWOODS

More importantly, Kent's donation of Muir Woods spurred efforts, also spearheaded by private philanthropists, to save the remaining redwoods elsewhere in California. There had been some efforts to preserve the redwoods before Kent made his gift. In 1901 a group of twenty-six men and women from the region south of San Francisco founded the Sempervirens Club and lobbied for the creation of a state park to preserve the redwoods at Big Basin, sixty-five miles south of the city. They argued that the park could be used as a laboratory for the school of forestry then being planned for the University of California. The California legislature appropriated $250,000 to acquire the land, thus creating California Redwood State Park (later called Big Basin Redwood State Park and, because Yosemite became a national park, California's oldest state park). This project received strong support from the Southern Pacific Railroad, which saw it as an opportunity to increase tourist passenger traffic on its line. There were also efforts, beginning in 1905, by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and women's groups to create a redwood park in Humboldt County in northern California, although nothing came of this movement until the 1920s.[95]

Kent himself tried to use the publicity generated by his gift of Muir Woods and his own increased prestige to secure the preservation of other groves of redwoods. On February 28, 1908 he wrote to J. M. Roche saying that the Armstrong Grove, a magnificent stand of redwoods in Sonoma County ought to be preserved. He thought Roche's organization, the Native Sons of the Golden West, could perform no higher service than to campaign for the preservation of more redwood groves, as well as working for the creation of a Tamalpais Park. "Unless something is done, and done soon, there will be few big redwoods left near San Francisco or, in fact, anywhere else." Muir Woods did not contain the biggest specimens, he noted, and some of the biggest ought to be saved. He suggested that every Native Son purchase one Redwood tree, as large a one as they could afford, and that those who could not manage to pay outright could buy a tree on the installment plan.[96]

In October 1908 Kent introduced a resolution at the Irrigation Congress in Albuquerque urging Congress to expand the law of eminent domain so that the government could acquire land possessing objects of scientific and historical significance. Kent's proposal would have greatly extended the reach of the Antiquities Act by making it possible for the government to condemn a privately owned tract of land and turn it into a national monument, not just declare national monuments on federal land or accept gifts. Kent's purpose, he said, was to make it

possible to preserve the remaining stands of *Sequoia gigantea* and other redwoods. The Irrigation Congress ruled his resolution not germane, but his effort shows the direction of his thinking after he had made the Muir Woods gift.[97]

Kent's personal philanthropy, particularly the example he set of a private individual contributing to the creation of a government owned park, became a model for the efforts of the Save-the-Redwoods League to preserve the redwoods elsewhere in California. The Save-the-Redwoods League was founded in 1918 by Madison Grant, Henry Fairfield Osborn, and John Merriam. Its membership included professors, administrators, and alumni of the University of California; businessmen from the Bay Area; Easterners interested in wilderness and wildlife preservation; and automobile enthusiasts. Kent was among the twenty-six men who signed the League's by-laws in 1920.[98]

Figure 7.13: A grove of coast redwoods near the Redwood Highway in northern California (Crescent City), 1921. Courtesy American Environmental Photographs Collection, AEP-CAS48, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

Stephen Mather, a wealthy, philanthropically-minded Californian like Kent who as assistant to Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane and then the first director of the National Park Service worked with Kent on efforts to develop Muir Woods, took a leadership role in the Save-the-Redwoods League. Mather, a dedicated conservationist and close friend of William and Elizabeth Kent who often stayed with them in Chicago, Washington or California, had been an ally of Kent's during the late 1890s in the reform movement in Chicago.[99] Mather and Kent were members of a small group of wealthy, civic-minded individuals who contributed to the early conservation movement both through public service as politicians or government administrators and through their private philanthropic activities. In 1913, as a congressman, Kent sponsored a resolution proposing a national redwood park, but nothing came of it. In 1919 Mather drafted a resolution, which Congress passed, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make recommendations on the proposed creation of a national redwood park. The Secretary proposed a park in Del Norte County in northern California, but Congress made no appropriation for its establishment. The members of the Save-the-Redwoods League turned instead to the State of California and to private sources in order to achieve their goals. In 1919, after the first meeting of the League, Mather and Madison Grant met with community leaders in Eureka in Humboldt County, California where Mather pledged that he and Kent would donate $15,000 apiece to purchase redwoods along the proposed redwood highway. Then, with the prospect of tourism dollars helping to fuel the local economy, the supervisors of Humboldt County agreed to match these gifts. The League membership included many other wealthy people who contributed money to purchase redwoods and solicited their wealthy friends to contribute to the cause. Members of the League drove prospective donors down Redwood Highway in open touring cars, pointing out trees or groves that could be purchased and named for a friend or family

member.[100] In an article in *California Out-of-Doors* in 1919, Jonathan Webb wrote that the "...gift of Muir Woods is an example of how to save the redwoods—by individual contributions. There should be a great number of individual contributions in the coming campaign to save a sufficient number of groves, parks and forests." He reported that Kent stated in 1907 that the gift of Muir Woods was of little significance in itself but was "intended to serve, as it were, as 'Exhibit A' of what ought to be done concerning the redwoods. The 'Exhibit' has been examined and found to point the way for the State and the Nation to join with counties and individuals in saving scattered groups, groves, parks and forests of redwoods."[101]

In 1921, the Save-the-Redwoods League, including Kent, successfully lobbied the California legislature for a $300,000 appropriation to acquire stands of redwoods along the proposed redwood highway. The bill also gave the California State Board of Forestry the right of eminent domain along the highway in Humboldt County, although in a compromise to appease lumber interests this power only applied to the southern part of the county. When Governor William D. Stephens, a Kent friend and fellow progressive, balked at signing the bill because of a budget deficit, Kent said, "O hell, Bill, if you can't get the money any other way, why don't you fire a few policemen and close the schools for a few days? This is something that can't wait." Stephens signed the bill.[102]

Kent himself and his friend Mather worked together to acquire groves of redwoods along California's Redwood Highway. Kent urged other well-to-do individuals to join in these efforts: "If, among your readers," Kent wrote the *New York Herald-Tribune* on February 15, 1927, "there are people of large means who wish to do something really permanent for the beauty of the world, I do not believe there is a finer opportunity than to help in the work that the Save-the Redwoods League has undertaken."[103] Kent recognized the scenic value of Redwood Highway and rejected arguments for widening and straightening it. Efficient travel was not its highest use: "Everyone must realize that in order to get benefit of it there should be curves and vistas, as the road is now laid out, rather than to give the idea of forcefully jamming a road through on a straight line..."[104]

HETCH-HETCHY VS. MUIR WOODS

The most divisive issue in the early conservation movement was the controversy over damming the Hetch Hetchy Valley in California. San Francisco was growing rapidly and was desperate for a reliable water supply. Hetch Hetchy offered an easy and obvious solution. A dam constructed at the outlet of the deep, narrow valley would create a reservoir capable of supplying San Francisco with an abundant supply of pure water for the foreseeable future. In addition, the water could drive turbines to create low cost electricity and help irrigate the San Joaquin Valley. The Hetch Hetchy Valley was already publicly owned. The problem was

that Hetch Hetchy was a sublimely beautiful and irreplaceable stretch of mountain wilderness. In 1890, through the efforts of John Muir and other early preservationists, Hetch Hetchy had been incorporated into Yosemite National Park. The struggle for Hetch Hetchy began in 1901 and was not resolved until the passage of the Raker Bill in 1913. The issue was alive and, therefore, part of the context in which Kent acted in acquiring Muir Woods, deeding it to the government, and then working to ensure its ongoing protection.

At first glance, it might seem to be a contradiction that Kent not only strongly supported the Hetch Hetchy project, but also played an active, influential role in its eventual success after his election to Congress. The gift of Redwood Canyon and his wish that it be named after John Muir seemed to place Kent in the preservationist camp. So did the way he expressed a Romantic appreciation of nature in his sensitive description of the redwoods. Kent did not know Muir personally before making his gift of Redwood Canyon and naming it after the naturalist,[105] but after Kent made his gift, Muir wrote to him thanking him warmly for his gift: "This is the finest forest and park thing done in California in many a day and how it shines amid the mean commercialism and apathy so destructive and prevalent these days. You have made yourself immortal like your sequoias and all the best people of the world will call you blessed."[106] He saw in Kent a man who rose above the money-grubbing of many of his fellow Americans: "How refreshing to find such a man amid so vast a multitude of dull money hunters dead in trespasses and sins," he wrote to a friend on January 9, 1908.[107] Kent's reply to Muir's letter expresses—in the kind of fervent religious language used by Muir himself—the disgust with base commercialism, reverence for nature, and belief in the sinfulness of destroying God's works characteristic of a true preservationist:

> *To us who can see and who know what is good, the deeding of what should belong to the people, to the people is not generosity, but an uncontrollable impulse.*
> *The service you have preeminently rendered is in making some people see that the works of God are good in themselves and good for men.*
> *The hideous heedless wickedness of trying to butcher those trees put me in a frame of mind where I wondered how far a trustee ought to go to protect such a trust. I am sure the danger is passed now and hope I can forgive Jas Newlands and William Magee, who for a few dirty dollars would have deprived millions of their birthright.*
> *I have done little as yet but I hope to do much more toward opening the eyes of those whose blindness is a sad incarceration.*[108]

When Muir saw that his name had been attached to this grove of the sequoias he so much cherished, Muir wrote Kent again. He was so touched by Kent's act that it inspired a poetic tribute to the endurance of the sequoia as well as admiration

for Kent. It is worth quoting this letter in full because it eloquently expresses the significance of Muir Woods from the perspective of the leading preservationist of the time:

> *Seeing my name in the tender and deed of the Tamalpais Sequoias was a surprise of the pleasantest kind. This is the best tree-lover's monument that could possibly be found in all the forests of the world. You have done me great honor, and I am proud of it. Schools here and there have planted "Muir trees" in their playgrounds, and long ago Asa Gray named several plants for me; the most interesting of which is a sturdy frost-enduring daisy that I discovered on the shore of the Arctic Ocean near Icy Cape. A Sierra peak also and one of the Alaska glaciers bear my name, but these aboriginal woods, barring human action, will outlast them all, even the mountain and glacier. Compared with Sequoia glaciers are young fleeting things, and since the first Sequoia forests lifted their domes and spires to the sky, mountains great and small, thousands of them, have been weathered, ground down, washed away and cast into the sea; while two of the many species of Sequoia have come safely through all the geological changes and storms that have fallen upon them since Cretaceous times, surviving even the crushing, destroying ice sheets of the glacial period.*
>
> *Saving these woods from the axe and saw, from money-changers and water-changers, and giving them to our country and the world is in many ways the most notable service to God and man I've heard of since my forest wanderings began. A much needed lesson and blessing to saint and sinner alike and credit and encouragement to God. That so fine and divine a thing should have come out of money made in Chicago! Who wad'a thocht it! Immortal Sequoia life to you.*[109]

On February 10, 1908 Kent invited Muir to stay at his home in Kentfield and to attend a reception on Washington's Birthday being given in Kent's honor by the Native Sons of the Golden West in San Rafael at the Opera House. It "is naturally largely your show," Kent characteristically told Muir.[110] Muir replied that he would be away, but that he would be delighted to visit Kentfield when he returned. It is not surprising, given Kent's act of preservation and the language he used in his correspondence with Muir, that at this point Muir assumed Kent would be sympathetic to his opposition to the Hetch Hetchy dam project: "I have just finished a fighting article for the *Sierra Club Bulletin* on the Hetch Hetchy dam & destruction scheme," he told Kent, "which has been a big bother to write."[111]

After Kent became a congressman in 1910, Muir still hoped that Kent would oppose the Hetch Hetchy project. On March 31, 1911, he sent Kent a copy of an article about San Francisco's efforts to obtain the right to Hetch Hetchy and wrote: "I am very glad that you fully understand this Yosemite Park water question and

trust that you will not approve of any action being taken in the matter until after the Commission of Army Engineers appointed at the request of President Taft to determine whether there are other water supplies, outside of Hetch-Hetchy, reasonably available for the use of the city of San Francisco, has completed its report. You are now in a place where you can do lots of good work and none of your friends will watch your career with greater interest than your sincere admirer, John Muir."[112] In a letter in which the friendly, personal tone of the earlier correspondence between them had disappeared, Kent assured Muir that Congress would give the Hetch Hetchy question "the fullest kind of hearing" and claimed that "I am, as I have always been, open-minded about this question."[113]

Figure 7.14: John Muir and William Kent, made for Save-the-Redwoods League, 1912. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 32/2, Muir Woods Collection.

Muir visited Kentfield in September, 1908, reporting to his daughter, Helen: "I had a charming time with the Kents, visited Muir Woods and Muir tavern & adjacent region."[114] Kent enjoyed Muir's wonderful talk, his knowledge of nature, and the stories of his adventures in the wilderness. As an experienced outdoorsman himself, Kent was awed by Muir's habit of going into the woods with very little food and sometimes no blanket. Kent promoted him as a writer. After Muir's September visit to Kentfield, Kent praised Muir's gifts in a letter to John S. Phillips at *American Magazine*: "He is one of the most interesting people I have ever met and endlessly willing to talk and talk entertainingly." Muir hated to write, however, and had failed to produce the book he had agreed to write for Houghton Mifflin eight years before. Kent suggested sending a writer to live with Muir for three months to take down his stories and collaborate on the production of a series of articles. Someone with scientific knowledge, Kent felt, would be able to draw on Muir's extraordinary knowledge of botany and geology. Kent provided a summary of Muir's fascinating life and adventures to whet Phillips appetite. He is "the greatest of outdoor people," Kent concluded. "If you find the man to settle down to edit him you will get documents of immense human and scientific interest."[115]

But Kent's intimate acquaintanceship with Muir and admiration for his brilliant mind and personality did not lead to agreement on policies toward the wilderness. Despite his love of the wilderness, Kent was first and foremost an economic and political reformer. Immersed for many years in the crucible of Chicago reform politics, he had acquired a keen understanding of the needs of cities like San Francisco for transportation, power, and water, and the difficulties of obtaining these at a reasonable cost from private monopolies. As much as he loved the wilderness, his political and social consciousness, shaped by his urban experience, played the predominate role in his thinking. The need for recreation or, more specifically for the physical and spiritual revitalization obtainable in the wilderness, was only one among a set of urban needs whose legitimacy he fully recognized. For Muir, on the

other hand, the experience obtainable in the wilderness was on a separate, higher plane from the practical requirements of water, electricity, or transportation.

On Hetch Hetchy Kent agreed with Gifford Pinchot, with whom he had been friends well before meeting Muir, and regarded the question of Hetch Hetchy primarily as an issue of the public control of water and power.[116] Kent asserted that he and his friend Pinchot believed in "real conservation," meaning "the saving of waste, the production of power for the benefit of the people and not for private profit."[117] Conservation to him did not mean preservation, but use. It meant careful management of natural resources for a variety of purposes: water and power supply, lumber, grazing, and recreation, including, when appropriate, hunting. All of these uses were legitimate and might be carried on in many cases simultaneously. Using the Hetch Hetchy to supply water to San Francisco "by no means constitutes a raid upon a National Park," he wrote in supporting the Hetch Hetchy bill that was before Congress in 1913. "It answers the highest purpose of conservation, as defined by those interested in the public use of a public domain for the highest public purpose."[118]

California Congressman John R. Raker, whose district included the site of the proposed reservoir, introduced the 1913 bill that cleared the way for the construction of the Hetch Hetchy dam, but Kent played a leading role in promoting the bill and served as its advocate on the House Committee on Public Lands through which the bill had to pass. His home on F Street in Washington became a gathering place for those working for passage of the bill: Jack Dunnigan, Clerk of Supervisors of San Francisco, Alesander Vogelsand, one of the Supervisors, City Engineer M. M. O'Shaughnessy, and Percy Long, City Attorney.[119] He arranged for Pinchot to come to Washington at one or two critical points to support the passage of the bill.[120] Like the typical progressive that he was, Kent appealed to the testimony of experts, in this case engineers, who said the Hetch Hetchy was among the finest sites for a reservoir in the nation, that the demand for water in California for cities and irrigation made the use of the valley for water storage inevitable, and that it was the best source of water that San Francisco could obtain at an affordable cost. In the case of Muir Woods, Kent had said that he could prove the fallacy of the water company's assertion that public necessity demanded the sacrifice of the forest: "There are numerous sites in Marin County where water may be stored without sacrificing the last and most beautiful forest in the County."[121] Although James Newlands and William Magee, the owners of the water company, argued that the alternatives were inadequate or too expensive, the creation of the Marin County Water District later on confirmed Kent's assertion.[122] Ironically, Newlands and Magee called Kent's criticism of their project "hysterical" and likened it to the opposition of John Muir and other nature lovers to the use of the Hetch Hetchy

Valley as a reservoir site for San Francisco.[123] In the case of Hetch Hetchy, Kent insisted that the alternatives were, indeed, inadequate or too expensive.

As to the scenic attractions of the Hetch Hetchy Valley, Kent noted that only a tiny number of people (300) visited the area each year.[124] It was, indeed, a site of "great natural beauty," but it was "almost inaccessible except to those with abundant leisure."[125] Mosquitoes made it unsuitable for camping except in the fall after the frosts killed them. He speculated that the lake created by the dam, which would only occupy 1200 acres, might even make the valley more attractive than it was in its current state.[126] Moreover, the roads, whose construction the bill provided for, would open up the high Sierras to far more visitors. In fact, he said, "It is a case practically similar to opening up Tamalpais and Muir Woods by roads and trails. No one can doubt that there is a certain damage to the natural to the very few people who love the absolute wilderness but the fact that thousands can enjoy what only a few could enjoy otherwise, is an adequate answer to this contention."[127] He noted that at Hetch Hetchy no big trees would be destroyed and that the valley possessed no scenic features that could not be found in Yosemite Valley or elsewhere in the Sierras. Given these considerations, and the benefits the water would furnish to around a million people, opposition to the bill seemed to Kent absurd. In a scathing rejection of Muir's preservationist position on the issue, he said that the Hetch Hetchy project "constitutes carrying out the real theories of conservation, which does not mean cold storage for the benefit of those few persons who would never permit the change of any natural scenery or the rolling over of any rock placed in its present position by the Creator."[128]

Figure 7.15: Hetch Hetchy Valley prior to damming, c.1911. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, PAN US GEOG - California no. 51, American Memory website.

The controversy over Hetch Hetchy occurred at the same time as the heated negotiations over the diversion of Niagara's waters to generate electric power. In both cases, Kent saw the issue in terms of social justice: Would this great natural resource benefit ordinary people or would it provide profits to monopolist corporations? If it would benefit ordinary people, then to Kent its scenic beauty became of secondary importance. When Robert Underwood Johnson asserted that God created the wonders of Hetch Hetchy to be looked at, Kent asked, "How are we going to tell what things are there to be looked at and what things are there to be used. It seems reasonable to me that we should use the useful things and look at the beautiful things; and that the highest use of the useful things is their use for the benefit of humanity. I made the statement in the House that if Niagara Falls could

be used to lighten the burdens of the overworked, I should be willing to see those Falls harnessed. I would not be willing to see them harnessed for private profit, but if Niagara Falls could be utilized for the alleviation of overworked suffering humanity, I should like to see the Falls used for that purpose. This is the kind of conservationist I am, and I put it in the rawest, baldest terms."[129]

Ultimately, Kent saw the issue of Hetch Hetchy in terms of the public control of natural resources for the benefit of all. The building of the reservoir would break the hold of two monopolies over the people of San Francisco: the Spring Valley Water Company, which owned 100,000 acres of land, including the finest watersheds in the Bay area, and had become the sole supplier of water to the city by the 1860s, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which dominated the electric business in northern California.[130] As Kent noted in one of his statements in support of the Hetch Hetchy bill, "The interests of a city and the interests of a private corporation furnishing a necessity like water, are diametrically opposed."[131] A company would always seek the greatest possible profit, while people require water at the lowest possible cost. If San Francisco was being greedy, as it was charged, it was a greed that sought to supply the residents of the Bay Area and the farmers of the San Joaquin Valley with cheap water and electric power. Such greed "could break loose from the grip of extortionate private monopolies, and look after the welfare of the greatest number of people."[132] Kent did not completely succeed in his aim of breaking free from the private monopolies. Although he insisted during the preparation of the bill on inserting a clause providing that all the water and electricity generated by the project had to be sold directly to the consumer, the repeated failure of the citizens of San Francisco to pass a bond issue to finance the duplication of the Pacific Gas and Electric's distribution system, made it necessary for San Francisco to violate this provision. Over Kent's vigorous objection, the city sold the electricity generated by the Hetch Hetchy hydroelectric dam to PG&E, which, in turn, sold it to its customers.[133]

The national reputation as a conservationist that Kent had established through his act to preserve Muir Woods made him a persuasive advocate for the Hetch Hetchy bill with his fellow congressmen, and he exploited his friendship with Muir as a means of persuasion. He wrote to Minnesota Congressman Sydney Anderson: "I hope you will not take my friend, Muir, seriously, for he is a man entirely without social sense. With him, it is me and God and the rock where God put it, and that is the end of the story. I know him well and as far as this proposition is concerned, he is mistaken in his position."[134] Kent later argued that without Pinchot's influence and "my standing as a conservationist, the Bill never could have passed, for we secured by our endorsement many votes that were stampeded by the reckless representations made of park destruction."[135] Kent's role in the Hetch Hetchy controversy throws light on the significance of Muir Woods in the conservation

movement, because it shows how the wilderness preservation and utilitarian conservationist impulses could exist in the same person and both be expressed strongly in different circumstances. Even in the Muir Woods case, Kent leaned toward the utilitarian, especially after having made the original gift. In 1920, when he was negotiating the donation of land in Steep Ravine to the government to expand the Muir Woods monument, he told John Barton Payne, Secretary of the Interior, that he would only do so if he could reserve the water rights:

> *The property, as you know, is extremely close to San Francisco, and so located that household water is extremely rare and valuable. Entirely aside from any personal interest I might have in this water [for the development of land that he planned to retain], it would be a great loss if it were polluted by misuse under the park regulations. I would be entirely willing to present it to the public water district to be by them sold and used for household purposes, but it would be an intolerable loss to sacrifice it for lower use such as mere scenery when badly needed for drinking.*[136]

In the end, he did not donate this particular tract at this time because the Department of the Interior did not want to accept it with the water rights reserved (later he donated it to the Tamalpais State Park).[137] Like Theodore Roosevelt, Kent had strong sympathies with both the wilderness preservationist and utilitarian conservationist perspectives and, like Roosevelt, when it came down to hard choices, as it did in the Hetch Hetchy case, he chose what he saw as the best or higher use, the use that he believed would best serve the public interest. He did not acquiesce in this choice, but passionately championed it, for he saw such use of natural resources for the public good as the essence of conservation.

THE ONGOING STRUGGLE TO PROTECT MUIR WOODS

Although Kent had apparently triumphed when the government accepted his gift of Muir Woods, the struggle was not over. Two problems persisted: the Department of the Interior had neither the funding nor the staff, or even a managerial structure, to administer the national monuments; and the North Coast Water Company refused to drop its condemnation suit, hoping it could still prevail. The condemnation suit was eventually dropped, but the issue of the maintenance of the monument lasted for years.[138]

Perhaps because of his plans for the development of the site as a tourist attraction and his consequent interest in protecting and maintaining control of the area, or possibly because he was aware that Congress had appropriated no funding for the protection of the national monuments proclaimed under the Antiquities Act, or simply as an added inducement, Kent offered in his initial letter to Pinchot

and in his letter to Secretary Garfield to pay for policing Redwood Canyon for a number of years. In his letter to Garfield he wrote: "Should the question come up of appropriation to maintain and protect it, I stand ready to act under the direction of your department, or that of Mr. Pinchot, and to do the necessary policing, or to pay for having it done, for a period of ten years."[139] When reporting on Kent's gift, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that in another country Kent might have received the title of "Sir William, Defender of the Redwoods," but instead "the more modest title which Kent claims in return for his beneficence is 'Deputy United States Fire Warden,' and the privilege of paying for ten years for the fire patrol to guard the trees from careless campers and sparks from the engines on the Tamalpais Railroad."[140] In fact, public and private interests, responsibilities, and financing remained entangled long after the establishment of Muir Woods. Although the federal government took increasing responsibility for the management of the National Monument, particularly after the first ten years, Kent remained a partner in managing what was to a considerable extent his private fiefdom until his death in 1928. If it had not been for his personal relationships with Pinchot, Olmsted, and President Roosevelt and later with Stephen Mather, his persistence, and his willingness to employ his own resources, Kent would not have been as successful as he was in protecting Muir Woods.

Kent's ongoing struggle to protect and maintain Muir Woods shows how precarious the initial triumph of making it a national monument was. Like Niagara and Yosemite, the first fight to preserve it wasn't the last. Kent's struggle also helped clarify the need for a stronger government agency to manage the national monuments and parks and thus fed Kent's successful effort as a congressman to establish the National Park Service.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Probably Kent's financial interest in the success of Muir Woods made it easier for him to accept some of the responsibility and costs of policing and managing it, but, in any event, the failure of the government to take full responsibility for its own property frustrated him. Kent's difficult experience in obtaining funding and staffing for the protection and administration of Muir Woods was almost certainly one of the reasons that as a congressman he introduced the bill establishing the National Park Service in 1916. His first-hand knowledge of the needs of park management no doubt helped make him a persuasive advocate for the bill. His role in securing passage of the Hetch Hetchy and National Park Service bills would be the most significant accomplishments in his congressional career that spanned the years 1911-17.[141]

Kent's experience with Muir Woods had made him keenly aware of the need for a federal agency, backed by money and authority and professionally staffed, to

manage the national parks and monuments. The Antiquities Act only gave the President power to designate federally owned sites as national monuments; it did not provide a budget for managing them. Some of the monuments became the responsibility of the Forest Service in the Agriculture Department, others of the War Department, and still others, like Muir Woods, fell under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. Within the Interior Department, the General Land Office had responsibility, but no specific budget, for operating Muir Woods and the handful of other national monuments under its control. No rules and regulations existed for the national monuments or general policies for their management, nor a staff trained to manage them.[142] The national parks fared somewhat better, but they too lacked effective, coordinated management, uniform regulations, adequate trained staffing, and funding.[143]

Bills to establish a national park service had been introduced into every Congress between 1911 and 1915, but because of Congressional concerns about the creation of new federal bureaus that would demand larger and larger budgets and opposition from the Forest Service, including its influential ex-chief Gifford Pinchot, all of them had died in committee. The Forest Service saw the proposed national park service as a potential rival. At the beginning of 1915, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane appointed Kent's friend Stephen Mather as his assistant in charge of the national parks and asked him to make the passage of legislation creating a national park service and organizing the new bureau his top priority. Mather recognized that the keys to persuading Congress to establish and fund a national park service were publicity, public support, and use of the parks by large numbers of people. Working with Horace Albright, a young lawyer in Lane's office who became his assistant, and Robert Sterling Yard, the editor of the *New York Herald* Sunday magazine whom he shrewdly hired to run the national parks information office, Mather launched an energetic campaign to promote the national parks. As part of this initiative, he took Massachusetts Congressman Frederick H. Gillett, ranking republican on the appropriations committee, Gilbert Grosvenor, editor of the *National Geographic*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History, Ernest O. McCormick, vice-president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and several influential newspaper and magazine writers and publishers on a visit to Sequoia National Park.[144]

In the autumn of 1915 the American Civic Association with the help of the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. drafted a new park service bill.[145] The supporters of the bill chose Kent to introduce the bill in the House, since they felt that John Raker, who had introduced park service bills in 1912 and 1913, had too many political liabilities. Raker introduced his own bill, but switched his support to Kent's bill during debate in the House committee on public lands on which both Kent and Raker sat. During the winter and spring of 1916, the supporters of

the bill met regularly at William Kent's home to plot strategy and Kent, whose constituents in Marin County included ranchers and who owned a ranch in Nevada, insisted that grazing be allowed in the national parks where it did not interfere with the activities of visitors. He argued that grazing would help prevent fires (a common assumption at the time and a reflection of Kent's lifelong concern with fire prevention in the Mount Tamalpais watershed). But his advocacy of grazing also expressed his conviction that public lands should be used in multiple ways, so long as the uses did not conflict with each other. Mather and Albright both opposed grazing but deferred to Kent in order to ensure his support. The final bill passed by the House and Senate permitted grazing in all the national parks with the exception of Yellowstone.[146]

Mather's publicity campaign resulted in an issue of the *National Geographic* devoted mostly to the national parks and articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* and elsewhere. The Interior Department produced a *National Parks Portfolio*, which, with a personal financial contribution from Mather and funding from western railroads, received wide distribution to members of Congress, newspapers, and the public. The American Civic Association, the Sierra Club, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, one of the leading advocates of national parks, lobbied Congress and organized their constituents to write letters supporting the park proposal. The park service bill faced stiff opposition, however, and only passed after persistent behind-the-scenes efforts by Kent, Albright, and others. Kent played a crucial role in persuading Congressman William Stafford of Wisconsin, a determined opponent of creating new government bureaus, to drop his objection to the bill. President Wilson signed the bill on August 25, 1916. [147]

The National Park Service bill combined the preservation or aesthetic and the utilitarian approaches to conservation.[148] In a passage drafted by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., the bill states that the "fundamental purpose" of the parks:

> *…is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.*[149]

Kent heartily agreed with the dual principle embodied in the bill: parks should be protected from damage by fire, erosion, over-development, and the damage that tourists themselves sometimes inflicted, but should also provide facilities such as roads, picnic tables, and hotels to make the parks easily enjoyed by visitors. This principle summed up Kent's approach to Muir Woods and it guided Mather and Albright, as the first and second directors of the National Park Service, in their management of national parks and monuments.

The creation of the National Park Service led to Kent's being able to disentangle himself gradually from the management of Muir Woods National Monument. One reason it took so long was that Muir Woods faced problems that no other national monument did. In the 1910s and 20s, before and particularly after the establishment of the National Park Service, the focus of national park policy was on the development of the national parks for tourism and recreation. Because all the national monuments, except Muir Woods, were in remote areas not conducive to development as tourist attractions, they were given little attention by the federal government.[150] Muir Woods was just the opposite: it was more accessible than most of the national parks and already well established as a tourist destination. Kent had to fight for the kind of support that was only being given to national parks, and even to them in very limited amounts since the Department of the Interior and early National Park Service budgets for managing the park were so low. It was not until the 1930s, when New Deal funds became available for development, that the national monuments began to receive the attention they needed to become significant tourist destinations, and Muir Woods received the resources necessary for its full development.

MUIR WOODS AND KENT'S REGIONAL PLAN FOR MOUNT TAMALPAIS

Suburban homes are displacing farmland and pasture. Children are our best crop. It is good to know that mountain and forest will be there, open and unspoiled for them, so that they may know nature to the health of their souls.[151]
William Kent, *Reminiscences of Outdoor Life* (1929)

Figure 7.16: View of the summit of Mount Tamalpais, looking across the grade of the mountain railway, 1913. Courtesy American Environmental Photographs Collection, AEP-CAP7, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library.

Like Yosemite and Yellowstone, Muir Woods has a significant place in the history of preserving scenic places and their promotion as tourist attractions. Unlike its counterparts, however, which were usually located in remote places, it also has a place in the history of regional planning. Muir Woods was the keystone in Kent's vision for the preservation and development of the whole Mt. Tamalpais area as a recreation area and water district. Kent's interests in preservation, the best use of resources, water conservation, public ownership, and his own enjoyment and profit came together in this larger vision in which the various uses of the land would be integrated. Kent was a pioneer in regional planning. He did not see Muir Woods in isolation from its natural and man-made surroundings but as an integral part of them. For that reason, the significance of Muir Woods cannot be interpreted in isolation.[152]

One factor of particular importance in shaping Kent's vision for Marin County and the place of Muir Woods in it was his attitude toward property rights, which was forged during his formative experiences in Chicago when he helped assert

municipal control over the city's private, monopolistic trolley system. Like other progressives Kent believed that the common good should take precedence over private profit; that natural resources should be carefully managed to prevent waste and destruction; and that government needed to regulate business, especially monopolies. Like his friend Pinchot and other fellow conservationists, Kent felt that for too long the United States government had been putting forest, mineral, and water resources into private hands rather than reserving them for the benefit of all and that private landowners had been destroying the resources in their possession through wasteful timber cutting and other destructive practices: "Society demands the utilization of all natural resources in the public interest," he asserted.[153] Like Pinchot, Kent regarded conservation as a means of achieving greater equality of opportunity: "The conservation movement is the beginning of a great crusade that will turn men's minds toward equality of opportunity and social justice." He saw it as a means to "root out special privilege which reaps where it does not sow, unfairly absorbing the fruits of toil."[154] In the statement to voters he issued when running for Congress in 1910, Kent placed equal opportunity and the conservation of the nation's resources at the top of his priorities and bound them together. Conservation would break the grip of monopolies and lead to a more equitable distribution as well as less wasteful management of the nation's resources: "I do not believe that present artificial conditions permit a fair sharing of our country's opportunities. I believe that the Roosevelt-Pinchot policies of conservation of our national resources against waste and greed, are the most necessary, insistent, and immediate policies for our nation to enforce by legislation and administrative action."[155]

But Kent went further than Pinchot and other progressives in his view of property rights generally. Inspired by the views of Henry George in *Progress and Poverty*, Kent rejected "the supreme sanctity of land ownership," a legacy from America's English origins, which he felt should be and was being questioned in the early 20th century "in the interests of equal opportunity." Kent regarded the custom of allowing an individual and his heirs and assigns to hold title to land forever and to use it, abuse it, or not use it as they wished as outmoded. This land policy had led to the waste and destruction of resources that ought to have survived for the benefit of future generations.[156] The ownership of property, he believed, did not exist as an inherent right. In 1914, during debate on a bill governing water power sites on the nation's rivers and streams, he said: "[T]here are no such things as property rights or property except as recognized and protected by such authority as is delegated by society, and furthermore, that society in its own interest should never grant or protect rights that are not for the benefit of society."[157] Moreover, Kent believed that people should not be permitted to profit from the unearned rise in the value of land, rights of way, and water rights. "I do not believe in the individual (owner) making such a rake-off from the mere public demand for what

is in limited quantity."[158] As a Congressman he tried, without success, to get this principle incorporated into legislation.[159] It would have been far better both for the public and for the industries themselves, he believed, if the federal government had granted leases to timber, mining, and drilling companies to extract lumber, coal, iron, oil, and other resources rather than granting fee simple title to the land.[160] Such a policy would have eliminated unearned profits from speculation in the price of land and, through government regulation, prevented wasteful practices. [161] Kent's belief that land and other resources should nurture the community rather than enrich a few individuals provided the basis for the policies he advocated for Marin County, policies that would benefit the region as a whole rather than private landowners only.

Kent recognized that the future of southern Marin County was closely tied to the future of San Francisco and that planning for its development must take into account its function as a suburban extension of the city. Plans for the Mount Tamalpais region, he believed, had to take the following needs into account: 1) securing a water supply for Marin's growing suburban population; 2) protecting the mountain's flora, fauna, hiking trails, and scenic beauty from the depredations of fire and the increasing number of visitors from across the Bay; and 3) providing access and facilities for these visitors.

