





HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY  
A CIVIL HISTORY  
of  
Golden Gate National Recreation Area  
and  
Point Reyes National Seashore  
California

Volume 2

by

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IX. RECREATION, CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION ALONG  
MARIN AND SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY COASTS

A. Marin County Provides Outdoor Recreation

1. Paving the Way

Although a lush haven for wild life and a country bursting with spectacular mountain and coastal scenery, Marin County for its first two decades developed slowly. Population (white) in 1850 only reached 300 and a decade later, only 3,300. Gold and other precious metals did not lure California's immigrants to the county and the Golden Gate provided a sufficient natural barrier for San Francisco's growing population to discourage settlement or development. Even though Bolinas emerged as an early commercial center with lumber, copper, cordwood, and farm products feeding the city's market, the actual head count in the area remained low. By the 1860s a hardy group of dairy farming pioneers had set down roots on the rolling natural pasturelands of West Marin but their isolation from city dwellers remained nearly complete because of the wretched and dangerous condition of the county roads and the limited amount of maritime trade.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1870s transportation improvements began to open Marin County to more settlers and to adventuresome visitors from San Francisco. In 1868 a private group of twenty San Franciscan men formed the Sausalito Land and Ferry Company which helped to connect the county seat with San Francisco. The company constructed a road to San Rafael and established a stage line and ferry service between this point, Sausalito, and the city.

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1. Bancroft, History of California 6, p. 511; California, Surveyor General, Annual Report, p. 35; 1862, p. 92; 1864-65, p. 71; 1865-67, p. 102; Transactions of California State Agricultural Society, 1866 and 1867, p. 577; Marin County Journal, May 13, 1865, p. 3, C1.

The following year, wealthy San Rafael citizens backed the construction of a railroad between Point San Quentin and San Rafael which began operation on March 20, 1870. In 1869 a band of Bolinas pioneers petitioned the county for a road from Sausalito to Bolinas, and in 1870 the California legislature allocated \$14,000 to help finance it. The road crossed the Sausalito or Throckmorton rancho and continued north along the coastline to Bolinas where it connected with the road from Olema, so making one of the first legs of today's Highway 1.

At the same time Point Reyes' isolation was being broken down with a county road over the Inverness Ridge to the ranches near Drakes Bay and on down the peninsula to the newly constructed lighthouse. Three years later another road to Point Reyes along Tomales Bay and west out to the peninsula helped to relieve some of the secluded character of that sparsely populated dairy ranching district.

By the early 1870s the sources of lumber to supply San Francisco's growing demands had run short in the vicinity of the city and investors had already acquired rights to harvest huge tracts of redwood forest around the Russian River. Financed largely by the principal Point Reyes landowners who also had interests in the lumber industry, the North Pacific Coast Railroad went into construction in 1870 and five years later, on January 1, 1875, opened for business. From Sausalito, the ferry landing, the railroad carried passengers and freight north to San Rafael, west to a stop serving Olema and Point Reyes, and then north again to the Russian River country. The railroad soon after brought riotous weekend parties to the lush forest areas around Camp Taylor and helped promote a trend for San Franciscans to cross by ferry to Marin County for day outings in the country. In the year of the railroad's opening, George Gift indicated the popularity of Marin

County with city dwellers and the roots of the strong conservation movement which culminated in the creation of parks throughout the county when he wrote, "Being so near the 'pot' hunters of San Francisco our birds are made wild and scarce, except on lands thoroughly guarded by the owners."<sup>2</sup>

Word began to spread in San Francisco about the delights of nearby, and now more accessible, Marin. In 1878 the Argonaut came out with an enraptured article which helped pave the way for yet more transportation improvements and more tourists and settlers in Marin County. The publicity couldn't have been much better:

There is not any portion of our State more picturesque and romantic than the county of Marin. Every one who, by rail or private carriage, has explored the romantic spots, the glens and woods, the hillsides and valleys of that county, has been impressed with its beauty. It has not only a wealth of verdure, splendid trees and shrubs and flowers, but it has a charm of climate that is

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2. Gift, Something About California, p. 13; "Chronological History of Marin County," 1868, n.p.; Illustrated Marin County Journal 1887, p. IX; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 391; Gilbert H. Kneiss, Redwood Railways (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1956), pp. 1, 21, 41-42, 101-103. Kneiss notes, p. 101, that 3,000 picnic excursionists rode the North Pacific Coast Railroad on the day of its opening. As early as July 4, 1860, the San Francisco Alta California reported Marin's popularity among sports fishermen who found "delicious trout" in the numerous streams "in almost fabulous quantities," and among hunters who could find "every description of birds and wild fowls" in the country's woods and salt marshes, p. 1; Jack Mason, in collaboration with Thomas J. Barfield, Last Stage for Bolinas (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1973), pp. 32-33; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 51.

positively intoxicating. . . . There is champagne in the very atmosphere.<sup>3</sup>

That year a road between Bolinas and San Rafael received approval and funding, and when completed a deluge of visitors descended on Bolinas by way of an improved stage service over the new route. The next year Marin's most conspicuous geographic feature, Mount Tamalpais, was scaled by a wagon road from San Rafael financed by Joseph Oscar Eldridge, wealthy real estate investor of San Rafael. Completed in December 1879, the Eldridge Grade made it possible for an active pony to carry a nature lover to the summit within two hours where he could enjoy "panoramas of the great and boundless landscape." So popular had the road become by 1887 that the Marin County Journal hailed it as the most romantic road within 100 miles of San Francisco. So the parade of recreation seekers began to land on Marin's shores in increasing numbers during the 1880s, some of whom remained to form a core of citizens who savored, and later fought to preserve, the county's natural treasures.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Point Reyes in Leisure

Like other remote areas of Marin County, Point Reyes could be reached within four or five hours from San Francisco and by 1887 a number of people had found their way from the North Pacific Coast Railroad stop at Tacoloma down the hill to

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3. The Argonaut 2, No. 14 (April 12, 1878), p. 8.

4. Quotations from Illustrated Marin County Journal, 1887, p. 2; Mason and Barfield, Last Stage for Bolinas, p. 34; Jack Mason in collaboration with Helen Van Cleave Park, The Making of Marin (1850-1975), (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1975), p. 76.

Tomales Bay, Point Reyes, or to scenic Bear Valley, the latter which Charles Howard, as owner, opened to the public as a park. Bear Valley, especially, with its beautiful clear stream, its lush fern-bordered pathway to the ocean, and its abundance of wild life, attracted picnic parties and sportsmen most of whom came on foot, by bike, horseback or stage, from Tacoloma Station. In 1890 one member of a group from the Sight-Seers' Club who had walked the six miles from the railroad stop to the end of Bear Valley, found the trip to be "one of the most interesting to be taken in one day's absence from San Francisco."<sup>5</sup>

As early as 1887 the Shafters' prominent cousin, John Orr, of the firm Orr and Atkins of San Francisco, leased the Howard Cottage in Bear Valley as a hunting lodge and summer resort. In 1890 thirty-seven members of San Francisco's exclusive Pacific Union Club formed an equally exclusive country club for which they leased 1,000 acres containing Bear Valley from Payne Shafter and another 76,000-odd acres of Point Reyes as a hunting preserve from Charles W. Howard and the Shafters. By 1893 the country club had constructed an elegant gingerbread clubhouse in Bear Valley which provided the members with every comfort, from excellently prepared food to a well-stocked library, guest accommodations for thirty-five, billiard tables, comfortable lounges, convenient bathrooms, broad fireplaces, trophy covered walls, and a large social hall. Close by the clubhouse, stables, a barn, and a large kennel had been built to house the members' and club's vehicles, horses, cows, and scores of purebred dogs kept ready for the hunt. The club had also hired three game wardens to prevent poaching of the abundant geese, quail, snipe, ducks, deer, and

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5. Quotation from, San Francisco Morning Call, Apr. 27, 1890, p. 3; Gift, Something about California, p. 10; Illustrated Marin County Journal 1887, p. XLVII.

other wildlife, and to keep track of the club's imported game animals let loose in the preserve. A state fish hatchery which had opened in Bear Valley near the clubhouse in 1892, helped stock the club's seven coastal lakes and its Bear Valley Creek reservoir with trout, salmon, and bass. In the closed season club members could bring their women friends out to the preserve to enjoy the social atmosphere as well as the variety of scenery close at hand. Good roads connected Bear Valley with Bolinas to the south and the Point Reyes headlands to the north. The club to its elite members thus provided a sportsmen's mecca and an excellent social gathering spot only some two and a half hours from San Francisco.<sup>6</sup>

Other country clubs composed of prominent men from San Francisco were formed in the next decade, so that by 1907 Marin County also hosted the Point Reyes Sportsmen's Club, with its headquarters on the shore of Shafter or Trout Lake, the Tamalpais club, the Lagunitas club, and the Lucas Valley club. So avid as huntsmen were these country clubbers that the deer population in 1907 had grown scarce, causing the county supervisors to limit the take to two male deer per person and to forbid the use of hound dogs to flush the game. At Point Reyes the two country clubs continued to operate for several decades, the

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6. Souvenir of Marin County (1887), pp. 70, 88-92; the club stocked the preserve in 1892 with 31,000 New Hampshire trout, 19,000 rainbow trout, 30,000 land-locked salmon, black bass, thirty Mongolian pheasants, 600 Arizona quail, and 100 Chinese quail. Constitution, By-Laws and List of Officers and Members of the Country Club (San Francisco: C. A. Murdock and Company, 1893), p. 57; pp.11-12 this document lists all the club improvements on the leased lands in 1892, including the construction of a cement and rock dam across Bear Valley creek near its outlet into the ocean, of fences for pasture and decoration, of electric blue-rock pigeon traps with a shooting house, and various outbuildings not mentioned in the above text. pp. 56-59; "Chronological History of Marin County," vol. 1, pp. 212, 221, 237.

Country Club folding in 1934 due to the Depression. Little physical evidence remains today of the active social and sporting scene which characterized these clubs during their operation.<sup>7</sup>

Other San Francisco and Marin County citizens came to Point Reyes to spend time at Inverness on the west shore of Tomales Bay. In 1889 James McMillan Shafter, trying to remedy financial straits, selected 640 acres along the bay to establish a town as a summer resort, naming it Inverness in honor of the Scottish home of his forebears. A San Francisco reporter visited Inverness in October 1889, taking the train from Sausalito to the Millerton station, where he was met by a sailboat which took him across Tomales Bay to his destination. Although his accounts spoke highly of the extensive camping grounds (five miles by three miles), the good sailing, fishing, and clamming available at the newly created resort, Inverness never got off the ground as its owner had hoped. Later attempts by daughter Julia Hamilton to promote the subdivision fared not much better so that only a small group of prominent San Francisco and vicinity families chose Inverness during the 1890s as their summer home.