Although the number of people living in Marin County was still modest (15,702 in 1900), he recognized that the county already had "a large and growing suburban population" that would increase rapidly because of its proximity to San Francisco.[162] Marin needed to prepare for that. The people of Marin, he wrote in 1908, needed to respond to "the change of situation that has come from the development of our little dairy community into a great adjunct and annex of a great city."[163]

To Kent, conservation was a broad concept that embraced various ways of improving the quality of life. "[C]onservation means the highest and best use of what we have by all our people," he said in a statement prepared for the Woman's Edition of the *San Anselmo Herald* in 1913; "it means making the county more beautiful and not less beautiful; more and more hospitable." He urged the women of southern Marin County to work for the preservation of Mount Tamalpais as the region's water supply and main scenic attraction. This meant assisting the effort to ensure a supply of pure water under public ownership at the lowest possible cost, preventing brush and forest fires on the mountain, working toward the creation of a wilderness park, establishing a game refuge embracing both private and public lands, building roads to make the area's scenic attractions accessible, and introducing septic tanks (a recent innovation) so as to avoid running sewer lines through long stretches of empty territory and discharging sewage into the Bay. He

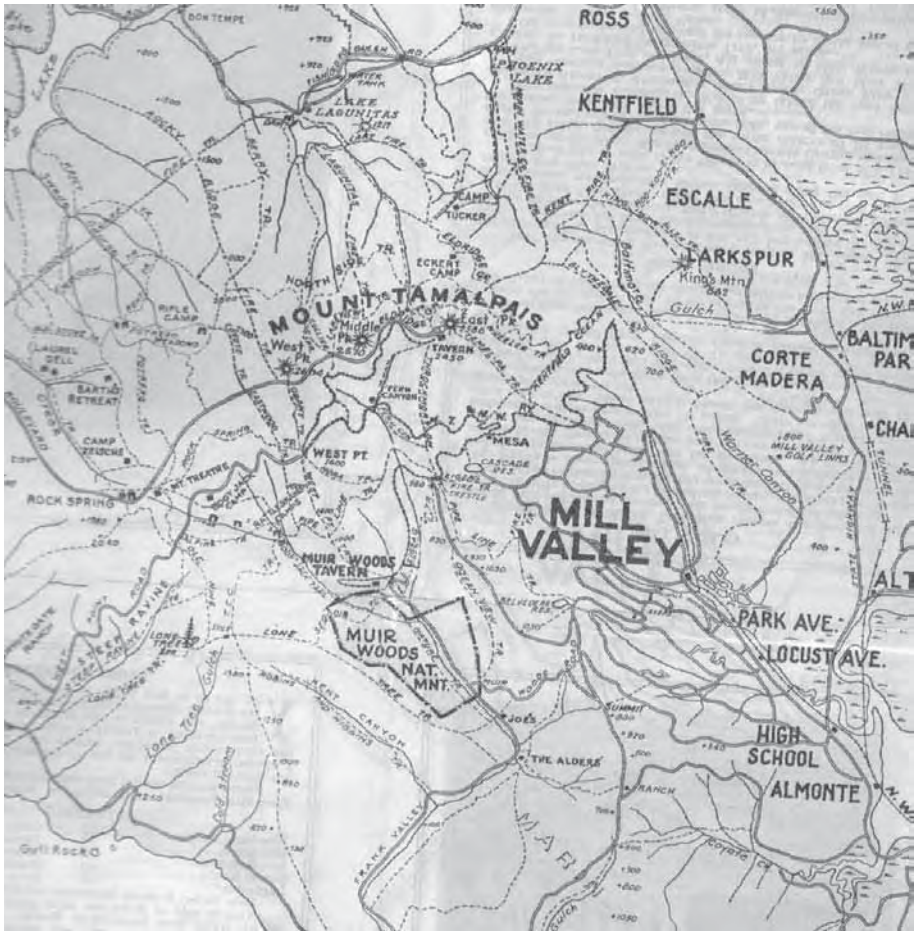
saw these efforts as part of an integrated plan embracing multiple uses that were compatible with each other. Noting that the recently completed waterworks near Boston and New York created park-like spaces for recreational use that did not interfere with the water supply, he argued that trails on Mount Tamalpais could be designed so as to do no injury to the purity of the water.[164]

Muir Woods was just one piece, a catalyst Kent hoped, of a comprehensive scheme for meeting the recreation, water, sewer, and transportation needs of southern Marin County. In 1901, under Kent's leadership, citizens from the Ross Valley District established the Mount Tamalpais Forestry Association whose mission was to protect the mountain and to seek the creation of a public park.[165] While serving as president of the Association in 1903 and 1904 he organized a brigade to fight forest fires on Mount Tamalpais. In a letter to the Marin County *Tocsin*, he asked his fellow citizens to support the work of the Association financially and to urge county officials to build firebreaks and, eventually, establish a fire department to respond to the repeated outbreaks of fire on the mountain.[166] On September 12, 1903, he chaired a meeting in Ross Valley at the Lagunitas Club organized by the Tamalpais Forestry Association attended by Gifford Pinchot, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, Chief of the U.S. Biological Survey and a leading wildlife researcher, and David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University (which owned land on Mt. Tamalpais), among others, to discuss the creation of a 25,000 acre national park of which Redwood Canyon would form one part. "Professor Pinchot declared that no other city in the world has such a chance for its future," reported the San Francisco *Chronicle*, "that Zurich in Switzerland has a rural forest park for a public pleasure ground, and from it reaps an income of $8 an acre by scientific forestry; that Vienna and Paris also have similar nearby forest reserves, but that none of them compare with the wonderful attraction of towering and commanding and diversified Tamalpais. He said the United States will not buy land, and the State can not; but that if the people will buy it he is quite sure the Government will preserve and guard its natural beauties and cherish the water supply for public uses."[167]

In his remarks at the meeting, Kent said, "This mountain between the great ocean and the fruitful valleys is the most genial and varied and beautiful bit of the world's surface of which we can learn." No place existed "where heedless exploitation would work more loss, " especially since it lay so close to what was destined to become one of the great population centers of the world. Kent argued that the land should be under the control of the federal government for several reasons. First, it would be a forest park and Pinchot was creating a national Bureau of Forestry. The Tamalpais park would be an ideal place to train the foresters needed by the bureau in tree culture and water conservation (Kent apparently envisioned that the park would be under the auspices of Pinchot's Forestry Bureau in the

Department of Agriculture rather than under the Department of the Interior). Second, making it a national park would remove it from local politics and make it less likely that anyone would be granted special privileges. Finally, the army would provide a police force to protect the park. Noting that the Marin Water Company and the Tamalpais Water Company owned some of the land to be acquired for the proposed park, Kent saw no conflict between the park and the needs of the companies since by preventing fires, pollution, and other destructive events the government would be conserving the water supply and maintaining its purity. The establishment of the park, Kent predicted, would make Marin County "the show place of the state. Every inch of property will be enhanced in value. With her water supply and her great outdoors guarded from fire, with the trees growing instead of being cut and burned, with happy well-behaved people going where they have a right to go, and where they naturally want to go, the day of the trespasser, the firebug, and the hoodlum will pass away." He argued that the subdivision of Mt. Tamalpais would be a disaster for Marin County, while "A broad, comprehensive park scheme will be of incalculable financial benefit."[168] The group prepared a proposal and formed the Tamalpais National Park Association to seek to implement it. Although they did not obtain their specific objective, Kent and others persisted and eventually achieved the essence of what they set out to do.

Figure 7.17: Map of the Mount Tamalpais region, detail of "Hiking Map of Marin County" (Northwest Pacific Railroad, 1925). The map does not indicate the water district established a decade earlier. Courtesy Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, Anne T. Kent California Room.



Once Muir Woods National Monument was established, Kent immediately tried to build on the good will and influence he had created through his gift by campaigning for the Mt. Tamalpais park plan. On January 17, 1908 he pitched the idea to John Muir: "Muir Woods is a jewel in a lovely setting. My next hope is to preserve the setting. I am working on a plan for an immense game preserve and hope ultimately to see the Tamalpais region a great park and publicly owned water supply." He asked Muir to write a letter expressing his opinion of the significance of Muir Woods and suggesting that neighboring landowners join in a commitment to preserve timber and "save the whole

landscape."[169] Muir replied, "Of course I'm with you in your all embracing Mt. Tamalpais park plan," but no letter of endorsement was apparently forthcoming.[170] When he wrote to Muir on February 10, 1908 to invite him to attend the reception in Kent's honor in San Rafael, he noted "It will be a splendid opportunity for us to say a few words that may help on the general cause of nature preservation and, incidentally, the larger park scheme."[171] He also wrote on February 10 to L.A. McAllister in San Francisco, "There seems to be a great revival in our time for creating a park on Mount Tamalpais. Whether it will assume the phase we thought of, a national park, or whether it may not be better attacked in another way, is for us to get together and determine." He invited McAllister to come to Kentfield to meet John Muir and attend the celebration on February 22nd in San Rafael where the idea for the park would be discussed.[172] Although Muir wasn't able to attend, the park plan was presumably discussed at this event.

On February 19, Kent wrote optimistically to Pinchot: "The start we have made will probably bring the bigger park on the mountain. The plan is to try to purchase the land leaving the rights in present hands. Eventually the community will condemn and purchase the water and the whole job will be done. I am full of feasible plans for getting the mountain saved and used, and have to stand advertising and flattery for the cause." What he had in mind was to print the correspondence between himself and President Roosevelt in *Collier's* magazine in order to generate support for his larger project: "The President's last letter to me was a wonder. It came straight out of the wisdom of a man and the enthusiasm of a clean hearted boy. I hope the President will not resent my letting Colliers [sic] use it and I asked them to get his consent."[173]

In response to the Sierra Club's resolution expressing appreciation for his gift of Muir Woods, Kent strongly urged them to get behind the plan for a large park on Tamalpais, which now seemed more achievable than when it had first been proposed. And in response to the resolution passed by the Trustees of the Town of Sausalito, he called for the incorporation of a district in Southern Marin that would assume control of water rights and the land needed for a Mount Tamalpais park. He wanted a comprehensive plan for meeting the multiple needs of a growing population: "The present incoherent system of sanitation, water and highways and the total neglect of protection of the water shed from fire, by the public authorities, is simply butchering the most beautiful and the most hospitable territory in the whole world."[174] Although it took many more years to realize the park plan, Kent led successful campaigns to accomplish significant interim steps toward the ultimate goal.

In July 1909 Kent once more tried to further the park plan by proposing that he contribute 4,000 acres of land on Mount Tamalpais if other landowners would

also donate land to the park. But some landowners opposed the idea, as well as Kent's proposal for the creation of a municipal water district to serve southern Marin County.

In 1912, as a result of William Kent's leadership and generosity, Marin County created the Marin County Municipal Water District. The creation of the Water District expressed Kent's passionate belief that the responsibility for supplying people's basic needs, such as water, electricity, and transportation, should be in the hands of public bodies, not private corporations. Kent's personal secretary, Jonathan E. Webb, drafted the state law that made the formation of the Water District possible. The bill, passed by the California legislature in 1911 with the help of Kent's influence,[175] authorized the establishment of municipal boards with the power to employ engineers, plan watershed areas, acquire private land and private water utilities already operating within the area, build reservoirs, and install and manage systems for delivering water to homes and businesses. The bill called for an initiative petition to get the issue of creating a water district on the ballot and then a vote. The citizens of Marin County voted five and a half to one to establish a water district of 125 square miles and the Marin Municipal Water District acquired its charter on April 25, 1912. Kent joined its first board of directors. M. M. O'Shaughnessy, the chief engineer for the Water District who later designed the Hetch Hetchy dam and reservoir, designed a reservoir system to bring water by gravity to the residents of Marin County. Although some residents feared that the temporary increase in the population of Marin County because of the San Francisco earthquake would not be followed by growth as rapid as Kent and others predicted, the citizens still voted three and a half to one in favor of the bond issue needed for the purchase of the private utility companies. As an inducement to others to support the project, Kent donated the stock he owned in the Marin County Water Company, one of the private utility companies, and some of the land he owned on Mount Tamalpais to the project and the county bought the other property it needed to create the watershed. In the fall of 1916 the Marin Municipal Water District started to supply water to the county and the lands incorporated into it began to function as a public park. By 1928, when Kent died, 10,000 acres of the Tamalpais watershed were publicly owned and, as Kent had promised, the project supported itself. [176]

Despite the success of the campaign to create the water district, opposition from private landowners, developers, and hunting clubs to the establishment of a public park persisted. In February 1912, to try to overcome this resistance, 135 citizens who belonged to Bay Area hiking clubs formed the Tamalpais Conservation Club. Kent hosted the initial meeting of the organization at Kentfield and played an important role in the club's activities. It set as its goal "the conservation of things animate and inanimate in Marin County, California, and particularly the preserva-

tion of the scenic beauties and fauna of Mt. Tamalpais and its spurs and slopes, and its ultimate acquisition as a public park." Members of the club helped police the area for trash and improve its trails, as well as work for the establishment of a park. Thwarted in their efforts to create a park, they supported a bill before the State legislature to establish a Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge that would encompass Mount Tamalpais, Bolinas Ridge, and the land extending south to Tennessee Valley. The bill finally passed on July 27, 1917, thus banning hunting game and birds within the borders of the refuge and marking another step in the achievement of Kent's vision.[177]

As soon as the Water District was formed, Kent noted that it "at once answers the need of establishing public land ownership with possibilities of a park." He urged that the Water District acquire lands high up on the mountain not directly connected to the need for water in order to protect the forests and to make the area accessible to the public for recreational purposes. Kent himself continued to offer to contribute land for the purpose of creating the park, and he opened up his own land to the public by building trails through it. He urged other landowners to make contributions, as well. In 1915 he wrote to N.L. Fitzhenry who owned property in Bolinas, saying he wished to talk with him soon about "the possibility of obtaining a strip of land along the ridge at the upper part of the ranch, to be thrown into the water District as a portion of the Public Park. This Park will be of greatest value to your section of the County as it will furnish a back gate through which many people will be glad to avail themselves of the ocean and you could well afford to contribute a few acres on the ocean side of the top of Bolinas Ridge to the end of access always being afforded to the people who will enjoy the views thence to be obtained." As an inducement, he mentioned his own plans for donating additional land to the Muir Woods Monument and, through the donation of additional parcels, for connecting Muir Woods to Water District land and extending the park to the border of Fitzhenry's property. He also assured Fitzhenry of his commitment to the economic development of the area. Once the park and Water District were securely established, he promised, he would work hard for the development of transportation, roads, and water, including the construction of an ocean pier capable of managing heavy freight inexpensively.[178] The Tamalpais Conservation Club and the Tamalpais Fire Association, in both of which he was active, also built trails through the Mount Tamalpais area.[179]

Kent continued to see the region as an integrated whole. In 1922, when John T. Needham was about to take over as Custodian of Muir Woods National Monument, Kent wrote to Arno Cammerer, Acting Director of the National Park Service, "He must appreciate the essential unity of the Woods, the Water District, and the Railroad, and other private lands that at present constitute the larger park."[180] The park idea finally came to fruition in the late 1920s after plans to build a new

road from Mill Valley to Stinson Beach threatened to destroy one of the most popular hiking trails in the area and replace Bootjack and Rattlesnake Camps on the Newlands-Magee tract with a subdivision. In response, Marvelous Marin, Inc., a private promotion agency, came out strongly in favor of the Tamalpais Park plan, proposing an alternative route for the road that helped secure a compromise. Now backed by Marvelous Marin, Inc., the long campaign waged by the Tamalpais Conservation Club finally achieved its goal with the passage on January 20, 1927 of an enabling act creating a Tamalpais state park commission. The act preserved the 550-acre Newlands-Magee tract as part of the park, but did not furnish any funds to purchase it. After the Tamalpais Conservation Club, Sierra Club, and other civic organizations raised private funds, the state also contributed to the purchase of the land. In addition, Kent himself donated Steep Ravine to the park just before his death in 1928. With the creation of the state park, which opened to the public in 1930, Kent's goals for the region were largely achieved. More recently his vision found additional fulfillment in the creation of the Marin County Open Space District (1972), which increased the total preserved area to 40 square miles.[181]

Kent saw his mission as one of protecting and enhancing the common wealth, not setting aside a preserve for the few, but making the common resources of the nation, in this case of his region, available for the enjoyment and use of everyone. His philosophy was closer to the social vision of Frederick Law Olmsted, who believed that parks should serve the needs of a democratic people, than to the religious vision of Muir, who believed that wilderness should be preserved as sacred space to serve the spiritual needs of humanity.[182] Kent felt that the goal of American democracy should be to create more and more opportunities for everyone by eliminating or regulating private monopolies and removing privileges reserved only for a few.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AND PARK DEVELOPMENT

The national monuments, which had been neglected by the National Park Service during the 1910s and 20s, achieved equal status with the national parks during the 1930s. Executive Order 6166 transferred responsibility for the national monuments administered by the United States Forest Service in the Agriculture Department and by the War Department to the National Park Service, thus concentrating all the monuments within a single agency and giving them greater prominence. At the same time, generous amounts of federal money became available to the national parks and monuments for the first time making it possible to plan and implement comprehensive programs for their protection and development for recreational use. Muir Woods was among the beneficiaries.[183]

In October 1933, just five months after the passage of the "act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public works and for other

purposes," which established the Civilian Conservation Corps,[184] a contingent of 10 CCC men arrived at Muir Woods to set up a camp in the adjoining state park. This camp (NM-3) was sponsored by Muir Woods National Monument and set up close to its border. One hundred and twenty-six men, mostly from New York, joined the initial contingent in November.[185] Local workers carried out most of the construction work on the CCC camp barracks, mess hall, and other buildings under the Civil Works Administration (CWA) program. In April 1934, the young New Yorkers composing the first CCC group departed for Idaho and a CCC group made up mainly of veterans between the ages of 35 and 64, some skilled in various trades, replaced them.[186] Mt. Tamalpais State Park sponsored the new camp (SP-23), which was built on the site of what is now known as Camp Alice Eastwood.

Figure 7.18: The CCC group of veterans upon their arrival at the Muir Woods Camp, April 1934. SP-34 montly report, April 1934. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 35, Records of the CCC, Division of Investigations, California, box 10.

The CCC men improved trails and worked on conservation projects as part of the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) program. The CWA activities lasted only until April 26, 1934, but the CCC-ECW program operated until 1941. Between 1934 and 1936, after the CWA program came to an end, the Public Works Administration (PWA) carried out some projects in Muir Woods. The CWA and PWA projects involved only about 30 men, but the CCC employed an average of around 200 men on the ECW projects.[187]

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) had the virtue of putting large numbers of mostly young, unemployed men to work, while, at the same time, fulfilling the nation's unmet needs for conservation and the development of recreational facilities in state and national parks and forests. The CCC was the brainchild of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a tree farmer himself, whose knowledge and enthusiasm for forestry and need to find ways to combat unemployment during the early years of the Great Depression had inspired him to initiate a similar program at the state level when he was governor of New York. The CCC provided the manpower needed to carry out projects that would never have been practical otherwise and to help fulfill William Kent's vision of Muir Woods and of Mount Tamalpais State Park as public recreation areas. Local governments and hiking and conservation groups strongly approved of the CCC's activities. The Tamalpais Conservation Club appointed a committee to help identify priorities and drew up a list of trails and other projects that needed attention.[188] A report on "Muir Woods Camp, N.M. 3," written in late 1933 or early 1934 expressed the TCC's enthusiasm for the work undertaken by the CCC:

All work in the Tamalpais Area is under the direction of competent engineers, acting with a careful regard to scenic and natural features. The T.C.C. is indeed fortunate to usher in the New Year with the thought of these worthy accomplishments. They are likewise fortunate to have the sympathetic understanding and able direction in this work of Mr. Herschler [the custodian of Muir Woods], a true nature lover, with reverent appreciation of nature's gifts.[189]

The CCC conducted most of its work on state park or Marin Municipal Water District land. Some of it included cutting fire trails forty feet wide, partly to protect Muir Woods against fires originating elsewhere in the Mt. Tamalpais area.[190] In Muir Woods itself the CCC rebuilt trails and constructed log benches and foot bridges, a new entrance gate and sign, and graded roads, created firebreaks, replanted ferns and other native plants that had been destroyed by hikers and picnickers, laid water, power, and telephone lines, expanded the parking lot, and cleaned up the site of the Muir Inn, which had closed after the railroad abandoned operations following the Great Mill Valley Fire of 1929. The CWA and PWA constructed a stone and concrete bridge over Fern Creek, built toilets and an equipment shed, and worked on a stream revetment project, some of these projects later being finished by the CCC.[191] For several years the CCC also assisted the NPS staff by providing guides.

The CCC and CWA/PWA completed most of their work in Muir Woods by 1936. In his monthly report for August 1934, Muir Woods National Monument Custodian J. Barton Herschler called the period October 1, 1933 to June 30, 1934, "the greatest period of development ever experienced in Muir Woods. The improvement program began with ECW, was augmented by CWA, and then later enlarged by PWA. The regular monument duties in combination with those brought on by the new activities piled up a mass of detail that at times seemed unsurmountable (*sic*), but the results achieved during the period have been so outstanding and the monument has benefited so greatly by the work done that the long hours put in on the job have been more than compensated for."[192] The New Deal programs finally overcame the lack of manpower and resources that had hampered the management of the park during Kent's lifetime and in the years immediately following. The caliber of the work performed by the CCC was high and the major structures, such as the bridge over Fern Creek, remain in use. Arthur H. Blake, reporting in *California Out-of-Doors* in 1934, wrote: "The quality of the work performed is causing much favorable comment by all who see it...The rock work on the Bootjack, Steep Ravine and Cataract Gulch trails is noteworthy."[193]

Some of the CWA/CCC activities in Muir Woods reflected theories of conservation popular at the time. The stream revetment project, begun in 1933 by the CWA and finished by the CCC, strove to channel Redwood Creek by installing riprap

and check dams at key points. The goal was to prevent the creek from wandering and undermining the roots of some of the redwoods and it reflected the New Deal conservationists' concern with erosion—their major obsession.[194] Even at the time, however, experts questioned the wisdom of the project: "The justification for these projects is rather sketchy," Earl Trager, Chief of the Naturalist Division of the National Park Service, wrote in 1935 about the building of riprap dams on Redwood Creek. "Such projects which interfere with the natural courses of stream action are not considered advisable unless erosion will damage buildings, roads, or other scientific features within the area."[195] With the birth of the environmental movement in the 1960s, some of the New Deal conservation practices, such as stream channelization and wetland drainage came under attack, as did the Soil Conservation Service—the New Deal agency set up to implement these policies.[196]

Beginning soon after the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916, two opposed attitudes developed within the preservation movement toward the national parks and monuments. These attitudes became more sharply defined during the 1920s as the Park Service formed and began implementing its policies and in the 1930s as the New Deal provided unprecedented funding for developing the parks and monuments. The "purists," including John Merriam, Newton Drury, and other leaders of the Save-the-Redwoods League and the Sierra Club, argued for restricting recreational activities, such as fishing, skiing, and automobile tourism, and providing limited facilities to accommodate the public. In their view, even museums might get in the way of a direct experience of natural phenomena. They believed that the parks should be devoted to educational, scientific, and spiritual activities and wanted visitors to enter into a closer personal relationship with nature. The "boosters," on the other hand, including Stephen Mather and Horace Albright of the National Park Service and their supporters, wished to promote visitation to the parks by building roads and providing accommodations for visitors. Although Kent sought assistance from the National Park Service in excluding automobiles from Muir Woods, in restricting games and other activities that destroyed ferns and other vegetation on the forest floor, and in policing the monument, he shared the enthusiasm of his friends Mather and Albright for promoting visitation and making visitors comfortable.

Members of the Save-the-Redwoods league and many other progressives opposed the New Deal. They believed that the CCC would damage the parks because it employed men untrained in protecting wilderness areas. They distrusted federal government control and feared that the growth of federal bureaucracy under the New Deal would weaken the influence of individual reformers like themselves and the groups they belonged to. [197] Kent, on the other hand, who was more radical than many of his progressive allies, might have been more welcoming to the New Deal. He almost certainly would have applauded the work of the CCC in Muir Woods.

CCC manpower and resources made it possible to carry out many of the improvements that Kent had long advocated, including the stream revetment project that he had urged in the late 1920s for which no government funds had been available at the time. The funds and labor devoted to the development of national parks and monuments in the 1930s favored the view of the boosters and fulfilled William Kent's vision of Muir Woods as a tourist destination: accessible, well-equipped, and well-cared-for. The condition of Muir Woods improved considerably during the New Deal period. On May 3-4, 1934, Professor Emanuel Fritz of the University of California visited Muir Woods as part of his statewide survey of redwoods and reported that the vegetation on the forest floor was in far better condition than it had been on his previous visit in the mid-1920s.[198]

MUIR WOODS AS SACRED GROVE AND MEMORIAL FOREST

> *Sometimes in cathedrals one feels the awe and majesty of columns. These columns were more impressive than anything of stone; these columns were alive. They were more like gods than anything I have ever seen.*
> John Masefield. Written after visiting Muir Woods, January 1937.[199]

Because of the magnificent size, beauty, and venerable age of its redwoods; the mixture of tanoak, Douglas fir, red alder, California bay laurel, and madrone that grows among them; the abundance of ferns and other plants that thrive on the forest floor; the shafts of light filtering down from a great height, sometimes through mist; and the microclimate the trees help create that is ten degrees cooler than elsewhere in the vicinity, many have perceived Muir Woods as a sacred grove. As such, it has served as the venue for dedication ceremonies, memorial services, picnics, and other special gatherings. These have included the Bohemian Club's "High Jinks," gatherings of Congressmen and labor leaders, ceremonies honoring Ralph Waldo Emerson, Gifford Pinchot, William Kent, and Dag Hammarsjkold, and, most significant of all, a memorial service for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. These events have enriched the connections between Muir Woods and the history of the conservation movement, enhanced its reputation as a place to find spiritual inspiration, and associated it with the human quest for a peaceful world.

PICNICS AND OTHER GATHERINGS

On September 3, 1892, the Bohemian Club held its annual summer encampment and "High Jinks" in the section of the forest since named Bohemian Grove.[200] The club erected a full-scale lath and plaster replica of the forty-three foot high Daibutsu (Great Buddha) of Kamakura, Japan at whose feet they performed their main ceremony, "the Cremation of Care." Remains of the Buddha reportedly persisted in the grove up to the time when Kent gave Redwood Canyon to the gov-

Figure 7.19: American Federation of Labor picnic at Muir Woods, October 6, 1934. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, box 25, Muir Woods Collection.

ernment. The Bohemians planned initially to purchase the grove as their campground, but, according to Henry Perry, the club's historiographer, some members objected that the "all-too prevalent fog made the nights cold enough to freeze the male evidence off a brass monkey" and refused to endorse the idea. After 1892, the club moved the event to the Russian River and acquired a site there in 1901 where the "High Jinks" tradition still thrives.[201]

A number of very large picnic gatherings occurred in Muir Woods over the years. On May 28, 1915, Kent organized a barbecue for Congressmen visiting the Panama Pacific International Exposition. A series of speakers stood on a redwood stump to address the gathering. One of these was "Uncle Joe" Cannon, a "standpat" Republican from Illinois who as Speaker of the House in the years before Kent entered Congress had controlled that body with an iron grip. He was now 79 and, inspired by the antiquity of the redwoods, spoke of the extraordinary changes that had taken place during his lifetime (when he was born Andrew Jackson was still president). He began each section of his speech with: "I am old enough to remember..."[202] Other large gatherings included a luncheon on October 6, 1934 at which over 500 delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco from around the nation and some from abroad ate at tables in the picnic area underneath the redwoods.[203]

EMERSON

Beginning even before the Kents bought the property, a number of men associated with the love of nature, conservation and efforts to bring about peace have been honored by the erection of plaques and the dedication of trees in Muir Woods. On May 25, 1903, a group of admirers, including the writer, Jack London, and the California poet, Robert Sterling, dedicated a brass plaque affixed to one of the most beautiful redwoods in the forest to commemorate the 100th birthday of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The plaque reads: "1803—Emerson—1903."[204] An article in the Marin County paper, *Tocsin*, described the hour-long ceremony:

> *After reading a letter from Emerson's son, Mr. Edward Emerson, written he stated, with a pen which his father had used, the chairman [Bailey Millard] introduced those who had been invited to participate in the exercises which commenced at 2:30 and ended at 3:30 p.m. Dean Emery of the Episcopal Church read Emerson's poem, 'The Apology.' Mr. Herbert Bashfield, editor of 'The Literary West,' gave*

a well prepared address on Emerson as a poet. Miss Gradys Millard recited in a pleasing manner Emerson's nature poem, 'Each and All.' Mr. Austin Lears [Lewis] presented the popular side of Emerson's life, emphasizing the universality of his sentiments. Mr. Edward R. Taylor, dean of Hastings Law College, made a scolarly [sic] *on Emerson as an idealist. Mr. Morrison Pixley gave in a forcible style the practical side of Emerson's writings and speeches. Rev. G.B. Allen presented the religious development of Emerson, who, he said, became more and more like Jesus in mind and heart, loving all men, irrespective of creed or ecclesiastical proclivities. Thus ended a day of inspiration to those who had made the pilgrimage to nature's shrine in the beautiful temple which was growing into form when Jesus taught by the seaside, on the mountain and by the wayside, and just such a place as the poet, the philosopher and the preacher whose life was commemorated today would have selected to hold sweet communion with man and God.*[205]

They covered a lot of territory in an hour! This was quite probably the most literary and philosophical event ever held in Muir Woods. Bailey Millard, writing an account of the event in 1937, remembered that the speakers were himself, Lewis, Taylor, and the California poet George Sterling and that a message had also been received from Emerson's friend, John Muir.[206] The Emerson plaque was the first of five commemorative plaques erected in the forest.[207]

PINCHOT

On May Day, 1910 three hundred members of the Sierra Club trekked into Muir Woods to dedicate a plaque and a redwood in honor of Gifford Pinchot. This might seem surprising given the opposition of most of the members of the Sierra Club to the proposed damming of Hetch Hetchy, a project Pinchot championed, and, in fact, the relationships among those directly or indirectly involved in this symbolic act were complicated. Pinchot, who was an honorary vice-president of the Sierra Club, despite his differences with John Muir, its president, had just been fired by President Taft as Chief Forester of the United States because of his conflict with Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger over Ballinger's allegedly helping several companies acquire more Alaska coal land than they were legally entitled to.[208] Those who proposed naming the tree after Pinchot apparently wanted to show their support for him, but they may also have hoped to embarrass Ballinger if he refused to grant permission to name the tree after Pinchot. On April 14, 1910, at the request of "certain members of the SIERRA CLUB interested in local walks," William Colby, the club's secretary, wrote a brief official letter to Ballinger asking for his permission, as head of the department responsible for Muir Woods, to name the tree after Pinchot. He enclosed with the official request, a longer letter which reveals that Muir had not been consulted about the proposal and indicating that Colby would prefer that Ballinger refuse the request, except for the fact that it could play into the hands of those who might wish to embarrass him:

There is a comparatively unimportant matter which has arisen in our Club, that I have intended writing you about for some time, but wished to confer with Mr. Muir, President of the Club, first. Mr. Muir has been in the South for some time however, and I have not been able to see him.

A comparatively small element in the Club which is interested in taking local walks about the bay, has conceived the idea of naming a redwood tree in Muir Woods after Mr. Pinchot. This is not a Club matter by any means, but there are some prominent members of the Club who are behind the movement. They have requested me to write to you for permission to name this tree. Since the Muir Woods, through gift of Mr. Wm. Kent, has been made a national monument, and is therefore under your control, I presume that there are those back of this movement who would like to make capital out of a refusal on your part, and I am unwilling to lend myself to any such action in view of the many slanderous statements which are being circulated nowadays. Neither Mr. Muir nor myself are very much in sympathy with Mr. Pinchot, since he has opposed us so bitterly on the Hetch-Hetchy question, while we of course appreciate that he has done a great deal of good, and I am sure that we all feel that we don't want a trivial matter like this to be made use of by the enemy. With this explanation I leave the matter to your good judgment. Perhaps the most satisfactory solution would be a brief reply to the effect that you see "no objection to naming any trees in Muir Woods in accordance with the wishes of our Local Walks Committee, or any responsible body of citizens, provided the consent of Mr. Wm. Kent, the donor of the Woods, is first obtained.[209]

On April 19, Ballinger replied to Colby, saying he "saw no reason whatever for denying this application," but also noting that it was "contrary to the rule that has been adopted in the Yosemite National Park, as it has been deemed inadvisable that trees should be named after living persons, with the exception of the tree named for ex-President Roosevelt."[210] Meanwhile, on April 18, Ernest Mott, Chairman of the Sierra Club's Committee on Local Walks, probably aware of Colby's lack of enthusiasm for the project, also wrote to Ballinger requesting permission to place a bronze plaque with Pinchot's name on it on the redwood tree in Muir Woods that they wished to name after Pinchot on May 1st. Mott explained that Pinchot had been instrumental in helping Kent take the necessary steps to have his gift of Muir Woods accepted by the government. Ballinger also assented to this request.[211]

In instructing Andrew Lind, the Muir Woods custodian, to allow the Sierra Club to select a tree and place Pinchot's name on it, the commissioner of the General Land Office wrote: "The only condition prescribed herein is that the attaching or posting up of this name shall in no manner cause damage to the tree." [212] Lind replied: "Inasmuch as 'Gifford Pinchot' contains the same number of letters as

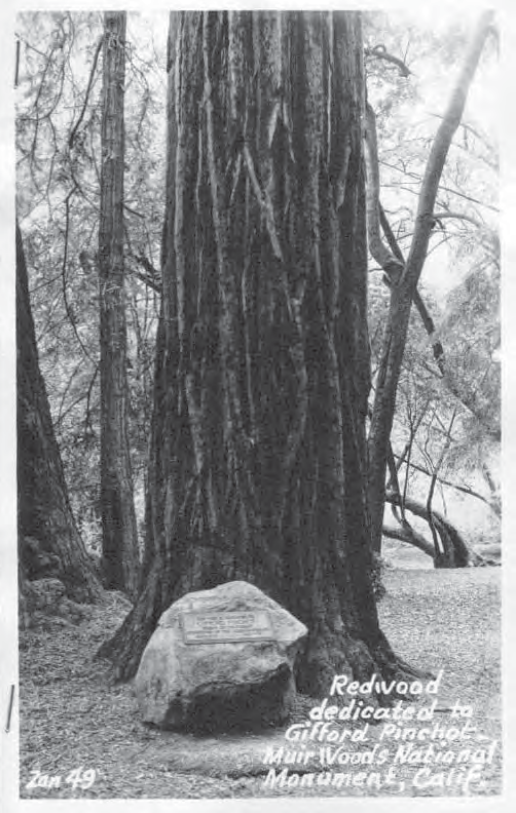


Figure 7.20: A postcard (c.1940) of the Pinchot memorial dedicated in 1910. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Muir Woods, box 2294.

'Eat Lunches Here' it is not expected that the attaching to the tree selected of a sign bearing such name would cause greater injury than has heretofore been done by posting upon a number of trees the above quoted directions to visitors."[213] Whether Lind meant any disrespect to Pinchot in pointing this out or was directing a barb against what he regarded as the lunacy of the commissioner's concern or had no humorous intent at all is not clear.