Shafter in 1889 also carved out some 13,000 acres fronting on Drakes Bay for another subdivision which likewise proved unsuccessful. Point Reyes had the scenic and recreation attractions but not the accessibility which presumably made the purchase of such remote properties inviting. In the winter of 1906 Helen Bingham informed her readers that a trip to the Point and the historic lighthouse there took a traveler at least two days by

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7. Bingham, In Tamal Land, p. 105; San Francisco Call, July 15, 1907, p. 5; Denny's Tourist Map of Mount Tamalpais 1910; Northwestern Pacific Railroad, Map of Marin County, 1925 at Marin County Free Library; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 90.

carriage and that overnight accommodations had to be arranged with one of the ranchers as no public hotels or inns existed in that part of the country. The isolation of Point Reyes due to its poor roads, private ranching, and lack of development kept tourists away from most areas except Bear Valley, Inverness, and the lighthouse until well after the close of World War II.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Bolinas and Stinson Beach

Beginning in the late 1870s Bolinas and the sand beach later named Stinson Beach began attracting vacationers, sportsmen, campers, and hikers who enjoyed the ocean swimming and seaside setting which the location provided. Captain Alfred Easkoot, pioneer to the area, set up a tent camp by the beach and offered his quests fishing outings at sea, evening bonfire gatherings on the beach, song fests, and other group activities. His success no doubt encouraged Nathan Stinson to enter into competition for the tourist business in 1880. Stinson, born in Morn's County, New Jersey, in 1829, first came to Marin County in 1866 when he leased one of the dairy ranches on Point Reyes. In 1870 he and James W. Upton, another Point Reyes rancher, together purchased 1,720 acres of land on Bolinas Lagoon's east shore. Ranching and farming, however, apparently appealed less to Stinson

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8. San Francisco Morning Call, Oct. 27, 1889, p. 12; Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 75-76; Mason, Earthquake Bay, A History of Tomales Bay, California (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1976), pp. 133-35; Mason, Summer Town. The History of Inverness, California (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1974), p. 9. These Mason books give considerable information on the history of Inverness. Bingham, In Tamal Land, p. 120; Sally Carrighar, Exploring Marin. Coast Highway, Manzanita to Tomales. (San Anselmo: Marin Conservation League, 1941), p. 14; James Main Dixon, "Drake on the Pacific Coast," Overland Monthly 63, 2nd ser (Jan.-June 1914), p. 545, notes that the stage from Inverness only went so far as the post office (at Ranch F) and from there a tourist wishing to see the lighthouse had to walk or hire a coach.

than did the opportunities which lay in future resort development. Stinson and his wife, Rose, set up a tourist camp near the beach and supplied it with running water and a dance floor for nighttime entertainment. The competition grew apace, and by 1887 Brown and Jukes had set up a canvas tent hotel which on weekends hosted as many as 100 guests. By 1888 the beach resorts were called collectively Willow Camp and by 1891 this well established recreation spot was gaining a wider reputation in Marin and San Francisco circles.<sup>9</sup>

Just south of Willow Camp, on the secluded beach below Steep Ravine, hot sulphur springs also had begun to attract health enthusiasts, campers, and hikers. Potential for their development in conjunction with camping, fishing, swimming, hunting, and hiking opportunities around nearby Willow Camp, did not escape the eye of financial investors who envisioned as early as 1889 the construction of a railroad to connect the Sausalito ferry with the Bolinas resort. The San Francisco, Tamalpais and Bolinas Railroad not only was incorporated that year, but it also took physical form with tracks laid as far as Mill Valley at the head of

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9. Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, pp. 103, 111-13; Mason writes that Stinson's incentive for developing a resort at the beach came from San Francisco's Dr. John Esten who in 1877 had planned to purchase Stinson's Bolinas Lagoon property to turn it into a health spa like the fashionable White Sulphur Springs spa in Virginia. Esten's health failed, however, leaving Stinson to pursue the idea if he wished. San Rafael Marin County Journal, July 5, 1888, p. 1; Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 426; California State Mining Bureau, Eleventh Report, State Mineralogist, (1891), p. 250; San Francisco Morning Call, Aug. 5, 1888, p. 12, c.7; "A Brief History of Stinson Beach," p. 2, undated, unauthored typescript in Stinson Family Papers, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, Cal., research note from Marin County Journal, Aug. 7, 1879, also in Stinson Family Papers.

the spur leading from the edge of the Bay to the base of Mount Tamalpais.<sup>10</sup>

The North Pacific Coast Railroad, the backer of the railroad scheme, could not, however, swing the finances to complete the road that year. Determined to see the project through, the railroad's president, William Graves, arranged with eastern capitalists in 1892 to underwrite the million dollar enterprise. Elaborate plans envisioned Bolinas with several large hotels which, with the railroad's construction, would be only an hour and a half from San Francisco. With all these improvements, Bolinas would become "one of the most popular watering places on the coast."<sup>11</sup>

This and later railroad schemes for Bolinas developed by Marin County capitalists William Kent, Sidney B. Cushing, and John Martin early in the twentieth century, failed to materialize. But West Marin by the turn of the century had another railroad for pleasure seekers, the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway, which had Sidney B. Cushing as its president and prime backer. Cushing and Kent together pushed for the development of the Willow Grove campgrounds during the early 1900s. Kent purchased the railroad right-of-way in several parcels, including the sandspit where the trains were to approach Bolinas, and where he sold ten acres to William Neumann in 1903 to construct a resort

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10. Kneiss, Redwood Railways, p. 111; the one and three-quarter mile track was a spur of the North Pacific Coast Railroad. Mason, Last Stage to Bolinas, p. 116. In 1891 Houston Jones announced his intention to apply to the government for title to the sulphur springs in 1891, undoubtedly to take advantage of their commercial value. Calif. State Mining Bur., Eleventh Report, State Mineralogist, p. 250.

11. As quoted from an 1893 Marin County Journal in Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, p. 116.

hotel for future railroad customers. Neumann in 1903-04 bought out William Brown's tent hotel and erected the Dipsea Inn. The following fall hikers of San Francisco's famed Olympic Club made their first marathon handicap foot race between Mill Valley and the Dipsea Inn, calling themselves the Dipsea Indians. The annual recurrence of this 6.8-mile race along the old Lane Tree Trail to Willow Camp or Stinson Beach later resulted in the trail's renaming to Dipsea Trail.

With so many promising developments in Willow Camp and its vicinity, Archie Upton, Nathan Stinson's stepson, moved to the community in 1905 to improve the Stinson holdings. From his labors the first year, Camp Upton, another tent city, appeared on the beach and offered its patrons modern sanitary conveniences, running water, and a telephone. The next year Upton opened a stage line from the Manzanita station of the Mill Valley railroad branch over the ridge to Willow Camp by way of the coastline wagon road, for the convenience of his and other beach concessioners' customers.

With his confidence high, Upton in 1906 also received his step-father's blessings to subdivide part of the Stinson ranch into streets and lots. In March 1906 a survey of the subdivision, called Stinson Beach, showed a site for a hotel on the hillside due north of Willow Camp, and five avenues to mark off and divide the property. Stinson, then ailing in San Jose, continued to support his son-in-law's projects until his death in 1910, probably never suspecting the financial problems Upton was to create for himself and his family in years to come.<sup>12</sup>

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12. "A Brief History of Stinson Beach," pp. 2-3, Stinson Family Papers, Marin Co. Public Lib.; Theodore G. Wurm and Alvin C. Graves, The Crookedest Railroad in the World (Fresno: Academy

The white sands of Willow Camp became increasingly accessible to, and popular with, the bay cities' pleasure-seekers during the first two decades of the twentieth century as more and more businesses opened. Cushing in 1903 had built the West Point Inn along the route of the world-famous scenic railway to Mount Tamalpais' summit, and from that popular train stop, Manuel Nunes began carrying people by stage down to the campgrounds. Hugh McKennan on Bolinas Lagoon rented rowboats and the Airey brothers in 1913 opened the Sea Beach Hotel and the community's first grocery store. In 1916 the small settlement of year-round residents received a post office which, on request, was called Stinson Beach. In 1919 the San Francisco Chronicle gave Bolinas and Stinson Beach full-page coverage in an article describing them as "pleasant summer playgrounds right at hand for San Francisco." By that date the automobile had begun to make its impact on tourism in Marin County, and Stinson Beach ranked among the most popular destinations for travelers by car, especially for campers who still enjoyed the sheltered campground in the lee of the sand dunes and among the willows and stately alder trees. For those who sought more luxurious accommodations at Stinson Beach in

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Library Guild, 1954), p. 13. Cushing was also president of the San Rafael Gas and Electric Company. San Francisco Call Nov. 9, 1895, p. 3, c.2; "Chronological History of Marin County," vol. 2, p. 387; Mason, Lat Stage for Bolinas, 114-118, 121-25; Bliss Brown, "Stinson Beach," March 26, 1936, typescript [from Works Progress Administration Report] in Stinson Family Papers; "Map of N. H. Stinson's Subdivision No. 1, Stinson's Beach, . . ." Surveyed March 1906, Map Book 2, p. 54; Tamalpais Land and Water Company to William Kent, Sept. 21, 1903, Deed Book 83, p. 358, RDO, MCC.

1919, there were also three hotels, two grocery stores, one restaurant, and numerous cottages to rent.<sup>13</sup>

After William Kent's son, Thomas, built the Sea Downs Hotel with a 120-car parking lot at Stinson Beach just south of the Dipsea Lodge in 1920, the summer resort coasted on its completed developments, catering to the hikers, tourists, and vacationers alike. The next important phase in its history came in the 1930s when the Stinson and Kent family heirs began donating and selling their beach properties to the county for a public park. Such a trend complemented the conservation movement in Marin County which had been growing along with recreation since the turn of the century, a movement to be discussed below.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4. Mount Tamalpais Region

##### a) The Developing Years

Folklore and romance have surrounded Marin County's Mount Tamalpais throughout its history. Poetry, song, drama have told of its beauty and majesty, and of the vast panoramas enjoyed from its summit. On its ridges and in its canyons Mount Tamalpais at one time abounded in wildlife which the sportsmen relentlessly tracked, while its broad spectrum of natural

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13. San Francisco Chronicle, June 29, 1919, p. 13; "A Brief History of Stinson Beach," p. 2, Stinson Family Papers; Chase, California Coast Trails, p. 248; Louise Teather, Discovering Marin, (Fairfax, Calif.: A. Philpott, the Tamal Land Press, 1974), p. 93; Andrea Tadlock, "Stinson Family," Point Reyes Light, Sept. 9, 1971, p. 8; Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, pp. 117, 122, 127; Congressman William Kent to N. L. Fitzhenry, Stinson Beach, Bolinas, Calif., Sept. 25, 1915, Stinson Family Papers; "The Lore of the Open," Sunset Magazine 23 (Aug. 1909), p. 159.

14. "A Brief History of Stinson Beach," pp. 3-4, Stinson Family Papers.

vegetation, from the tiniest wild flowers to the grandest of redwoods, delighted the hiker and nature lovers. Clear mountain brooks and springs in forest clad glens afforded ideal picnic grounds and resting places. While not tamed, the mountain yet could be ridden by horseback, then wagon, stage, and railroad, to its summit, or to its skirts at the ocean's edge.

By the early 1870s San Francisco's men of wealth and prominence had begun settling in the county and seeking out Mount Tamalpais region as a place of resort. So also did some influential businessmen from eastern cities, such as Chicago's meat-packing giant, Albert Kent, who moved to the county in 1871 to recover his health, purchasing over 400 acres on the east side of the mountain for his family estate. These men hunted deer, quail, ducks, and seals, and fished the dazzling trout streams and ocean tidal pools, but singled out the mountain and redwood forest as their favorite haunts.<sup>15</sup>

Hiking Mount Tamalpais' slopes on foot to enjoy the scenery and exercise came more gradually, as the early hikers had to make their way up cattle trails often obstructed by thick chaparral, but having reached the Coast Survey signal station on the summit, over 2,500 feet above sea level, the panoramic view of bay, ocean, and inland countryside usually rewarded them amply.

The 1880s brought increasing numbers of hunters and hikers to the Mount Tamalpais region. The Tamalpais Sportsman's Club members were among the hunters who gathered at

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15. "Notes of Travel in Marin County," Pacific Rural Press, Apr. 29, 1871, p. 259, C1; William Kent, Reminiscences of Outdoor Life (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1929), pp. 3-7; Mason, Making of Marin, pp. 67-68; Gift, Something About California, p. 14.

Bootjack Camp or along the creekside near what today is called Camp Eastwood. Sometime during the decade the club leased Redwood Canyon as a hunting preserve, and by 1898 they had extended their leased rights to a vast stretch of land south of the mountain. So popular had the mountain become by 1898 that a tourist's map of the region, showing four established trails on the south slopes--Bootjack, Lone Tree or Trail to Willow Camp, West Fork, and Throckmorton--was completed by civil engineer, C. E. Sanborn, and made available to the public.

Organized groups other than the hunters made their way to the region during the 1890s, among them members of San Francisco's socialite Bohemian Club. For their summer high jinks in 1892 club members erected a forty-three foot high Buddha, a replica of the Daibutsu of Kamakura, Japan, in a redwood grove today known as the Bohemian Grove in Muir Woods National Monument. Hikers of the Cross-Country Club in March 1894 visited the Buddha shrine on their fourth annual "trophy trip" on the mountain trails and found it had been badly damaged from recent storms. Seventeen ambitious club members were following a designated route that day, first to the Sequoia Grove (Muir Woods), then to the canyon's west fork trail which led to Bolinas Ridge and then up to the top of Mount Tamalpais and down again to Ross station, where they met the North Pacific Coast Railroad for their return to the Sausalito ferry landing. The day's hike was not without its problems, as only four of the expedition returned to the city as expected, the others presumably having gotten lost or detained on the mountain.

At least one church group found comfort in the mountain region during the decade. In 1890 two Presbyterian ministers organized "The Sunday School Athletic League of Marin County," and set up camp along Redwood Creek, just south of the present Muir Woods entrance.

But not everyone took delight in tramping the trails to Mount Tamalpais' summit, and as early as 1892 a plan was afoot to build a tavern and observation tower at the top for those who had endured "the tedious walk up the Mill Valley trail." Even grander plans soon followed, however, with the conception of Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway.<sup>16</sup>

b) Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway, 1889-1913

Railroad schemes for the Mount Tamalpais region had been afloat for some years before the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway was incorporated on December 1, 1895 with \$200,000 in capital and Sidney B. Cushing as its president. The idea for the scenic railroad had originated with Louis L. James of the Tamalpais Land and Water Company, which company not only purchased \$20,000 worth of stock but which also provided the surveying team to lay out the road bed from the east peak down the mountain, over land predominantly in company ownership.

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16. As quoted from a San Rafael paper of Sept. 1892 in "Chronological History," vol. 1, p. 225; San Rafael Marin County Journal, May 1, 1873, p. 1; Gift, Something About California, p. 14; "Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity," pp. 1-2, typescript, no date or author, Muir Woods N. M. files; San Francisco Morning Call, Mar. 12, 1894, p. 3, c.4; Jim Morley, Muir Woods, The History, Sights and Seasons of the Famous Redwood Forest Near San Francisco (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1968), p. 6; Morley gives forty-three feet as the height of the Buddha, while the "Historical Chronology" gives eighty feet; Harold French, "A Vacation on the Installment Plan Wild Places on Mount Tamalpais," Overland Monthly, 2nd Ser., 44, No. 4 (Oct. 1904), p. 457; "A Brief Account of the History of Camp Hillwood [sic] and Lo Mo Lodge, formerly known as Camp Kent and later, as Camp Duncan," p. 1, typescript, Aug. 11, 1969, (compiled from former camp directors, ministers and research material on file at Hillwood School, San Francisco), Muir Woods N. M. files; "Tourist's Map of Mount Tamalpais and Vicinity," 1898 by C. E. Sanborn, at California Historical Society, S.F.

Plans for a summit hotel went along with the railroad concept, the site for which had already been chosen in November 1895 when the surveyors, led by Sidney Cushing, who was representing the San Rafael Gas and Electric Company of which he was president, began to cut away the brush on the right-of-way.

Cushing's support of the railroad stemmed in part from a practical realization that it would bring business to his Blithesdale Hotel in Corte Madera Canyon, but he also nurtured a romantic dream of bringing the mountain's grandeur and spectacular scenery to the public. Albert E. Kent, whose son later made lasting contributions to the conservation movement in Marin County, also backed the railroad by making the first purchase of stock, \$10,000 worth, and by granting the right-of-way through his land in upper Corte Madera Canyon.

On February 5, 1896, construction began on an electric trolley line which not only would scale the mountain but also would run down to Bolinas and the beach, making that area a great resort. The contractors, California Construction Company, however, soon ran into labor problems, allegedly caused by poor wages and poor food in the face of arduous working conditions on the mountain. On March 17 the teamsters struck while Corte Madera residents and businessmen began their resistance to any further defilement of their surrounding by the railroad's construction, ending with a restraining injunction against the company. The interruption proved to be brief, however, and construction resumed full force on March 23 with 300 track layers working well into the night by bonfires. From that date the broad gauge road progressed steadily up the mountain, with the aid of a shay-gearred steam locomotive loaned to the company by the Dollar Lumber Company. Before August 18, 1896, when the last spike was driven, the railroad directors had decided to convert the line

to steam locomotive power so that two shay locomotives (as used in logging camps), along with six open canopy-top cars, and one closed passenger car, were purchased for the opening day, at a cost of \$80,000.<sup>17</sup>

In its day the construction of the railroad from sea level up 2,353 feet to the mountain top represented a bold engineering challenge. With the use of geared locomotives, and by building the road with 281 curves and twenty-one wooden trestles, the railroad overcame the elevation with an average grade of five percent and a maximum of seven percent. Of its 8.19 miles of track, only 3.282 miles ran in a straight line, while the curvatures together constituted forty-two full circles within a distance of less than half a mile. At the double bow knot, the most famous stretch of the track, the railroad paralleled itself five times within only 2,000 feet in order to gain 100 feet in altitude over rough terrain. The construction of the road alone cost \$55,000, but its completion represented to its backers the realization of a vision in recreation and engineering planning.<sup>18</sup>

The first passengers to ride the scenic railway, Mill Valley residents on August 22, 1896, and seventy-five

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17. San Francisco Call, Nov. 9, 1895, p. 3, c.2; Mason, The Making of Marin, p. 77; Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, pp. 13-14, 16, 20-22, 24-25, 27, 33; the shay locomotives weighed about thirty-six tons and could transport up to fifty one and one-half tons up the mountain at around eight and one-half miles per hour. Riders California, pp. 35-36.

18. Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, p. 37; "Geared Locomotives on the Mount Tamalpais Railway," Scientific American 79, No. 3 (July 16, 1898), p. 39; Marsden Manson, "Mount Tamalpais," Popular Science Monthly 57 (May-Oct. 1900), p. 72; Rider's California, p. 135. Rider's also notes that the longest stretch of straight track was only 413 feet.

newspapermen on August 26, 1896, helped spread the directors' enthusiasm for the county's new attraction. During the first year 23,000 persons flocked to Mill Valley to pay the \$1.00 fare for the ride up the mountain and back. The ascent took a little over an hour, after which most enjoyed time on the summit, where the Tavern of Tamalpais, completed late in 1896, offered meals in a large dining room, as well as a few rooms on the second floor for overnight guests. Those who chose to stay the night had the opportunity to enjoy moonlight dancing on the tavern's pavilion overlooking South Marin, the Golden Gate, and San Francisco, or arise at dawn to watch the sun come up over the bay area. Besides the tavern's appeal, railroaders often climbed the 210 feet to the rocky east peak of the mountain, where the Marine Exchange Lookout, built much like its counterpart on Point Lobos on the south side of the Golden Gate, kept watch for incoming vessels by means of a powerful telescope which could see as far as twenty miles to sea. In 1898 the summit also received another feature of interest, a United States Weather Bureau Station, for which the railroad Company erected a structure and leased it out to the government. And tourists in 1906 were looking forward to the pending installation of a giant seismograph at that time being manufactured for the station at Strasburg, Germany, one which came second only to the one at Washington, D.C., in complexity.<sup>19</sup>

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19. The Tamalpais Tavern also gained a reputation for its great New Year's Eve parties and Thanksgiving dinners. Wurm-Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, pp. 33, 36, 38-39, 98; Bingham, In Tamal Land, pp. 39-40; Marion A. Arnold, "The Tamalpais Scenic Railway," The Land of Sunshine 9 (June-Nov. 1898), p. 49. The pavilion, completed in 1898, stood downhill and to the south of the tavern itself and was joined to it by a stone walkway which arched over the railroad track, making a dramatic entranceway for the train's final stop on the mountain. Arnold, ibid.; Mason, The Making of Marin, p. 78.

Even with these summit attractions, as well as the spectacular views, the novelty of the geared railroad, and the construction of the West Point Inn by the company in 1904 to entertain more tourists and furnish a rail and stage connection to Willow Camp and Bolinas, the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway Company barely made ends meet during its first years of operation. The directors persevered, however, counting on advertising and physical improvements for the line to improve business. Lavish publicity, nationwide and worldwide, served to spread Mount Tamalpais' reputation, while it increased the railroad's attraction among international tour groups.

To keep the railroad in good working order, the company directors authorized repairs and modifications to the original equipment. By 1902 all the railroad's original wood burning locomotives had been refitted to burn oil and by 1907 nearly all of the numerous railroad trestles had been removed, the cuts and gulleys filled in, and huge culverts, about as large in circumference as Paris sewers, constructed to channel the rain torrents from the railroad superstructure. Moreover, an ingenious network of over 6,000 old boiler tubes had been installed along the track to water down the rails after the train passed over them, thus dramatically reducing the usual wear on the rails.