To make the matter still more intriguing, Pinchot's close friend, William Kent, hosted the dedication of the tree, supplied the picnic and figured prominently among the speakers. It is likely that Kent was one of the "prominent members of the Club" who were behind the proposal to name the tree for Pinchot; he was certainly consulted. "The Sierra Club are going to dedicate the best redwood tree in Muir Woods to you," Kent wrote to Pinchot on April 28, 1910, "and have received from Mr. Ballinger telegraphic communication permitting them to place a tablet provided 'it does not injure the tree.' I would be afraid of damage if his name were to be substituted. The Sierra Club wished my consent which I suppose I might have given as one of the custodians but seeing the humor of the situation I preferred that they should go to headquarters." A further letter on May 24, indicates that Kent took an active part in the scheme, "The Sierra Club is now figuring on setting a tablet into the top of a water-worn boulder anchored to a covered up concrete foundation to put near the tree named after you. This will not resemble a tombstone or a placard on the tree. We have gotten the sentiment boiled down to a point where it will not offend good taste, which is as follows: 'To Honor Gifford Pinchot, Friend of the Forest, Conserver of the Common Wealth, This Tree is Dedicated, May 1st, 1910, By the Sierra Club.'"[214] Pinchot wrote to him on June 8, 1910: "I can not tell you how much I was touched by what you fellows have done about naming that tree for me. Now comes this additional proposal of yours to put a tablet in the top of a boulder near the tree with such an exceedingly fine inscription. The whole thing is finer than almost anything else that has ever happened to me, and I can tell you it is deeply appreciated."[215] If Kent had given the forest to the government after he and Pinchot became allies in the Hetch Hetchy affair, he might well have asked that it be named "Pinchot Woods" after the man whose views, more than Muir's, he so closely shared.

KENT

On May 5, 1929, about a year after William Kent's death, members of the Sierra, Alpine, and Tamalpais Conservation clubs; government officials; family and friends gathered to dedicate a large boulder in Kent's honor. The boulder had been rolled down the mountain by volunteers from the Tamalpais Conservation

Club and placed under an enormous Douglas fir that Kent particularly cherished. Contributions from hikers of ten to twenty-five cents apiece financed the bronze plaque. At the dedication, leaders of the Conservation Club and Horace Albright, now Director of the National Park Service, told stories about Kent's efforts as a conservationist. The Kent Douglas fir fell in 2003. The tree has been left in place where it fell and the boulder repositioned.[216]

UNCIO MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR FDR, 1945

The most significant ceremonial event in the history of Muir Woods occurred on May 19, 1945, when 500 delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) in San Francisco, who were drafting and about to adopt the United Nations Charter, held a memorial service in Cathedral Grove for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. FDR had died on April 12 only two weeks before he planned to open the conference.

As World War II drew to a close, the Save-the-Redwoods League saw an opportunity to play a role in the coming of peace and, at the same time, promote the cause of preserving the redwoods. First, with the support of the Garden Club of America, the League proposed setting aside a large stand of redwoods in northern California as a "National Tribute Grove" to symbolize "the eternal gratitude of a nation eternally expressed" to the men and women who served in the armed services during the war. Aubrey Drury, Secretary of the Save-the-Redwoods League, asked Undersecretary of State Joseph Grew, who had been a member of the League for forty years, to be chairman of the national committee to raise funds for the memorial and on December 27, 1944, Secretary of State Edward Stettinius wrote to FDR asking for permission for Grew to serve in that capacity. On January 2, 1945, FDR gave his approval, but said in order to promote the idea the organizers of the campaign should be sure to involve "some long-time conservationists," particularly Gifford Pinchot, "who is undoubtedly our No. 1 conservationist."[217]

The Save-the-Redwoods League then proposed that a session of the UNCIO conference be held in a redwood grove.[218] On February 20, 1945, Newton B. Drury, Director of the National Park Service (as well as former Executive Secretary of the League and brother of Aubrey Drury), passed this idea on to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, proposing Muir Woods as the site. Drawing on suggestions from the Save-the-Redwoods League, he enclosed a letter proposing the idea to President Roosevelt for Ickes to sign.[219] Ickes, in turn, sent the proposal on to FDR on February 27. It read in part:

> *Not only would this focus attention upon this nation's interest in preserving these mighty trees for posterity, but here in such a 'temple of peace' the delegates would gain a perspective and sense of time that could be obtained nowhere in America*

better than in such a forest. Muir Woods is a cathedral, the pillars of which have stood through much of recorded human history. Many of these trees were standing when Magna Carta was written. The outermost of their growth rings are contemporary with World War II and the Atlantic Charter.[220]

In a letter to Ickes on March 12, FDR endorsed the idea and noted that "Joe Grew, who incidentally is Chairman of the nationwide Sponsoring Committee of the National Tribute Grove, has told me that a few days ago Senators and Representatives suggested the possibility of a service being held in the Cathedral Grove at Muir Woods sometime during the Conference. He is going to take this whole question up with Ed Stettinius as soon as the latter returns to Washington and I will ask the Department of State to get in touch with you about this matter after they have given it further consideration."[221] Given what FDR reports, it seems likely that the Save-the-Redwoods League was promoting the idea simultaneously through several channels: through Newton Aubrey in the Department of the Interior, through Joseph Grew at the Department of State, and, possibly through members of Congress.[222]

The idea of holding a session of the UNCIO conference in Muir Woods may have appealed to FDR not only because of his own passion for trees and deep knowledge of forestry, but also because, in the summer of 1944, Gifford Pinchot had enlisted his enthusiastic support for an international conference on conservation.[223] On August 29, Pinchot had sent him a proposal for such a conference in which he argued that "We cannot safely ignore any course that may assist in abolishing war. Therefore I believe that it would be wise for the United Nations, through their appointed delegates, to meet and consider the conservation of natural resources, and fair access to them among the nations, as a vital step toward permanent peace."[224] He suggested that a committee be appointed to prepare for such a conference and to "plan for an inventory of the known natural resources of the world."[225] On October 24, FDR wrote saying that he had written to Secretary of State Cordell Hull about the conference that Pinchot had proposed and "I think something will happen soon."[226] He enclosed a copy of the letter, which read in part:

Many nations have been denuded of trees...and therefore find it extremely difficult to live on eroded lands. Many nations know practically nothing of their mineral resources. Many nations do not use their water resources. Some nations are not interested in development of irrigation. Some nations have done little to explore the scientific use of what they have.

It occurs to me, therefore, that even before the United Nations meet for the comprehensive program which has been proposed, it could do no harm—and it might do much good—for us to hold a meeting in the United States of all of the united and associated nations for what is really the first step toward conservation and

use of natural resources—i.e., a gathering for the purpose of a world-wide study of the whole subject.
The machinery at least could be put into effect to carry it through.[227]

He asked Hull to let him know his thoughts on this proposal. Undersecretary of State Edward Stettinius replied on November 10 with an attachment expressing doubts about the desirability of such a conference at that time. He felt that the subject of conservation could best be handled, in the context of other problems, by the UN Economic and Social Council and the planned Food and Agriculture Organization and, with the war still going on, that other nations would not be ready to address issues of conservation until they were confident about the resumption of production and trade and international cooperation in those areas.[228] Not to be put off on a subject that deeply engaged him, FDR answered that he thought the State Department failed to grasp the need of finding out more about the world's resources and what could be done to improve them. On December 16, pointing out that it would be difficult to gather facts in regions still at war, Stettinius proposed a series of regional conferences beginning with one on North Africa and the Middle East and one on Latin America whose aim would be to gather information on resources and how they might be conserved. Once peace came to Europe and Asia, conferences could be held there too. On January 16, apologizing for being too busy to do so before, FDR sent a copy of Stettinius's proposal on to Pinchot.[229] The day before his fourth inauguration, FDR advised Pinchot that he would raise the idea of the international conservation conference with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta and Pinchot supplied him with a summary of topics to be discussed at such a conference to carry with him.[230]

On March 19, Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson sent to the president a draft of a memorandum to Pinchot that said that while international cooperation in the field of conservation was necessary, there were already other organizations under the UN Economic and Social Council that would be dealing with conservation issues and that it would be best to delay holding a conservation conference until the organizational issues were worked out.[231] FDR sent the memo back to the State Department unsigned and, despite the department's resistance, continued to push Pinchot's original idea of an international conference on conservation. A memorandum for the president dated March 23 reported: "Miss Tully [Grace Tully, the president's secretary] stated that Anna [Anna Boettiger, the president's daughter] had said that the President was not pleased with the memo from the State Dept. and that the President had mentioned that he would like Gov. Pinchot and Mr. Hugh H. Bennett, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, to get together and work out something concrete. After this the President will want to take it up with the State Dept."[232]

On March 28, Pinchot sent the president an outline of the topics of the conference and a plan for how it would be organized.[233] Pinchot envisioned that the conference would draft a set of principles for the conservation of natural resources and another one "for securing fair access to necessary raw materials by all nations" and would consider the establishment of an international organization to promote these principles. On April 10, two days before FDR's death, concerned that the San Francisco conference was about to open and that no plan for a "World Conference on Conservation as a Basis of Permanent Peace" had been agreed upon, Pinchot wrote to Grace Tully asking her to make sure that the rough plan for such a conference that he had left at the White House on March 28 had reached the president.[234] There is no record of whether FDR had an opportunity to review Pinchot's outline before his death on April 12. The State Department, which also received a copy of the outline, did not react favorably. In a memo to Secretary of State Stettinius written shortly after FDR's death, William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, said that Pinchot's outline "confirms our early misgivings" that the proposed conference would overlap with the functions of the Food and Agricultural Organization, the planned World Trade Conference, and other UN activities. He recommended giving Pinchot no encouragement beyond promising that the Executive Committee on Foreign Policy would consider the proposal.[235]

It seems certain, given the persistence with which FDR kept the idea on his agenda despite the pressures of war, ill health, and the opposition of the State Department, that he would have pursued Pinchot's proposal further had he lived, but it seems unlikely that he would have succeeded in gaining the backing of the State Department for the idea and impossible to know whether he would have been willing to overrule them. After the president's death, Pinchot sought Truman's support for the idea, but Truman had none of FDR's keen personal interest in and knowledge of the subject, and nothing came of it immediately. In March 1947, however, the United States submitted a plan to the UN Economic and Social Council that included the proposal for a world conservation conference.[236] And, in 1949, the UN Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources finally convened in Lake Success, New York. It bore little resemblance, however, to the kind of meeting Pinchot and FDR had envisioned. Technical in nature, the conference had no power to draw up agreements or even submit recommendations to UN member states.[237]

After FDR's death, Pedro Leao Velloso, Brazilian foreign minister and chairman of his nation's delegation to the San Francisco conference, suggested that a memorial service for FDR be held in Muir Woods in place of the session originally proposed. Secretary of the Interior Ickes invited the delegates to the United Nations conference to attend the service and the dedication of a model of the bronze

plaque to be placed there in the president's memory.[238] In a confidential memo to the custodian of Muir Woods from Owen A. Tomlinson, the NPS regional director, Tomlinson said the event would be a "tribute to the late President Roosevelt's leadership in conservation"[239] A press release issued by the National Park Service on May 12,[240] noted the appropriateness of the site for such an event:

> *The site in the monument chosen for the meeting is aptly named—Cathedral Grove, it was pointed out. In this quiet grove is the impressiveness of a temple. Massive fluted columns, the trunks of the great coast redwoods, support a ceiling of green, and the sunlight filters in as through a church window. It is a place designed by nature to engender a feeling of peace and reverence, in keeping with the humanitarian ideals responsible for the United Nations Conference.*

The press release also quoted Kent's response to President Theodore Roosevelt's suggestion that the grove be named Kent Monument rather than Muir Woods: "I have five good, husky boys that I am trying to bring up to a knowledge of democracy and to a realizing sense of the rights of the 'other fellow,'" and that he would leave it to them to keep the Kent name alive. The press release commented: "So the monument is a doubly fitting place in which to hold this session of the United Nations Conference—a great natural cathedral and a monument to the ideals of democracy and the rights of the 'other fellow.'" [241]

Speakers at the memorial service, which was held at 5 P.M. on May 19, included: Pedro Leao Velloso; Field Marshall Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and head of its UN delegation; Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State, who headed the American delegation; and Major Owen A. Tomlinson, Director of Region Four of the National Park Service, representing Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior. The speakers paid tribute to FDR's courage in overcoming his physical disability and in confronting the national crisis of the Great Depression and especially to his leadership during the war and his vision for building the peace afterwards. Several of them referred to FDR's interest in conservation. Stettinius noted that FDR's lifelong interest in forestry and the fact that he was buried on his Hyde Park estate near the trees he had planted and the older trees he loved made Muir Woods a particularly fitting place to honor him: "I often heard him talk of the trees he planted and grew at Hyde Park. He rests for all time in hallowed ground surrounded by these and older trees that held for him such cherished memories." Stettinius then spoke of the redwoods of Muir Woods as symbols of the ideals of FDR:

> *These great redwoods at Muir Woods National Monument are the most enduring of all trees. Many of them stood here centuries before Christopher Columbus landed in the New World. They will be here centuries after every man now living*

is dead. They are as timeless and as strong as the ideals and faith of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Stettinius ended by reading the words to be engraved on the plaque:

Here in this grove of enduring redwoods, preserved for posterity, members of the United Nations Conference on International Organization met on May 19, 1945, to honor the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, thirty-first President of the United State, chief architect of the United Nations, and apostle of lasting peace for all mankind.[242]

Smuts, too, paid tribute to FDR's devotion to forestry not only at his home in Hyde Park but throughout the nation. He planted trees, Smuts noted, "not only for beauty but also for use and for the protection against the ruder forces of nature. Here among the great redwoods this great man will find fitting and congenial company. Here henceforth will be the company of the giants."[243]

Figure 7.21: The UNCIO memorial service to FDR in Cathedral Grove, May 19, 1945. National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, RG 79-G, Photographic Collection, box 12.

On May 19, 1995, the Northern California Division of the United Nations Association of the USA, United Nations Environment Programme, National Park Service, Golden Gate National Park Association, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Marin Interfaith Council, and the Save-the-Redwoods League sponsored a Roosevelt Tribute in Muir Woods to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations and of the memorial service held there during the San Francisco conference. During the conference, four pillars on the stage of the San Francisco Opera House represented FDR's Four Freedoms (Freedom of Speech and Expression, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear). The commemoration of the memorial service in Muir Woods formed part of a larger effort during the UN anniversary year to make "the freedom of a safe and clean environment—everywhere in the world" a fifth freedom or pillar of the United Nations.[244] Michael Roosevelt, a Roosevelt grandson, said at the ceremony that if his grandparents were alive today "Worldwide sustainable development would be at the top of the agenda."[245]

HAMMARSKJOLD

Dag Hammarskjold, who served as Secretary-General of the UN form 1953-61 and was a great lover of the outdoors, reinforced the connection established between Muir Woods and the United Nations when he visited it in 1954. He liked

Muir Woods so much that he paid a second visit on June 26, 1955 during the tenth anniversary meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco. In Superintendent Donald J. Erskine's report to the director of the National Park Service on Hammarskjold's visit, he wrote: "The Secretary-General commented that the work of the Park Ranger and Park Naturalist in helping people to better understand and appreciate the wonders of nature was a fine contribution toward better understanding and relationships among the peoples of the world. Persons who love nature, he said, find a common basis for understanding people of other countries, since the love of nature is universal among men of all nations."[246] Following Hammarskjold's tragic death in an airplane crash in September 1961, while on a peacekeeping mission in the Congo, an effort was begun to find and purchase a grove of redwoods to dedicate to his memory. In 1962 the Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Foundation approved the selection of the Pepperwood grove, an important unpreserved stand of redwoods north of Humboldt Redwoods State Park. The Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Grove Committee was formed and fund-raising began. On April 4, 1965, 300 people attended a memorial service in Muir Woods to honor Hammarskjold and to symbolically dedicate the grove. The dedication ceremony was held in Muir Woods so that those attending the Wilderness Conference in San Francisco could participate, because of the previous association of Hammarskjold and the UN with the site, and because plans for the Hammarskjold grove remained incomplete.[247] The Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Grove was officially established as part of Humboldt Redwoods State Park in 1968. Clark M. Eichelberger, vice president of the United Nations Association, who spoke at the dedication ceremony in Muir Woods, said Hammarskjold's greatness "will live in history as the redwoods have." Newton Drury, secretary of the Save-the-Redwoods League, unveiled a redwood plaque which read "In memory of Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden. Secretary-General of the United Nations. A disciple of peace, a great internationalist and humanitarian, a devoted and courageous servant of the United Nations who was killed in the Congo on the 18th day of September, 1961, while serving the United Nations and the cause of peace." [248] The plaque was later moved to the Hammarskjold grove.

The dedication of the Hammarskjold Memorial Redwood Grove in 1965 inspired the *New York Times* to publish an editorial renewing the call for the establishment of a Redwood National Park, and so played a role in the ongoing campaign to preserve the redwoods. The editorial read in part:

> *This event is symbolic of the spirit of peace which pervades the primeval redwood forests that so moved Hammarskjold as a 'soldier of peace' among the peoples of the world. It is also symbolic of the need to save additional areas of outstanding virgin growth while there is still time ahead of the loggers.*

The National Park Service has proposed preservation, in a new national park, of a broad sweep of redwood forest from the Pacific Ocean to the eastern edge of the virgin forest belt, including a number of wild streams never altered by man. In contrast to an unsatisfactory and inadequate proposal of the American Forestry Association, the Park Service plan would preserve new parts of outstanding virgin-growth redwoods which are now privately owned and subject to logging.
Now is the time to look realistically at the final chance to set aside a great Redwood National Park—to protect, while there is still time, an unsurpassed area of primeval redwood country that can be safe from serious flood damage and free of expressways.[249]

Congress finally created Redwood National Park in 1968.[250]

CONCLUSION

The establishment of Muir Woods as one of the first National Monuments reflects the major forces within the American conservation movement during the first decade of the twentieth century: the drive to preserve scenic and wilderness areas, the need of growing urban centers for water resources (especially in the West), and the interest in the development of public recreational facilities. The story of Muir Woods also demonstrates the roles played by tourist promoters, private philanthropists, and an elite group of progressives in and out of government in the conservation movement. Early efforts to preserve scenic places, such as Yosemite, Niagara Falls, Yellowstone, and the Adirondack wilderness provided precedents for setting aside Muir Woods for future generations to enjoy. The emergence of a conservation philosophy (articulated by President Theodore Roosevelt, as well as by other leaders of the movement), the passage of legislation such as the Antiquities Act of 1906, and the appointment of conservationists to key roles in government provided the political and administrative context in which William Kent could successfully act to preserve Muir Woods. In addition, John Muir and Gifford Pinchot, leaders of the two wings of the conservation movement, both provided inspiration and support to Kent in the process by which he transferred Muir Woods to the federal government.

Although the creation of Muir Woods National Monument in 1908 is not as important an event in environmental history as the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley, the fact that a man who soon after emerged as one of the leading Congressional proponents of the Hetch Hetchy project was on the preservation side in the case of Muir Woods makes it of special significance. If visitors or students understand Kent and his motives for preserving Muir Woods, they will understand a great deal about the competing social and moral views, mixed motives, and difficult choices

Figure 7.22: Muir Woods in recent years. James Morley, *Muir Woods: The Ancient Redwood Forest Near San Francisco* (San Francisco: Smith-Morley, 1991), 6.

involved in the conflict within the conservation movement between the preservationist and utilitarian or "best use" schools of thought.

Muir Woods also served as the keystone to Kent's plan for the preservation of the entire Mount Tamalpais area and therefore marked a significant turning point in the history of conservation in the San Francisco Bay Area. To be fully understood, Muir Woods must be seen in this context. The multi-use area eventually created, largely under Kent's leadership, is one of the great examples of regional planning close to a major American city. The public water supply, recreational facilities, scenic areas, and refuge for plants and wildlife that it provides serve both visitors and a large Marin County population. Kent's gift of Muir Woods to the federal government had both a preservationist and a utilitarian conservation legacy: it served as a significant impetus to the campaign to protect groves of redwoods elsewhere and it provided a key element in Kent's "best use" plan for the Tamalpais region. The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps during the New Deal, still visible in the landscape, and improvements made since then have helped fulfill Kent's vision of the area as a public resource for all to enjoy.

One of the reasons that Muir Woods qualified for preservation under the Antiquities Act was its primeval quality. The great age of the redwoods and the way they dominate their environment give them a transcendent quality. And yet this remnant of an ancient natural world that predates the glaciers and the arrival of humans, lies only fifteen miles north of a major metropolis. The proximity of Muir Woods to the world of hurried urban routines has enhanced the sense that it transcends ordinary time and place. The special events held in Muir Woods over the years, especially the memorial service for President Franklin D. Roosevelt in Cathedral Grove, at which speakers often referred to the spiritual qualities of the site, attest to the power of Muir Woods to function as a sacred space.

PART II ENDNOTES

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

FDRL: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.
GGNRA Archives, GOGA: Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives and Records Center, Presidio of San Francisco.
KFP: William Kent Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box and file numbers are divided by a /: Box#/File#.
JMP: *John Muir Papers, 1858-1957*. Microfilm. Chadwyk Healey, 1986. Available in forty repositories, including Harvard University.
JO-MUWO/Y: Documents collected by Jill York O'Bright in the files at the Muir Woods park office.
MWNM: Documents from files in the Muir Woods park office other than JO-MUWO/Y.
MVHS: Mill Valley Historical Society, Mill Valley, California.
NAMW: National Archives II, RG79, PI 166/Entry 7, Box 600, Department of the Interior, Central Classified Files, 1907-32, Muir Woods.
PP: Gifford Pinchot Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

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[1] "A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America," No. 793—Jan. 9, 1908—35 Stat. 2174 [see Appendix B].

[2] F.E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument. Redwood Canyon, Marin County, California," December 26, 1907, 3. NAMW. According to the *Marin Journal*, Olmsted resided in Sausalito (*Marin Journal*, January 9, 1908, KFP, Microfilm Reel 9).

[3] William Kent, "The Story of Muir Woods" in Elizabeth T. Kent, "William Kent, Independent, A Biography," 1950, typescript. KFP, Box 81/243-51, 178.

[4] Susan R. Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods: A History of Environmental Reform, 1917-1978* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 10-11; Big Basin Redwoods State Park, http://www.bigbasin.org/news.html#Centennial (accessed 2/17/2005).

[5] Robert L. Dorman, "A People of Progress: The Marsh-Billings Park and the Origins of Conservation in America 1850-1930," typescript, University of New Mexico, 1997, 71. For Mrs. Lovell White, see note 88.

[6] Anna Coxe Toogood, *A Civil History of Golden Gate Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore California*, Vol. II (Denver: Historic Preservation Branch, Pacific Northwest/Western Team, National Park Service, 1980), 181-82; "The Story of Muir Woods," 178-79.

[7] Hal Rothman writes: "From Kent's perspective, the reservoir was a short-term solution that future generations would regret. But he held a minority view: public opinion was more interested in water than in the preservation of trees. If it came to a court battle, Newland's lawyers intended to present Kent as a European-style 'lord of the manor,' whereas Newlands and the North Coast Water Company offered a public service, albeit at a profit. They could easily seem civic-minded in comparison with the caricature of Kent that might have emerged in court. Under the conditions that existed, Newlands had an excellent chance to win the condemnation suit in state court." Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 62.

[8] Kent to Pinchot, December 3, 1907, KFP, Box 3/46. The letter begins: "I wired you this morning as follows," includes the text of the telegram, and then goes on to elaborate. In what appears to be Kent's handwriting, someone wrote "not sent" at the top of the letter, which is in the Kent Family Papers. Neither a copy of the letter nor the telegram shows up in the Pinchot Papers. Kent may have telephoned rather than sent a telegram and/or Pinchot may have responded to the telegram by telephone since there is no written response in either the Kent or Pinchot papers.

[9] F.E. [Frederick Erskine] Olmsted (1872-1925), who was a relative of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) but not from his immediate family, graduated from Sheffield Scientific School at Yale and joined the U.S. Geological Survey. Gifford Pinchot, whom he met while conducting fieldwork, encouraged him to study forestry. After studying with Sir Dietrich Brandeis in Germany and India in 1899 and 1900, he went to work for Pinchot as an agent in the U.S. Division of Forestry on July 1, 1900. From 1902-05 he surveyed the boundaries of the public lands that became the national forest system. In 1903 he became assistant forester. After the national forest reserves were transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture in 1905 he created a forest inspection system and in 1906 became chief inspector. In 1907 he became chief inspector of the California District. He went to work for a forestry consulting firm in Boston in 1911, then, in 1914 opened his own business in San Francisco. This brought him

once more into association with William Kent, for he developed and became director of the Tamalpais Fire Protective Association. It was among the first watershed protection districts in the nation [Richard H. Stroud, ed., *National Leaders of American Conservation* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 287]. It seems likely that Kent met Olmsted through Pinchot whose friendship with Kent went back at least to 1903.

[10] "The Story of Muir Woods," 180. Kent writes: "Mr. F. E. Olmsted, one of the early disciples of Gifford Pinchot in the Forest Service, brought to my attention the Monument Act, whereby the Government could accept from private individuals lands carrying with them things of historic or other great interest. I immediately applied to Gifford Pinchot, then Forester, who took the matter up with President Roosevelt, and an agreement was made to accept Muir Woods." But since Kent does not mention the Antiquities Act in his letter or telegram to Pinchot, it appears that Olmsted told Kent about the act only after Kent had contacted Pinchot. The *Marin Journal*, January 9, 1908, reported that Kent had received help from Pinchot (who "was thoroughly familiar with the great beauties of the canyon and its giant trees"), from President Wheeler of the University, from the superintendent of Golden Gate Park ("who says the canyon is the only natural forest suitable for a government park so close to a great city"), and from other noted men (*Marin Journal*, January 9, 1908, [clipping]).

[11] Olmsted to Kent, December 14, 1907, KFP, Box 3/46.

[12] William Thomas to Pinchot, December 26, 1907; Kent to James R. Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[13] Kent to Pinchot, August 19, 1903; Kent to Pinchot, August 25, 1903, PP, Box 88. It is not clear when Pinchot and Kent first became acquainted, but they appear to have become friends by 1903. Pinchot stayed at the Kent homes in Chicago and in Kentfield many times after 1903, Kent stayed with Pinchot in Washington, and the two men hunted together. Pinchot acted as a liaison between Kent and President Theodore Roosevelt (Pinchot to Kent, November 2, 1903, PP, Box 88; Pinchot to Kent, June 17, 1908, PP, Box 114). They frequently discussed issues with which they were both concerned such as grazing rights on federal land, redwood preservation, and the preservation of Lake Tahoe (where Kent also owned property), and assisted each other whenever they could. When Kent ran for Congress in 1910 on a strong conservation platform, Pinchot came to California to campaign for him (see, for example, Kent to Pinchot, May 24, 1910, PP, Box 133; Pinchot to Kent, June 8, 1910, PP, Box 133).

[14] Kent to Pinchot, April 26, 1907, PP, Box 108; Kent to Pinchot, December 3, 1907 ("not sent"), KFP, Box 3/46.

[15] William Thomas to Pinchot, December 26, 1907; Garfield to President Roosevelt, January 9, 1908. NAMW. Kent also corresponded with Pinchot about the ranching situation in Nevada (where he owned a large ranch named Golconda), specifically about the Burkett Bill and the expansion of national forests in the state. See Pinchot to Kent, January 27, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[16] *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 18, 1855, rpt. of article in *Mariposa Gazette*, quoted in David Robertson, *West of Eden: A History of the Art and Literature of Yosemite* (Yosemite, Calif.: Yosemite Natural History Association and Wilderness Press, 1984), 4. For a more complete account of the preservation of Yosemite, see John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1989; rpt. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 122-34.

[17] Quoted in introduction to Thomas Starr King, *A Vacation Among the Sierras: Yosemite in 1860*, ed. John A. Hussey (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1962), xix-xx.

[18] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1979, 1987), 28.

[19] Olmsted, "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees: A Preliminary Report (1865)," *Landscape Architecture*, 43 (October 1952), 16, 14.

[20] Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* (Yellowstone National Park, WY: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1977), I, 141. For more complete accounts of the preservation of Yellowstone, see Sears, *Sacred Places*,156-63 and Alfred Runte, "Railroads Value Wilderness," in Carolyn Merchant, ed., *Major Problems in Environmental History* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1993).

[21] Quoted in Haines, I, 155.

[22] Quoted in Haines, I, 172.

[23] Quoted in Haines, I, 142.

[24] U.S. Congress, House Committee on the Public Lands, *The Yellowstone Park*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. R. 26 to accompany H. 764, February 27, 1872.

[25] Ferdinand V. Hayden, "The Wonders of the West—II: More About the Yellowstone," *Scribner's Monthly*, III (February 1872), 396.

[26] William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1863), 136.

[27] *Picturesque America* (New York: D. Appleton, 1872-74), I, 435.

[28] Quoted in Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 116. I base my account of the creation of the Adirondack "Forest Preserve" on Nash, 108-121.

[29] Quoted in Nash, 117.

[30] Quoted in Nash, 117-118.

[31] Quoted in Nash, 118.

[32] Quoted in Nash, 119.

[33] Quoted in Nash, 120.

[34] Nash, 120.

[35] Quoted in Nash, 120-21.

[36] Runte, *National Parks*, 62.

[37] Stephen R. Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston Little, Brown, 1981), 103-06; Runte, *National Parks*, 58-62.

[38] Fox, 106-07.

[39] Fox, 131-34.

[40] J.B. Harrison, *The Conditions of Niagara Falls, and the Measures to Preserve Them* (New York: n.p., 1882), 8.

[41] Fox, 107.

[42] Dorman, "A People of Progress," 24, 41-42; Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 30.

[43] Quoted in Nash, 137.

[44] Roderick Nash, "John Muir, William Kent, and the Conservation Schism," *Pacific Historical Review*, 36 (November 1967), 427. See also Nash, *Wilderness*, Chapter 8 and Hays, *Conservation*, 141-46, 189-98.

[45] Fox, 124-30.

[46] "Theodore Roosevelt Publicizes Conservation, 1908," in Carolyn Merchant, ed., *Major Problems in Environmental History* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1993), 351-52.

[47] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, xi.

[48] American Antiquities Act of 1906 (16 USC 431-433), http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/anti1906.htm (accessed 2/17/2005).

[49] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts,* xii-xiii.

[50] National Archives Reference Service Report on the historical background of the Antiquities Act of 1906, May 10, 1945, National Park Service GGNRA Archives, GOGA 32470, Box 1, 3-4, 11.

[51] See Robert Sterling Yard, *The Book of the National Parks* (New York: Scribner's, 1919).

[52] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 61, 63.

[53] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 47-48.

[54] "A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America," No. 793—Jan. 9, 1908—35 Stat. 2174.

[55] "The Deed," *Marin Journal*, January 9, 1908. Yale, KFP, Microfilm reel #9. The text of the deed, William Kent and Elizabeth Thacher Kent to the United States, was reprinted in the proclamation (#793, 35 Stat. 2174).

[56] F.E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument. Redwood Canyon, Marin County, California," December 26, 1907, 4-5, NAMW.

[57] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 59, 71.

[58] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 54.

[59] J. Leonard Bates, "Fulfilling American Democracy: The Conservation Movement, 1907 to 1921," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (June 1957), 29.

[60] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 106-63; Robert P. Danielson, "The Story of William Kent," *The Pacific Historian* 4 (August 1960), 76-77; Michael Willrich, "William Kent, 1864-1928: The Life

and Language of a Progressive Conservationist," Typescript, Yale University, September 4, 1987, 5-6.

[61] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 163.

[62] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 37-38, 44, 74-75, 95-96, 106, 112, 162-63.

[63] "The Nation's Playgrounds," *The Survey*, January 1, 1916, KFP, Microfilm reel #13.

[64] "Tamalpais as a National Park: An Address by Mr. William Kent, Delivered in Ross Valley, September 12, 1903," KFP, Box 59/178.

[65] William Kent, "Redwoods," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 6 (June 1908), 286-87. The Sierra Club reprinted these thoughts from *The Daily News* where they originally appeared. Kent was eager to advertise the remarkable beauty of the trees in Redwood Canyon as much as possible to gain support in his fight against the still pending condemnation suit.

[66] Kent to Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[67] Kent to William Magee, December 10, 1907. KFP, Box 3/46. This letter is handwritten and there is no indication in the Kent Family Papers whether another copy of it was sent to Magee.

[68] F.E. Olmsted, "Muir National Monument. Redwood Canyon, Marin County, California," December 26, 1907, 4, NAMW.

[69] Kent to Pinchot, December 3, 1907. KFP, Box 3/46. For Kent's financial stake in the Mt. Tamalpais Railway, see note 88.

[70] Kent to Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[71] Lincoln Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais* (San Francisco: Scottwell Associates, 1987), 167.

[72] Toogood, *A Civil History,* v. II, 250-51.

[73] See William Thomas to Kent, February 3, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[74] Toogood, *A Civil History* v. II, 252, 181-85.

[75] One of Kent's arguments against the North Coast Water Company condemnation suit was that they would have to pay damages to him and to the Railway Company for destroying the value of the rail line to Muir Woods and the hotel site and this would make the Redwood Canyon site more expensive than the alternative site lower down the valley. See, for example, Kent to Garfield, September 25, 1908, KFP, Box 4/59.

[76] Kent to Magee, December 10, 1907, KFP, Box 3/46. Kent says in this letter: "I have but a small minority interest" in the railway. Although it was a minority interest, it may not have been insubstantial. For Kent's financial stake in the Mt. Tamalpais Railway, see note 88.

[77] Kent to Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[78] Theodore Roosevelt to Kent, January 22, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[79] Kent to Roosevelt, January 30, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48. Kent wrote to Secretary Garfield on February 1, 1908: "I am delighted with the President's message. I have fairly preached and tried to practice the doctrine that there is no conservatism excepting in justice, and that no man can be negatively honest, that is without diligently studying out what belongs properly to the 'other fellow,'" Kent to Garfield, February 1, 1908, NAMW.

[80] Kent to Pinchot, January 30, 1908, PP, Box 114.

[81] Olcott Haskell to Kent, January 8, 1908, KFP, Box 3/47.

[82] Toogood, *A Civil History*, v. II, 181-82.

[83] The Outdoor Art League, whose clubwomen members had campaigned to save Redwood Canyon, held a reception to honor Kent for his contribution. Mrs. Lovell White, who hosted the reception, spoke: "There is no reason why any private corporation would destroy those trees. There are plenty of other places where the company can secure a water supply, but as it would be a little cheaper to get a supply in Redwood canyon that place has 'attracted capital,' as they say, and one of the finest redwood groves has been, and but for Mr. Kent still would be, in danger of destruction." "Wm. Kent Guest of Outdoor League," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 20, 1908, KFP, Microfilm reel #9. When the Tamalpais (sic) water company brought the condemnation suit against the property in 1907, according to the *San Francisco Call*, "The Outdoor Art league of Mill Valley made vigorous protest. Associated with the league was Mrs. Lovell White of the San Francisco Outdoor Art league and she gave full co-operation to the movement." "National Park at the Door of San Francisco," *San Francisco Call*, January 5, 1908, KFP, Microfilm reel #9. Dorman notes the "women's clubs provided the bedrock of grassroots support for a range of conservation concerns, including scenic preservation. In 1910, no less than 283 women's clubs around the nation wrote letters to federal and state legislators on forestry and wildlife issues. The General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 800,000 women nationally, had its own

Forestry Committee to keep members updated. Mrs. Lovell White of California, working through the Federation, gathered 1.5 million signatures on a petition to Congress for a 1904 measure to preserve the Big Trees of California" (Dorman, "A People of Progress," 71). John Ise notes that she financed her own tireless lobbying effort in support of the bill establishing Calaveras Big Tree National Forest, which was finally signed by President Taft on February 18, 1909 [John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 114].