In 1907, however, the most spectacular improvement for the railroad came with the completion of a two and a quarter-mile spur from the double bow knot down to Sequoia or Redwood Canyon which William Kent, principal railroad stockholder and son of Albert Kent, deceased, had purchased in 1905 to save it from flooding as a water reservoir. After buying the 611-acre redwood grove, Kent had sold 190 acres on its northern end to the railroad on the agreement that he would build a \$60,000 luxury inn there at the terminus of a spur which the railroad would build and finance.

The first Muir Inn did not see completion until 1908 some months after Kent donated nearly 300 acres of the canyon to the government for a national monument. Preserved for all time, the Muir Woods National Monument offered a further impetus to the railroad's new gravity car line which began operation in the spring of 1907. From the railroad terminus near Muir Inn, tourists proceeded on foot or by inn stagecoach to the now improved wagon road through the magnificent redwood trees, some of which were as much as 1,600 years old, twelve feet in diameter, and 240 feet high. The sightseers then returned to the inn where they either remained to enjoy the hospitality of the house or reboarded the gravity cars which were then moved back up the grade to the junction with the main line by one of the shay steam locomotives. The exciting journey up the crookedest railroad in the world, (so it was called by 1906), and then the coasting ride down the winding track to Muir Woods by gravity car, and, finally, back to Mill Valley, came to be for some, the "greatest day's outing in the World."<sup>20</sup>

The public responded enthusiastically to the romantic ride down to Muir Woods by gravity cars: now even "the veriest invalids" could enjoy the "heaven in the woods that otherwise would be lost to them forever." In 1908, for the first time in twelve years of steady and safe operation, the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway broke out of financial straits

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20. Quotation from, "A Railroad to Wonderful Redwood Canyon," San Francisco Sunday Call, July 7, 1907, magazine section, p. 3; San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 12, 1904, p. 13, C.6; Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, pp. 38, 42, 45-46; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 3; Ernest Peixotto, Romantic California (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1910), p. 147; Hoover, Rensch and Rensch, Historic Spots, p. 187. The gravity cars traveled at about ten to twelve miles per hour. Rider's California, p. 136; Bingham, In Tamal Land, p. 34.

and into a period of prosperity which led, in 1913, to the directors' decision to incorporate the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway so that they could further expand the railroad's operations--specifically, to build a long-time planned extension from the West Point Inn Station down to Bolinas. The new name for the scenic railway, however, did not auger the improvements anticipated, and during its last seventeen years of service the railroad suffered many ups and downs before its final run in the summer of 1930.<sup>21</sup>

c) Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway,  
1913-1930

The newly named railroad still enjoyed enthusiastic crowds of people who got on or off the train at the Mountain Home Inn, constructed in 1912 midway down the spur track to Muir Woods, at the West Point Inn, the Tamalpais Inn, or the second Muir Inn (the first burned down in 1913) at the north end of Redwood Canyon. The directors continued to barrage the public with travel brochures and other forms of advertisement which urged them to ride the famous "wiggle train," or to try the gravity car line, "the longest roller Coaster ride in the world." But the corresponding increase in hikers and automobiles on the mountain began to eat away at the regular business. With a few exceptions, such as in 1915, when the crowds attracted to San Francisco for the Panama Pacific International Exposition bolstered the railroad's finances, and in 1920, when it netted \$43,000, the railroad's best year, the old line with a new name slowly lost its spirit, despite the ardent and regular maintenance practices of its devoted

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21. Quotation from, "A Railroad to Redwood Canyon, San Francisco Sunday Call, July 7, 1907, ibid.; Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, pp. 48-49, 61, 71; "Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railroad," California State Library, General Information, Drawer #923.

superintendent, Bill Thomas, and engineer, Jake Johnson, the latter who worked on the road throughout its entire thirty-four years in service.<sup>22</sup>

The Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway nearly shut down on two occasions in the 1920s, when the directors in 1923 offered the line as a part of a national park scheme for the Mount Tamalpais region, and when they decided briefly, in 1925, to replace the tracks with a concrete highway to the summit. Neither of these schemes materialized, but the "Great Mill Valley fire" of July 1929 spelled the doom of the road. The raging mountain fire forced passengers trapped on the summit to make a narrow escape on the gravity cars which sped them to safety at Muir Inn. Although new ties were ordered for the track, the line was abandoned during the summer of 1930 and that winter the rails, ties, rolling stock, and other equipment was sold to a San Francisco dealer for \$15,000. The Muir Inn, too, went out of business and was torn down in 1932. The right-of-way, however, from upper Corte Madera Canyon to the summit, survived the years and now serves as an emergency fire road, as well as a reminder of another age or recreation on Mount Tamalpais.<sup>23</sup>

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22. As quoted in Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, pp. 87-88; Morley, Muir Woods, p. 6; The second Muir Inn opened in 1914 about one half mile to the southwest of the first. The railroad track was extended to about 100 feet above the new site, and about 500 feet from the monument boundary. Morley, *ibid.*, and "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 5. Margot Patterson Doss, Paths of Gold In and Around the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1974), p. 89; Mason, The Making of Marin, p. 78.

23. Quote from "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," pp. 11, 15; "Chronological History of Marin County," vol. 2, p. 483; Wurm and Graves, Crookedest Railroad, pp. 100-02, 104; San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 10, 1930, p. 1, c.5.

d) Hikers on the Mountain

The mountain railroad found a friend in many bay area hikers who came to Marin by way of the ferry from San Francisco's Market Street and then by electric standard gauge line from Sausalito to Mill Valley, where they took the scenic ride to the summit and hiked back down to Mill Valley. Weekends, especially Sundays, brought crowds of Mount Tamalpais enthusiasts for day outings in Marin County, and as the twentieth century progressed, increasing numbers of these outdoor lovers joined hiking and athletic clubs in the area--the Sierra Club, the Alpine Club, the Olympic Club, the Cross Country Club, the Sight Seers, Coyote, and Tahoe Clubs--all which shared an appreciation for the rugged wilderness and beauty of West Marin County. Through their individual efforts and through their joint membership in the Tamalpais Conservation Club, founded in 1912, the hikers transformed the mountain into an outdoor recreation center. Trail construction became one of their outstanding contributions to the improvement of recreational facilities in the region, so that from the four major hiking trails on the southern slopes of Mount Tamalpais in 1898, the number grew to eighteen by 1925. Campgrounds at Bootjack and Rattlesnake also were constructed by 1925 through the hikers' volunteer efforts. Closely woven into these physical labors in behalf of the mountain were the hikers' plans for a public park to protect the mountain's scenic, natural, and recreational values, a story in itself which follows shortly.<sup>24</sup>

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24. "Tourists' Map of Mount Tamalpais," 1898; Northwestern Pacific Railroad, [Map of Marin County], 1925, Marin County Public Lib., San Rafael, Cal.; Wurm and Graves, Crookedest railroad, p. 11; Chase in 1913 hiked to the summit of Mount Tamalpais but found that the trail for half the distance passed over loose sliding stones and a steep grade. California Coast Trails, p. 246. "The Lore of the Open," Sunset 23 (1909), p. 157; "Tamalpais Conservation Club, 1914-" typescript, donated by Mrs. B. K. Dunshee, 1953, California Historical Soc., S.F., Cal.

Annual celebrations on Mount Tamalpais also became popular recreation features among outdoor organizations. In 1905 a group of hardy members of San Francisco's Olympic Club ran a race against a hiking group called the "Siaplamat Indians" along the 6.8 mile trail from Mill Valley over the ridge to Redwood Canyon and on to Willow Camp, via the Lone Tree Trail. Three hundred or so spectators awaited their arrival at the Dipsea Inn. So popular was this outing, that each year since, the race has been run on the last Sunday in August. Eventually this repeated event, which ended up at the Dipsea Inn, where the racers went for a swim, gave the old hiking trail the name of Dipsea Trail, now one of the best known on the mountain.<sup>25</sup>

The "Hill Tribe," a group of men and women hikers, had, by 1909, established an annual Thanksgiving day dinner at Rock Spring where a gigantic boulder sheltered the source of Lagunitas Creek and a huge madrona tree stood nearly fifteen feet in circumference. Other clubs may well have had similar annual events on Mount Tamalpais, but none matched the popular annual gathering on the mountain of several Bay Area clubs, beginning in 1913, to attend the performance of an outdoor drama in a natural amphitheater known today as Mountain Theater.<sup>26</sup>

e. The Sidney B. Cushing Mountain Theater

Three men, all hikers and mountain enthusiasts, organized the first drama at the natural amphitheater near Rock

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25. In 1904 Harold French described the Dipsea trail, giving it no name but identifying it by still recognizable landmarks, as a trail popular with "the more strenuous pedestrians." French, "Vacation, Mount Tamalpais," p. 457; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 2; Doss, Paths of Gold, p. 98.

26. "The Lore of the Open," p. 159.

Spring in the spring of 1913. R. F. O'Roarke, familiarly known as "Dad," or the "grand old man of the mountain," and John C. Catlin were hiking that year with Garnet Holmes, then director of dramatics at the University of California, when they all came to recognize the remarkable potential of the sloped mountain setting for an outdoor theater. Having pressed Garnet Holmes into service as the director for a play, the three rallied the mountain hiking clubs into participation in the first presentation, a miracle play called Abraham and Isaac, with scenes from Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. Some 600 hikers attended, walking at least two miles to the mountain site, the closest distance from road or railway station. Members from the various outdoor clubs also volunteered as stagehands and actors. The performance demonstrated the excellent natural acoustics of the setting and helped encourage the play's directors to form the Mountain Play Association and make the event an annual community expression.<sup>27</sup>

Garnet Holmes went on to produce the next year's play, as well as most others in the decade to follow. The success of the first two annual events led to William Kent's donation of six acres encompassing the site to the Mountain Play Association in 1915, with the understanding that the annual even would be continued for twenty-five more years and that the theater be named after his dear friend, Sidney B. Cushing. At the official land transfer ceremony on June 6, 1915, Kent explained his reasons for dedicating the theater to Cushing:

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27. Don Totheroh, "Rough and Ready," Fifty-fifth Annual Mountain Play brochure, 1972; "Mountain Theater," a 1918 news clipping; Mrs. D. E. F. Easton, "The Mountain Play," Trails, 1922, clipping; San Francisco Tribune, May 7, 1921, clipping in Mountain Play Press Books, 1913-1922, 1953, 1956, 1972, Marin County Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

He built trails that others might enjoy them. He built the mountain railroad more with the idea of its public benefit than with the idea of private profit. His soul was broad and liberal; he wished to share his joys with all men. He is the man who first taught me the lesson that this mountain is too good a thing to be reserved in the hands of a few and that it should not be a place from which the great public may be excluded. He was a man of the highest honor; a man of infinite kindness, and today it is with greatest pleasure that I am privileged to name Sidney B. Cushing in connection with this sky-domed theatre, with its vista of service to mankind.<sup>28</sup>

And so another recreation institution on Mount Tamalpais got underway, with Cushing and Kent the financial and spiritual backers, and the mountain clubs and general public the sustaining supporters. To Kent the Mountain Play Association's contribution to the spirit of public recreation was an elevated one: "Whoever discovers a new and a higher use for anything is in a real sense a creator. A creative act has occurred. The Mountain Play Association has done a marvelous piece of outdoor pioneering. To your Association the credit of the discovery and development is due, and to you its perpetuation in public ownership." Other organizations, including the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, the North Pacific Coast Railroad, the North Coast Water Company, the Tamalpais Fire Association, and, especially, the Tamalpais Conservation Club, pitched in to make the annual event a

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28. Quote from clipping from *Out-of-Doors* covering the June 6, 1915 dedication; Easton, "The Mountain Play"; Mountain Play Press Book, 1913-1922, Marin Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

true community expression. The railroad carried hundreds of spectators to the Mountain Inn every third Sunday in May, where they took the trail on up to the theater. The attendance soared from the first year's 600, to an annual average of from 3,000 to 6,000, many of whom depended on the train as a means of transportation from Mill Valley.