[84] William E. Colby to Kent, January 15, 1908. JO-MUWO/Y; Helen W. Peckham to Kent, January 20, 1908, KFP Box 3/47 and George F. Kunz to Kent, February 3, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[85] Unsigned article, "A Munificent Gift: Redwood Canyon Deeded to United States," *Washington Star*, 19 January 1908, clipping in NAMW.

[86] "Marin County Has a National Park," *The Marin County Journal*, January 9, 1908, 1, MWNM.

[87] "William Kent is Kind of Citizen California Needs," *San Francisco Bulletin*, February 6, 1908, KFP, Microfilm reel #9.

[88] San Francisco *Examiner*, June 2-18 (?), 1908. KFP, Microfilm reel #9. I have not been able to determine how much stock Kent owned in the Mount Tamalpais Railroad and when he may have bought or sold shares. Kent's father, Albert, had been one of the original investors in the Mt. Tamalpais Railway in 1896, subscribing to $25,000 of the original $200,000 of capital invested in the railroad. He also donated the right-of-way through land he owned. When Albert died in 1901, Kent inherited his shares. It is possible that he purchased additional stock later on. Kent says in "The Story of Muir Woods" that at the time he purchased Redwood Canyon "I was a small stockholder," but it appears that he owned a substantial number of shares (Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 143; "The Story of Muir Woods," 179).

[89] "William the Advertiser," *Tocsin*, June 13, 1908. KFP, Microfilm reel #9.

[90] "Regular Trains Now Run to Muir Woods: Mountain Railway Changes Schedule and Puts on More Trains," *Mill Valley Record-Enterprise*, May 22, 1908, KFP, Microfilm reel #9. Fairley says the addition of the line to Muir Woods "sparked a big increase in railroad patronage" and that the railroad during its best years yielded a substantial profit. It was "probably the biggest dividend paying road in the State, as one report proclaims." See Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 147, 154.

[91] "The Story of Muir Woods," 180.

[92] Pinchot to Kent, January 27, 1908. KFP, Box 3/48.

[93] Fox, 136-37.

[94] Quoted by Fox, 138.

[95] Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 11-12.

[96] Kent to J.M. Roche, February 28, 1908. KFP, Box 3/50.

[97] Kent to E.F. Strother, November 2, 1908. KFP, Box 4/62.

[98] Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 12-15.

[99] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 281-82.

[100] Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 12, 20-21.

[101] Jonathan E. Webb, "Some Historical Notes on Muir Woods National Monument," *California Out-of-Doors* (October, 1919), 166. Webb says that "The gift of Muir Woods years ago and the recent subscriptions of William Kent, Stephen Mather and Gifford Pinchot have spurred the county of Humboldt to appropriate $30,000 to purchase redwoods," but I have not found any other record of Pinchot contributing to the purchase of redwoods. It is quite possible that his friendship with Kent and his appreciation of Muir Woods inspired him to do so. If he did, it would be an interesting exception to his practice of utilitarian conservation, but in keeping with the diverse views of those who supported the Save-the-Redwoods League. As Susan Schrepfer says, "The league was a cooperative effort by those who had taken different sides in the battle over Hetch Hetchy Valley. Its leaders included Muir's two fighting allies, Henry Fairfield Osborn and William Colby, as well as proponents of the reservoir William Kent, Franklin K. Lane, and Pinchot's hand-picked successor as Forest Service chief, Henry Solon Graves" (Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 30).

[102] Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 23-25. At the dedication of a memorial to Kent in 1929, Horace Albright, Director of the National Park Service, recounted a different version of this story of the meeting between a delegation led by William Kent and California Governor William G. Stephens about a state appropriation to purchase redwoods. Up to that point the state had contributed no funding. The Governor complained that demands on the state treasury were too great: "'And the public schools, Bill, must be maintained at a great expense.' 'Damn the public schools, Bill,' broke in William Kent. 'Shut 'em up for a year and save those trees!'" Not long after that meeting, the state appropriated funds to save the redwoods and established a fund that

matched private donations for that purpose. Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 187-88.

[103] Kent to *New York Herald-Tribune*, February 15, 1927. Quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 415.

[104] Kent to Louis Everding of the State Highway Commission, 1924. Quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 414.

[105] In his letter addressed to Magee, Kent wrote: "That no sense of personal name or fame should come to me, I received the consent of Mr. John Muir that his name might be given to the tract," but given Muir's surprised response to the naming of the National Monument after him, it seems unlikely that Kent had informed Muir of his intentions beforehand (Kent to Magee, December 10, 1907, KFP, Box 3/46; Muir to Kent, February 6, 1908).

[106] John Muir to Kent, January 14, 1908, KFP, Box 3/47. Muir also wrote to President Roosevelt and thanked him for his role in preserving the redwoods in Redwood Canyon (Muir to Theodore Roosevelt, January 27, 1908, JMP, Reel 17).

[107] John Muir to Catherine Hittell, January 9, 1908, KFP, Box 3/47.

[108] Kent to Muir, January 16, 1908, JMP, Reel 17.

[109] Muir to Kent, February 6, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[110] Kent to Muir, February 10, 1908, KFP, Box 3/50. On February 19, Kent wrote to Pinchot: "The Native Sons give me a pow wow in San Raphael on Saturday. I'm going to talk Tamalpais and democracy with pictures and diagrams" (Kent to Pinchot, February 19, 1908, PP, Box 114).

[111] Muir to Kent, February 17, 1908, KFP, Box 3/50.

[112] Muir to Kent, March 31, 1911, KFP, Box 9/156.

[113] Kent to Muir, April 20, 1911, JMP, Reel 20.

[114] Muir to Helen Muir, September 21, 1908, Jo-MUWO/Y; Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 173. According to Elizabeth Kent, Muir became a frequent guest, but I have found no documentation that supports her recollection. Fairley writes that "According to the Monument's records" Muir visited Muir Woods in 1909 or 1910. "He is said to have visited both Muir Inn and what is commonly referred to as the Ben Johnson cabin" (Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 93). The only visit verifiable from correspondence in the Muir or Kent papers, however, is the one Muir made in the fall of 1908, which Fairley does not mention. Further research might turn up a record of other visits, if, indeed, Muir made them. Fairley dates the photo of Muir, Kent, and J.H. Cutter, first president of the Tamalpais Conservation Club (founded in 1912) in front of the Muir Inn (built in 1908-09) as "sometime between 1908 and 1913." He dates a photo of Muir in Muir Woods with the William Newton family as August 21, 1909 (Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 91, 170).

[115] Kent to John S. Phillips, September 21, 1908. KFP, Box 4/58. Kent also told Muir that he had recommended him to Phillips and proposed that he collaborate with a writer like Ray Stannard Baker on producing his autobiography. He offered to help in any way he could and suggested that they talk further about his proposal (Kent to Muir, October 16, 1908). Ray Stannard Baker contacted Muir directly, but Muir told him he wouldn't be able to send any of his work to *The American Magazine* at the time, probably because Muir had commitments with other publishers (Baker to Muir, June 23, 1909, JMP, Reel 18).

[116] As Roderick Nash notes, Kent shared this viewpoint with Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, one of the leading progressives in Congress. See Nash, "John Muir, William Kent," 431, *n*41.

[117] William Kent, "The Hetch-Hetchy Bill: San Franscisco Water Supply," November 15, 1913. Typescript. KFP, Box 67/83, 8.

[118] William Kent, "To the Editor." Typescript, n.d., KFP, Box 67/83, 1.

[119] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 325-26. See also, Nash, "John Muir, William Kent," 430-31.

[120] Kent to Pinchot, June 11, 1913; Kent to Pinchot, June 23, 1913; Pinchot to Kent, June 24, 1913; Kent to Pinchot, September 20, 1913, PP, Box 167.

[121] Kent to Magee, December 10, 1907, KFP, Box 3/46. See note 67.

[122] Willrich, "William Kent," 14.

[123] William Thomas to Kent, September 23, 1908. KFP, Box 4/59.

[124] William Kent, "To the Editor," 1-2.

[125] Kent, "The Hetch-Hetchy Bill," 2.

[126] Kent, "To the Editor," 2.

[127] Kent, "The Hetch-Hetchy Bill," 5-6.

[128] Kent, "To the Editor," 2-3. Kent came to ridicule what he regarded as Muir's rigid moralism: "With him, it is me and God and the rock where God put it, and that's the end of the story" (Kent to Congressman Sidney Anderson, July 2, 1913, KFP, Box 16/303).

[129] "Statement of Hon. William Kent, Representative in Congress from California, before the Public Lands Committee of the Senate, September, 24, 1913." KFP, Box 56/69. See also, Kent, "Social Economics," KFP, Box 59/164: "The main question to be asked is whether the power that could be generated by Niagara Falls shall be used to create great individual fortunes, or to alleviate the burdens of the overworked. If that power could be so used as to lighten the work of the sweat shops and to decrease the cost of the necessities of life, it would seem that the scenic features could well be dispensed with. But at the present time such grants have not been working in that direction."

[130] Willrich, "William Kent," 20.

[131] Kent, "The Hetch-Hetchy Bill," 1. On page five he accuses Johnson and others of "exaggeration and shameless falsehood" in charging that "over half of the Yosemite Park would be cut off from public use. They have not hesitated to insinuate that the Yosemite Valley was in danger."

[132] Kent, "To the Editor," 4.

[133] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 326.

[134] Kent to Sydney Anderson, July 2, 1913, KFP, Box 16/303.

[135] "Remarks by Hon. William Kent," in "Hetch Hetchy Power," *Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California*, 18 (December 1923), 338, KFP, Box 68/91.

[136] Kent to Payne, July 2, 1920, NAMW.

[137] Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 186.

[138] The condemnation suit was still pending in December 1908 (Thomas, Gerstle, Frick and Beedy to Kent, December 21, 1908; Kent to Thomas, Gerstle, Frick and Beedy, December 22, 1908; and Louis Beedy to Kent, December 24, 1908, KFP, Box 4/63 and 64). Further research (e.g. in Kent's correspondence files at Yale for 1909-10) is needed to determine when it was actually dropped. For a further account of the condemnation suit and early management issues at Muir Woods, see Chapter 3 (1907-1928) in Part I of this report, "Land-Use History of Muir Woods."

[139] Kent to Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[140] *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 5, 1908, KFP, Microfilm reel #9.

[141] Danielson says that on May 28, 1915, during the Panama Pacific International Exposition, Kent took thirty Congressmen from both parties to the top of Mt. Tamalpais on the mountain railroad and then to a barbeque in Muir Woods. Perhaps his purpose was to educate them to the need to establish a national park service or to promote the idea of a Mt. Tamalpais national park, or both. Danielson says that Stephen Mather organized a second expedition for Congressmen in the summer of 1916, this time to the Sierra to help promote the park service bill (Danielson, "The Story of William Kent," 83).

[142] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 281-82.

[143] Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Institute of the American West Books, 1985), 32-34. See also, Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks, A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 35-45.

[144] Albright, *Birth of the National Park Service*, 34, 18, 24-26.

[145] Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 40.

[146] Albright, *Birth of the National Park Service*, 35-37, 41; Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 37.

[147] Albright, *Birth of the National Park Service*, 29, 38-39, 42.

[148] Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 43-46.

[149] Quoted in Albright, *Birth of the National Park Service*, 36.

[150] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, xiv-xv, 89.

[151] William Kent, *Reminiscences of Outdoor Life* (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1929), 48.

[152] Research in several histories of regional planning did not find any mention of Kent or his regional planning achievements in Marin County. One parallel that might deserve further investigation is the construction in New York State of the Ashokan Reservoir in the Catskills and the Croton Reservoir in the Hudson Highlands, which supply water to New York City, and their relationship to the development of compatible scenic recreational resources in these areas.

[153] "Federal Control of Water Power. Speech of Hon. William Kent of California in the House of

Representatives, July 23 and 28, 1914 (Washington, 1914), 12-13, 4. As Willrich concludes, Kent "placed a stronger emphasis on public ownership" than Pinchot (Willrich, 18). The owners of timberlands, Kent wrote in "Land Tenure and Public Policy," "have felt the need of skimming them off and realizing on them in one short lifetime. As a result there have been scandalous and criminal wastes of material for which our county will some day stand in urgent need. The white pine is gone, probably 30 per cent of it wasted in heedless operation. The interspersed hemlock and other inferior timbers have largely been a total waste. Fire has completed the destruction of the badly logged areas. There never was any benefit derived by the legitimate industry of lumbering from this private ownership of the land itself." (Kent, "Land Tenure," 220).

[154] Kent, "Need and Waste and the Problem of the Malemployed," Phi Beta Kappa Address, Stanford University, May 21, 1910, Published by William Kent, Kentfield, California, 14. KFP, Box 57/107. Pinchot wrote in 1910: "There is no other question before us that begins to be so important, or that will be so difficult to straddle, as the great question between special interest and equal opportunity, between the privileges of the few and the rights of the many, between government by men for human welfare and government by money for profit, between the men who stand for the Roosevelt policies and the men who stand against them. This is the heart of the conservation problem today" [*The Fight for Conservation* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1910), 109-10]. Kent went beyond Pinchot and many of Pinchot's conservationist allies in his socialist belief that natural resources should belong to the public and not to private individuals, although he recognized that this was an ideal unlikely to be achieved. In April 1910, at a time when he and other progressive Republicans felt that President Taft had betrayed the values of Roosevelt, he wrote to Pinchot: "In regard to a platform for the new movement, the fundamental proposition, of course, is the abolition of special privilege, by which one man can force another to work for his support without himself rendering service to society. I hardly think that the country is ripe for any movement brave enough to carry through the philosophy of such a platform. That land owning privilege, with the absorption of the profit of increasing population into the pockets of individuals, is probably one of the largest economic factors in the whole system of maldistribution. How soon this necessary truth should be sprung on the American people I have not attempted to figure out. As an immediate matter I would rather see Roosevelt go back with his inconsistent ignoring of the essential truths of socialism, rather than to have such remarkable leadership lost to the country at this critical time" (Kent to Pinchot, April 13, 1910, PP, Box 133).

[155] Quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 205.

[156] William Kent, "Land Tenure and Public Policy," *American Economic Review Supplement*, 9 (March, 1919), 215-16. "It is my contention that in our form of land tenure rests the chief privilege and a great source of social folly" [219]. For a discussion of Kent's views of land tenure policy, see Chapter XVIII of Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 292-309. For Henry George's influence on the views of Kent and other conservationists in regard to property rights, see Fox, 351-53.

[157] Kent, "Federal Control," 3.

[158] Kent to Richard Bard, August 1920. Quoted in Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 293.

[159] See Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 242, 292.

[160] Kent stated firmly that "There should be no further alienation of public property into private hands under any policy, save that of lease, where control is easy, and the penalty is cancellation" (Kent, "Land Tenure," 225).

[161] Kent, "Land Tenure," 220-21. See also, Kent, "Need and Waste," 12-13.

[162] Kent to Garfield, December 26, 1907, NAMW.

[163] Kent to Board of Town Trustees, Town of Sausalito, February 10, 1908. KFP, Box 3/49. In 1890 Marin County's population was 13,072. It grew rapidly in the decade between 1900 and 1910, going from 15,702 to 25,114, partly because of the displacement of people from San Francisco in the wake of the earthquake, then slowed, increasing to only 27,342 by 1920, then grew steadily, reaching 41,648 in 1930, 52,907 in 1940, and 85,619 in 1950 (Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia Library, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html, accessed 5/2/2005). The United States Census Bureau estimated the 2003 population of Marin County at 246,073.

[164] "For the Woman's Edition of the *San Anselmo Herald*, 1913." KFP, Box 55/29. See also, William Kent, "Marking Off a Tamalpais Park," *California Out-of-Doors*, date [1914 or 1915?], 45. KFP, Box 57/94.

[165] Toogood, *A Civil History*, v. II, 180.

[166] Letter to the Editor, Marin County *Tocsin*, November 26, 1904 KFP, Microfilm reel #9.

[167] "Tamalpais for a Public Park," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 13, 1903 and *San Francisco Call*, September 13, 1903, PP, Scrapbooks, Microfilm 19,294, Reel 1. Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 169.

[168] Kent, "Tamalpais as a National Park," 2-5, MWNM.

[169] Kent to Muir, January 17, 1908, JMP, Reel 17.

[170] John Muir to Kent, January 14, 1908, KFP, Box 3/47. Muir's comment on the Tamalpais park plan is in a postscript written later in which Muir indicates that he is responding to Kent's letter of January 17.

[171] Kent to Muir, February 10, 1908, KFP, Box 3/48.

[172] Kent to L.A. McAllister, February 10, 1908, KFP, Box 3/49. Further research in local San Francisco sources might serve to identify McAllister.

[173] Kent to Pinchot, February 19, 1908, PP, Box 114.

[174] Kent to Board of Town Trustees, Town of Sausalito, February 10, 1908. KFP, Box 3/49.

[175] Kent played an active role in California politics, particularly on issues related to conservation. In 1910, Pinchot campaigned both for the election of Kent to Congress and for the progressive Republican Hiram W. Johnson for governor of California. After they were both elected, Johnson appointed Kent to a Conservation Committee formed to propose legislation in that field. The committee drafted laws to protect forests from fire and timber cutting and a bill to establish a California Conservation Commission. See Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California, 1962), 126.

[176] Willrich, "William Kent,"10-14; Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 312-17.

[177] Toogood, *A Civil History*, v. II, 185-88. There was an earlier attempt in 1909 to create this game refuge. Kent and a number of other landowners offered to give up the privilege of hunting on their own land and asked the State Fish and Game Commission to create a State game preserve, but the Commission refused to do so. Kent and his partners appealed to the public to support the proposal (see "re: Mountain Park Game Preserve," KFP, Box 55/99). See also "Want Game Preserve on Mount Tamalpais," June 1909, KFP, Microfilm Reel 9.

[178] Kent to N.L. Fitzhenry, September 25, 1915, Marin County Library, Stinson Family Papers, Letterbox.

[179] Kent, "Marking Off a Tamalpais Park."

[180] Kent to Arno B. Cammerer, July 17, 1922, KFP, Box 37/745.

[181] Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 167; Toogood, *A Civil History*, v. II, 188-190.

[182] Like Frederick Law Olmsted, Kent felt that healthy recreational opportunities could help control the rougher tendencies of democracy. Kent and his mother, for example, established a community center in Marin County, that offered recreational and other programs to youth. Its purpose was to give local young people constructive things to do. Kent was concerned about saloons in Marin County and rejected the suggestion of advertising the recreational possibilities of Marin and Muir Woods until a means of protecting their resources from fire and vandalism had been developed.

[183] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 159, 162, 170, 187.

[184] Quoted in A.L. Riesch Owen, *Conservation Under F.D.R.* (New Yorker: Praeger, 1983), 14.

[185] Wes Hildreth, "Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity," (Unpublished report prepared for the NPS, 1966 with amendments to 1971), 18, MWNM.

[186] Report of the custodian of MWNM for April 1934, May 4, 1934, 1, GGNRA.

[187] Lincoln Fairley, "The Civilian Conservation Corps on Mt. Tamalpais 1933-1940," *The Californians*, I (July-August, 1983), 23.

[188] C.S Morbio (chair, Tamalpais Conservation Club committee) to J.B. Herschler (Muir Woods custodian), October 13, 1933 and November 10, 1933, TCC file, MWNM; Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 105.

[189] "Muir Woods Camp, N.M. 3," TCC file, MWNM.

[190] Russell L. McKown, "Report of the Chief Architect on E.C.W. and C.W.A. Activities at Muir Woods National Monument, November, 1933 through April 1934," GGNRA 14348, Box 2 of 6, 1.

[191] Fairley, 148; Report of the custodian of MWNM for October 1, 1933 to June 30, 1934, August 11, 1934, 1-2, GGNRA; McKown, "Report," 4-6.

[192] Report of the custodian, August 11, 1934, 1.

[193] Quoted in Fairley, "The Civilian Conservation Corps," 24.

[194] Samuel P. Hays, *Explorations in Environmental History* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 338-39.

[195] Memorandum from Earl A. Trager to Mr. Demaray, September 19, 1935, MWNM files.

[196] NPS has considered selective removal of riprap on Redwood Creek in order to let the stream follow its natural course, but the riprap is also considered an historic resource that warrants preservation. Memo from Paul Scolari, GGNRA Historian, July 19, 2005.

[197] Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods*, 53-54, 68, 73.

[198] Hildreth, "Historical Chronology," 20.

[199] Quoted in Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 82.

[200] Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 169.

[201] "Extract from the Unofficial Annals of the Bohemian Club," attachment to Henry L. Perry to John M. Mahoney (Superintendent of MWNM), June 29, 1956, JO-MUWO/Y. The Bohemian Club of San Francisco holds its "High Jinks" today in Monte Rio, California on the Russian River. "Eclectic Crowd for Annual Bohemian Gathering," Common Dreams News Center, http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/headlines04/0724-04.htm (accessed 4/30/2005).

[202] Elizabeth Kent, "William Kent," 278-79.

[203] Report of the custodian of MWNM for October 1934, November 5, 1934, 1, GGNRA.

[204] Fairley, *Mount Tamalpais*, 91.

[205] "Emerson Celebrated," *Tocsin*, May 30, 1903. Copied by Fred Sandrock at the Marin County Historical Society Museum, January 1987. MWNM

[206] Bailey Millard, "The Emerson Tree" and Millard to J.B. Herschler, Custodian of Muir Woods, July 21, 1937 and July 22, 1937. MWNM

[207] The five bronze plaques are: Emerson (1903), Pinchot (1910), Kent (1929), Franklin D. Roosevelt (1945), and the Bicentennial Tree plaque (1976). There is also a memorial plaque, dedicated on July 3, 1926, to Andrew Jay Cross, a pioneer in optometry, but that is on state park land. In addition, a plaque was prepared that reads: "Commemorating the Dedication of the Victory Tree in Muir Woods National Monument and the Launching of the Liberty Ship S.S. John Muir, Named for One Who Devoted His Life to Furthering the Conservation of Natural Resources, Which Today Constitute America's War Might. Presented to the National Park Service by Marinship Corporation, November 22, 1942." But no victory tree was dedicated and the plaque was never installed. It is now in the park collection. E-mail from Paul Scolari, GGNRA Historian, May 18, 2005.

[208] Hays, *Conservation*, 167-68.

[209] Colby to Ballinger, April 14, 1910, and Colby to Ballinger, April 14, 1910, NAMW. The circumstances surrounding the dedication of the tree to Pinchot were sufficiently obscure that in 1962, Fred Martischang, then superintendent of MWNM, wrote to the Sierra Club asking for information: "We have gone quite thoroughly through the January 1910, June 1910, and January 1911 issues of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* in the hope of finding reference to this plaque, but we had completely negative results. Thus, our only hope now seems to lie in your historical files" (Fred M. Martischang to Sierra Club, February 17, 1962, JO-MUWO/Y). Robert Golden, Assistant to the Executive Director of the Sierra Club, replied that he and his colleagues could "find no official action taken by the Sierra Club Board of Directors in the minutes" on the dedication of the tree to Pinchot. The only reference to the event they could locate was in the schedule of local walks, which announced that a group of Sierra Club members would dedicate a tree to Gifford Pinchot in Muir Woods on May 1, 1910. He mentioned the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy and remarked, "In retrospect then, it might seem paradoxical that this dedication was made to one of the Interior Department's strongest critics" (Robert V. Golden to Martischang, March 7, 1962. JO-MUWO/Y files, MWNM).

[210] Ballinger to Colby, April 19, 1910, NAMW.

[211] Mott to Ballinger, April 18, 1910, NAMW.

[212] Commissioner to Lind, April 23, 1910, NAMW.

[213] Lind to Commissioner, June 3, 1910, NAMW.

[214] Kent to Pinchot, April 28, 1910 and May 24, 1910, PP, Box 133.

[215] Pinchot to Kent, June 8, 1910, PP, Box 133.

[216] "The Story of Muir Woods," 186; memo from Paul Scolari, GGNRA Historian, July 19, 2005.

[217] "Memorandum re letter from Hon. E.R. Stettinius, Jr.," December 27, 1944, Official File 177, FDRL; FDR to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., January 2, 1945, *Franklin D. Roosevelt & Conservation, 1911-1945*, ed. Edgar B. Nixon (Hyde Park, NY: General Services Administration, 1957), II, 621-22. Stettinius was Undersecretary of State from 1943-44, then Secretary of State from December 1, 1944 until June 27, 1945.

[218] Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr. says that Aubrey Drury first shared the idea with Joseph Grew as they were working on the National Tribute Grove project. Then, "As detailed plans for the San Francisco peace conference were being drawn up, Drury and Grew continued to promote the idea of holding one session of the UNCIO in Muir Woods. In February 1945, Drury discussed the idea with his brother, Newton Drury, who had been executive secretary of the Save-the-Redwoods League from 1918 until 1940, prior to his appointment as director of the National Park Service." It is not clear what sources Engbeck used as a basis for these statements. See "Redwoods, The United Nations, & World Peace" (San Francisco: Save-the-Redwoods League, 1995), p. 8.

[219] Memorandum, Newton B. Drury for the Secretary, February 20, 1945, NARA, RG79, 334, 608, (Memorials, MW).

[220] Ickes to FDR, February 27, 1945, OF 4725g, FDRL.

[221] FDR to Ickes, March 12, 1945, OF 4725g, FDRL.

[222] On March 1, FDR had also sent Ickes' suggestion on to Edward Stettinius in the State Department, which was organizing the conference.

[223] FDR's interest in conservation as one of the keys to world peace goes back even further than this. A memorandum in FDR's Official File, indicates that on June 10, 1943 Harold Ickes "Wrote to the President enclosing Comments on United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture by H. H. Bennett, U.S. Soil Conservation Service, entitled 'Conservation, Key to Abundant Food.' Mr. Ickes suggests that Mr. Bennett should have an important guiding hand in building up a strong conservation program and staff in the Interim Commission." After receiving a draft reply from Judge Marvin Jones, "The President said in a letter to Mr. Ickes, June 14, 1943, that he has been advised that the place of soil conservation in the world food production problem was given special attention at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. Further says too, that Dr. H.H. Bennett, was one of the few men invited to address the Conference on the soil conservation. The President concluded by saying that Resolution No. 20 made detailed recommendations on the subject. Attached hereto is a copy of that resolution." Memorandum re letter from Harold Ickes, June 10, 1943, Official File 177, FDRL.

[224] Pinchot, "Proposal for an International Conference on Conservation," August 29, 1944, Nixon, II, 593.

[225] Pinchot to FDR, August 29, 1944, Nixon, II, 592.

[226] FDR to Pinchot, October 24, 1944, PP, Box 397.

[227] FDR to Cordell Hull, October 24, 1944, PP, Box 397.

[228] Stettinius to FDR, November 10, 1944, Nixon, II, 606.

[229] FDR to Stettinius, November 22, 1944, Nixon II, 612-13; Stettinius to FDR, December 16, 1944, Nixon, II, 615-16; FDR to Pinchot, January 16, 1945, Nixon, II, 623-24.

[230] Pinchot to FDR, January 21, 1945 and Pinchot to FDR, January 22, 1945, Nixon, II, 627-28. I have not found any record of FDR's discussing the idea of a conservation conference with Churchill and Stalin. If he did, he did not write to Pinchot about it. He reported in a press conference after leaving Yalta that he had discussed issues of reforestation in the context of the economic development of the Middle East (Press Conference, Aboard the U.S.S. Quincy, February 23, 1945, Nixon, II, 632-33), but I found only a passing reference by FDR to the need for reforestation in Persia in the records of the conference (*Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: The Conferences of Malta and Yalta, 1945* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1955, 715-16, 725).

[231] Acheson to FDR, March 19, 1945 and enclosure: "Memorandum for Governor Pinchot... Conservation Conference," Nixon, II, 634-36.

[232] Memorandum for the President, March 23, 1945, OF 177 (Conservation Matters), FDRL. The memo continues: "The President, April 2nd, sent memo. to Sec. Of State—'To report on'.—Ltr of 3/28/45 to Mr. Hassett from Hon. Gifford Pinchot, Wash., D.C., enclosing suggestions for the proposed World Conference on Conservation, and asking if there is anything the President would like him to do in the immediate future."

[233] Pinchot to FDR, March 28, 1945 and enclosure: "Table of Suggestions for the Conference," Nixon, II, 636-41.

[234] Pinchot to Grace Tully, April 10, 1945, OF177 (Conservation Matters), FDRL.

[235] Clayton to Stettinius, April 17, 1945, and enclosure: "Proposed Conservation Conference," Nixon, II, 644-46.

[236] Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947; rpt. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1998), 370-72. According to the editor's note in *Breaking New Ground*, "the UN accepted the plan and put it on the Agenda for 1948" (372n).

[237] Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2001), 374-75. Meanwhile, UNESCO, the French Government, and the Swiss League of Nature organized an international conference on conservation, which took place in Fontainebleau, France in 1948 and expressed more of the spirit of what Pinchot and FDR had in mind. That conference led to the formation of the International Union for the Protection of Nature and Natural Resources (IUPN), later renamed IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) and called today the World Conservation Union. The World Conservation Union is "the world's leading non-governmental organization devoted to the conservation of nature, with not only a large number of NGO members but also with some 90 Member States." (World Conservation Union (IUCN), http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3519&URL_DO=DO_TOPIV&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 2/2/2005).

[238] Newton Drury to Velloso, May 11, 1945. RG 79, 334, 608 (Muir Woods, Memorials), NARA.

[239] Memorandum, O.A. Tomlinson to Custodian, Muir Woods National Monument, May 5, 1945, GGNRA, Muir Woods, Box 4, Plaques and Memorials.

[240] The event was originally scheduled for May 12 but rain delayed it until May 19.

[241] Press release, Department of the Interior, Information Service, National Park Service, May 12, 1945. JO-MUWO/Y

[242] "Memorial Ceremony at Muir Woods in Memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," Congressional Record—Appendix, 1945, A2817.

[243] "Memorial Ceremony at Muir Woods in Memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," A2817.

[244] United Nations Association of the United States of America, Northern California Division, 1995 Report (San Francisco: UNA-USA, Northern California Division, 1996), 14-15.

[245] Edward Epstein, "A Tribute to FDR's Dream of United World," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1995, A15.

[246] Memorandum, Donald J. Erskine, Superintendent, Muir Woods, to Director, June 29, 1955, GGNRA, Muir Woods, Box 4, Plaques and Memorials. Erskine also reported that many other delegates attending the tenth anniversary meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco visited Muir Woods at this time, but since they did not identify themselves, his staff had not been able to get most of their names.

[247] "Rites for Dag Set in Woods," *Oakland Tribune*, March 21, 1965, GGNRA, Muir Woods, Box 13, Special Events, 1965-70.

[248] Save-the-Redwoods League press release, March 8, 1965, MVHS; "Humboldt Honors Late U.N. Chief," *Oakland Tribune*, April 5, 1965; "Redwoods Dedicated by Remote Control," *Independent-Journal*, April 5, 1965, GGNRA, Muir Woods, Box 13, Special Events, 1965-70.

[249] "A Redwood National Park," *New York Times*, April 4, 1965. GGNRA, Muir Woods, Box 13, Special Events, 1965-70.

[250] William M. Blair, "Mrs. Johnson Dedicates Redwood National Park," *New York Times*, November 26, 1968, 29.

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PART III

Recommendations

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Section title page photograph: Visitors arriving at the main gate (built 1999), July 2003. SUNY ESF.

This Historic Resource Study documents that Muir Woods National Monument—long recognized for its significance as a natural resource—also has cultural significance. To guide future management, this part of the report provides recommendations based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation for evaluating the historic significance of the monument's cultural resources, for guiding their treatment, and for further research. An historical base map [Drawing 8], summarizing all existing and historic documentation on the monument's boundaries and primary built features researched in this report, is included at the end of this part.

There have been two previous efforts at evaluating the historical significance of Muir Woods, neither of which have been progressed to formal determinations of eligibility or listing in the National Register of Historic Places. In 1996, Dewey Livingston, Historical Technician at Golden Gate National Recreation Area, prepared a draft registration form that recommended listing Muir Woods in the National Register under Criteria A (conservation) and C (design).[1] In 2002, Jill York O'Bright, Historian with the Midwest Region of NPS, prepared an eligibility evaluation for Golden Gate National Recreation Area recommending that Muir Woods be listed in the National Register for its association with the early conservation movement in the United States, as being recommended in this report.[2]

NATIONAL REGISTER RECOMMENDATIONS [3]

It is the recommendation of this Historic Resource Study that Muir Woods National Monument meets the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for its association with the history of the American conservation movement and early conservation efforts in the Bay Area, and under Criterion C for illustrating the legacy of rustic design in the National Park Service.

The conservation movement—the movement for the protection and sustainable use of the country's natural resources and areas of scenic beauty—had its beginnings in the years after the Civil War, and by the turn of the century, was gaining widespread acceptance in both the public and private sectors. The preservation of Muir Woods, specifically its federal acquisition on December 26, 1907 and its designation as a National Monument on January 9, 1908, occurred at a time when critical conservation legislation was being enacted at the federal level, and as the movement for public parks was gaining momentum in the Bay Area, notably in Marin County. Muir Woods National Monument was the tenth monument designated under the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the first made through a pri-

vate donation, and was the first state or federal park to be set aside in the Mount Tamalpais area of Marin County. Muir Woods was also the second major achievement in public protection of old-growth coastal redwoods in the state, following the creation of Big Basin State Park in 1902. Over the course of the four decades following its establishment, Muir Woods National Monument gained widespread renown as a place that expressed the ideals of American conservation, and as one of the best-known and most visited tourist attractions in the Bay Area. The site of Muir Woods and its old-growth redwood forest remains little changed since the first half of the twentieth century, and, although there have been changes in many of the built features, the property overall retains integrity to convey significance over a period extending from 1907 through 1947, the first forty years of federal ownership (see section II. Significance for explanation of this period of significance).

The following recommendations for listing Muir Woods in the National Register are intended as a concise discussion, and require elaboration in National Register documentation. These recommendations are organized in two parts:

I. A property description including proposed National Register boundaries and a discussion of the overall historic integrity of Muir Woods based on a period of significance from 1907 to 1947, along with a list of resources (corresponding with Section 7 of the National Register nomination form).

II. An outline of the property's historical significance based on the National Register Criteria for Evaluation of Historic Properties (corresponding with Section 8 of the National Register nomination form).

I. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION

PROPOSED NATIONAL REGISTER BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of the proposed National Register nomination correspond with the limits of Muir Woods National Monument at the end of the period of significance in 1947. The boundaries encompass 427 acres, including the original monument tract; the Hamilton, Railway, and Kent Tracts added in 1921; and the Entrance Tract added in 1935 [see Drawing 8]. Within the proposed boundaries is the heart of the old-growth redwood forest, including the Cathedral Grove and Bohemian Grove; monuments to Emerson, Pinchot, FDR, and Kent; the main trails and portions of the side-canyon trails; and the main buildings and structures remaining from the historic period, which include the Administration-Concession Building, Superintendent's Residence, Superintendent's Garage and Equipment Shed, Ben Johnson Trail log bridges and bench, Fern Creek Bridge, and log dam and stone revetments in Redwood Creek.

The additions of property to Muir Woods made after the end of the period of significance in 1947, to the west and south, are excluded from the proposed National Register boundary. These include the Kent West Buffer Tract, Kent Entrance Tract, and parking lot parcel (nineteen acres leased from Mount Tamalpais State Park), totaling seventy-two acres that were added to Muir Woods National Monument in 1951; the Church Tract, six acres added to the National Monument in 1958; and the Camp Monte Vista tract, fifty acres legislatively added to the Muir Woods park unit in 1972 and acquired by 1984, but not given National Monument status.

Adjoining non-NPS owned parcels that historically functioned as part of or in close association with Muir Woods National Monument are not included as part of the proposed nomination. These parcels are part of Mount Tamalpais State Park, and include, most notably, the parking lot parcel, which contains the main parking area (CCC, 1938) and main entrance from Muir Woods Roads; and the site of the CCC Muir Woods Camp and terminus of the Muir Woods Branch of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway. Both parcels are excluded from this proposed nomination because they are located outside of the 1947 monument boundaries, and because they do not retain integrity to the period of significance.

INTEGRITY

While the history of a property may illustrate significant themes and associations, for listing in the National Register the property must also retain historic integrity in its physical attributes. Based on the findings of Part I (Land-Use History), Muir Woods National Monument overall retains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association sufficient to convey its significance in the history of American conservation and the legacy of rustic design in the National Park Service. Of these aspects of integrity, those most important to Muir Woods are location, setting, materials, feeling, and association. The physical features tied to these aspects retain a high level of integrity. These include the site itself, encompassing all land within the monument encompassing the original monument tract and expansions through 1935; the redwood forest (a natural resource that has gained cultural significance) with its major spaces including Bohemian and Cathedral Groves as well as its overall old-growth character; monuments associated with important figures in American conservation and transcendental literature; a trail system reflecting the use and organization of the site dating back to the earliest years of the monument; and buildings, structures, and objects dating from the CCC era and earlier that reflect a rustic aesthetic and conservation practices of the period. Since the end of the period of significance, changes to the property have largely been limited to the removal of comfort stations from within the woods, replacement of footbridges and signs, and realignment and surface changes to sections of trails.

The following is a summary of integrity organized according to resource type and setting [see Drawing 8]. For the purposes of the National Register, the recommended listing should be considered a district composed of sites, buildings, structures, and objects.

Sites

All property that was part of Muir Woods in 1947 remains part of the monument today. Within this property, the redwood forest—the primary resource—is little changed overall since the historic period, with the exception of the upper forest/grassland edges where natural succession has led to some shifts in species composition, and the loss of a few old-growth interest trees, most notably the Kent tree (although the trunk remains on the forest floor). The heart of the redwood forest on the canyon floor along the main trail—the area most visited—retains much of the character it had during the latter part of the historic period, although it has regained more of its native character through regeneration of vegetation on formerly compacted areas. The forest retains its overall spatial organization formed by a corridor along the canyon floor/Redwood Creek and main trail, with secondary corridors along the side trails. Central focal points and nodal spaces within the forest remain Cathedral Grove and Bohemian Grove, with secondary nodal spaces at the entrance area/Administration-Concession Building and the Utility Area, all retaining much of their historic character. Sites lost since 1947 include the middle picnic area, lower picnic area, and Fern Creek picnic area.

Archeological sites have not been inventoried or evaluated as part of this report.

Buildings

Since the end of the historic period in 1947, there have been several small buildings lost and three constructed within the nominated area, but generally those that remain have a high level of historic integrity. The most visible building, the Administration-Concession Building (1940) constructed through federal work relief programs, remains the focal point of the entry area and retains its overall massing and details that reflect the early development of the Park Service Modern style that became popular in the National Park System after World War II. Changes include redesign of the front terrace and approach, enclosure of the connecting porch, and addition of a rear wing. To the rear of the Administration-Concession Building is the Utility Area, which retains an intact collection of historic buildings, including the Superintendent's Residence (1922, 1935, 1939), Garage (1931), and Equipment Shed (CCC, 1934) that reflect the NPS rustic style with exposed timber framing details that were consistently employed on all monument buildings up until the late 1930s. Buildings removed since 1947 include the main comfort station (1928), Cathedral Grove comfort station (CCC, 1934), Bohemian Grove comfort station (1937), and the Deer Park privies (CCC, 1934). Buildings added since 1947

include a paint shed (1966) and storage shed (c.1985) in the Utility Area, and a trailer office (c.1995) and comfort station (2003) near the Administration-Concession Building. The visitor's center (1989) was built on the state-leased parking lot parcel adjoining, but just outside, the boundary of the nominated property.

Structures

Trails: Since the end of the historic period in 1947, there have been minor changes to the trail system within the nominated property, but overall this resource remains largely intact. The system is composed of the main trail (pre-1883) and its extension, Camp Alice Eastwood Trail (c.1906); Ben Johnson Trail (c.1904), Bohemian Grove Trail (c.1905-07), Dipsea Trail (pre-1883), Fern Creek Trail (pre-1883), Hillside Trail (1908), and Ocean View Trail (1908). The only trail that has been removed since the historic period is the upper side-loop trail (parallel to the main trail across Redwood Creek), which was abandoned by the 1960s. Changes to other trails since 1947 include minor realignment and alteration of surface materials. Most notable has been asphalt paving of the main trail and Bohemian Grove trail, addition of split-rail fences, and recently, the installation of boardwalks on portions of the main trail. The circulation immediately in front of and leading to the Administration-Concession Building has been altered from its historic system of earthen trails with log edging and steps. The south approach to the building has been removed.

Bridges: The main trail retains three bridges dating from its improvement by the CCC in 1934, most notably the Fern Creek Bridge, a stone-faced concrete-arch vehicular bridge, and two small wood stringer bridges over minor tributaries. There are also two log bridges remaining on the Ben Johnson Trail, probably built by the CCC between 1933 and 1937. With the exception of three, most of the bridges on the canyon floor across Redwood Creek have either been removed or replaced since 1947. At that time, there were thirteen crossings of Redwood Creek within the nominated property, each spanned by massive log bridges, many built by the CCC during the 1930s. Four of the crossings remain, but the structures were replaced in the 1960s with larger, laminated wood bridges. Minor bridges and culverts across side drainages were not inventoried for this report.

Roads: Roads within the nominated property include a portion of the Dipsea Fire Road (CCC, 1934-1935) and the service drive, originally built in 1892 by the Bohemian Club as Sequoia Valley Road and realigned in c.1906 (it was bypassed with the construction of the Muir Woods Toll Road—the existing Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road—in 1925-26). The main trail was originally laid out as Sequoia Valley Road in 1892, but was converted to primary trail use in 1921. The Dipsea Fire Road remains intact and still serves its historic function. Since 1947, the lower portion of the service drive below the superintendent's residence has been paved, and the section above the superintendent's residence has been abandoned (a portion of

this section's roadbed was removed as part of a culvert repair project in 2004, but the park intends to rebuild this section as a trail to retain it as a circulation feature).

Erosion-Control Structures: An emphasis of early conservation and park management was erosion control, and Muir Woods retains several erosion-control structures from the historic period. Within the nominated property, these include an extensive system of stone revetments along Redwood Creek (CCC, 1934-38), portions of which have collapsed or were removed since 1947 (a detailed conditions inventory was not made for this report); a log dam (1932) near the Emerson memorial; and two rock check dams (CCC, 1934) near the Administration-Concession Building. These two rock dams have been broken up since the end of the historic period to restore salmon habitat, and therefore retain little of their historic character.

Walls, Stairs: The nominated property retains stone walls and stone steps (CCC, 1936) at the Superintendent's Residence in the Utility Area. These remain intact, and were apparently the only such structures in the monument during the historic period. Many log and wood steps exist on the trails, but these have not been inventoried for this report.

Objects

Of all the resource types at Muir Woods, objects have undergone the most change since the historic period. However, the most historically significant objects—the memorials—do remain intact. Within the nominated property, these include the Emerson (1903), Pinchot (1910), Kent (1929), and FDR (1947) memorials. Only one monument has been added since 1947, the Bicentennial monument (1976) on the Bohemian Trail. The redwood cross-section display (1931) remains, although its rustic pavilion has been rebuilt, but in a manner similar to the original, and its location has shifted to face the circular gathering area. Removed or replaced objects include redwood picnic tables, log signs, log benches, and log water fountains (all CCC, 1930s), and the main entrance arch/gate (CCC, 1934). This gate, removed in 1968, was reconstructed in a style similar to the historic gate in 1990. A new rustic interpretive pavilion, similar to the redwood-cross section pavilion, has been added near the Pinchot memorial.

Setting

To a large degree, Muir Woods National Monument retains its historic setting (here defined as the area outside of the proposed National Register property, rather than the landscape within the property) consisting of forest and grasslands. Thanks largely to the efforts of William Kent and others in the Mount Tamalpais park movement, the larger region of West Marin remains much as it was during the first half of the twentieth century, with the exception of the loss of agriculture

(grazing and dairy ranching), and limited residential development near Mill Valley. Remarkably, Muir Woods is still accessed by a narrow, twisting two-lane road, Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road (former toll road). The land surrounding Muir Woods to the north is an extension of the redwood forest that is part of Mount Tamalpais State Park. The state park also owns the narrow tract (East Buffer) along the east side of Muir Woods. Adjoining this strip is the Tourists Club (1912), a legacy of the local hiking community, and further up the ridge, single family homes, some built as early as the 1920s, but most dating to the 1950s and 1960s. These are not visible from the nominated property. The land to the west of the nominated property consists of a narrow forested strip (Kent West Buffer) that was incorporated into Muir Woods National Monument in 1951. West of this strip is grassland and forest on Ranch X along the Dipsea Ridge, formerly owned by William Kent, and later by the Brazil Brothers. Ranch X was incorporated into the state park in 1968, and some of its grasslands have reverted to forest in the absence of grazing.

The most notable changes to the setting of the nominated portion of Muir Woods since the historic period have been in the lowlands to the south. Most of this land was added to Muir Woods between 1951 and 1984. The state-leased parking lot parcel, which includes the main automobile entrance to Muir Woods off Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road, retains the main parking lot (CCC, 1938), but the parcel has changed since 1947 with the addition of a new comfort station, main entrance walls/sign, and redesign of the parking lot. The bank above (east) of the parking area was largely open during the historic period, but is now wooded. South of the parking lot parcel is the Kent Entrance Tract, Church Tract, and Camp Monte Vista Tract. The most significant change to these lands since 1947 has been natural succession from meadow to deciduous woods, and the addition of the lower parking area in 1956. The former Muir Woods Inn (c.1935) still stands opposite the entrance to Muir Woods. It was acquired by NPS in c.1974 and now serves as park offices and maintenance space.

Also changed since the historic period is the state park land immediately north of Muir Woods, the former Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway property. The portion of this property immediately adjoining Muir Woods remains forested as it was during historic period. Along Redwood Creek upstream from Muir Woods, the railway property contained the lower picnic area, which was managed as part of Muir Woods until it was removed in c.1950. Farther up the hill from the nominated property, the railway property contained the terminus of the Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway until it ceased operation in 1929. The terminus had served as one of the main entrances into Muir Woods. The railway inn and cabins at the terminus were removed and replaced by the CCC camp in 1934. The camp buildings stood until c.1949, at which time the state park developed Camp Alice Eastwood, which remains today. Surviving features on the property

from the historic period include the Cross Memorial, a boulder with a bronze plaque erected in c.1928 in memory of optometrist Andrew Cross; the wagon road (c.1906) built for access to the rail terminus, now the Camp Alice Eastwood Trail; the grade of the railway (1907, 1913), the upper part of which is Alice Eastwood Road; the Plevin Cut Trail (c.1908), built to connect the first Muir Woods Inn to the canyon floor; portions of the Lost Trail (formerly the west end of the Ocean View Trail, built in 1908); a small embanked shed (c.1934) built by the CCC to house explosives; the concrete foundation of the first Muir Woods Inn (1907); and the opening in the forest at the first terminus of the branch line (1907), now the camp parking area.

LIST OF RESOURCES

All resources within the recommended National Register boundaries that retain integrity to c.1947 and relate to the association of Muir Woods with the American conservation movement are listed here as contributing. There are additional landscape features that may either contribute or not to the historic character of the property, but these do not qualify as countable National Register resources, and are therefore not inventoried here. These include such things as contemporary benches, interpretive and directional signs, minor bridges and culverts, and utilities (water fountains, hydrants, manhole covers, etc.). Due to lack of documentation, archeological resources are also not inventoried or evaluated in this list.[4] The inventory numbers following the resource name indicate those that have been inventoried to date as part of the NPS List of Classified Structures (LCS). The LCS, as well as the Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), should be updated to list as "National Register status: eligible" all resources identified as "contributing."

Resources Within Proposed National Register Boundaries

Drawing 7 (Historical Base Map) Key
Resource Name (park bldg #, LCS #, contrib./non-contrib.), #/resource type, (date{s} of construction)

Sites

1. Redwood Forest (contributing)	1 site
2. Bohemian Grove (contributing)	1 site
3. Cathedral Grove (contributing)	1 site

Buildings

4. Superintendent's Residence (MW-1, LCS 058170, contributing) (1922, 1935, 1939)	1 building

5. Superintendent's Storage Shed (MW-2, contributing) (c.1922)	1 building
6. Superintendent's Garage (MW-3, LCS 058172, contributing) (1931)	1 building
7. Equipment Shed (MW-4, LCS 058169, contributing) (1934)	1 building
8. Administration-Concession Building (MW-8, contributing) (1940)	1 building
9. New Comfort Station (MW-17, non-contributing) (2003)	1 building
10. Trailer Office (non-contributing) (c.1990)	1 building
11. Power Tool (Paint) Shed (MW-15, non-contributing) (1966)	1 building
12. Hand Tool (Storage) Shed (MW-12, non-contributing) (c.1985)	1 building
Structures	
13. Main (Bootjack) Trail (contributing) (pre-1883, 1892)	1 structure
14. Service Drive (Old Muir Woods Road) (LCS 058181; incorrectly identified as Muir Woods Toll Road, contributing) (1892, c.1906)	1 structure
15. North Steps to Superintendent's Residence (LCS 058182, contributing) (1936)	1 structure
16. Fern Creek (Fern Canyon) Trail (contributing) (pre-1883)	1 structure
17. Camp Alice Eastwood Trail/wagon road (contributing) (c.1906)	1 structure
18. Ocean View Trail (contributing) (1908)	1 structure
19. Bohemian Grove Trail (contributing) (c.1905, 1935)	1 structure
20. Hillside Trail (LCS 058179, contributing) (1908)	1 structure
21. Ben Johnson Trail (LCS 058177, contributing) (c.1904)	1 structure
22. Dipsea Trail (contributing) (pre-1883, 1905)	1 structure
23. Dipsea (Deer Park) Fire Road (contributing) (1934-35)	1 structure

24. Main Trail Wooden Bridge #1 (LCS 058167, contributing) (c.1937)	1 structure
25. Main Trail Wooden Bridge #2 (LCS 058167, contributing) (c.1937)	1 structure
26. Fern Creek Bridge (LCS 058168, contributing) (1934)	1 structure
27. Lower Ben Johnson Trail Log Bridge (LCS 058178, contributing) (c.1934)	1 structure
28. Upper Ben Johnson Trail Log Bridge (contributing) (c.1934)	1 structure
29. Bridge #1 (non-contributing) (c.1965)	1 structure
30. Bridge #2 (non-contributing) (c.1965)	1 structure
31. Bridge #3 (non-contributing) (1963)	1 structure
32. Bridge #4 (non-contributing) (1968)	1 structure
33. Log Check Dam (contributing) (1932)	1 structure
34. Stone Revetment (LCS 058251, contributing) (1934-1938)	1 structure
35. Remains of Upper Rock Check Dam (non-contributing) (1934)	1 structure
36. Remains of Middle Rock Check Dam (non-contributing) (1934)	1 structure
37. Superintendent's Residence Stone Walls (LCS 058171, contributing) (c.1922, 1935)	1 structure
38. Redwood Cross Section Pavilion (contributing) (1931, c.1999)	1 structure
39. History of Muir Woods Pavilion (non-contributing) (2004)	1 structure
40. Entrance Gate (Arch) (non-contributing) (1990)	1 structure
41. Steel Water Tank (non-contributing) (1957)	1 structure
Objects	
42. Ben Johnson Trail Log Bench (contributing) (c.1934)	1 object
43. Emerson Memorial (LCS 058176, contributing) (1903)	1 object

44. Gifford Pinchot Memorial (LCS 058164, contributing) (1910)	1 object
45. William Kent Memorial (LCS 058174, contributing) (1929)	1 object
46. Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial (LCS 058165, contributing) (1947)	1 object
47. Bicentennial Tree Marker (non-contributing) (1976)	1 object

Total Contributing Resources: 33
Total Non-Contributing Resources: 14

Resources Outside of Proposed National Register Boundaries

These resources are not inventoried or evaluated in this report; however they may be managed as cultural resources by NPS.

Resource Name (see Drawing 8)

Camino del Canyon
Camp Hillwood (multiple buildings)
Conlon Avenue
Dipsea Trail (part)
Individual residences in Camp Monte Vista (multiple buildings)
Lo Mo Lodge (multiple buildings)
Lower parking area
Main entrance sign/wall
Main parking area
Main parking area comfort station
Muir Woods Inn and outbuildings (multiple buildings)
Native plant nursery
Remains of lower rock check dam in Redwood Creek
Sewage holding tanks
Sewage Lift Station
Trail between main and lower parking lots
Visitor Center

II. SIGNIFICANCE

CRITERION A

National Register Criterion A: *Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history*
Area of Significance: Conservation

Theme 1: Maturation of the American Conservation Movement

Muir Woods National Monument is nationally significant for its association with the maturation of the American conservation movement during the first half of the twentieth century, as supported by the following statements based primarily on the work of John Sears in Part 2 of the Historic Resource Study:

1. Muir Woods is nationally significant because its proclamation as a National Monument on January 8, 1908 represents an early manifestation of the Antiquities Act of 1906, being the tenth designated National Monument—the first made through a private donation of land and the first consisting primarily of a living, forest resource. Muir Woods represents, more than any other National Monument designated before it, the usefulness of the Antiquities Act as a preservation tool. The absence of bureaucratic or political hurdles and, hence, the speed with which a piece of property could be accepted by the government under the act, were essential to William Kent's success in removing Redwood Canyon from the imminent threat of the condemnation suit brought by the North Coast Water Company. The contributions of private philanthropists, like William Kent, were critical in the early history of conservation until the federal government greatly expanded its role in conservation during the New Deal. The national significance of the Muir Woods proclamation is also heightened through the close involvement of Chief of the U. S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, who was then, together with President Theodore Roosevelt, articulating the emergence of a national conservation philosophy. The designation of Muir Woods, following previous conservation achievements such as the establishment of public reserves at Yosemite, Yellowstone, Niagara Falls, and the Adirondacks, as well as the recent establishment of federal conservation agencies such as the U. S. Forest Service, represents the growing political acceptance of conservation at a national level, especially given that Muir Woods was designated in a struggle between nature preservation and water supply made soon after a great tragedy, the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906.

2. Muir Woods is nationally significant because its proclamation as a National Monument illustrates the two major philosophies in the early American conservation movement, represented by the preservation wing (advocates of wilderness protection) and the utilitarian wing (advocates of best or wise use of natural resources). The designation of Muir Woods was an achievement for preservation in its success at saving an old-growth redwood forest from condemnation as a

reservoir and its naming after the country's chief preservation advocate, John Muir. Muir Woods was not, however, set aside for nature's sake alone in keeping with the dominant utilitarian wing headed by Gifford Pinchot, who played a key role in the monument designation. The proximity of Muir Woods to San Francisco and therefore its use as a public park (reinforced by the tourist infrastructure such as the adjoining mountain railway and inn) represent an aspect of utilitarian conservation philosophy that was key to its designation as a National Monument, although that reason did not make it into the Presidential Proclamation. The embodiment of the two conservation philosophies at Muir Woods is also reflected in the monument's association with William Kent. He donated the redwood forest to the federal government in order to preserve it, yet also was deeply committed to the utilitarian philosophy, seeing little value to natural resources unless they provided public benefit. He was active in developing tourist infrastructure at Muir Woods and elsewhere on Mount Tamalpais, and also supported the damming of the Hetch-Hetchy Valley at Yosemite for water supply to San Francisco, a project vehemently opposed by John Muir and other preservationists. The story of the installation of the monument's Gifford Pinchot memorial in 1910, made through John Muir's Sierra Club at the time of the Hetch-Hetchy project supported by Pinchot, also represents the coming together of the two close yet at times strained wings of the conservation movement at Muir Woods.

3. The proclamation of Muir Woods National Monument is nationally significant because it served as an example and precedent for protection of other places of natural beauty, particularly those under private ownership. Gifford Pinchot praised William Kent's gift and wrote that it was helping the cause of conservation: "Your service in giving the Muir Woods…is a very growing one. It is doing much more good than I had any idea it could at first, and my idea was not a small one, as you know." (Pinchot to Kent, January 27, 1908, Kent Family Papers). The proclamation of Muir Woods influenced the establishment of Lafayette National Monument (Acadia National Park) in Maine, and the preservation of redwood groves elsewhere in California. Although its designation followed the establishment of the redwood preserve at Big Basin State Park south of San Francisco, the federal involvement in Muir Woods increased public awareness of the significance of redwood forests. In addition, Kent's personal philanthropy, particularly the example he set as a private individual contributing to the creation of a government owned park, became a model for the efforts of the Save-the-Redwoods League to preserve the redwoods elsewhere in California.

4. Muir Woods is nationally significant for its enduring association with the ideals of American conservation—as a type of shrine for the American conservation movement. Throughout the early twentieth century, Muir Woods was widely acknowledged for the beauty and primeval quality of its redwood forest. The

monument's renown was heightened through its well-known namesake and its ready accessibility to San Francisco. The monument's legacy as a sacred place in the American conservation movement is also evident by memorials to notable figures in transcendental literature and conservation, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Gifford Pinchot, William Kent, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The long-standing popularity of Muir Woods as a tourist destination, including visitation by many dignitaries, and its use as a ceremonial place, notably for events related to conservation, further heighten its continued association with the American conservation movement. The most significant special event at Muir Woods was the memorial ceremony held on May 19, 1945 by the United Nations Conference on International Organization to honor FDR's memory and his contributions to conservation.

Theme 2: Early Conservation in the San Francisco Bay Area

Muir Woods National Monument is significant at the local level for its association with early achievements of the conservation movement in the San Francisco Bay Area, and Marin County in particular, between 1907 and 1947. This significance is supported through the preceding statements for the national significance, as well as through the following statements particular to the Bay Area:

1. Muir Woods National Monument is locally significant as the first achievement in the movement for a public park on Mount Tamalpais, one of the most notable conservation achievements of the first half of the twentieth century in the Bay Area. It is due in large part to this movement that the western part of the Marin peninsula remains largely in a natural or rural state. The organized Mount Tamalpais park movement began in c.1903 and counted William Kent among its chief advocates. In gifting Muir Woods to the people of the United States, Kent from the beginning envisioned the monument as the first step in achieving the larger park; in 1908, he confided to Gifford Pinchot, "The start we have made will probably bring the bigger park on the mountain." (Kent to Pinchot, 19 February 1908, Gifford Pinchot Papers) The first expansion of the park area following Muir Woods was the establishment of the Marin Municipal Water District in 1912 (this was backed by Kent and was open to public recreational use); this was followed by the expansion of Muir Woods in 1921 (Hamilton, Railway, and Kent Tracts), which represented an effort at extending the monument to the larger park area. After this time, the park movement shifted to the state level and resulted in the establishment of Mount Tamalpais State Park in 1928. Through the 1930s, the extensive involvement of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in the Mount Tamalpais park area reflected to a large degree the strength of the park movement, and the vision to improve park resources—both cultural and natural—across the various municipal, state, and federal park entities. At Muir Woods, the involvement of

the CCC is evident in the stone revetments in Redwood Creek, the Fern Creek bridge, all of the historic (pre-1947) buildings, and portions of the trail system. The subsequent enlargement of Mount Tamalpais State Park in the 1950s and 1960s, and the establishment of Golden Gate National Recreation Area, are the legacy of the Mount Tamalpais park movement that had its first success at Muir Woods. In addition, today's combined federal-state-municipal structure of the Tamalpais Park Area had its start with William Kent's vision for managing Muir Woods as an integral part of the larger park area that was then in both public and private ownership.

2. Muir Woods National Monument is locally significant for its association with the development of recreation in Marin County, a key factor in the conservation movement in the Bay Area during the first half of the twentieth century. Recreational hiking on Mount Tamalpais became popular in the late nineteenth century, aided by improved road and rail access, and by the time of the proclamation of Muir Woods, there was an extensive network of trails across the mountain. Aside from Kent's own personal role, the proclamation of Muir Woods and its expansion prior to World War II owes much to advocacy by the Sierra Club, the Tamalpais Conservation Club, the California Alpine Club, and Tourist Club, clubs that counted many Mount Tamalpais hikers among their members. The clubs were also active and influential in the management of Muir Woods as well as the larger park area. Following World War II, the hiking clubs decreased markedly in popularity as the region and Muir Woods in particular shifted primarily toward automobile-based tourism.

3. Muir Woods National Monument is locally significant in the history of conservation in the Bay Area as the oldest federal park unit and second major public redwoods preserve established in the region (after Big Basin State Park in 1901), and as one of the area's longest-standing tourist attractions. Tourism in the Bay Area is closely linked to the history of conservation in the region. This significance is conveyed through a landscape that reflects changing national approaches to conservation practice and park management during the first half of the twentieth century. The existing organization of the landscape and remaining built features and traces convey early tourism and recreational uses (memorials, trails, groves); the switch from rail and horse transportation to automobiles (circulation system); CCC work during the Depression; efforts to control natural dynamics (Redwood Creek revetment and check dams); and development that blended built features into the natural environment (rustic design).

CRITERION C

National Register Criterion C: *Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction*
Area of Significance: Architecture

National Park Service Rustic Architecture 1916-1942

In addition to their significance under the area of conservation, the buildings and structures surviving at Muir Woods National Monument from the historic period (1907-1947) are significant as representative examples of rustic design employed by the National Park Service prior to World War II (NPS rustic style). They represent the system-wide effort at harmonizing built features to the natural environment and cultural setting as documented in "National Park Service Rustic Architecture 1916-1942" (William C. Tweed, Laura E. Soulliere, and Henry G. Law, 1977), and *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942* (Linda Flint McClelland, 1993). The buildings and structures are concentrated in the Utility and Entrance Areas at the south end of the monument, along the Main Trail, and on the Ben Johnson Trail.

The buildings and structures at Muir Woods National Monument have their origins in the formative period of the NPS rustic style, although a tradition of rustic design had been established earlier by William Kent and the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Company in the development of structures outside of the monument boundary, such as the Muir Woods Inn (not extant). With its proximity to San Francisco, location of the NPS regional design office, and its association with the well-connected William Kent, Muir Woods enjoyed close attention by NPS architects and landscape architects who were responsible for developments at the major parks such as Yosemite and Sequoia. The first building constructed within the monument by the NPS was the Custodian's Cottage (Superintendent's Residence), built in 1922. Here, NPS designers established a motif of exposed timber framing that was used on all subsequent monument buildings through 1940. The motif was similar to that used at the Giant Forest Village complex at Sequoia National Park developed the year before, but with milled timber framing rather than logs, perhaps a nod to the less remote setting of Muir Woods. The small residence with its log pergola, shingle infill, white-painted multi-paned casement windows, and stone foundation was designed by NPS landscape architect Daniel Hull, reflecting the expansive role of landscape architects in park design and development. A small garage was built along with the residence in 1922, which was replaced in 1931 with a larger garage (present Superintendent's Garage), attributed to the design of NPS Landscape Architect Thomas Carpenter. The garage maintained the timber framing motif, but substituted plank infill for the shingles used on the residence.

With the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and other federal work-relief programs in the Mount Tamalpais park area between 1933 and 1941, Muir Woods underwent the busiest period of development in its history. The remaining buildings and structures erected prior to 1947 all date from this time, and reflect the mature phase of the NPS rustic style and continued use of the exposed timber framing motif. Buildings include the Equipment Shed, built in 1934 by the Civil Works Administration according to plans developed by the San Francisco district office (individual designer not known), and two wings to the Superintendent's Residence: one built by the CCC in 1935 to the design of NPS Regional Architect Edward A. Nickel and Regional Landscape Architect W. G. Carnes; and a 1939 addition, designed by NPS Assistant Architect L. H. Skidmore and built through the Public Works Administration. Aside from changes to exterior color and the addition of a deck adjoining the Superintendent's Residence, these buildings remain largely unaltered.

In addition to buildings, five extant bridges are representative of the NPS rustic style. Most notable is the Fern Creek Bridge, built in 1934 by the Civil Works Administration and the CCC according to plans by Regional Architect Nickel. The bridge, a vehicular, single-arch concrete structure with rough stone facing, employs concealed modern construction that was a hallmark of the mature phase of the NPS rustic style. A prototype for this design was the Ahwahnee Bridge over the Merced River in Yosemite National Park, built in 1928. The other bridges, built during the 1930s probably by the CCC, include two single-log footbridges on the Ben Johnson Trail, and two wood vehicular stringer bridges on the Main Trail with plank flooring, log curbs, and rubble stone abutments. These structures all display the hallmarks of the NPS rustic style through their visual harmonization with the natural environment. The bridges remain largely as constructed.

The Administration-Concession Building, the largest building within the nominated property, is significant in the area of architecture for illustrating the shift in the NPS rustic style during the late 1930s away from romanticized, primitive characteristics toward a more streamlined rustic style, foretelling park architecture of the post-war years. In addition to the increasing need for economy of labor in the dwindling years of the CCC, this shift reflected growing appreciation within the NPS for the Modern Movement, with its emphasis on expression of volume and structure, functionalism, lack of ornament, and disdain for romanticism. The design of the Administration-Concession Building was developed by the NPS San Francisco Regional Office, with Thomas Vint, Chief of Planning, and C. L. Gable, Chief Park Operators Division, involved in the planning, and Regional Architect Edward Nickel probably responsible for the final plan. It was constructed under private contract through the Public Works Administration. The building, a two-winged low-slung structure with a broad hipped roof, departed from the

exposed timber framing motif and instead used wide clapboards, large expanses of glazing, and doors with horizontal muntins. It consisted of two wings—one for the concessionaire and one of the administrative offices—and an open connecting porch. In overall massing, lines, and details, it was a stylistic precursor to the Administration Building completed at Olympic National Park the following year. The Muir Woods building also featured a stylized rustic terrace, built by the CCC in 1941 that featured paving of redwood rounds, massive redwood benches, and smoothly-finished log curbing on the approach walks. After the end of the period of significance, the terrace was replaced (or concealed) with a raised deck, and a number of alterations were made to the building, including two rear shed additions and enclosing of the connecting porch between the two wings. Despite these changes, the overall massing, siding, and fenestration remain largely intact. The interior has been substantially altered, although the concession wing appears to retain its original knotty pine paneling.

The landscape of Muir Woods historically illustrated characteristics of the NPS rustic style through naturalistic design of trails and roads, use of natural stone for Redwood Creek revetments, and a pervasive log motif applied to footbridges, signs, gates, benches, and drinking fountains. While overall the landscape retains its natural appearance, including the redwood forest, trails, and stone revetments, the loss of several rustic buildings, most of the log footbridges, and all of the small-scale log features has altered the historic rustic design. The designed landscape of Muir Woods therefore does not retain sufficient integrity to illustrate the NPS rustic style under Criterion C in the area of landscape architecture.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The period of significance for Muir Woods National Monument begins with the gift of 298 acres in Redwood Canyon by William Kent and his wife, Elizabeth Thacher Kent, to the United States on December 26, 1907, under the provisions of the Antiquities Act of 1906. The date of the Kents' gift (the date that they signed their deed over to the United States) marks the beginning of the period of significance because it is the act that marked the beginnings of federal ownership (the property was proclaimed a National Monument on January 8, 1908). The prior two years of ownership by the Kents and development into a public park in partnership with the Mt. Tamalpais and Mill Valley Scenic Railway Company are not included within the period of significance because they represent a different theme (private conservation efforts) in the history of the property, which was then part of a larger 612-acre tract. In addition, the built features of the property do not retain integrity from this earlier period to warrant nomination under a distinct theme.

The period of significance is extended to 1947, encompassing the first four decades of federal ownership and management, to include the years in which Muir Woods was expanded as part of the Mount Tamalpais park movement, was adapted by NPS in the face of rising visitation and changing conservation practices according to a consistent rustic design vocabulary, and attained renown as a major tourist attraction and as a type of shrine for the conservation movement. The year 1947 marks the installation of the memorial for Franklin D. Roosevelt that came about as a result of the UNCIO ceremony held on May 19, 1945. The years after 1947 are excluded from the period of significance because they mark a distinct shift in the management of the property that extends into recent times, beyond the fifty-year limit that is generally recommended for evaluating properties according to the National Register criteria. The distinction of the post-1947 period is evident through the implementation of the NPS MISSION 66 program beginning in the 1950s, which resulted in changes to built features in a departure from the romantic rustic style of the pre-war years; the enlargement of the monument for operational purposes rather than for specifically preserving redwood forest; and a shift toward ecological conservation. This shift began in large part in 1947, the year that Dr. Edgar Wayburn, Chairman of the Conservation Committee of the Sierra Club and President of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, drafted a vision for managing Muir Woods and adjoining areas as part of the larger ecology of the Redwood Creek watershed, a vision that is still guiding monument management today.[5]

III. PRELIMINARY TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The following treatment recommendations are intended as an initial step at identifying potential needs for preservation and enhancement of the monument's cultural resources and the cultural landscape in particular. These recommendations, organized according to the property proposed for National Register listing and areas outside of it, are based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, the research findings of this report, and discussions with park staff. Further study is warranted to ensure that these treatment recommendations appropriately balance natural and cultural resource management values, as well as park operational requirements.

MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT (PROPOSED NATIONAL REGISTER DISTRICT)

In general, all cultural resources identified as contributing should be preserved and maintained within the monument's primary mandate to preserve the redwood forest and maintain its public accessibility. In the design of new construction within the nominated area, the monument's legacy of rustic design from the historic period (1907-1947) should be taken into account, especially the log motif

for such things as bridges, signs, benches, and curbs, and exposed milled timber framing details on buildings.