Some years, however, the majority of the audience hiked the trails to the spring performance, and to assure these hardy walkers a comfortable and safe journey up to the theater some 2,000 feet above sea level, the Tamalpais Conservation Club cleared and rebuilt trails, improved and constructed bridges across streams, and served as trail guides for those hikers less familiar with the region's terrain.<sup>29</sup>

The Mountain Play Association, which by 1922 had twenty members, organized these yearly performances in a public spirited manner, and in the face of several technical and financial limitations. Its members, as well as all the actors and production assistants, most of whom were California Alpine Club members, donated their time so that the play could continue to be a community expression and so that the profits could go towards the improvement of trails and other concerns of the natural environment. In the words of the county newspaper in 1915, the association had "stirred a strong tendency on the part of hikers and organizations to improve and take pride in the paths that

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29. Kent as quoted in Out-of-Doors clipping on June 6, 1915 dedication; Marin County Journal, Apr. 22, 1915, clipping; clipping, no source, May 19, 1918; Easton, "The Mountain Play," clipping, in Mountain Play Press Book, 1913-22; Rider's California, p. 136; Federal Writers Project Works Progress Administration, Cal. California A Guide to the Golden State, rev. ed. (New York: Hastings House, 1954), p. 367; Wurm and Graves, The Crookedest Railroad, p. 95.

crisscross the great mountain." In 1927, after the creation of Mount Tamalpais State Park, the Mountain Play Association profits began to go towards the purchase of land for the park, and by 1929 the Association had established a Tamalpais Park Fund to that end.

Productions in the natural amphitheater required careful planning, for although the acoustics were unexpectedly good, the vastness of the setting with its broad panorama of mountain and bay scenery, called for a play with a large cast for a performance which included both pageantry and drama. Few scripts had been written to be staged outdoors, and of those few, most were set for an intimate wooded scene. Moreover, the directors realized that the audience would not appreciate a production which ran much over an hour, while the producers could not stage anything requiring elaborate props, as the materials had to be packed on mules into the theater for the performance.

To overcome some of these technical problems, the Association often extensively rewrote plays to adapt them to the mountain theater's demanding environment. During the 1920s Producer Garnet Holmes wrote a play for the Association, entitled, Drake, as did Dan Totheroh, whose Tamelpa immortalized the legend of the sleeping maiden of Tamalpais and became closely identified with the history and spirit of the Mountain Theater.<sup>30</sup>

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30. Quote from Marin County Journal, Apr. 22, 1915, clipping; Easton, "The Mountain Play"; San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 14, 1923, clipping; Don Totheroh, "The Mountain Play Problems, California Out-of-Doors, Apr. 1924, clipping; San Francisco Call, May 16, 1925, clipping; San Francisco Bulletin, May 9, 1927, clipping; San Francisco Business, May 9, 1929, clippings; Totheroh, "Rough and Ready," clipping, Mountain Play Press Books, 1915-22, 1923-32, 1953-56, 1972, Marin Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

The 1930s saw dramatic physical changes at the Mountain Theater. Emerson Knight, a San Francisco landscape architect, at the Association's request, prepared a contour map and development plans for the theater to make it more comfortable for the audience while retaining its natural setting as much as possible. Knight's plan was finished by 1930 and the following year's play found a concrete coping already laid to mark the first of several terraces for stone seats to replace the grassy slopes which had to that date been the audience's gallery. Knight's vegetation plan to set out low trees and shrubs as markers for the stage "wings" also had been started, as had the filling of the gulley which for many years had hampered the proper seating of the audience. All these improvements had for eighteen years been anticipated by the Association, but necessary funds for their completion had not been available. Although finances yet remained limited, the Association authorized the construction of the improvements whenever they could be afforded.

Progress, therefore, was slow but steady. Knight's plan called for forty tiers of stone seats to hold 6,000 people. Only native rocks of massive size would be selected to assure permanent construction without the use of cement binding. "The object was to seek large units," Knight explained, "each with two weathered surfaces at approximate right angles, since these were intended to form risers and flat seat surfaces of final terraces of stone." The boulders, weighing between 600 pounds and two tons, were extracted from somewhere on Mount Tamalpais and hauled to the site by trucks, cranes, and chain hoists, and then buried so deeply in the slope that only a fraction of their surface remained above ground. Three horizontal aisles and four vertical ones divided the tiers, making it easier for the crowd to reach the seats, and behind each row of seats gravel cover was laid to allow for even terracing and for natural grasses to reseed. Knight also

planned for the introduction of indigenous plants only within the theater setting so that at its completion the new features all would "blend to wed the theater to the mountain, with a touch of delicacy and abandon that man could never attain."

In his scheme to create "a massive work of utmost simplicity" akin to the classical theaters, Knight had also to consider certain geographic features which had inconvenienced the theater company. Two ravines which deeply scarred the site were filled after a drainage system was installed and a small amount of grading was completed so that all the seats enjoyed a good view of the stage. The work crews, however, were instructed to zealously protect all protruding rocks and trees within the site. For the earthen stage itself Knight designed an extension some eighty feet long by forty feet wide, carefully preserving the original contours and feeling of the space. And as a stage support on the down-canyon side, he supervised the construction of a wall "vast in size and thickness."<sup>31</sup>

Most of this construction work was completed between 1934 and 1939 by the Civilian Conservation Corp under National Park Service and California State supervision. In the spring of 1934 fifteen of some 200 men assigned to Muir Woods National Monument for six months as part of the state conservation program worked on the improvements, planting Douglas firs for the stage wings and leveling and sodding the stage extension. Calling their outfit the "Rattlers," these men also began quarrying nearby rock for the theater seats, laying new pipe for the site's water

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31. Quotes from, Emerson Knight, "Mountain Theater on Mount Tamalpais," Landscape Architecture 40, No. 1 (Oct. 1949), pp. 6-7; Program for 1930 production, Mountain Play Press Book, 1923-32, Marin Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

system, and pouring concrete curbing to outline twenty of the seating tiers.

National Park Service Regional Landscape Architect Russell McCowan had also drawn up plans for the mountain theater which included the construction of a building in indigenous stone with steel-sashed windows for a kitchen and dressing rooms, and two comfort stations of native stone, open to the sky. The three structures all stood within the woods which surrounded the theater, and to Emerson Knight's mind, differed "in mood and rhythm from the theater."<sup>32</sup>

During the winter of 1934-35 the work crews of CCC Camp SP-23 completed seven stone tiers, and the next winter, five more. In 1936 the Mountain Theater site officially was donated by the Association to Mount Tamalpais State Park with the provision that the plays would continue. In 1937 the CCC camp moved headquarters from the site of the original Muir Inn, now called Camp Eastwood, to Alpine Lake, but construction went on at Mountain Theater. That spring the Association, in conjunction with the California Park Commission, purchased seven acres more for the theater site so that the property would have direct access to Ridgecrest Boulevard. The wooded grove of firs and native hard woods on the land purchase also was seen as a location for the National Park Service's structures planned for the theater. By June of 1937 construction for the outdoors theater had reached a halfway point, with 2,800 stone seats in place for the annual performance. When finally completed the next year, the mountain

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32. Standard Oil Bulletin, May 1934, clipping; Mill Valley Record, Nov. 9, 1934, clipping; Mountain Press Book, 1933-37; Knight, "Mountain Theater," p. 6.

theater had undergone a transformation without spoiling the natural beauty of the site so cherished by the Association's members and Bay Area supporters who continued to come by ferry, automobile, bus, and by foot, to witness the pageant of the mountain.<sup>33</sup>

Since the major construction of the 1930s, the Mountain Theater has received one important improvement, the installation of a modern public address system "to enhance the remarkable acoustical properties of the natural bowl." Today the plays go on, and in the words of playwright and long-time backer of the theater, Dan Totheroh, "there is no event--really, no pageant--which can match the Mountain Play's longevity or consistent audience support."<sup>34</sup>

#### 5. The Age of the Auto Tour

When first brought by ferry to Marin County around 1902, automobiles aroused mixed feelings, both positive and negative. Leary of these gasoline run machines, ferry captains often demanded that their tanks be emptied before riding on the ferry and, what's more, that only two cars be permitted each trip to keep down the added weight. An adamant group of citizens

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33. San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 19, 1934, clipping; San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Apr. 9, 1934 and June 27, 1937, clippings; Park Presidio Herald, Apr. 13, 1934, clipping; West Marin Star, Apr. 14, 1934, clipping; San Rafael Independent, Apr. 15, 1935 and Apr. 15, 1937, clippings; San Francisco Express, Apr. 19, 1935, clipping; San Francisco Presidio Heights Press, Apr. 22, 1936, clipping; Sausalito News, Apr. 16, 1937, clipping; San Francisco Eureka District News, Apr. 15, 1937, clipping; Totheroh, "Rough and Ready," Mountain Play Press Books, 1933-37, 1953-56, 1972. Marin Co. Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

34. Totheroh, "Rough and Ready," 1972 brochure for annual play, Mountain Play Press Book, 1953-56, 1972, Marin Co. Free Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

organized in 1903 to ban the auto from the county because of the "danger, annoyance, and anxiety" they caused. Although the anti-auto campaign failed, the county supervisors did press strict safety ordinances to control their speed and use on the wagon roads. Forbidden on narrow, winding, or mountainous roads and limited to a speed of fifteen miles per hour, few cars penetrated the scenic countryside of West Marin County.

But the earthquake of 1906 brought many new residents and more automobiles to the county, setting off the age of the auto tours which finally put the scenic railway out of business in 1930, and brought the construction and improvement of West Marin County roads. Forecasting the outcome of the inevitable competition between motor vehicles and trains in 1916, a car raced one of the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway locomotives up the mountain and won, making the trip over the 8.12-mile railroad track in twenty-seven minutes and nineteen seconds, in contrast to the steam engine's one hour and forty minutes.

Besides speed, the automobile afforded the tourist greater flexibility in his choice of places to explore, as well as in his time schedule. In a growing environment of leisure, these conveniences took on added importance which found expression in political platforms and actions. By 1919 the highway system to West Marin had been sufficiently upgraded to assure Stinson Beach a tourist boom, notably from auto motorist trade. Brochures for the resort advertised that San Francisco was only one hour and forty-five minutes by car from the beach, and that with the proposed bridge across the Golden Gate to Marin's shore, and with

an improved highway, the trip would be further shortened by an hour.<sup>35</sup>

In August 1919 automobiles received another vote of confidence in San Rafael when a group of county leaders, among them the influential and popular congressman, William Kent, formed the Golden Gate Bridge Association. The backers for the bridge had many years to wait before the public supported the idea, but the very organization under such popular leadership pointed the way of the future.

During the decade of the 1920s auto tourism in West Marin County increased dramatically. In 1922, only 12,000 of 91,253 visitors to Muir Woods National Monument came by car, whereas in 1925, 27,000 of 93,643 arrived in automobiles. In the former year plans were announced in the automobile section of the Sunday San Francisco Chronicle that a good road, "a wonderfully scenic road," would be built to the summit of Mount Tamalpais from the existing Bolinas to Fairfax road. In March 1923 the Chronicle heralded the road's completion as "California's new scenic highway," and as Marin County's "latest triumph in road building." The Ridgecrest Boulevard (now the Bolinas Ridge fire road) received even more extensive publicity in San Francisco Examiner which urged its readers to take the Mount Tamalpais Circuit Tour, "one of the chief tourist attractions of the bay district," and, according to a European guidebook, "one of the three most beautiful drives in

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35. "When the Motor Car Came to Marin," San Rafael Independent-Journal, Aug. 28, 1971, in Scrapbook 4, San Rafael Public Library, San Rafael, Cal.; "Chronological History of Marin Co.," vol. 2, p. 377; San Francisco Examiner, May 22, 1916, p. 5, c.6; San Francisco Chronicle, June 29, 1919, p. 13, c.1 to 8.

the world," comparing favorably with a trip around the Bosphorus and a tour of Naples Bay.<sup>36</sup>

In response to the increased automobile traffic and inadequate ferry service between the city and Marin County, Harry E. Speas incorporated the Golden Gate Ferry Company in 1920, arranged a lease of docking space at the Hyde Street Pier in San Francisco and waterfront property at Sausalito, and on May 28, 1922, opened a new bay ferry service. Within two months two ferry boats especially constructed to carry automobiles were plying regularly between the two points. Their competition, ferryboats of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad, also carried passengers as well as cars between the city and Sausalito, so that weekend motorists now could feel confident that the transportation facilities across the Golden Gate were adequate.<sup>37</sup>

In 1925 county leaders and voters turned their focus on improving roads to the popular scenic areas of West Marin. William Kent, who for twenty years had maintained the ridge road down to Muir Woods at his own expense, formed the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Toll Road Company to raise funds to

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36. San Francisco Examiner, July 22, 1923, Auto Sect., p. A1. In 1924 automobiles were excluded from Muir Woods proper to protect the fragile undergrowth. Morley, Muir Woods, p. 7. "Chronological History of Marin County," vol. 2, p. 442; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 8; San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 19, 1922, Auto Section, p. A1, col. 7; San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 14, 1923, clipping, Mountain Play Press Book, 1923-32.

37. Speas decided to form the new ferry company after an enjoyable family outing by car in Marin County one Sunday had ended with a long wait in car lines for a return ferry, only to be turned away on the last run. Harlan, San Francisco Ferryboats, p. 147; San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 14, 1923.

make the winding mountain road safe for automobile traffic. Although the decision was distasteful to him because of his continued efforts to make the area available and free to the public, Kent could find no government agency to subsidize the extensive and badly needed road repair.

The need for better roads was also recognized by the majority of Marin citizens who voted that year in favor of a bond issue of \$1,250,000 for a countywide road program which earmarked \$75,000 for the construction of a road from Mill Valley to Stinson Beach along the old Pipeline Trail to Bootjack Camp and Mine Ridge, where it was to meet the stage road down to Stinson Beach. An organization calling itself "Marvelous Marin" had formed to campaign for the bond issue in order to remedy the transportation problem which stood in the way of the county's "development and advancement." Marvelous Marin also rallied support for the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge which would, they assured the Marin County voters, raise property values tremendously and bring profit to all.<sup>38</sup>

Although delayed three years, the Panoramic Highway from Mill Valley to Stinson Beach went under construction in 1928, and by 1930 support had grown strong enough for a bridge across the Golden Gate to call for a bond issue vote in six North Bay counties to authorize the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District to raise thirty-five million dollars from real estate mortgages to finance the bridge construction. The bond issue passed with an impressive vote of 145,057 for, and only 46,954

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38. "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 9; "Chronological History of Marin County," vol. 2, p. 482; Annual Reports of Officers, Marvelous Marin, report of Nov. 9, 1926, Scrapbook 5, San Rafael Pub. Lib., San Rafael, Cal.

against, despite a powerful opposition from the Pacific American Steamship Association, the Commonwealth Club, the "Citizen's Committee Against the Golden Gate Bridge Bonds," and from San Francisco's noted city engineer, M. M. O'Shaughnessy.

Meanwhile, in West Marin, road improvements continued with the construction of a linking road between the Ridgecrest Boulevard and the Panoramic Highway. Completed by the Ridgecrest Toll Company, an outgrowth of the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway which closed that year, 1930, the new road opened as another privately owned scenic route with toll stations on its either end, (so giving rise to the name "Pantoll picnic area").<sup>39</sup>

The improvement of Marin roads and the public vote in favor of \$35,000,000 worth of Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District bonds in 1930 came none too soon for the growing number of motorists crossing to Marin County and the other North Bay

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39. "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," pp. 10 and 12; Allen Brown, Golden Gate, Biography of A Bridge (Garden City: Doubleday Inc., 1965), pp. 41-43; [Joseph B. Strauss], The Golden Gate Bridge Report of the Chief Engineer to the Board of Directors of the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District, California ([San Francisco:] Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District, 1938), pp. 40, 42. Strauss gives background information on the bond issue: in 1923 officials and citizens of San Francisco and the six north bay counties met and organized the "Bridging the Golden Gate Association" which drafted the legislation for the the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District passed that year. The District included San Francisco, Marin, Sonoma, Del Norte, and part of Napa and Mendocino Counties. After nearly six years of preparation to gain public support, the District finally was incorporated in December 1928, making it a responsible political entity. With Strauss appointed in October 1929 as its Chief Engineer, the District submitted a report to the electorate in 1930 as a basis for the 1930 bond issue. The many inter-agency and governmental conferences and agreements which supported the bridge construction plans no doubt had much to do with the sweeping majority vote in favor of the bond issue, pp. 28-29, 37-39.

counties. Between 1922, when the Golden Gate Ferry Company began operation, bringing lower prices, better service, and healthy competition to the bay ferry services, and 1929, when all the ferry companies merged under Southern Pacific Golden Gate Ferries Ltd. ownership, the automobile traffic across the Golden Gate had increased seven-fold, and continued to grow yet larger during the seven years of bridge planning and construction. Weekends and holidays found the ferries typically in full service, but even with their maximum capacity of one thousand cars per hour, they could not accommodate all the traffic during unusual holiday peaks when as many as 3,000 automobiles per hour converged in South Marin and jammed up miles of highway with impatient and irate motorists waiting for the Sausalito ferry.<sup>40</sup>

With this great increase in auto tourism in the 1930s, Marin County's scenic attractions drew correspondingly larger crowds. Road projects to pave surfaces, provide adequate parking lots, and regular maintenance continued to be authorized on a county, state, and federal level to meet the pressing demands. After the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge in May 1937, direct access to Marin County encouraged motorists to move to the picturesque north shore and commute to work in San Francisco. With help from an extensive promotional campaign by "Marvelous Marin," the county after World War II experienced a feverish real estate boom which brought with it many more automobiles. By 1965 weekend tourism by motorists again was choking the roads around Sausalito and Tiburon, and by 1970 more than 134,000 cars were registered in Marin County alone. A deep concern among many old timers in the

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40. [Strauss], Golden Gate Bridge Report, pp. 22-23; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 98; Harlan, San Francisco Ferryboats, pp. 149-50.

county over the relentless increase in traffic and the proposals in 1967 to widen either the shoreline Highway 1 or the Panoramic Highway to four lanes, led to a united action which successfully killed the freeway plans. Conservation of West Marin's unspoiled and still wild hills had long held an important place in the hearts of Marin County residents, and with the shared concern from citizens of other bay counties, the ultimate expression of this sentiment resulted in 1972 in the creation of Golden Gate National Recreation Area encompassing most of Marin's western slope as far north as Point Reyes.<sup>41</sup>

B. Recreation Along San Francisco's Coast

1. Ocean Beach and Cliff House

a) Seal Rocks and Cliff House, 1860-1883

The barking, basking seals and sea lions on the cluster of rocks just offshore Point Lobos have lured citizens and tourists of San Francisco to the ocean beach since the 1850s. Horseback riders and hikers traveled the six miles from the city to the shores of the Pacific by several trails which crossed the wide expanse of sand dunes stretching along the coast. By the mid-1850s these early excursionists found refreshment at the Seal Rock House at the foot of the cliff near the "Seal Rock," or at the Ocean House some four miles to the south, on the western end of the Mission Dolores trail to the beach. By the turn of the decade a popular "jaunt of recreation" from San Francisco offered the sightseer a visit to Fort Point at the Golden Gate, to the Seal Rocks (but in 1859 the "old" Seal Rock House stood tenantless), to the sandy beach, and to the Ocean House, along a coastal loop

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41. Muir Woods approach roads and parking facilities received attention from all levels of government in the 1930s. In 1938 state and federal funds purchased the Muir Woods Toll Road for \$25,000, and the following year the monument's visitation soared by 135.64%.

distinguished by its panoramic views of both bay and ocean scenery.<sup>42</sup>

Realizing the exceptional recreation potentials of the coastal lands opposite the Seal Rocks, Charles C. Butler purchased 160 acres of Point Lobos in the 1850s. Butler, who later became known as "the Astor of San Francisco" for his extensive real estate holdings in the city, reportedly had assured his father before leaving New York City for the West Coast that he would buy up any land that showed promise of being for San Francisco what Coney Island or Fort Hamilton were to New York. Originally Butler had intended to hold the land until the city's growth westward made it profitable to sell, but instead, he began to scheme and invest in the development of the area as a fashionable seaside resort. First, he considered transportation to his Point Lobos lands; a good road to replace the "big cliff trail" would bring visitors quickly and directly to a hotel he planned to construct on the cliff opposite Seal Rocks. By law, Butler needed a charter from the State of California in order to build the desired road. Apparently he hired an agent to handle this aspect of his business while he made a trip back East, and at his return found that his agent had sold state Senator John Buckley one-third interest in the 160-acre tract. Butler and Buckley went into business together, along with several other San Francisco businessmen, to form, in 1862, the Point Lobos Road Company. Reportedly James Feelan (Phelan?) and others, having earlier received a franchise from the legislature to build a