Trails

The existing trail system should be retained, and remaining historic features/characteristics (alignment, width, earthen surface, and integral features such as waterbars) should be retained and where possible, enhanced. Where changes are needed to address issues of accessibility and impacts to natural resources such as trampling and compaction, boardwalks may be appropriate. These should be designed to retain the alignment and width of the trails, in a rustic or naturalistic style in order to minimize the visual impact on the natural environment. The boardwalks should also be designed as low as possible in order to approximate the ground level grade and experience of walking on the forest floor, rather than on an elevated structure.

Redwood Creek Revetments

The stone revetment system in Redwood Creek, consisting of face-bedded stone banks, should be retained to preserve the historic cultural landscape of Muir Woods that illustrates the workmanship of the CCC and early twentieth-century conservation practices. Portions of the revetments that are deteriorating should be repaired (a detailed inventory of the condition of the stone revetment was not undertaken for this project). Potential impacts from the stone revetments on the natural creek habitat should be considered as part of a comprehensive study of the entire creek corridor. Habitat restoration should be first considered where historic resources such as the stone revetments will not be impacted. Any habitat restoration should minimize disturbance to the stone revetments.

Administration-Concession Building

This building, formerly considered non-historic due to alterations but based on this report identified as contributing, should be retained. Its straightforward, streamlined rustic design, illustrated by its large plate-glass windows, low-slung roof, doors with horizontal muntins, and broad horizontal wood siding, are not later renovations, but are original to the building design and represent an early example of the Park Service Modern style and the shift away from the romantic NPS rustic style that began in the late 1930s. The building is also the last structure built through federal work-relief programs at Muir Woods (PWA and CCC), and represents the fulfillment of long-envisioned plans to erect a central office and visitor service building. Future renovation plans to this building should be developed in a way that preserves and/or restores its character-defining features, in keeping with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Future site work around the building should also take into consideration the original design intent, notably the redwood-rounds terrace that was removed or concealed after the end of the historic period.

Utility Area

Consideration should be given to opening this area for public access and interpretation, given its complex of historic buildings and stonework, including the earliest monument building and work of the CCC. This area would be an appropriate place to interpret and exhibit the cultural history of Muir Woods. Public access to this area from the main trail could be made by reopening the trail connecting the main trail and the service drive (old alignment of Sequoia Valley Road and one of the original entrances into Redwood Canyon). Consideration should also be given to returning the Superintendent's Residence to its historic color (brown) and removing or redesigning the metal paint shed (1966).

Vegetation

The forest along the main trail historically had a relatively open understory that allowed clear views of the big trees. Understory vegetation should be managed to perpetuate these views (obstructing vegetation alongside the trail should be removed where possible). In addition, where trees of special interest or historical significance are lost, consideration should be given to replanting in order to perpetuate them as cultural landscape features. An inventory and monitoring system for these trees, such as the Gifford Pinchot, Emerson, and albino trees, and the family circles at Bohemian and Cathedral groves, should be undertaken.

Boundaries

Addition of markers identifying the boundaries and interior tracts of Muir Woods would enhance interpretation of the monument's cultural history, understanding of its various components, and its identity within the surrounding lands of Mount Tamalpais State Park. These markers, placed along the trails at the tract boundaries, could identify the name of the tract and the date of its addition to Muir Woods National Monument (i.e., "Original Monument Tract, 298 acres, January 9, 1908"). The same markers could also be used to identify related adjoining properties, including the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway tract north of the monument, and the state-leased parking lot parcel on the south. Employing the historic tract names may also provide a structure for organizing management of the landscape.

ADJOINING LANDS [SEE DRAWING 8]

Given that Muir Woods National Monument was historically managed in concert with adjoining private and state-owned lands, it is critical that management of the proposed National Register property be closely integrated with the management of adjoining parcels, including those owned by the county (Muir Woods-Frank Valley Road), NPS (Muir Woods tracts outside of the National Register property), and most notably, lands belonging to Mount Tamalpais State Park, notably the leased parking lot parcel and the former Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway

property. The following are specific treatment recommendations for these two parcels:

State-Leased Parking Lot Parcel

Although not recommended for National Register listing, the state-leased parking lot parcel is an important part of the historic setting of Muir Woods and has served as the primary entrance since the 1930s. If consideration is given in the future to removing or altering the main parking lot, the open space in which it is located should be maintained (e.g., as meadow), since it was an open space throughout the historic period. This open space sets apart the redwood forest, and allows visitors to see redwood trees towering in the background. The Service Drive (old Muir Woods Road) should also be maintained if the parking lot is removed (it is currently the inbound travel lane in the parking lot).

Mount Tamalpais State Park, Former Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railway Property

Given the importance of this property in the history of Muir Woods National Monument, an integrated management approach should be developed in order to safeguard surviving cultural resources, enhance interpretation and public understanding of its history, and protect the setting of Muir Woods from incompatible development. Management of this property should strive to preserve and enhance traces of its historic use and development, notably the roads, trails, railroad bed, clearing, and foundations of the first Muir Inn. A steep embankment along Camp Alice Eastwood Trail opposite the site of the second Muir Inn is the embankment of the footbridge that connected the inn to the railway platform—a key remnant that should be retained and stabilized. The addition of interpretive features and enhancement of the visibility of historic remnants such as the railroad bed could greatly increase interest in the rich history of this area and its one-time function as the main entrance to Muir Woods.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON CULTURAL RESOURCES

(By John Sears and John Auwaerter)

Cultural Landscape Report

A CLR (Parts 1 and 2) should be written for Muir Woods National Monument, focusing on the National Register eligible property while also addressing adjoining related properties, notably the former Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway property within Mount Tamalpais State Park. The CLR would build off this Historic Resource Study, advancing documentation of the property's history, analyzing and evaluating the landscape characteristics and features in more detail, and providing detailed treatment recommendations. The CLR could further document the history of specific landscape features, such as the trails, notable trees and groves, picnic areas, signage, and erosion control features. The report could also

articulate an overall treatment philosophy, provide direction on interpretation and park operations related to the landscape, address detailed design issues, and direct long-term management of the landscape.

Archeological Survey

An archeological survey of Muir Woods National Monument and adjoining related lands is warranted to determine if there are resources of both pre-contact and historic significance. An archeological survey could provide information on issues not presently well documented, such as use by Native Americans, particularly at the junction of Redwood and Fern Creeks; the exact location of the log cabin (Ben Johnson cabin) and whether there was a matching log cabin at the south end of the canyon; the exact location of the Keeper's House on the Kent Entrance Tract and whether it also functioned as the sportsmen's clubhouse—the Alders; the limits and use of the picnic areas; construction and alignment of roads and trails; the location of the Bohemian Club Buddha and other features from the 1892 summer encampment; and the exact location of the second inn, first and second sets of cabins, and other features associated with the terminus of the mountain railway.

Site survey

An detailed survey of the existing conditions of Muir Woods National Monument should be undertaken to accurately locate boundaries, topography, natural features, and built features. Historic surveys should be rectified to the survey. This survey would be critical for undertaking an archeological survey and a Cultural Landscape Report.

1907 Survey of Redwood Canyon

Despite a thorough search in the Kent and Pinchot papers and in National Park Service records at the National Archives, and consultations with archivists at National Archives in Washington and College Park, the "blueprint showing my outside lines, the Monument lines, and the inner lines showing the condemnation suit" prepared by Kent and enclosed with Kent's letter to Pinchot of December 26, 1907, was not found. If it still exists, it will not be easy to find. No other documentation was found during research for this project on the boundaries of the land sought for condemnation by the North Coast Water Company.

Visits by John Muir to Muir Woods

Further research may reveal additional insight into John Muir's familiarity with the monument named after him. The only visit made by John Muir to Muir Woods and to the home of William and Elizabeth Kent that is documented in the correspondence between Kent and Muir is the one made in the fall of 1908. It would be worth checking more thoroughly in the *John Muir Papers, 1858-1957* (microfilm, Chadwyk Healey, 1986) for additional evidence of his visits. The guide edited by Ronald H. Limbaugh and Kirsten E. Lewis was not available when this collection was consulted. There may be correspondence in this collection between

Muir and people other than Kent that refers to Muir Woods and his visits there. It is also possible there are documents in the James Eastman Shone Collection of Muir Papers at the University of the Pacific. This is a separate collection and is not available on microfilm. Fairley says that Muir visited Muir Woods in 1909 or 1910, "according to the Monument's records," but it is not clear what records he is referring to or why they are indefinite about the year of Muir's visit. In addition, undocumented secondary sources in the park refer to visits by John Muir in 1908, 1910, and 1913.

Condemnation Suit

When and how was the condemnation suit against Muir Woods finally dropped? Further research in the Kent Family Papers at Yale might answer this question. The first priority would be to check Boxes 5 and 6 (Correspondence 1909-10) for documents on the subject.

Kent and Regional Planning

Research in several histories of regional planning did not find any mention of Kent or his regional planning achievements in Marin County, but a more thorough review of the literature on the history of regional planning might find some mention of them. One parallel that might deserve further investigation is the construction in New York State of the Ashokan Reservoir in the Catskills and the Croton Reservoir in the Hudson Highlands, which supply water to New York City, and their relationship to the development of compatible scenic recreational resources in these areas.

Pinchot/Kent/F. E. Olmsted Relationship

It would be interesting to know when Kent and Pinchot first met and became friends. It was not possible to determine this from either the Kent or the Pinchot correspondence. It is not clear what other sources would yield an answer. It would also be worth knowing when F. E. Olmsted and Kent became acquainted.

Identity of L. A. McAllister

Further research in local San Francisco sources might identify L. A. McAllister, whom Kent tried to interest in his plan for a Mt. Tamalpais park.

Kent's Stake in the Mountain Railway

Research in the papers of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway or further research in the Kent Family Papers might determine how much stock Kent owned in the railway and how much he profited by the increase in passenger traffic on the line after the establishment of Muir Woods National Monument.

Records of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, University of California, Berkeley

The records of the mountain railway, housed at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (BANC MSS C-G 256, in remote storage) warrant research

given the railways' significant role in the early development and administration of Redwood Canyon as a public park. This research may also shed additional light on the landscape of the railway's terminus at Muir Woods, as well as Kent's involvement in the railway's business, as noted above. Research into these papers for this project was attempted, but was not accomplished due to limitations of time and travel.

Records of the Bohemian Club

The records of the Bohemian Club in San Francisco were not available for research at the writing of this report. Numerous phone calls were made to the club archivist, but none returned. Research into the annals of the Bohemian Club may shed additional detail on the landscape of the club's 1892 summer encampment at Muir Woods. Only secondary sources were available on this subject, and they offered little detail on the landscape.

Records of Mount Tamalpais State Park

Limited primary research was undertaken on the administration of Mount Tamalpais State Park. Records from the park's establishment in 1928 and subsequent administration were not located. The State Archives has only three reports related to Mount Tamalpais State Park, but the central office of California State Parks may hold additional records. Research into such records could help clarify the relationship between the state park and Muir Woods, and the development of the state park landscape adjoining Muir Woods, notably the trails, NPS-leased parking lot parcel, and Camp Alice Eastwood.

Lovell White Papers

The Mill Valley Public Library has a collection of letters from Lovell White: "Copies of business letters written by [Lovel]l White when he was an official of the Tamalpais Land and Water Company" 333.324 (1906-1910). These letters may provide insight into the mountain railway's development of Redwood Canyon and the subsequent establishment of the national monument. The papers were not researched due to limits of time and travel.

Eleanor Kent

Kenny Kent, grandson of William Kent, recommended that another family member, Eleanor Kent of San Francisco (415 647-8503) may have information on William Kent and the early history of Muir Woods. Ms. Kent was not contacted for this project.

ENDNOTES

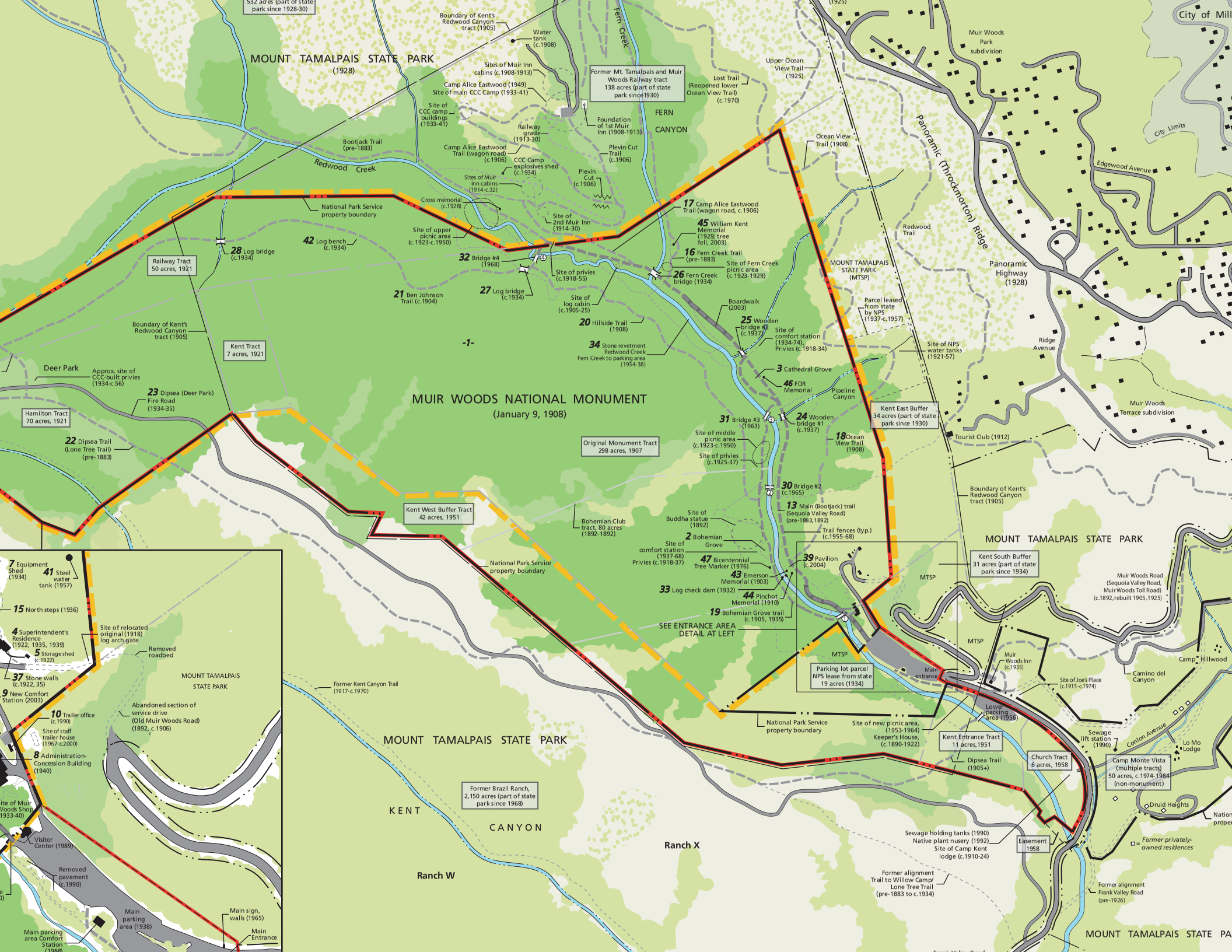
[1] Dewey Livingston, Historical Technician, Draft National Register nomination form for Muir Woods National Monument (Muir Woods National Monument Historic District), 15 March 1996, Historian's Files, Fort Mason.

[2] Jill York O'Bright, Briefing Paper to Chief, Cultural Resources and Museum Management, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 13 May 2002. Historian's Files, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco. O'Bright also suggested that the monument might meet the criteria for listing as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) under the theme of conservation (conservation is presently not an NHL theme study). Based on the findings of this HRS, however, it does not appear that Muir Woods would meet the criteria for NHL listing due to its level of historic integrity. Generally, NHLs require a very high level of historic integrity. Muir Woods does not appear to meet this threshold due to the loss of the log bridges, comfort stations, and small-scale log features built prior to 1947, alterations to the Administration-Concession Building and the main trail, and the addition of three new buildings.

[3] This section is based on: National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991); and National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991).

[4] Future survey work may identify archeological resources that contribute to the significance of the property under Criterion D, notably at the sites of lost buildings and structures.

[5] Mia Monroe, Supervisory Park Ranger, Muir Woods National Monument, e-mail to author, 2 January 2006.


MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
(1928)
532 acres (part of state park since 1928-30)
Boundary of Kent's Redwood Canyon tract (1905)
Water tank (c.1908)
Sites of Muir Inn cabins (c.1908-1913)
Camp Alice Eastwood (1949)
Site of main CCC Camp (1933-41)
Site of CCC camp buildings (1933-41)
Former Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway tract
138 acres (part of state park since1930)
Foundation of 1st Muir Inn (1908-1913)
Fern Creek
FERN CANYON
Lost Trail (Reopened lower Ocean View Trail) (c.1970)
Upper Ocean View Trail (1925)
Muir Woods Park subdivision
City of Mill
City Limits
Edgewood Avenue
Panoramic (Throckmorton) Ridge
Panoramic Highway (1928)
Ocean View Trail (1908)
Redwood Trail
Ridge Avenue
Muir Woods Terrace subdivision
Tourist Club (1912)
Bootjack Trail (pre-1883)
Railway grade (1913-30)
Camp Alice Eastwood Trail (wagon road) (c.1906)
CCC Camp explosives shed (c.1934)
Plevin Cut Trail (c.1906)
Plevin Cut (c.1906)
Sites of Muir Inn cabins (1914-c.32)
Redwood Creek
Cross memorial (c.1928)
National Park Service property boundary
Site of upper picnic area (c.1923-c.1950)
Site of 2nd Muir Inn (1914-30)
17 Camp Alice Eastwood Trail (wagon road, c.1906)
45 William Kent Memorial (1929; tree fell, 2003)
16 Fern Creek Trail (pre-1883)
Site of Fern Creek picnic area (c.1923-1929)
26 Fern Creek bridge (1934)
28 Log bridge (c.1934)
42 Log bench (c.1934)
32 Bridge #4 (1968)
Site of privies (c.1918-55)
27 Log bridge (c.1934)
21 Ben Johnson Trail (c.1904)
Site of log cabin (c.1905-25)
20 Hillside Trail (1908)
Railway Tract 50 acres, 1921
Boundary of Kent's Redwood Canyon tract (1905)
Kent Tract 7 acres, 1921
-1-
34 Stone revetment Redwood Creek Fern Creek to parking area (1934-38)
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK (MTSP)
Parcel leased from state by NPS (1937-c.1957)
25 Wooden bridge #2 (c.1937)
Boardwalk (2003)
Site of comfort station (1934-74) Privies (c.1918-34)
Site of NPS water tanks (1921-57)
Deer Park
Approx. site of CCC-built privies (1934-c.56)
3 Cathedral Grove
46 FDR Memorial
Pipeline Canyon
23 Dipsea (Deer Park) Fire Road (1934-35)
MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
(January 9, 1908)
Hamilton Tract 70 acres, 1921
31 Bridge #3 (1963)
24 Wooden bridge #1 (c.1937)
Kent East Buffer 34 acres (part of state park since 1930)
22 Dipsea Trail (Lone Tree Trail) (pre-1883)
Original Monument Tract 298 acres, 1907
Site of middle picnic area (c.1923-c.1950)
Site of privies (c.1925-37)
18 Ocean View Trail (1908)
30 Bridge #2 (c.1965)
13 Main (Bootjack) trail (Sequoia Valley Road) (pre-1883,1892)
Boundary of Kent's Redwood Canyon tract (1905)
Kent West Buffer Tract 42 acres, 1951
Bohemian Club tract, 80 acres (1892-1892)
Site of Buddha statue (1892)
Trail fences (typ.) (c.1955-68)
2 Bohemian Grove
Site of comfort station (1937-68) Privies (c.1918-37)
39 Pavilion (c.2004)
47 Bicentennial Tree Marker (1976)
43 Emerson Memorial (1903)
33 Log check dam (1932)
44 Pinchot Memorial (1910)
19 Bohemian Grove trail (c.1905, 1935)
SEE ENTRANCE AREA DETAIL AT LEFT
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Kent South Buffer 31 acres (part of state park since 1934)
Muir Woods Road (Sequoia Valley Road, Muir Woods Toll Road) (c.1892,rebuilt 1905,1925)
MTSP
Parking lot parcel NPS lease from state 19 acres (1934)
Main entrance
Muir Woods Inn (c.1935)
Camp Hillwood
Camino del Canyon
Site of Joe's Place (c.1915-c.1974)
Lower parking area (1956)
National Park Service property boundary
Site of new picnic area, (1953-1964) Keeper's House, (c.1890-1922)
Kent Entrance Tract 11 acres,1951
Dipsea Trail (1905+)
Church Tract 6 acres, 1958
Sewage lift station (1990)
Conlon Avenue
Lo Mo Lodge
Camp Monte Vista (multiple tracts) 50 acres, c.1974-1984 (non-monument)
Druid Heights
Former privately-owned residences
Sewage holding tanks (1990) Native plant nursery (1992) Site of Camp Kent lodge (c.1910-24)
Easement 1958
Former alignment Trail to Willow Camp/ Lone Tree Trail (pre-1883 to c.1934)
Former alignment Frank Valley Road (pre-1926)
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PA
Former Kent Canyon Trail (1917-c.1970)
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
Former Brazil Ranch, 2,150 acres (part of state park since 1968)
KENT CANYON
Ranch X
Ranch W
7 Equipment Shed (1934)
41 Steel water tank (1957)
15 North steps (1936)
4 Superintendent's Residence (1922, 1935, 1939)
Site of relocated original (1918) log arch gate
5 Storage shed (c.1922)
Removed roadbed
37 Stone walls (c.1922, 35)
9 New Comfort Station (2003)
MOUNT TAMALPAIS STATE PARK
10 Trailer office (c.1990)
Abandoned section of service drive (Old Muir Woods Road) (1892, c.1906)
Site of staff trailer house (1967-c2000)
8 Administration-Concession Building (1940)
Visitor Center (1989)
Removed pavement (c.1990)
Main parking area (1938)
Main sign, walls (1965)
Main Entrance
Main parking area Comfort Station (1968)

Pinchot Monument
Redwood
MONUMENT BOUNDARY
WILL
S 54°19'W
1482.7'

Appendices

Section title page graphic: Entrance area survey, detail of 1931 monument survey. Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Park Archives, oversize plans, Muir Woods Collection.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PROPERTY ACQUISITIONS AND MONUMENT DESIGNATIONS MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

(Acreage rounded to nearest whole number)

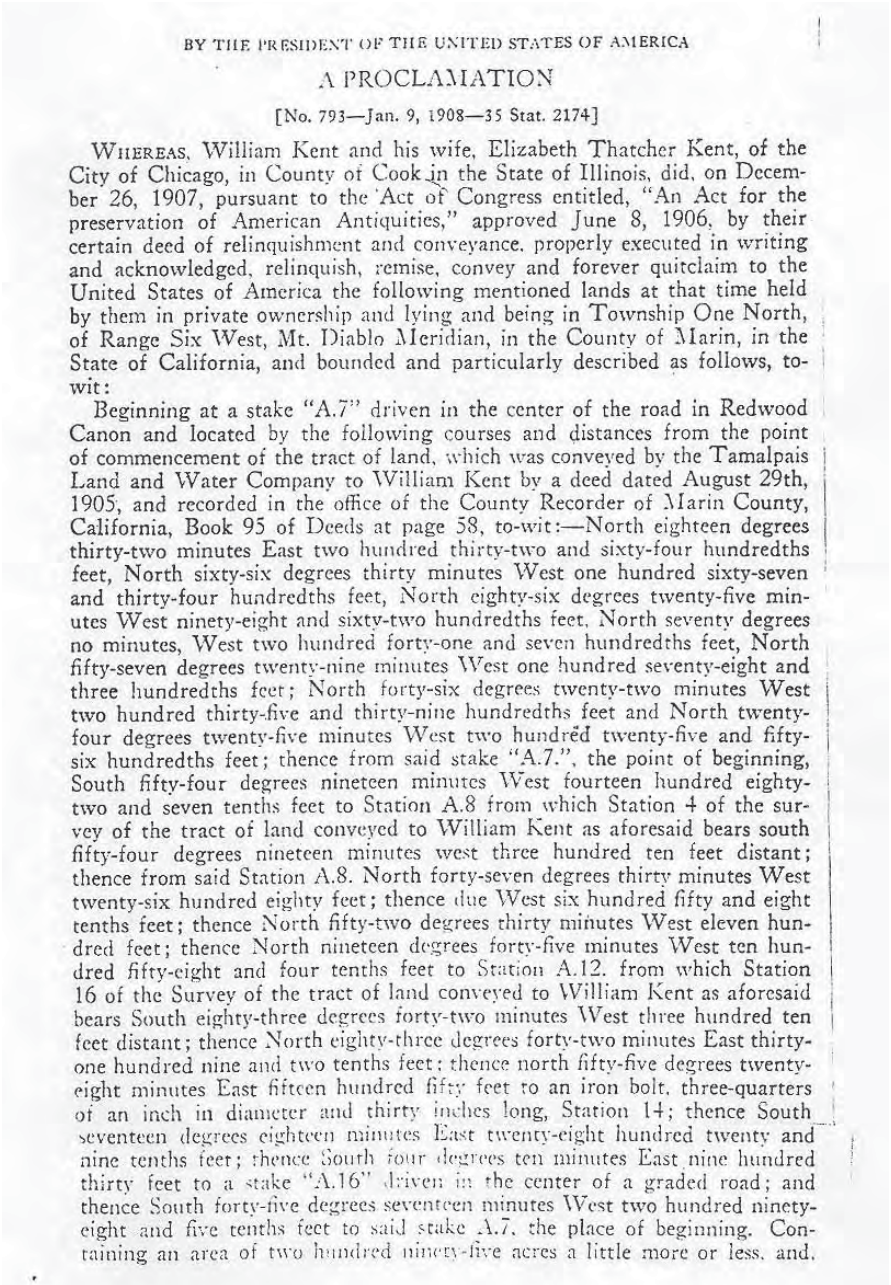
12/26/1907	William and Elizabeth Thacher Kent to U. S. A. Original monument tract, 298 acres (295 acres in deed)
1/9/1908	National Monument Designation: Original monument tract (298 acres), Proclamation 793 (35 Stat. 2174)
2/14/1920	William and Elizabeth Thacher Kent to U. S. A. Hamilton Tract, 70 acres
2/14/1920	William and Elizabeth Thacher Kent to U. S. A. Kent Tract, 7 acres
2/24/1921	Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Company to U. S. A. Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Tract, 50 acres
9/22/1921	National Monument Designation (Boundary Enlargement) Hamilton, Kent & Railway Tracts (128 acres) Proclamation 1608 (42 Stat. 2249)
3/9/1935	Estate of William Kent (Elizabeth Thacher Kent) to U. S. A. Entrance Tract, 1.36 acres
4/5/1935	National Monument Designation (Boundary Enlargement) Entrance Tract (1.36 acres), Proclamation 2122 (49 Stat. 3443)
1/19/1951	Estate of William Kent (William Kent, Jr.) to U. S. A. Kent Buffer Strip (West Buffer), Tract 1, 42 acres
6/26/1951	National Monument Designation (Boundary Enlargement) Tract 1—Kent Buffer Strip (42 acres), Tract 2—Kent Entrance Tract (11 acres), Tracts 3 & 4—State-owned parking lot parcel (19 acres) at monument entrance (Total: 42 acres federally owned, 11 acres with federal purchase option, 19 acres state owned), Proclamation 2932 (65 Stat. c20)
6/29/1951	Estate of William Kent (William Kent, Jr.) to U. S. A. Kent Entrance Tract, 11 acres
10/20/1958	Presbyterian Church to U. S. A. Church Tract, 6 acres (with easement to Frank Valley Road)
9/8/1959	National Monument Designation (Boundary Enlargement) Church Tract (6 acres), Proclamation 3311 (73 Stat. c76)
4/11/1972	Federal Legislation, Boundary Expansion, Muir Woods National Monument Unit of National Park Service Multiple parcels, federal, state, and private ownership (50 acres, Camp Monte Vista subdivision) 86 Stat. 120, Section 9 (Not given National Monument designation)
1972-1984	NPS acquisition of property in Camp Monte Vista subdivision.

APPENDIX B

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATIONS ESTABLISHING AND EXPANDING MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

ORIGINAL MONUMENT PROCLAMATION #793, JANUARY 9, 1908 (35 STAT. 2174)

PAGE 1



BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 793—Jan. 9, 1908—35 Stat. 2174]

WHEREAS, William Kent and his wife, Elizabeth Thatcher Kent, of the City of Chicago, in County of Cook in the State of Illinois, did, on December 26, 1907, pursuant to the Act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the preservation of American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906, by their certain deed of relinquishment and conveyance, properly executed in writing and acknowledged, relinquish, remise, convey and forever quitclaim to the United States of America the following mentioned lands at that time held by them in private ownership and lying and being in Township One North, of Range Six West, Mt. Diablo Meridian, in the County of Marin, in the State of California, and bounded and particularly described as follows, to-wit:

Beginning at a stake "A.7" driven in the center of the road in Redwood Canon and located by the following courses and distances from the point of commencement of the tract of land, which was conveyed by the Tamalpais Land and Water Company to William Kent by a deed dated August 29th, 1905, and recorded in the office of the County Recorder of Marin County, California, Book 95 of Deeds at page 58, to-wit:—North eighteen degrees thirty-two minutes East two hundred thirty-two and sixty-four hundredths feet, North sixty-six degrees thirty minutes West one hundred sixty-seven and thirty-four hundredths feet, North eighty-six degrees twenty-five minutes West ninety-eight and sixty-two hundredths feet, North seventy degrees no minutes, West two hundred forty-one and seven hundredths feet, North fifty-seven degrees twenty-nine minutes West one hundred seventy-eight and three hundredths feet; North forty-six degrees twenty-two minutes West two hundred thirty-five and thirty-nine hundredths feet and North twenty-four degrees twenty-five minutes West two hundred twenty-five and fifty-six hundredths feet; thence from said stake "A.7.", the point of beginning, South fifty-four degrees nineteen minutes West fourteen hundred eighty-two and seven tenths feet to Station A.8 from which Station 4 of the survey of the tract of land conveyed to William Kent as aforesaid bears south fifty-four degrees nineteen minutes west three hundred ten feet distant; thence from said Station A.8. North forty-seven degrees thirty minutes West twenty-six hundred eighty feet; thence due West six hundred fifty and eight tenths feet; thence North fifty-two degrees thirty minutes West eleven hundred feet; thence North nineteen degrees forty-five minutes West ten hundred fifty-eight and four tenths feet to Station A.12. from which Station 16 of the Survey of the tract of land conveyed to William Kent as aforesaid bears South eighty-three degrees forty-two minutes West three hundred ten feet distant; thence North eighty-three degrees forty-two minutes East thirty-one hundred nine and two tenths feet; thence north fifty-five degrees twenty-eight minutes East fifteen hundred fifty feet to an iron bolt, three-quarters of an inch in diameter and thirty inches long, Station 14; thence South seventeen degrees eighteen minutes East twenty-eight hundred twenty and nine tenths feet; thence South four degrees ten minutes East nine hundred thirty feet to a stake "A.16" driven in the center of a graded road; and thence South forty-five degrees seventeen minutes West two hundred ninety-eight and five tenths feet to said stake A.7, the place of beginning. Containing an area of two hundred ninety-five acres a little more or less, and,

ORIGINAL MONUMENT PROCLAMATION, PAGE 2

WHEREAS, said relinquishment and conveyance has been accepted by the Secretary of the Interior in the manner and for the purposes prescribed in said Act of Congress, and

WHEREAS, an extensive growth of redwood trees (Sequoia sempervirens) embraced in said land is of extraordinary scientific interest and importance because of the primeval character of the forest in which it is located, and of the character, age and size of the trees,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by Section 2 of said Act of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that said grove and all of the land hereinbefore described and fully delineated on the diagram hereto attached and made a part hereof, are hereby reserved from appropriation and use of all kinds under all the public land laws of the United States and set apart as a National Monument, to be known and recognized as the Muir Woods National Monument.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, cut, injure, destroy or take away any trees on said land and not to locate or settle upon any of said land.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 9th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-second.

[SEAL]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By the President:

ELIHU ROOT,

Secretary of State.

ORIGINAL MONUMENT PROCLAMATION, PAGE 3

MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

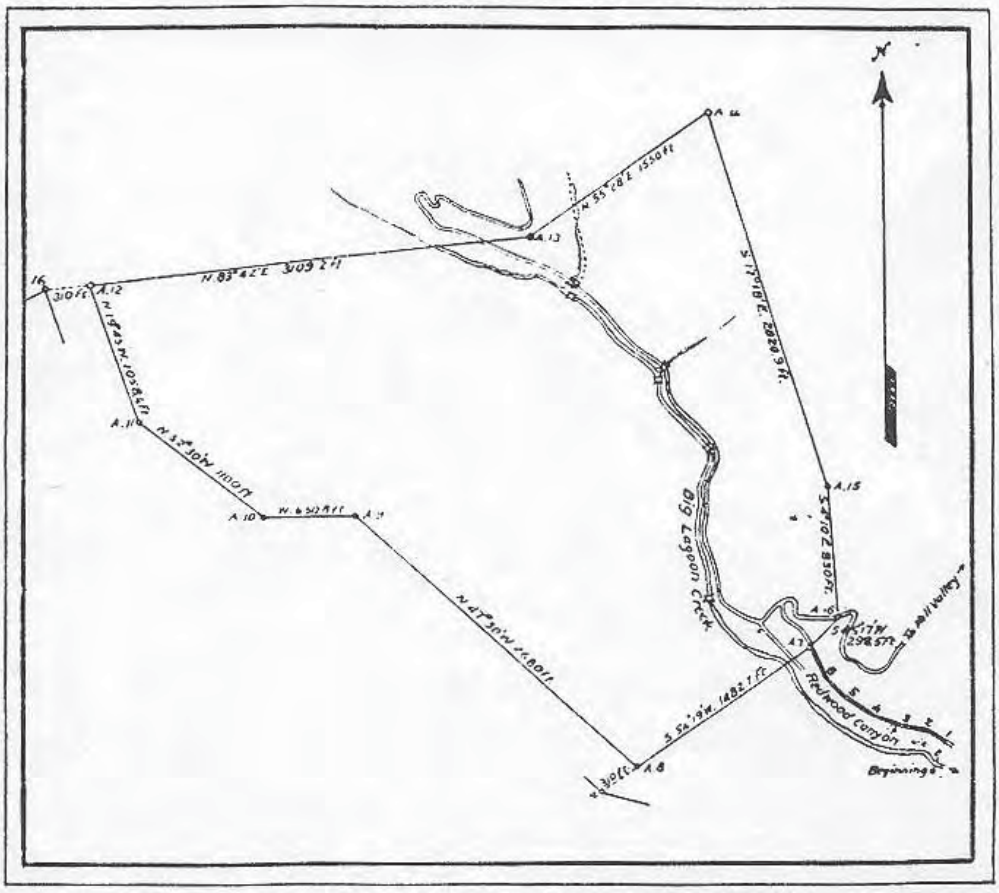
IN

T. 1 N., R. 6 W.

M.D.M.