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42. Hutchings' California Magazine 3, No. 12 (June 1859), as quoted in Olmsted, ed., Scenes of Wonder, pp. 77, 82-84; Wheat, ed., "California's Bantam Cock," p. 276; Walter J. Thompson, "Over Sandy Trails to the Old Cliff," San Francisco Chronicle, July 23, 1916, p. 28, c.3; "History of Sütro Heights," San Francisco Examiner, June 3, 1894, p. 24, c.5.

road over the same right-of-way to the beach, had already started construction when the Point Lobos Road Company organized. Feelan sold out to the new road company and work progressed rapidly. In February 1863 some 100 or more spectators gathered on the beach to witness the detonation of fifty kegs of powder which the company announced would clear a way for the road from the Point Lobos Cliff down to the beach. Although the dynamite, placed in a cavern near the water's edge, did not lift the cliff as expected, the public was not disappointed a month later when the road to the cliff opened. Completed at a cost of \$175,000, the Point Lobos Road provided a macadamized thoroughfare from the end of Bush Street (at today's Presidio Avenue), to the site of the new hotel which the city's Daily Alta California announced in May 1863 would be called the Cliff House. Expectations ran high for the Cliff House, then under construction by Messrs. Butler and Buckley. Although the house was to be of "fair dimensions," at its completion it would be entirely encircled by a balcony where visitors could enjoy "the lions of the day, barking and basking on the rocks." Moreover, it was "to be kept, in all respects, as a first class house," and, "as a suburban retreat," the Cliff House would offer unsurpassed attractions: "The majestic ocean, picturesque Golden Gate Coast Chain of hills, and long reach of sea beach, are some of the views to be obtained from the balconies of the Cliff House."<sup>43</sup>

At the same time the Point Lobos road opened, another road was completed from the city to the Ocean House, so

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43. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Feb. 7, 1863, p. 1, c.1; Mar. 30, 1863, p. 1, c.1; May 4, 1863, p. 1, c.1; May 29, 1870, p. 1; San Francisco Examiner, June 13, 1894, p. 24, c.5; Senator Buckley evidently invested in other property in the city as well. San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 6, 1918, p. 39, c.7; according to San Francisco, The Bay, p. 321, the toll company consisted of James Phelan, William Herrick, John Buckley, and Salem Burdell.

that now pleasure seekers could take a comfortable day's drive out either road and return on the other by driving over the hard beach connecting the two. Those who could afford the tolls charged by the road companies were numerous enough, as the Sunday crowd of some 1,000 at the beach in March 1863 amply demonstrated. Once the Cliff House opened in June 1863 a public means of transportation to the beach also became available. For \$1.00 round-trip one could take a Seal Rock Stage from the plaza on Sundays at 10 AM or 2 PM out to the "new and elegant hotel . . . within a few rods of the famous 'Seal Rocks.'" Captain Junius Foster, late manager of the International Hotel in San Francisco, was in charge of the Cliff House and lent a friendly and very personable atmosphere to its operation. All stood in readiness for the leisured classes, who, during the next two decades, made the Cliff House a famous San Francisco landmark, known in certain circles the world-round.<sup>44</sup>

The combined expenses of hiring or owning horses and vehicles for the ride to the beach, the toll fares, and the exorbitant prices charged by Captain Foster at the Cliff House, made the oceanside resort accessible mostly to the rich and fashionable of San Francisco, as Butler had planned at the offset. Part of the excitement of the day's outing was the ride itself on the magnificent Point Lobos Road which stood 110 feet wide, with thirty feet in macadam and fifty-two feet in clay. On the right side of the road for a straight stretch of a mile and one-half the company

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44. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Mar. 30, 1863, p. 1, c1; June 28, 1863, p. 1, c1; San Francisco Chronicle, July 23, 1916, p. 28, c.3; Oct. 6, 1918, p. 39, c.7; Edgar M. Kahn, Cable Car Days in San Francisco (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940), p. 19; B. E. Lloyd, Lights and Shades of San Francisco (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1876), pp. 67-69.

had built a clay speedway which was kept rolled and watered for equestrians and fast trotting horses pulling open carriages to the Cliff House. According to Bancroft's Tourist Guide of 1871 the road boasted,

the broadest, hardest, smoothest and longest track in the State. . . . The track was a fine, hard surface, wide enough, in places, for twenty teams, from the natty single buggy to the elegant coach, or the stately four-in-hand. A million dollars' worth of legs and wheels flash by a man in a very few hours on this fashionable drive, especially on a race day.

And to others who knew this road, it was said to be unsurpassed in all the United States.<sup>45</sup>

Another feature relished by the frequenters of the Cliff House during the 1860s and 1870s was the familiarity of the clientele. "Everybody knew everybody, so it was sort of a family gathering," Captain Foster reportedly reminisced years later. The Crockers, Hearsts, Stanfords, Vandewaters, Lathams, and other prominent families of early San Francisco, nodded to each other from their phaetons or hacks, landaus, or barouches or from the dining room, bar, or balcony at the Cliff House. "Palate-tempting and delicious triumphs of Captain Foster's cuisine," came dear, but helped to keep the Cliff House an exclusive resort

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45. San Francisco Daily Alta California, May 29, 1870, p. 1; Bancroft's Tourist Guide. The Geysers. San Francisco and Around the Bay North (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1871), p. 161; San Francisco Examiner, June 3, 1894, p. 24, c.5; Robert O'Brien, This Is San Francisco (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Company, 1948), p. 327.

which "outsiders," such as one Marin County Journal correspondent, found inexcusable. "They knew we were coming and therefore charged us double fare and demanded in advance," he wrote for his September 1869 article. What's more, he found the food "the very poorest the market afforded at exorbitant prices (Mexican oysters--something that only sports or thieves can afford to indulge in)." Feeling his presence out of place, the reporter saw the patrons of the Cliff House as "smiling men--neatly dressed actors, philosophers and poets, distinguished men and women of pleasure, of high birth, good position." Concluding his diatribe, the correspondent wrote, "Suffice it to say the Cliff House is a fashionable resort and visited by fashionable people, who dance and flirt, eat and drink, walk or ride on the beach and indulge in all the dissipation it is possible for persons to engage." Such a condemnation stood in striking contrast to the words of B. E. Lloyd, who on a visit to San Francisco in 1876 found a trip to the Cliff House a memorable occasion:

A drive to the "Cliff" in the early morning, a hearty welcome from Captain Foster, and an hour passed over his hospitable board discussing the choice contents of his larder, and a return to the city through the charming scenery of the Golden Gate Park, tends to place man about as near to elysian bliss as he may hope for in this world.<sup>46</sup>

Although Captain Foster catered mostly to the society set, he also sponsored a few public attractions at the Cliff

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46. Quotes from Lloyd, Lights and Shades, p. 70; Marin County Journal, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 1, and O'Brien, This Is San Francisco, pp. 327-28; San Francisco Daily Alta California, Mar. 19 and 20, 1876, p. 1.

House which drew large crowds to Point Lobos. In 1865, for instance, he arranged for Captain James Cooke to attempt to walk a tight-rope from the South Seal Rock to the Cliff House. "No event of the kind which has ever transpired in California awakened in the public mind a tenth part of the interest manifested by all classes," reported the Daily Alta California, "and the number of people present today to witness the spectacle, will be limited only by the extent of the means of transportation." The omnibus and street car lines carried large numbers "at moderate rates" out to the Cliff House, and the U.S. steamer, Shubrick, brought a party of spectators to the scene. The reporter covering the event estimated a crowd of no less than 15,000 who, with their thousands of vehicles, covered the hillside from Point Lobos down to the beach. Musicians played, while Captain Cooke, dressed in pink tights, climbed up to the tightrope on the summit of the rock. The crowd cheered wildly as they stood in the wind and rain awaiting the exciting outcome, but Cooke pitched his balancing pole into the sea, after one brief attempt amply demonstrated the adverse conditions he faced in such a storm. Disappointed as much as his audience, Cooke rescheduled his performance the following week, and again a large crowd gathered to watch him complete the rope walking feat from the Cliff House to the rocks and back, in spite of winds which were "blowing great guns." Foster clearly was no fool, and his Cliff House trade must have flourished, especially at the bar, while bets were laid on whether Cooke could safely cross the rope which swung seventy feet above the churning breakers of the Pacific Ocean.<sup>47</sup>

Besides such grandiose affairs, the Cliff House kept up a good business, so that in 1868 Captain Foster enlarged

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47. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Sept. 24, 1865, p. 1, c1; Sept. 25, 1865, p. 1, c.1; Sept. 27, 1865, p. 4, c.3; Oct. 1 and 2, 1865, p. 1, c.1.

and remodeled the building. A new addition was constructed on the north end, where the shuffleboards had stood, for "a refreshment saloon (on the city plan)," a reading room, restaurant, card room, "and other conveniences" for the men. Another addition went up on the south side for a ladies' parlor, while the barroom in the main building was broken up into smaller rooms for special parties. Both wings were considerably wider than the original building giving the new Cliff House about three times its former space. On the road side an open platform was added so that visitors might sit in the sunshine and out of the wind, and on the seaward side a broad verandah was constructed so that the platform overlooking the ocean could be readily used as a dance hall. "These improvements will make the place far more desirable as a popular resort," the reporter concluded, and no doubt they did; but not for another decade did transportation improvements begin to bring a truly "popular" representation of the city's population out to the beach and to the Cliff House.<sup>48</sup>

By 1877 the City of San Francisco had cut an impressive road through Golden Gate Park to the beach and the still profitable franchise to the Point Lobos toll road had expired, leaving its future uncertain. That year the company, realizing the expense of maintaining and improving a toll road which competed with a free road only half a mile away, sold their right-of-way to the city which, as early as 1870, had proposed to build a street railroad along its edge. In 1879 the Daily Alta California announced that the proposal for the Point Lobos railroad had been approved by property owners along Point Lobos Avenue and that the new company had been named, the "Ocean Beach Railroad Company."

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48. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Apr. 26, 1868, p. 1, c.3; Mar. 9, 1868, p. 1, c.2.

Although never built, this railroad scheme indicated the trend which in a few years would see the completion of the first steam railroad to the beach and Cliff House.