CALIFORNIA

Containing about 295 acres



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

GENERAL LAND OFFICE

Richard A. Ballinger, Commissioner

[DIAGRAM ATTACHED TO AND MADE A PART OF THE PROCLAMATION DATED JANUARY 9, 1908.]

BOUNDARY EXPANSION (HAMILTON, MT. TAMALPAIS AND MUIR WOODS RAILWAY, AND KENT TRACTS) PROCLAMATION #1608, SEPTEMBER 22, 1921 (42 STAT. 2249), PAGE 1

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 1608—Sept. 22, 1921—42 Stat. 2249]

WHEREAS, William Kent and his wife, Elizabeth Thatcher Kent, of the County of Marin in the State of California, did on February 14, 1920, pursuant to the Act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906, by their certain deed of relinquishment and conveyance, properly executed in writing and acknowledged, relinquish, remise, convey and forever quit claim to the United States of America the following mentioned lands at that time held in private ownership and situate in the County of Marin, in the State of California, and particularly described as follows, to-wit:

Beginning at a two-inch iron pipe marked "Monument 5" on the westerly boundary line of the Muir Woods National Monument, running thence northerly along said westerly boundary line, North twenty degrees twenty-six minutes West one thousand sixty-four and seven tenths feet to a two-inch iron pipe marked "Monument 6" at the northwesterly corner of the Muir Woods National Monument, thence along the boundary common to the land of William Kent and of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, South eighty-three degrees forty-two minutes West three hundred and ten feet to the northerly corner of the Hamilton Tract which was conveyed to William Kent by a deed dated April 1st, 1916, and recorded in the office of the County Recorder of Marin County in Book 177 of Deeds, at page 495; thence along the easterly boundary of said Hamilton Tract, South nineteen degrees forty-six minutes East one thousand forty-six and two tenths feet to the easterly corner of said Hamilton Tract; thence leaving the boundary of said tract, North eighty-six degrees twenty minutes East three hundred twenty-six and seven tenths feet to the point of beginning, containing seven and forty-four hundredths acres more or less, all bearings refer to true meridian, magnetic declination approximately eighteen degrees East.

The entire Hamilton Tract, conveyed to William Kent by a deed dated April 1st, 1916, and recorded in the office of the County Recorder of Marin County in Book 177 of Deeds, at page 495, and particularly described as follows, to-wit:

Commencing at the most northerly point of Ranch "X" as laid down and delineated on the map entitled "Tamalpais Land and Water Company Map No. 3," running thence along the northwesterly boundary of said Ranch "X," South fifty-one degrees fifty-two minutes West four hundred forty-nine and fifty-three hundredths feet; thence South fifty-two degrees thirty-four minutes West eight hundred seventy-seven and ninety-four hundredths feet to the most northerly corner of Ranch "W"; thence along the northerly boundary of said Ranch "W," South forty-nine degrees thirty-four minutes West two hundred ninety-nine and ten hundredths feet; thence North seventy degrees forty-two minutes West two hundred feet to the northeasterly corner of Ranch "Y"; thence along the northeasterly boundary of said Ranch "Y," North fifty-two degrees twenty-six minutes West four hundred ninety-nine and thirty-nine hundredths feet; thence South seventy-three degrees seventeen minutes West two hundred thirty-nine and seventy-three hundredths feet; thence North eighty-five degrees thirty-five minutes West three hundred nineteen and eighty-four hundredths feet;

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1921, PAGE 2

thence North sixty-five degrees thirty-seven minutes West five hundred thirty-nine and fifty-two hundredths feet; thence North forty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes West three hundred seventy-eight and five hundredths feet; thence leaving the northeasterly boundary of Ranch "Y," North sixty-eight degrees forty-eight minutes East two thousand four hundred forty-two and thirteen hundredths feet; thence North sixty-two degrees six minutes East five hundred ninety-six and fifty-nine hundredths feet; thence South nineteen degrees forty-six minutes East one thousand forty-six and twenty-two hundredths feet to the point of commencement, containing seventy and forty-six hundredths acres, said parcel being as laid down and delineated on the map entitled, "Tamalpais Land and Water Company Map No. 3," which map is on file in the office of the County Recorder of said County of Marin in Map Book 1, page 104, to which map reference is hereby made for further or more particular description, and

WHEREAS, the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, a corporation duly organized and existing under the laws of California, did, on February 24th, 1921, pursuant to the Act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906, by its certain deed of relinquishment and conveyance, properly executed in writing and acknowledged, relinquish, remise, convey and forever quit claim to the United States of America the following mentioned land at that time held by it in private ownership and situate in the County of Marin, in the State of California, and particularly described as follows, to wit:

Beginning at a fence corner at corner common to land of the North Coast Water Co., land of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Co;, and Ranch "8," and Ranch "Y" of land of William Kent; running thence North fifty-nine degrees fifty-seven minutes East three thousand six hundred twenty-six and nine tenths feet, along line between land of North Coast Water Co. and land of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Co. to an iron pipe driven in the ground; an iron pipe being set at two thousand nine hundred eighty-three and one tenth feet on this line; thence South eighty-nine degrees thirty-nine minutes East one thousand three hundred forty-one and seven tenths feet to an iron pipe driven in the ground; thence South sixty-five degrees forty-one minutes East one thousand seventeen and two tenths feet to an iron pipe driven in the ground on the present north-line of the Muir Woods National Monument; thence South eighty-three degrees forty-two minutes West two thousand two hundred fifty-nine feet along the north line of the Muir Woods National Monument to an iron pipe marked "Monument 6" at the northwest corner of the Muir Woods National Monument; thence South eighty-three degrees forty-two minutes West three hundred ten feet to the northeast corner of the Hamilton Tract so called; thence along the line between the Hamilton Tract, so called, and the land of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Co. for the following courses and distances. South sixty-two degrees six minutes West five hundred ninety-six and six tenths feet. South sixty-eight degrees forty-eight minutes West two thousand four hundred forty-two and one tenth feet to an iron pipe in the fence line at the corner common to the Hamilton Tract, land of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway Co., and Ranch "Y" of the land of William Kent; thence North forty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes West seventy-five feet to the point of beginning, containing fifty and twenty-four hundredths acres more or less. all bearings refer to true north, magnetic declination approximately eighteen degrees East, and

WHEREAS, said relinquishments and conveyances have been accepted by the Secretary of the Interior in the manner and for the purposes prescribed in said Act of Congress, and

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1921, PAGE 3

WHEREAS, an extensive growth of redwood trees (Sequoia sempervirens) embraced in said lands is of extraordinary scientific interest and importance because of the primeval character of the forest in which it is located, and of the character, age and size of the trees,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power vested in me by section two of said Act of Congress, do proclaim that said lands hereinbefore described are hereby reserved from appropriation and use of all kinds under the public land laws and set aside as an addition to the Muir Woods National Monument, and that the boundaries of said national monument are now as shown on the diagram hereto annexed and forming a part hereof.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, cut, injure, destroy or take away any trees on said lands or to occupy, settle or locate upon any lands reserved by this proclamation.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument, as provided in the Act of Congress entitled, "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535) and Acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

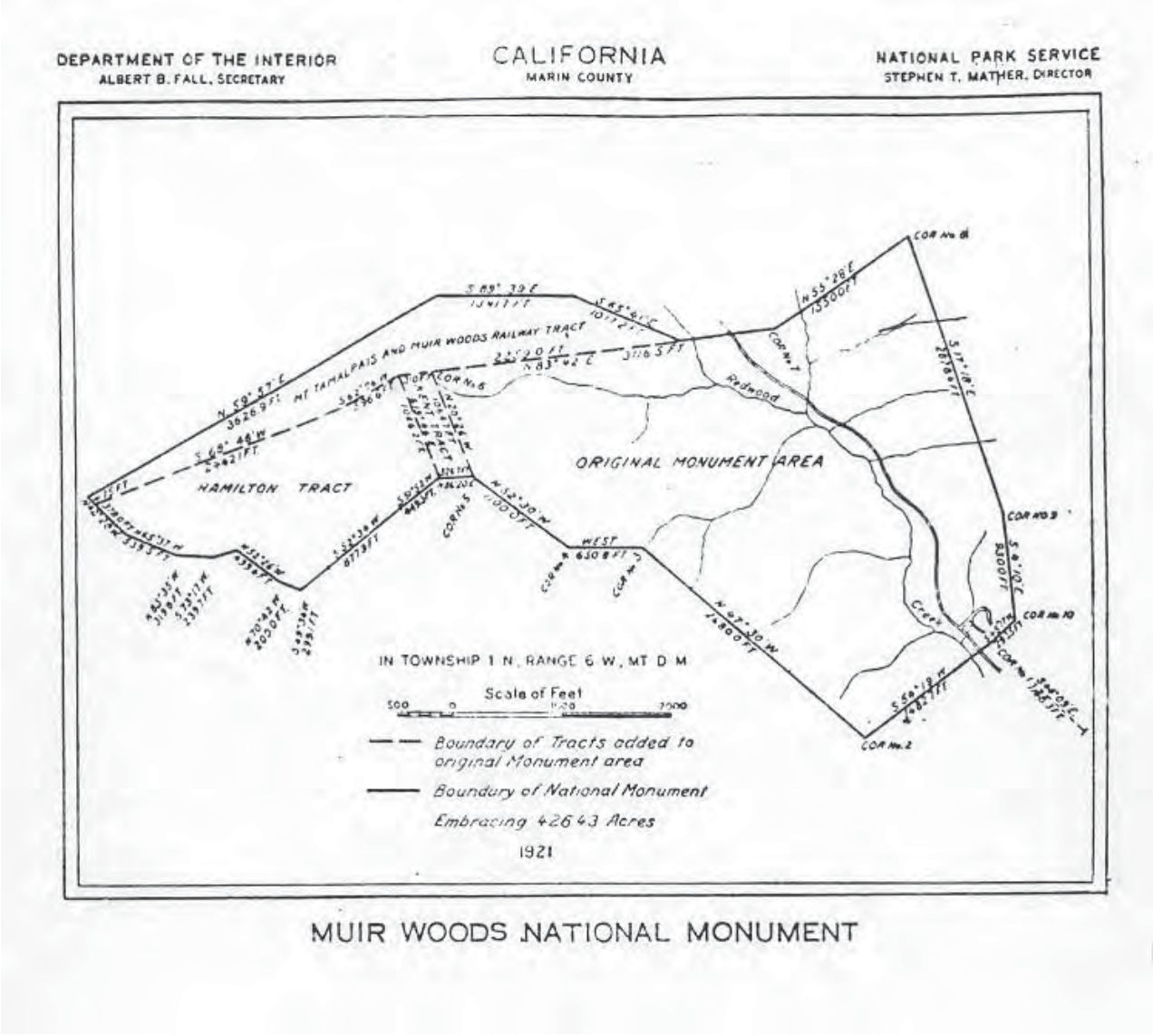
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE in the District of Columbia this 22nd day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, and of [SEAL] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:
CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Secretary of State.

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1921, PAGE 4



MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, ENTRANCE TRACT, PROCLAMATION #2122, APRIL 5, 1935 (49 STAT. 3443)

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 2122—Apr. 5, 1935—49 Stat. 3443]

WHEREAS it appears that the public interest would be promoted by adding to the Muir Woods National Monument, California, the hereinafter-described adjoining lands which have been donated to the United States for the extension of the monument and the title to which is now vested in the United States in fee simple:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225; U. S. C., title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that the following-described lands in California be, and they are hereby, reserved and added to and made a part of the Muir Woods National Monument:

Beginning at a point on the southeastern boundary of the Muir Woods National Monument, designated corner no. 1, which is identical with the point designated stake "A7" in the description of that certain tract of land in Marin County, California, conveyed by William Kent and Elizabeth Thatcher Kent (his wife) to the Secretary of the Interior for and in behalf of the United States of America on the 26th day of December 1907, recorded in liber 112 of Deeds at page 337, marked by a brass screw in a concrete block about 6 in. below the surface of the ground in the middle of the road in Redwood Canyon;

Thence from said initial point, by metes and bounds, along the southeastern boundary of Muir Woods National Monument, N. 45°17′ E., 9.70 ft., to a galvanized iron pipe, 1½ in. diam., with bronze cap;

Thence leaving said Muir Woods National Monument boundary, S. 26°58½′ E., 198.13 ft., S. 38°29′ W., 244.00 ft., crossing Redwood Creek, N. 39°20′ W., 259.64 ft., to said southeastern boundary of Muir Woods National Monument;

Thence along said boundary, across Redwood Creek, N. 54°19′ E., 274.10 ft., to corner no. 1, the place of beginning, containing 1.36 acres.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument, as provided in the act of August 25, 1916 (ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535), and acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 5th day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-ninth.

[SEAL]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:
CORDELL HULL,
Secretary of State.

(No map attached to proclamation)

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, KENT WEST BUFFER STRIP, KENT ENTRANCE TRACT, STATE LEASED TRACTS, PROCLAMATION #2932, JUNE 26, 1951 (65 STAT. C20), PAGE 1

ENLARGING THE MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT, CALIFORNIA

June 26, 1951
[No. 2932]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Muir Woods National Monument, California, was established by Proclamation No. 793 of January 9, 1908 (35 Stat. 2174), and was enlarged by Proclamations No. 1608 of September 22, 1921 (42 Stat. 2249), and No. 2122 of April 5, 1935 (49 Stat. 3443), to protect a most extraordinary growth of redwood trees (Sequoia Sempervirens) of primeval character; and

WHEREAS the said monument is comprised of various parcels of land conveyed to the United States, as donations, from time to time for national-monument purposes, as separately described and set out in the above-mentioned proclamations; and

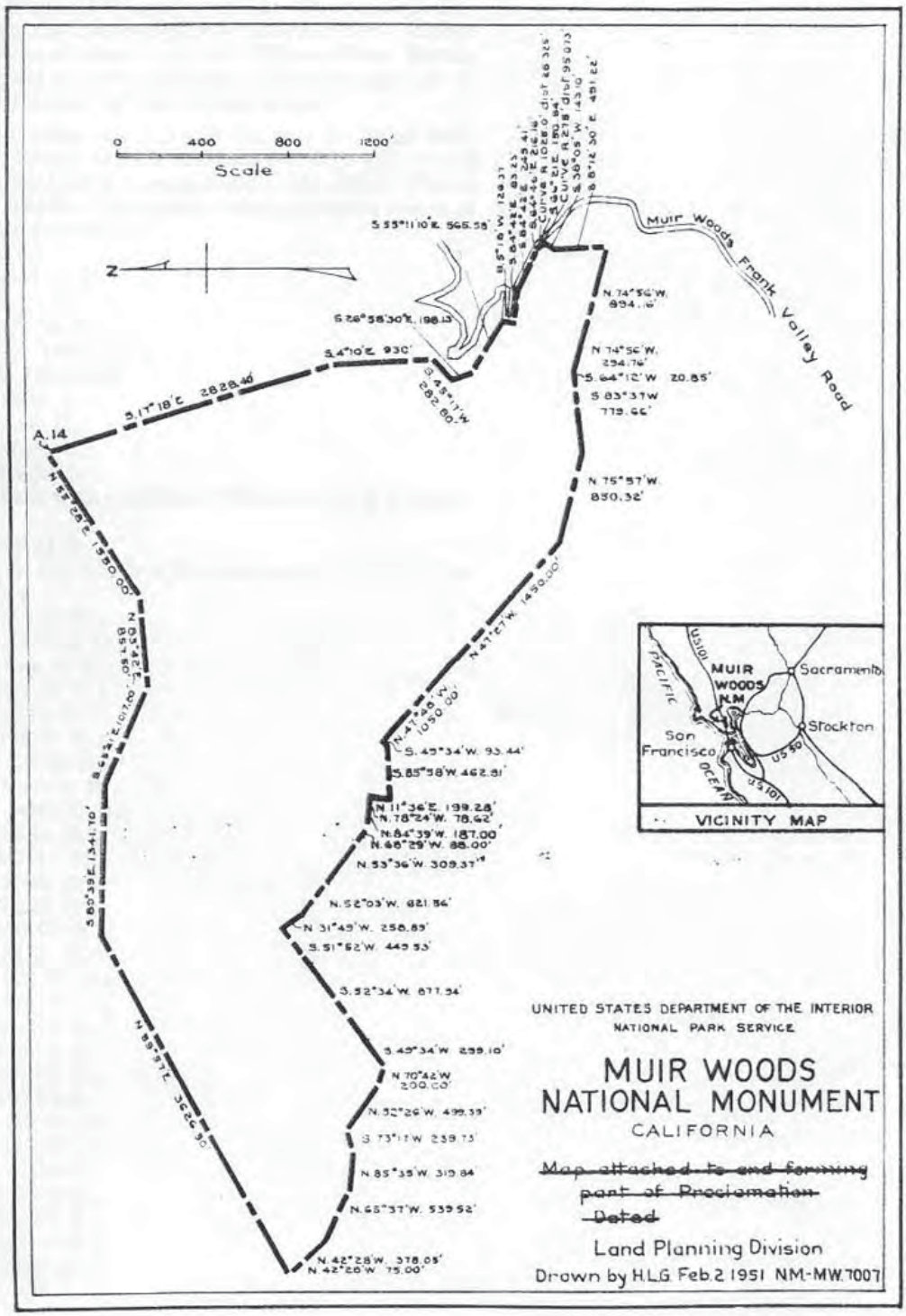
WHEREAS the William Kent Estate Company, a corporation of the State of California, has conveyed to the United States, as a donation, a tract of land adjoining the southwesterly boundary of the monument to afford better protection to the monument and to promote its administration and development; and

WHEREAS the United States has acquired from the State of California a leasehold interest in a tract of land adjoining the southeasterly boundary of the monument to afford better protection to the monument and to promote its administration and development; and

WHEREAS there lies at the entrance to the monument a tract of land belonging to the William Kent Estate Company which is needed for additional visitor parking space and for other purposes incident to the proper development and administration of the monument and which is in process of acquisition by the United States for such purposes; and

WHEREAS it appears that it would be in the public interest (1) to enlarge the Muir Woods National Monument by adding thereto the said tract of land donated to the United States by the William Kent Estate Company and the said tract of land leased to the United States by the State of California, (2) to extend the boundaries of the monument so as to include therein such additional lands and the said tract of land owned by the William Kent Estate Company, and (3) to provide that the last-mentioned tract of land shall become a part of the monument upon acquisition of title thereto or control thereof by the United States:

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1951, PAGE 2



BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1951, PAGE 3

Proclamation of lands constituting Muir Woods National Monument.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U. S. C. 431), do proclaim that, subject to all valid existing rights, the lands within the following-described boundaries which are now owned or controlled by the United States shall constitute the Muir Woods National Monument, and that the above-described tract of land within such boundaries which is now owned by the William Kent Estate Company shall become a part of such monument upon the acquisition of title thereto or control thereof by the United States:

Beginning at a point shown as A–14 on the map included with and made a part of Presidential Proclamation No. 793, dated January 9, 1908 (35 Stat. 2174), establishing the Muir Woods National Monument, which is the northernmost point of the said monument as presently constituted.

From the initial point,

S. 17°18′ E., 2828.40 ft.;
S. 4°10′ E., 930.00 ft.;
S. 45°17′ W., 282.80 ft.;
S. 26°58′30″ E., 198.13 ft.;
S. 55°11′10″ E., 565.58 ft.;
S. 5°18′ W., 126.37 ft.;
S. 84°42′ E., 83.23 ft.;
S. 84°42′ E., 245.41 ft.;
S. 64°46′ E., 216.16 ft.;

along a curve to the north with a radius of 1025.0 ft. for a distance of 28.325 ft.;

S. 66°21′ E., 150.94 ft.;

thence along a curve to the south with a radius of 275.0 ft. for a distance of 95.073 ft.;

S. 38°05′ W., 143.10 ft.;
S. 8°12′30″ E., 491.22 ft.;
N. 74°56′ W., 894.16 ft.;
N. 74°56′ W., 294.76 ft.;
S. 64°12′ W., 20.85 ft.;
S. 83°37′ W., 779.66 ft.;
N. 75°57′ W., 850.32 ft.;
N. 47°27′ W., 1450.00 ft.;
N. 47°48′ W., 1050.00 ft.;
S. 49°34′ W., 93.44 ft.;
S. 85°58′ W., 462.81 ft.;
N. 11°36′ E., 199.28 ft.;
N. 78°24′ W., 78.62 ft.;
N. 84°39′ W., 187.00 ft.;
N. 68°59′ W., 88.00 ft.;
N. 53°36′ W., 309.37 ft.;
N. 52°03′ W., 621.56 ft.;
N. 31°49′ W., 258.89 ft.;
S. 51°52′ W., 449.53 ft.;
S. 52°34′ W., 877.94 ft.;
S. 49°34′ W., 299.10 ft.;
N. 70°42′ W., 200.00 ft.;
N. 52°26′ W., 499.39 ft.;
S. 73°17′ W., 239.73 ft.;
N. 85°35′ W., 319.84 ft.;
N. 65°37′ W., 539.52 ft.;
N. 42°28′ W., 378.05 ft.;
N. 42°28′ W., 75.00 ft.;

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1951, PAGE 4

N. 59°57′ E., 3626.90 ft.;
S. 89°39′ E., 1341.70 ft.;
S. 65°41′ E., 1017.20 ft.;
N. 83°42′ E., 857.50 ft.;
N. 55°28′ E., 1550.00 ft. to the point of beginning;
containing 504.271 acres, more or less.

Supervision, management, etc.

5 U. S. C. § 485; 16 U. S. C. §§ 1-4, 22, 43.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the said Muir Woods National Monument, as provided in the act of August 25, 1916, ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535, and acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 26th day of June in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-one, and of the [SEAL] Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-fifth.

HARRY S TRUMAN

By the President:
DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, KENT ENTRANCE TRACT, PROCLAMATION #3311, SEPTEMBER 8, 1959 (73 STAT. C76), PAGE 1

ENLARGING THE MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT
CALIFORNIA

September 8, 1959
[No. 3311]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the United States has acquired the hereinafter-described lands adjoining the Muir Woods National Monument, in California, for addition to that monument, and has also acquired, in connection with the acquisition of those lands, an easement over other hereinafter-described lands adjoining the acquired lands; and

WHEREAS such acquired lands and such easement are essential to the proper care, management, and use of the Muir Woods National Monument; and

WHEREAS it appears that it would be in the public interest to reserve such lands as a part of the monument and to reserve such easement for use in connection with the monument:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U.S.C. 431), do proclaim as follows:

1. Subject to valid existing rights, the following-described lands, in California, are hereby added to and reserved as a part of the Muir Woods National Monument:

BEGINNING at a point on the easterly boundary line of Ranch "X", being a portion of Lot "D" of the Sausalito or Richardson Rancho, situated in Marin County, California and delineated on that certain Map entitled Tamalpais Land and Water Company Map No. 3, filed in Book 1 of Maps, at page 104, Marin County Records, the field notes of which are recorded in Volume "D" of Miscellaneous Records, at page 1; said beginning point being north 16°05′ West 421.93 feet from the most easterly corner of the said Ranch "X", said point being also in the northerly line of that certain 50-foot right-of-way conveyed by William Kent and Elizabeth T. Kent, his wife, to Muir Woods Toll Road Company, and recorded September 14, 1926, in Liber 102 of official records, at page 494, Marin County Records; and running thence along said right-of-way line south 75°05′ west 2.69 feet; thence leaving said line north 53°18′30″ west 102.25 feet, south 54°40′ west 93.23 feet, north 36°38′ west 63.61 feet, north 11°10′ west 68.02 feet, north 36°56′ west 172.17 feet north 8°12′30″ west 491.22 feet, north 38°05′ east 143.10 feet to the southwesterly line of the aforesaid 50-foot right-of-way; thence along said right-of-way line on a curve to the right whose center bears south 43°27′30″ west and whose radius is 275 feet, distance 14.20 feet; thence south 43°35′ east 216.30 feet; thence on a curve to the left whose center bears north 46°25′ east and whose radius is 425 feet distance 82.954 feet; thence south 54°46′ east 77 feet; thence on a curve to the right whose center bears south 35°14′ west and whose radius is 275 feet, distance 271.42 feet; thence south 1°47′ west 47.90 feet; thence on a curve to the right whose center bears north 88°13′ west and whose radius is 975 feet, distance 38.57 feet; thence south 4°03′ west 200.76 feet; thence on a curve to the right whose center bears north 85°57′ west and whose radius is 75 feet, distance 92.98 feet; thence south 75°05′ west 31.43 feet to the point of beginning; containing 6.16 acres, more or less.

2. The easement acquired by the United States in and over the following-described lands is hereby reserved for purposes of ingress and egress between the existing County road and the above-described lands:

BEGINNING at a point in the northerly line of the aforesaid 50-foot right-of-way, said point being the beginning of the second course of the above description; and running thence north 53°18′30″ west 102.25 feet, south 54°40′ west 93.23 feet, south 35°36′ east 59.51 feet to the said right-of-way line; thence along said line on a curve to the right whose center bears south 35°36′ east and whose radius is 125 feet, distance 45.12 feet; thence north 75°05′ east 85.68 feet to the point of beginning.

BOUNDARY EXPANSION, 1959, PAGE 2

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any features of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this eighth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-nine, and of [SEAL] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

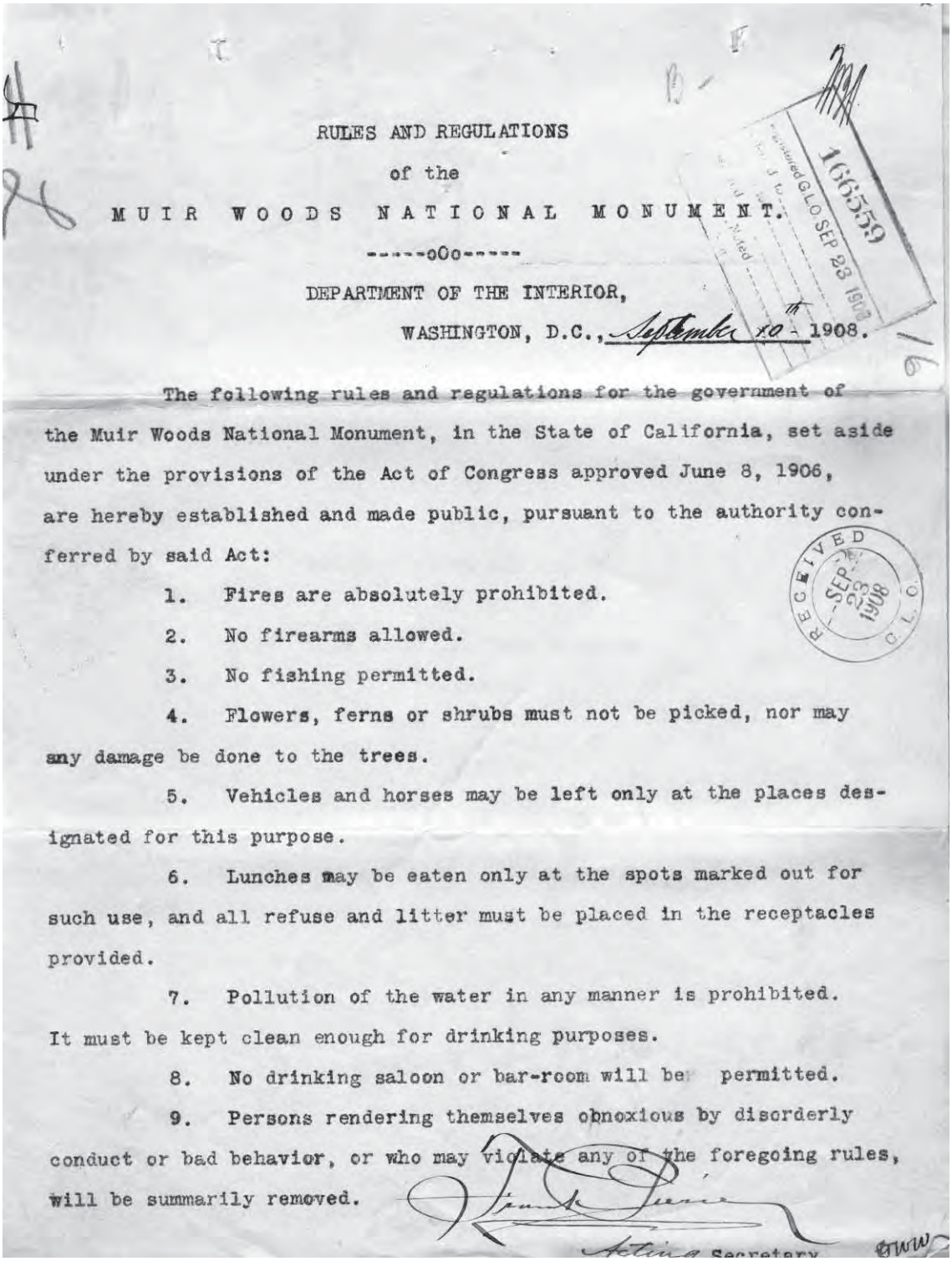
By the President:
DOUGLAS DILLON,
Acting Secretary of State.

(No map attached to proclamation)

APPENDIX C

FIRST FEDERAL RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR MUIR WOODS, APPROVED SEPTEMBER 10, 1908

Source: RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 600, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.



RULES AND REGULATIONS

of the

MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT.

-----oOo-----

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 10th 1908.

The following rules and regulations for the government of the Muir Woods National Monument, in the State of California, set aside under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, are hereby established and made public, pursuant to the authority conferred by said Act:

1. Fires are absolutely prohibited.
2. No firearms allowed.
3. No fishing permitted.
4. Flowers, ferns or shrubs must not be picked, nor may any damage be done to the trees.
5. Vehicles and horses may be left only at the places designated for this purpose.
6. Lunches may be eaten only at the spots marked out for such use, and all refuse and litter must be placed in the receptacles provided.
7. Pollution of the water in any manner is prohibited. It must be kept clean enough for drinking purposes.
8. No drinking saloon or bar-room will be permitted.
9. Persons rendering themselves obnoxious by disorderly conduct or bad behavior, or who may violate any of the foregoing rules, will be summarily removed.

Acting Secretary.

APPENDIX D

ARTICLE "REDWOODS," BY WILLIAM KENT, 1908

Written at time of monument designation, published in *Sierra Club Bulletin,* volume VI, number 5 (June 1908), pages 286-287.

REDWOODS.

By William Kent.

In the hospitable country of the California coast range dwell the redwoods. They cluster in the sheltered valleys and climb part way up the deep-soiled north hill slopes. Through their tops sifts the mild sea fog, and at their roots flow trout streams that they have condensed for the benefit of all living creatures. Salmon visit them from the neighboring ocean, deer trip and bear shuffle down their aisles.

Viewed from without, the forest shows a rich and varied coloring. The ruddy tinge of the redwood foliage makes sharp the brighter green of Douglas fir, while softening all is the silver gray of mountain oak.

There is none of the solid rounded surface of the jungle, nor the ragged gray outlines of the leafless winter woods. Strong and delicate show the individual trees living at peace, each his own life. Beyond the ridge at the back of the forest shines the sunlit sea. The landscape gives scarcely a hint of the size and proportions of the trees.

As we go down the slope the redwoods increase in size until in the flat bed of the valley we reach their perfection. Our ideas of dimension are all at fault. We expect something that will strike and challenge the eye in trees that measure their diameter in terms of fathoms and that climb as straight, clear columns two hundred feet without a limb, with tops reaching yet a hundred feet or more. We must compare these heroic proportions with our own stature before we can realize the symmetrical grandeur of the redwoods. The thick, soft, warm-tinted bark, with its vertical corrugations, suggests the clear, clean wood within. The delicate foliage sifts the sunlight, not precluded, but made gentle.

(continued)

WILLIAM KENT, "REDWOODS," PAGE 2

"Live and let live," say the redwoods. "Sun, air, water, soil, and shade for all." But they say more than this. Mountain oak and laurel that would share the forest life, these because they are able to grow tall—if they have the will—these, if they would enjoy the commonwealth of the sky, must grow straight-trunked and clean.

For the moment the redwoods seem to us the stoics of the forest, teaching that life is for the strong, the self-reliant. Then beneath our feet we find the most delicate forest carpet of shy wood violets and oxalis. Lilies that need the deep, cool quiet are here and many a rare, small thing that cannot live elsewhere. Ferns and maidenhair bank the slopes.

"Stand straight and strong, who can," say the redwoods; "protect and shelter the weak." This is the chivalry of the forest; it is a chivalry the Christian world has hardly learned, despite the Master.

Brave trees, the redwoods. Burned of all their leaves, they fight for life and bourgeon out again. Around the fallen parent grows up a stately group of children.

Long life, well lived, strength and resultant quietness; modesty, courage, beauty and the kindliness of infinite hospitality!

An American Wordsworth will one day come to sing these noble trees as teaching the ideal of the social and individual life of the American.

APPENDIX E

LIST OF SIGNS FOR MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, C.1918.

Source: RG 79, PI 166, E7, Central Classified Files, 1907-1932, Muir Woods, box 601, National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

LIST OF SIGNS
FOR
MUIR WOODS NATIONAL MONUMENT

No.	Wording of sign	Location
1	Mill Valley 4.1 mi. San Rafael 13.7 " Sausalito 9.8 "	At main entrance
2	Bohemian Grove (name only)	At Bohemian Grove
3	Cathedral Grove (name only)	At Cathedral Grove
4	Men (make 2) Women (make 2)	Public Toilets
5	Close Gate (make 2)	On roads near entrances.
6	Keep Grounds Clean Deposit all litter in garbage cans.(make 4)	At various picnicking grounds.
7	Footpath to Muir Inn	Bohemian Grove
8	Footpath to Muir Woods	Muir Inn
9	Muir Woods National Monument Boundary Line (make 4)	At points where trails cross boundary line
10	To Muir Inn	On road at north boundary
11	No fires permitted in the grove(make 6)	Various
12	Dipsea Trail 2 mi	At junction of Ben Johnson and Nature trails.
13	Bohemian Grove 1 mi.	At junction of Ben Johnson and Nature trails.
14	Muir Inn 1½ mi	At junction of Ben Johnson and Nature Trails.
15	Footpath to Muir Inn 3 mi	Bohemian Grove at road
16	Dipsea Trail 1 mi.	Bohemian Grove at Nature Trai
17	Muir Inn 2½ mi.	Bohemian Grove at Nature Trai

APPENDIX F

CCC PROJECTS AT MUIR WOODS

Construction Projects

List of construction projects completed by the CCC and other federal work-relief programs in Muir Woods National Monument, 1933-1941. Compiled from CCC and MUWO Custodian reports. (Note: this is not a complete list of CCC projects at Muir Woods)

	Project Name	Date of Construction
1.	Stone revetments, Redwood Creek (CWA, CCC)	1933-c.1938
2.	Brush dams, Redwood Creek (CCC)	1933
3.	Build Deer Park dry-pit toilets (2) (PWA)	1933
4.	Ocean View Trail improvement, relocation	1933-1934
5.	Fern Creek Trail improvement (CWA)	1933-1934
6.	Improvement of approach road to custodian's house (service drive/old Muir Woods Road) (CWA)	1933-1934
7.	Clear east firebreak above custodian's house (CWA)	1933-1934
8.	Construct southwest boundary fence (CCC)	1934
9.	Build arch and monument sign (CCC)	1934
10.	Fern Creek Bridge (CWA)	1934-1935
11.	Stone dams [check dams], Redwood Creek (CWA)	1934-1935
12.	Log footbridges (5), Redwood Creek	1934-1935
13.	Build rock wall and steps to custodian's house (CCC)	1935
14.	Tool and equipment shed (CWA)	1935
15.	Construct Dipsea Fire Road (CCC)	1935
16.	New 1 ½" water line laid west side Redwood Creek (CCC)	1935
17.	Install underground power line, transformer vault (CCC)	1935-1936
18.	Build ten redwood log benches (CCC)	1936
19.	Build concrete walks around custodian's house (CCC)	1938
20.	Install redwood post signs (CCC)	1939
21.	Build 2-story addition to custodian's house (PWA)	1939
22.	Build Administration-Concession Building (PWA)	1940
23.	Build redwood rounds terrace, Administration Building (CCC)	1941

CCC-Era Drawings

National Archives, Pacific Region, San Bruno, California.

Drawing #	Description	#Sheets	Date
2003E	Administration & Concession Building	1	4/1941
2003	Administration & Concession Building	2	8/1939
2003D	Administration & Concession Building	6	1/1940

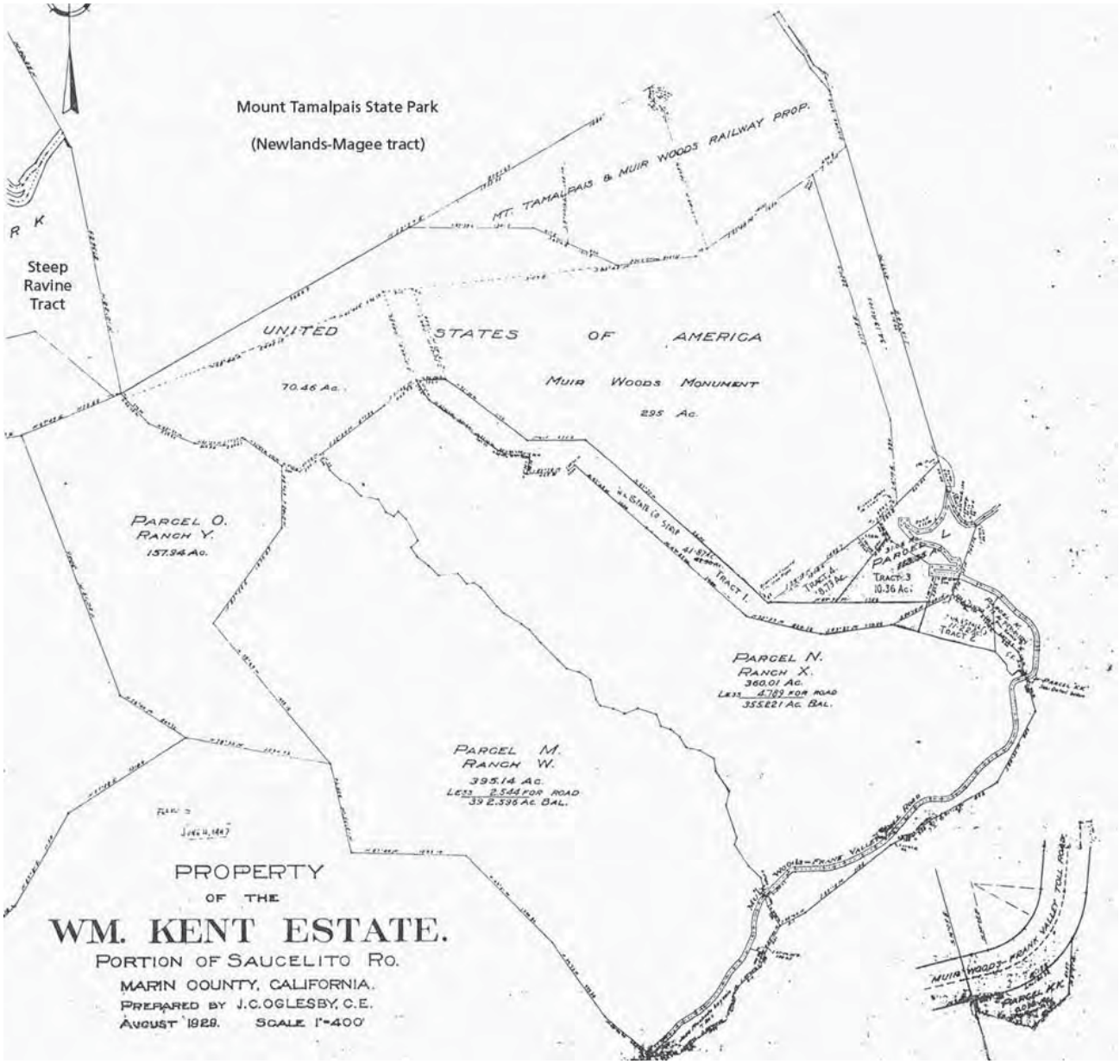
2011	Handrail Trail Bridges	2	n/d
2014	Employees Residence	5	n/d
2016	Signs	1	n/d
2100	Handrails, Trail Bridges	2	n/d
2101	Add. Superintendent's Residence	1	n/d
2102	Handrail for Steps	1	n/d
2104	Employee Housing Additional Study	1	n/d
2107	Chlorination System	1	n/d
3001	Valley Floor Area	1	1/1939
3001E	Valley Floor Area	1	1/1939
3002	Entrance Area	2	1/1939
3002e, f	Entrance Area	2	1/1939
3003, 4950	Fern Canyon [sic] Bridge	2	n/d
3004	Equipment Shed	1	n/d
3005	Log Foot Bridge	1	n/d
3006B	Comfort Station Addition	1	n/d
3008 e, f	Road and Trail System	2	1/1939
3009B	Entrance Gate	1	n/d
3009	Outdoor Log Bench	1	n/d
3011	Employee Residence	1	1/1935
3011A	Employee Residence	1	6/1937
3011B	Employee Residence	1	5/1938
3011D	Employee Residence	1	12/1939
3013	Water System	1	n/d
3016	Comfort Station	2	n/d
3020	Comfort Stations (2)	1	n/d
3102	Developed Area Utilities	1	n/d
3106	Interpretation	1	n/d
3107	Trail Bridge Replacement	1	n/d
3112	Employee Housing	3	n/d
3114	Headquarters Area Base Map	1	n/d
3115	Topographic Base Map	1	n/d
3116	Equipment Storage Sign Shop	1	n/d
3121	General Development	1	n/d
3123	Narrative	5	n/d
3125	Architectural Study	1	n/d
3131	Index and Cover Sheet	1	n/d
4635	Entire Monument Topography	1	1/1940
4985, 9005	Sewage Filter Gallery	2	n/d
4986	Telephone Map	1	1/1939
4989	Entrance Area Utilities	1	1/1939
4989	Entrance Area Utilities	1	1/1939
4990	Utilities Layout	1	1/1939
4997A	Garage and Fire Cache	1	n/d
4998	Refuse Burner	1	n/d

APPENDIX G

MAP OF LANDS OF WILLIAM KENT ESTATE IN VICINITY OF MUIR WOODS

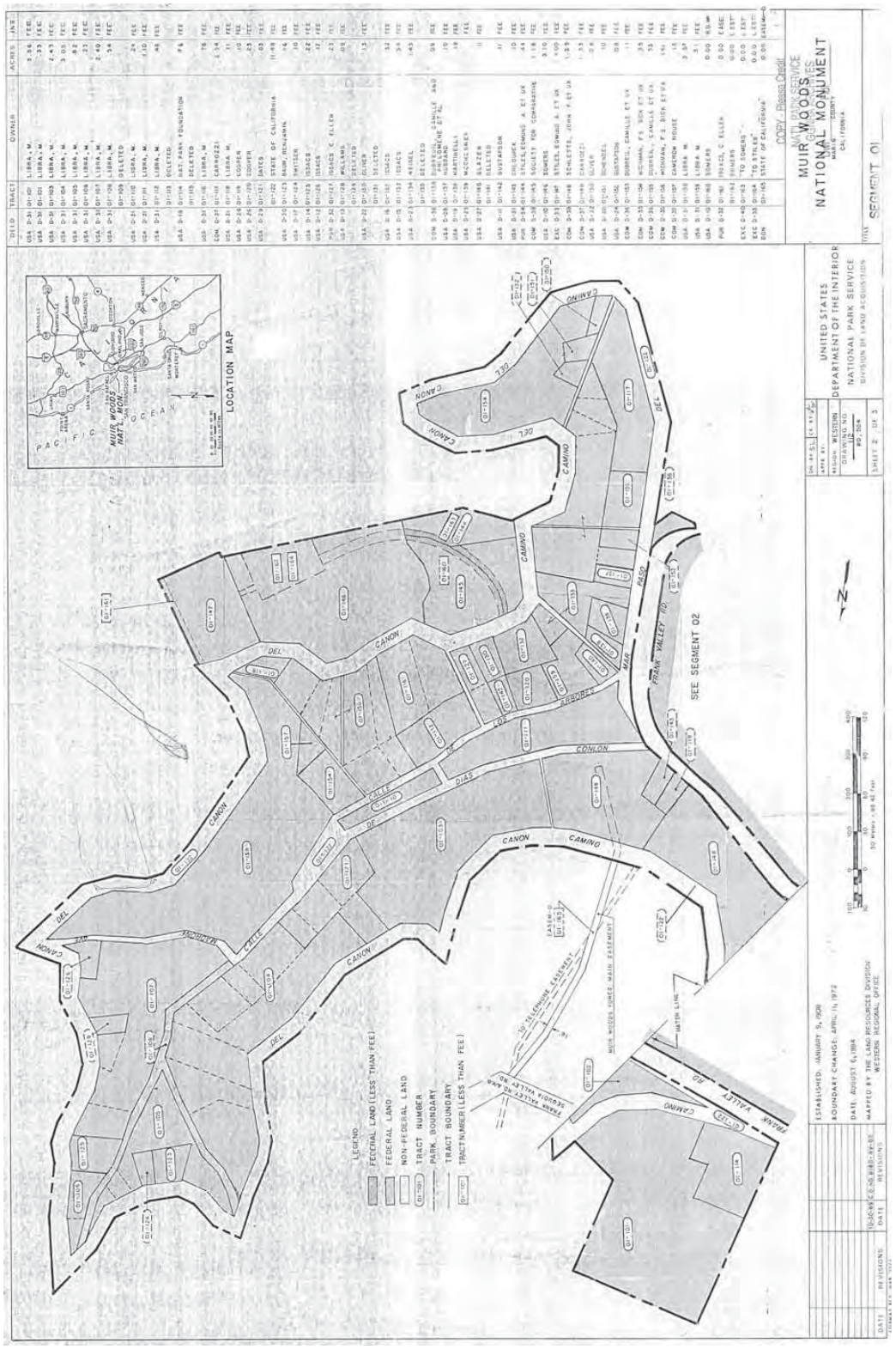
(Ogelsby, 1929, updated through 1947)

Muir Woods Collection, box 4, Park Archive and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Presidio of San Francisco.



APPENDIX H

NPS SURVEY OF CAMP MONTE VISTA TRACT, AUGUST 1984.
Muir Woods Collection, Park Archives and Record Center, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Presidio of San Francisco.



APPENDIX I

SELECT LAND-USE CHRONOLOGY OF MUIR WOODS

Chapter 1

1836 Muir Woods part of 20,000-acre Rancho Sausalito, acquired by William Antonio Richardson, founder of Yerba Buena (San Francisco).

1856 Rancho Sausalito acquired by Samuel R. Throckmorton. Muir Woods part of Throckmorton's hunting preserve. Trail to Redwood Canyon from Throckmorton's base at Homestead Valley probably along later alignment of Muir Woods Road; second road/trail extends from south through Frank Valley.

Chapter 2

1889 Rancho Sausalito including Muir Woods acquired by Tamalpais Land & Water Company.

1890 Around this time, Tamalpais Land & Water Company allows Tamalpais Sportsman's Association to use Muir Woods and adjoining areas as hunting preserve. Association builds clubhouse at southern end of Redwood Canyon, probably paid for by William Kent and most likely same house used by keeper of hunting preserve, Ben Johnson. House also served as lodge for Camp Kent, which established camp grounds in nearby side-canyon in Ranch P.

1892 Wagon road from Mill Valley built by Jinks Committee of Bohemian Club of San Francisco over Throckmorton Ridge to Redwood Canyon, known as Sequoia Valley Road, probably along Throckmorton-era trail. Bohemian Club member Harry Gillig purchases eighty-acre parcel in Redwood Canyon; club holds annual jinks there in September; sold back to Tamalpais Land & Water Company same year.

1904 Around this time, a log cabin is built at north end of redwood forest along creek, probably by Joseph Bickerstaff. Ben Johnson, Keeper for the Tamalpais Sportsman's Association, dies. Replaced by Andrew Lind.

1905 William Kent purchases 612-acre Redwood Canyon tract and Sequoia Valley Road from Tamalpais Land and Water Company; hires Andrew Lind as keeper of the property.

1905-1907 Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway (mountain railway) and William Kent develop Redwood Canyon as a public park. Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway built, completed 1907; Sequoia Valley Road extended across Fern Creek and up canyon wall to railway terminus. Kent grants 100-foot right of way along rail

line to mountain railway. Cathedral and Bohemian Groves probably developed as picnic areas.

CHAPTER 3

1907 November: North Coast Water Company (Newlands and Magee) file condemnation suit for forty-seven acres of Kent's Redwood Canyon tract to build a reservoir. December 26: William Kent deeds original monument tract of 298 acres to the federal government; requests it be named Muir Woods National Monument in honor of John Muir.

1908 January 9: Muir Woods National Monument established through proclamation of President Theodore Roosevelt, placed under administration of General Land Office, Department of the Interior. June: Muir Woods Inn opens at terminus of Muir Woods Branch, built by mountain railway on 150-acre parcel acquired from William Kent. Up to ten guest cabins built on adjoining hillside. Railway builds Ocean View and Nature Trails, which also served as fire lines. September: Andrew Lind hired as Special Assistant (Custodian after 1910) by General Land Office; residence in Keeper's House, located outside of monument on land owned by William Kent. November: Condemnation suit apparently dropped. Camp Monte Vista subdivision laid out in side canyon on Ranch P owned by John Dias, across from Keeper's House south of monument.

1910 May 1st. Gifford Pinchot memorial dedicated.

1913 Major fire on Mount Tamalpais, destroys Muir Inn; mountain railway renamed Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway.

1914 Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway extended farther down canyon wall terminus to within 500 feet of monument boundary; new Muir Inn built at terminus along with up to eight guest cabins.

1916 William Kent purchases 100-acre Hamilton tract off northwest corner of Muir Woods.

1917 Administration of Muir Woods transferred to National Park Service. Administration is organized through Yosemite National Park (Superintendent W. B. Lewis); relationship extended through 1927.

1918 Initial NPS/Yosemite improvements completed: four footbridges rebuilt, log entrance gate erected at lower (south) entrance, additional picnic tables and benches placed, and directional signs installed.

1919 NPS signs agreement with William Kent allowing use of land at head of Pipeline

Canyon (east buffer strip) for water supply.

1921 Presidential proclamation #1608 on September 22 adds 128 acres (Hamilton, Kent, and Railway tracts) to Muir Woods National Monument, bringing total to 426 acres; Richard O'Rourke appointed as second Custodian of Muir Woods, replacing Andrew Lind; automobiles, motorcycles, and horseback riding prohibited from monument proper (canyon floor, main trail); parking area established on William Kent's land south of monument; water tank built at head of Pipeline Canyon on Kent's land per 1919 agreement; standard uniform NPS signs installed (white field, green letters).

1922 Custodian's Cottage built at southeastern corner of monument, along Muir Woods Road, designed by landscape architect Daniel Hull of NPS Landscape Engineering Division; Old cottage (Keeper's House) demolished.

1923 John T. Needham appointed third Custodian, replacing Richard O'Rourke; garage built near Custodian's Cottage. Needham develops upper, middle, and lower picnic areas through circa 1928.

1925 Log cabin at north end of monument torn down; NPS engineer recommends construction of revetments in Redwood Creek following big flood.

1925-1926 Muir Woods Toll Road, from Panoramic Highway to Dipsea Highway (Route 1) completed along alignment of old Muir Woods Road and Frank Valley Road. Owned by William Kent, licensed by county; brush revetment work begins in Redwood Creek.

1928 March 13: William Kent dies; memorial to him planned at foot of Douglas fir along Fern Creek Trail. Modern comfort station built near lower picnic area. Mount Tamalpais State Park officially established from Newlands-Magee and Steep Ravine tracts. Cross memorial erected near upper picnic area.

CHAPTER 4

1929 Kent memorial dedicated, ceremony attended by NPS Director Horace Albright. Fern Creek picnic area removed; fire damages Muir Woods Branch of the mountain railway, line officially closed October 31st.

1930 Custodian John Needham leaves in July; J. Barton Herschler becomes fourth Custodian of Muir Woods in September. Muir Inn and cabins (except two) demolished; mountain railway property becomes part of Mt. Tamalpais State Park. First wire-basket revetments and log dam installed in Redwood Creek to halt erosion. Agreement signed by William Kent, Jr. allowing new entrance gate to be constructed at site of 1918 gate.

1931 Nature Trail (Hillside Trail) improved as an interpretive nature trail; new garage (lower garage) built, replacing smaller 1923 garage; redwood cross section erected near lower picnic area; concession stand opens in parking lot near entrance gate; log bridge built near site of log cabin.

1932 All fireplaces removed from within woods, two log bridges built near upper picnic area; 576 linear feet of basket revetments installed along Redwood Creek by September.

1933 Muir Woods Shop built on Kent Estate land between monument boundary and entrance gate/parking area. CCC Camp Muir Woods NM-3 established, administered through Muir Woods National Monument; first CCC-ECW crews arrive in October to clear site for camp at site of first Muir Inn (Camp Eastwood); access road built from Panoramic Highway (old railroad grade); sixteen camp buildings completed by November.

1934 CCC/CWA work includes equipment shed (upper garage), Fern Creek bridge, six big log footbridges, west boundary fence, new entrance gate/arch. Stone revetment construction begins; two stone check dams built. CWA program ceases; administration of CCC camp shifted to state park and name changed to Camp Mt. Tamalpais SP-23. Elizabeth Thacher Kent (Kent Estate) gifts 1.36-acre Entrance Tract to USA, November 16; estate sells 29-acre parking area tract to the state as part of Mount Tamalpais State Park.

1935 1.36-acre Entrance Tract incorporated into National Monument by Presidential proclamation #2122, April 5th; Custodian's Cottage enlarged; Dipsea fire road completed; temporary administration building erected; new entrance gate completed and old gate relocated to service drive (old upper entrance); Redwood Creek revetment work continues; parking area graveled for first time; concrete ramp built to upper garage.

1936 Muir Woods Toll Road upper section paved for first time; state paves parking lot; Redwood Creek revetment work continues.

1937 Muir Woods Toll Road lower section paved for first time; Bohemian Grove comfort station built, two remaining Muir Inn cottages demolished; three redwood water tanks built at top of Pipeline Canyon on state park land, replacing earlier tank built in 1921; NPS signs twenty-five year lease for four-acre tract around water tanks.

1938 Walter Finn replaces J. Barton Herschler as custodian; parking area enlarged and redesigned to accommodate 250 cars; main comfort station enlarged.

1939 Muir Woods Toll Road taken over by Marin County after federal-state purchase, tolls removed, sets off record visitation; second addition built on Custodian's Cottage; twenty-eight redwood post signs and six log drinking fountains installed along main trail and surrounding area; Dipsea Trail realigned on lower canyon to new crossing closer to main gate.

1940 Administration-Concession Building constructed by PWA; Montgomery concession relocated to new building, old Muir Woods Shop demolished.

1941 Terrace at Administration-Concession Building completed by CCC Camp Alpine Lake, featuring redwood rounds paving; temporary administration building sold and removed from monument; Camp Mt. Tamalpais SP-23 closed.

1942 Victory Tree dedicated in Bohemian Grove, November 22.

1945 Five-hundred delegates from United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) in San Francisco meet for service in Cathedral Grove in memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

1947 FDR memorial installed at Cathedral Grove.

1951 Kent west buffer strip (42 acres) acquired through donation from the Kent Estate, January 19th. Proclamation #2932, June 26th, expands boundary of Muir Woods National Monument to incorporate this tract, as well as the state-owned leased tract (19 acres), and Kent entrance tract (11 acres), proposed for acquisition. Kent entrance tract acquired June 29th.

CHAPTER 5

1953 William H. Gibbs replaces Walter Finn as Superintendent (former custodian position). Picnic area removed from within redwood forest; new picnic area established on Kent Entrance Tract below parking area.

1954 First "Naturalist" position created; contact station kiosk erected near entrance gate.

1955 Donald J. Erskine replaces William Gibbs as Superintendent; split-rail fences erected along main trail at entrance and 1,200 feet of trail paved; exotics-eradication program enhanced; redwood-rounds terrace at administration building removed or covered.

1956 John Mahoney replaces Donald Erskine as Superintendent; self-guiding nature trail opened on lower Bohemian Grove Trail; lower parking area built on Kent Entrance Tract.

1957 Frederick M. Martischang replaces John Mahoney as Superintendent.

1958 Rear wing built on Administration-Concession Building and connecting porch enclosed.

1959 Six-acre Church Tract used as part of Camp Duncan (Kent) south of parking area purchased from Presbyterian Church and incorporated into Muir Woods National Monument through Presidential proclamation #3311; new bridges constructed on Fern Creek Trail by National Guard to replace those washed out in 1955-56 floods.

1960 Full-time Naturalist Richard Brown hired; standardized name plant labels introduced.

1961 Four log bridges remaining between administration building and Cathedral Grove; many of the log bridges installed in the 1930s removed.

1962 Three new trail bridges constructed (Bridges #1-3) by contractor, Ceccotti & Sons.

1963 James McLaughlin replaces Frederick Martinschang as Superintendent.

1964 Self-guiding nature trail discontinued due to overuse; lower picnic area on Kent Entrance Tract removed (last picnic area in monument).

1965 Bruce W. Shaw replaces James McLaughlin as Superintendent; "metalphoto" signs installed in various languages along main trail; new entrance gateway, consisting of stone fence/wall and redwood cross-section park sign, installed at Muir Woods Road.

1966 Administration-Concession Building renovated; shed at parking area relocated as addition; Ben Johnson and Hillside (Nature) Trails improved; aluminum shed constructed near upper garage.

1967 Muir Woods placed under general administration of Point Reyes National Seashore; Richard Tousley replaces Bruce Shaw as Superintendent; split-rail fencing extended to Pinchot tree, installed on west side from first bridge to Bohemian Grove; entrance fees introduced for first time as authorized under Land & Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; temporary ticket kiosk built on main trail fifty feet inside entrance arch; trailer house moved to site behind Administration-Concession Building as residence for chief ranger.

1968 Permanent entrance kiosk to collect admissions erected at head of main trail; CCC-

era main gate removed; new main comfort station built at parking area; new bridge (Bridge #4) built over Redwood Creek on Ben Johnson Trail.

1969 Leonard Frank replaces Richard Tousley as Superintendent; statue of Saint Francis installed temporarily in Cathedral Grove.

1972 Congress passes legislation authorizing NPS to acquire fifty acres in Camp Monte Vista subdivision, land acquisition begins (land not given National Monument designation); Golden Gate National Recreation Area established.

1973 Richard Hardin replaces Leonard Frank as Superintendent.

1974 NPS acquires land from Mary Libra (Camp Hillwood) in Camp Monte Vista subdivision.

1976 Bicentennial Tree monument dedicated; National Park Foundation gives Muir Woods Inn property to NPS (acquired by Foundation in c.1972) as part of land acquisition in Camp Monte Vista.

1977 Muir Woods reorganized as one of three administrative units of Golden Gate National Recreation Area in Marin County; title of Superintendent abolished; Supervisory Park Ranger becomes head staff position at park; Marvin Hershey first hired in that position.

1983 Around this time, NPS completes land acquisition within Camp Monte Vista subdivision, bringing total land owned by NPS in Muir Woods unit to 541.04 acres. Private use, including the Hillwood Day School, is continued on certain tracts through special-use permits.

1984 Administration of Muir Woods transferred to Tamalpais District, Golden Gate National Recreation Area; Glen Fuller hired as Supervisory Park Ranger, replacing Marvin Hershey, who had been replaced in 1982 by two acting Supervisory Park Rangers, Warren White and Terry Swift.

EPILOGUE

1985 A small wood shed is built in the Utility Area for concessionaire storage.

1989 New rustic-style visitor center is built at west end of parking area on state-leased land. Upper part of main parking area is reduced in size by removing southern edge nearest creek to restore riparian habitat. Fee-collection kiosk is removed.

1990 Rustic entrance arch is built on monument/state boundary on main trail, in design similar to CCC-era predecessor. New wastewater treatment and disposal proj-

ect, with pumping station in the Camp Monte Vista property and storage tank on Church Tract, is completed.

1992 A native plant nursery is established on the Church Tract.

1993 Jay Eickenhorst replaces Glenn Fuller as Supervisory Park Ranger.

1994 Stream restoration is begun to protect salmon; portions of CCC-era rock dams and stone revetments are removed, following initial work on breaking up the rock dams done in 1960s. Marlene Finley replaces Jay Eickenhorst as Supervisory Park Ranger.

1997 Susan Gonshor replaces Marlene Finely as Supervisory Park Ranger.

1998 Mia Monroe replaces Susan Gonshor as Supervisory Park Ranger.

1999 Boardwalk is built on main trail from entrance toward Administration-Concession Building. Split-rail fences are removed along the boardwalk.

2000 Around this time, the staff trailer house (1967) located above the Administration-Concession Building is removed. Site is converted to a staff picnic area.

2002 Former main comfort station (1928) is removed and replaced by a new comfort station built closer to the Administration-Concession Building. Soon after, an accessible boardwalk is built to connect the Administration-Concession Building and new comfort station with the boardwalk on the main trail. The new boardwalk includes a circular gathering area in front of Bridge #1 adjoining the redwood cross section (1931).

2003 The main trail boardwalk is extended west to the Pinchot Memorial. A new rustic pavilion interpreting the cultural history of Muir Woods is built in this area. A portion of the main trail west of Cathedral Grove is realigned away from the creek and rebuilt as a boardwalk. The Kent Tree (Douglas fir) falls; Fern Creek Trail is realigned around fallen tree.

2004 New wood-framed directional signs are installed along the main trail.

APPENDIX J

REPOSITORIES CONSULTED AND RESULTS

Bohemian Club, 624 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 885-2440
Telephone and e-mail inquiries to Archivist Matt Buff; no response.

California State Archives, 102 "O" Street, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 653-7715
Contacted archivist Genevieve Troka by e-mail. The State Archives have three catalogue entries for Mount Tamalpais State Park (expansion study reports), nothing for Muir Woods National Monument. The archives also have a number of unprocessed records from the Department of Parks and Recreation, of unknown content. These records were not researched for this project.

California State Library
Researched on-line catalog for entries under "Muir Woods." The Library has several reports and publications on Muir Woods, most available elsewhere.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY.
Documents related to the memorial service for FDR during the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 and its relation to the history of conservation.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area
Park Historian Files, Building 101, Fort Mason, San Francisco (Steve Haller).
Contains various park reports, newsletters, and clippings related to Muir Woods.

Park Archives and Record Center, Presidio of San Francisco (Gwen Pattison, Susan Ewing-Haley).
This is the primary repository of archival material associated with Muir Woods National Monument. Includes both textual and graphic materials.
Muir Woods Records 1910-1967 GOGA 14348. Boxes 1, 2, 3, 6, 22, 26, 27, 28
Muir Woods Collection (c.1967+), GOGA 32470. Boxes 1, 6, 20, 24, 25.
Also searched binders containing photocopies of photographs in the Muir Woods collections.

Harvard University, Lamont Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts
John Muir Papers, 1858-1957(JMP). Microfilm. Chadwyk Healey, 1986.
Available in forty repositories, including Harvard University. An important source for correspondence between Muir and Kent. The guide edited by Ronald H. Limbaugh and Kirsten E. Lewis was not available when this collection was consulted. It would be worth checking to be sure nothing was missed. Based on the documents found in the Muir and Kent papers, it could not be determined when and

how many times Muir visited Kent and Muir Woods. There may be correspondence in this collection between Muir and people other than Kent that refers to Muir Woods and his visits there.

Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.
Gifford Pinchot Papers (PP).
A valuable collection for correspondence between Kent and Pinchot that records their friendship and collaboration in matters related to conservation, including Muir Woods and Hetch Hetchy.

Marin County Recorder, Marin County Civic Center, San Rafael.
Searched grantee and grantor indices to deed records. Microfilm very poor quality; possible some relevant records were missed.

Marin County Court, Marin County Civic Center, San Rafael.
Contacted Long Truong long_truong@marincourt.org regarding collection of historic court records to find 1907-08 North Coast Water Company v. Kent condemnation suit. The court does not retain any records from this case (probably because case was never tried).

Marin County Library, Anne T. Kent California Room, Marin County Civic Center, San Rafael.
Clippings files, boxes: Muir Woods, Mt. Tamalpais, Camp Kent, Marin Municipal Water District, Park—California—State; Federal Writers Project research/clipping file/book; Photo files: Parks—Muir Woods, boxes 1, 2; Mt. Tamalpais, boxes 1, 2. Mt. Tamalpais Railroad; Tamalpais Conservation Club, *California Out-of-Doors*. Skimmed, 1914-1940.

Marin History Museum, 1125 B Street, San Rafael, California (415) 454-8538.
E-mailed librarian Jocelyn Moss. The museum has unspecified material on Muir Woods. These materials were not researched for this project.

MARINet (Online catalog of Marin County Library System).
Searched on-line catalog under Muir Woods, Mount Tamalpais, Camp Duncan, Camp Kent, William Kent, railway. Found references to several sources researched at Marin County Library and Mill Valley Public Library.

Mill Valley Public Library, History Room (Mill Valley Historical Society), 375 Throckmorton Ave, Mill Valley, (415) 389-4292.
Searched holdings through MARINet and browsed collections, including Muir Woods clipping files and photograph file.
Muir Woods park office, Mill Valley, California

Researched "history files," consisting primarily of copied secondary and primary source material, plus some original park correspondence and brochures. Also examined files compiled by Jill York O'Bright for initial research on this HRS.

Mount Tamalpais History Project, Lincoln Fairley, Chairman.415-648-4977. According to its newsletter, the Project was started in 1980 to collect and preserve historical materials relating to Mount Tamalpais. Researched newsletters on file at Historian's Office, Fort Mason, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. .

National Archives, Archives II, College Park, Maryland.
Along with the Golden Gate (Presidio) park archives, this is the most important source of documents on the history of Muir Woods National Monument from its origins to the present. The documents, which include correspondence and reports passing between the Muir Woods National Monument office and the Department of the Interior, as well as many of the key documents related to Kent's negotiations over his gift of the site, are chronologically arranged in binders. The following records were researched:
Textual Division
Central Classified Files PI 166 1907-32, Muir Woods National Monument, Boxes 600-601.
Central Classified Files PI 166, 1933-49, Muir Woods National Monument, Boxes 2292-2298.
Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation, Project Reports on CCC Projects in State and Local Parks, 1933-37, California, SP 23, Mount Tamalpais, PI 166, box no. 10.
Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation, Project Reports on CCC Projects in State and Local Parks, 1933-37, California, SP 36, Camp Alpine Lake, PI 166, box 12 (nothing on MUWO).
RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, California, box 27, Muir Woods NM-3, co 1238 (just letters and reports on menus, camp activities).
RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, California, box 33, SP-23, Mill Valley (Mount Tam State Park).
RG 79 Records of San Francisco Field Office. No files on Muir Woods; looked through boxes with Joe Schwartz, NPS archivist. Also looked through cards for correspondence with SOI, nothing on Muir Woods.
Photographic Division
RG 79-G, boxes 12, 23, 37 (Muir Woods National Monument). Only a few photographs, mostly 1940s events.
Cartographic Division

No Muir Woods records under RG 79 Master Planning of Parks & Monuments.

National Archives Pacific Region, San Bruno, California.
Researched by Jill O'Bright, 2002.
RG 79, Records of the National Park Service. Box 253, 254, 331, 333, Western Region Central Classified Files 1925-1953, Muir Woods National Monument; CCC-era drawings. These drawings were not inspected by the authors of this report; most appear to be duplicates of those at the Presidio archives.

National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, California.
Contacted Charles Miller regarding Muir Woods materials in regional office. Charles searched in ProCite database under "Muir Woods" and "MUWO," and produced 51 entries. Many entries are architectural files, recent (1980s+) clipping files, history references (reports), and uncategorized papers in "Tom Mulhern records." Materials not researched for this report.

Rose, Evelyn (volunteer ranger at Muir Woods), San Francisco.
Examined private collection of Muir Woods postcards and brochures.

San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park Library, Fort Mason Center, Building E, San Francisco, 415-556-9870.
Contacted regarding location of Muir Woods Records. These have been transferred to the Golden Gate archives at the Presidio.

San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, 94102 (415) 557-4400.
Searched on-line catalogue and photograph collection for entries related to Muir Woods. Found no entries not available elsewhere. No research was done on any manuscript collections the library may have pertaining to Muir Woods or Mount Tamalpais.

University of California, Berkeley (Bancroft Library).
Examined following collections and documents: Marin County Photographs 1885, Cristel Hastings scrapbooks, Muir Woods Guide c.1910, Muir Woods Guide c.1900 [1910], *The Centennial Grove play* (Bohemian Club), *A Chronicle of Our Years* (Bohemian Club), *Annals of the Bohemian Club* [Bancroft does not have volume 3 including 1892 encampment at Muir Woods], and botanical map of Muir Woods Basin (1914). Relevant materials not researched: Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railroad Co. [papers], Sierra Club miscellany (photographs).

Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, New Haven, Connecticut.

Kent Family Papers (KFP).
An extensive collection documenting William Kent's life and career. Despite two multi-day visits and a thorough search, not every box that might contain material related to Muir Woods was checked. Further research could possibly turn up new information. The first priority would be to check Boxes 5 and 6 (Correspondence 1909-10) for documents referring to the dropping of the condemnation suit.

Contacts

Gray Brechin, Research Fellow, Department of Geography, University of California Berkeley.
John Auwaerter e-mailed and spoke with Gray Brechin, who has done research on the early history of Muir Woods and the North Coast Water Company in particular, including research of F. G. Newlands' papers at Bancroft Library (nothing regarding the condemnation suit).

Kenny Kent (grandson of William Kent), Napa California.
John Auwaerter spoke with Mr. Kent on September 24, 2004, and discussed the general history of Muir Woods, and specifically about William Kent's involvement with the Tamalpais Sportsman's Club and the early history of Redwood Canyon. Mr. Kent did not have any further information on these subjects, but did say that William Kent was an avid sportsman. He recommended researching the San Rafael Independent Journal (not done for this project), and also contacting another family member, Eleanor Kent of San Francisco (415) 647-8503. She was not contacted for this report.

Mia Monroe, Supervisory Park Ranger, Muir Woods National Monument.
Mia shared her knowledge with the authors on her past twenty years at Muir Woods and on current operations.

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