With more of the general public finding their way to the Cliff House, Captain Foster began to lose his prestigious clientele who preferred not to mix with the other classes. Faced with competition from bars on the beach and roads out from the city, Foster began to encourage an equally wealthy, but more racey, set to use the private facilities of the Cliff House. Although prominent visitors to San Francisco, such as General Ulysses Grant (in September 1879) and President Rutherford B. Hayes (in September 1880), still made the trek out to the landmark to view the sea lions through the sliding telescope on the balcony, or to enjoy a meal in one of the Cliff House's elegant dining rooms, the most characteristic customers reportedly came from a gambling, riotous crowd of San Franciscans who paid for the privilege to play poker or entertain women, after dining on champagne and chicken.<sup>49</sup>

b) Railroads and Adolph Sutro, 1883-1898

Once the Park and Ocean Railroad opened in 1883, San Francisco's public flocked to the beach over cable car

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49. Lloyd, Lights and Shades, p. 68; O'Brien, This Is San Francisco, pp. 329-30; San Francisco Chronicle, July 23, 1916, p. 28, c.3; San Francisco Daily Alta California, May 7, 1876, p. 1; Sept. 23 and 29, 1879, p. 1; Oct. 27, 1879, p. 1; San Francisco Call, Sept. 21, 1880, p. 3, c.5; Charles S. Greene, "The Parks of San Francisco," Overland Monthly 17, 2nd ser., No. 99 (March 1891), p. 242; William Laird MacGregor, San Francisco California in 1876 (Edinburg, [Scotland]: Thomas Laurie, 1876, p. 50. MacGregor in 1876 found the Cliff House to be "the great show place of the neighborhood." As a visitor to the city people almost at once asked him, "Have you been to the Cliff House?" Ibid.; "The Sea Lion at Home," Overland Monthly 3, 1st ser., No. 4 (Oct. 1869), p. 350.

and steam railroad at a price they could afford. The railroad's terminus just to the north of Golden Gate Park, on the beach near the site of the Seal Rock House, became the busy hub for quick dollar vendors. In December 1883 Don Mooney erected a dance floor, tent, and bar, hired fiddlers, and opened for business as a beach squatter. Joining him nearby, San Francisco's notorious Irish politician, Dennis Kearney, who led many a demonstration against the city's oriental population, opened a coffee and doughnut stand, while still others illegally sold beer and other alcoholic drinks from their wagons, creating a rowdy community which the newspapers called "Mooneysville." Alarmed, the city Park Commissioners, with the assistance of the city police, evicted the squatters in January 1884, but their initial success must have suggested to many other merchants the potentials of the beach trade. Indeed, in June 1884, Mr. Hotaling opened at the railroad's terminus the Ocean Beach Pavilion, described by one visitor as very pretentious, and by November 1885, several shanties "devoted to peanuts, bird fanciers and penny gaffs," stood beside "a row of rather respectable looking stores erected by Mr. Adolph Sutro of Sutro Tunnel fame."<sup>50</sup>

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50. Quote from Clipping, Salt Lake City Daily Tribune, Nov. 29, 1885, "Adolph Sutro Scrap Book, July 16, 1888 to Oct. 27, 1888," Adolph Sutro Collection, Adolph Sutro Library, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, California. The brief history of Mooneysville was first brought to my attention by Gladys Hansen, City Archivist, who informed me that Raymond Clary of San Francisco had written an unpublished history of the community based on newspaper citations. Clary generously shared his research with me during an interview on July 21, 1976; information on the squatters also was found in Special Meetings, Dec. 20, 1883 and Jan. 21, 1884, of San Francisco Board of Park Commissioners, "Minutes of the Board of Park Commissioners, Apr. 4, 1870-Jan. 22, 1884," San Francisco Department of Parks and Recreation, McLaren Lodge, San Francisco. Hereinafter cited, S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," date; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 49; San Francisco, Board of Supervisors, San

Adolph Sutro's row of respectable stores on the beach represented only a small part of his expansive dream for healthful, family recreation at the seaside. Sutro had gained national fame for his construction during the 1870s of the Sutro Tunnel to drain and ventilate the deep silver mines of Nevada's Comstock Lode. In 1879 he had sold out his interests in the tunnel company and returned to San Francisco, where he had begun his West Coast career in 1850 as a young man without financial resources. With his profits from the tunnel enterprise, Sutro had begun buying up the Outside Lands of San Francisco, then mostly huge stretches of sand dunes. Included in his purchases were the Cliff House and the future sites of Sutro Heights, Sutro Baths, and the coastal sections of Lincoln Park, as well as most of the rancho lands north and south of Golden Gate Park. His 2,200 acres of land represented a substantial portion of the city and county of San Francisco, and to Sutro, they were designed to provide a steady source of income in years to come through their rentals and sales as the city population moved out towards the beach. Sutro's dream to bring the public at large to a seaside resort of his making thus depended largely on the success of his real estate prospects in the Outside Lands, making him often land rich and pocket poor when

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Francisco Municipal Reports, 1883-1884 (San Francisco: W. A. Woodward and Company, 1884), p. 175; hereinafter cited, Municipal Reports. These reports were published annually (in accordance with the fiscal year) by order of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. In a photograph of the Cliff House from the ocean, undated, the pavilion appears on the site of the old Seal Rock House as a three-story structure with towers on each end. "Cliff House--No. 2," Photo Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco. In April 1979, too late to contribute to the research for this study, about six shelf feet of original Sutro papers, relating both to his Sutro Heights and Cliff House interests and to the Sutro Tunnel, were donated to Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

periods of depression descended on San Francisco and the country. But Sutro's plans, begun early in the 1880s, never ceased during his later life, and after his death in 1898, his heirs carried on the tradition which Sutro so determinedly had set by nearly two decades of effort, to provide accessible and educational public recreation at the beach.<sup>51</sup>

Sutro's improvements of the seaside lands began with a visit in 1881 when both he and his daughter, Emma, visited Samuel Tetlow and were struck by the magnificence of the view from Tetlow's cottage, located on the edge of the cliff overlooking the Cliff House and Seal Rocks. The area was one which had attracted tent campers early in San Francisco's history who came both for the view and to gather wild strawberries. A homesteader named Chambers reportedly had farmed potatoes on the heights

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51. For information on Sutro's birth and youth in Germany, his early years in San Francisco, his famed political battle to build the Sutro Tunnel, and his later real estate dealings in San Francisco, see Robert E. Stewart and Mary Frances Stewart, Adolph Sutro, A Biography (Berkeley: Howell-North Co., 1962); Richard Dillon, Humbugs and Heroes (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970), pp. 306-310; George H. Fitch, "Millionaires of the Pacific Coast," The Cosmopolitan 4, No. 1 (Sept. 1887): 34; an abstract of titles for Sutro's Point Lobos lands can be found in NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corresp., 1894-1923, Box 1559, Item #64244. This abstract fills a huge volume, although it pertains to less than 100 acres of Sutro's San Francisco real estate. In a letter to his brother in 1894 explaining his money shortages, Sutro discussed his original plan to sell about \$100,000 worth of his city property every year, thereby holding onto the bulk of his lands while real estate regularly increased in value. This plan, he explained, worked until 1893 when a financial crisis hit in conjunction with his exorbitant expenses for Sutro Baths. Sutro to Ludwig Sutro, Jan. 3, 1894, Sutro Correspondence, Outgoing 1864-93, Adolph Sutro Collection, Box 1, Bancroft Library, U. of Cal. at Berkeley, Cal. In an article, "Sutro Storms the Heights," Donald C. Biggs quoted Sutro in 1890: "I never have any money. My bank account has been overdrawn for months, and today I owe \$8000." The Pony Express 21, No. 9 (Feb. 1953), p. 6.

before the late 1860s. The original house there was reportedly a small frame cottage built by a man named Merchant. Tetlow, proprietor of the popular Bella Union music hall in the city, had purchased this dwelling and 18 acres of land in November 1860, from the Butlers and Buckleys, who at that time owned 160 acres of land in the area as well as the Cliff House and shares in the Point Lobos Road Company.<sup>52</sup>

By the time Adolph and Emma Sutro saw it and were entranced with the location, Tetlow had apparently enlarged and improved the residence, but the rocky promontory had little to boast in vegetation and besides the house the only structures were four tiers of picket fences, presumably built to check erosion on the hillside overlooking the Point Lobos Road and the Cliff House. Sutro may have preferred the undeveloped character of much of the land, because it allowed him more latitude in applying his horticultural and landscaping talents in converting the area into a beautiful park for the pleasure not only of himself and his family but all San Franciscans. Thus in March 1881, Sutro paid a deposit of \$1,000 on the Tetlow land, cottage, furniture and other improvements, the total price of which would be \$15,000. This would soon become Sutro's San Francisco home.<sup>53</sup>

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52. "History of Sutro Heights," San Francisco Examiner, June 3, 1894, p. 24, c.5; Stewart, Adolph Sutro, pp. 173-74; [Agreement] March 2, 1881, and Deed, Catherine M. A. Buckley and Giles H. Gray to Sutro, April 18, 1881, in, Papers Relating to Property in San Francisco, Point Lobos Ranch or Cliff House Ranch, Sutro Collection, Box 23, Bancroft Lib.; Henry G. Langley, comp., Langley's San Francisco Directory 1875, p. 707, gives Tetlow's dwelling address for the first time as "Point Lobos Av. nr. Cliff House." The 1874 Langley's Directory, p. 643, gives 807 Kearney Street, adjoining the Bella Union Theater.

53. San Francisco Examiner, June 3, 1894, p. 24, c.5; Charles Caldwell Dobie, San Francisco, A Pageant (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1933), p. 298; Photos, "Cliff House-No. 2," C.H.S.

Sutro hired gardeners and laborers to prepare and plant the hilltop with trees, flowerbeds, lawns, and shrubbery, to construct a watering system with windmills, and to lay out walks, paths, steps, and drives over the grounds. He also directed the construction of a stone parapet and rock wall on the summit's edge and huge gates at the main and lower entrances to the property. All this work continued in his absence in 1883, when he and his family took a trip to Europe where he most likely arranged for the purchase of plaster of Paris replicas of classical and European statuary. These dazzling white reproductions of Venus, Diana, Demosthenes, Mercury, of Satyrs, toadstools, dancing girls, and many more, were made in Belgium and shipped around Cape Horn from Antwerp for \$2.50 a ton, and from the wharf to Sutro Heights for \$5.00 a ton. They were then set out everywhere on the grounds, along with rustic benches, chairs, and tables for public use. Sutro intended that the statuary provide accessible examples of European culture while they helped beautify his park which he opened to visitors in 1885. Having received a card of admission in November of 1885, a reporter for the Salt Lake City Daily Tribune entered Sutro Heights and marveled at how the twenty-eight odd acres had been laid out in magnificent style:

There are two very massive gateways with lodges, the first being guarded by two huge sphinxes, and through which is a narrow drive leading to the private gardens a quarter of a mile up the Cliff House road, and nearer town is the main entrance, and even larger than the lower or private one. This is guarded by two enormous lions couchant, copies of Sir Edwin Landseer's "Lions" at the base of the Nelson Column, Trafalgar Square, London. The main drive is very wide, perfectly level, and forms a junction with the lower drive in the center of the grounds, and extends round the bluff rock

overhanging the sea, and from which you look down on the seals. Above you to the right, the bluff still rises about twenty feet, and on the extreme summit is built a massive stone wall, castellated in true Norman style, that resembles a piece of the terrace at Windsor Castle, or the battlements of Northallerton, and is much admired, especially by those who have seen it from the ocean. The gardens are

L A I D O U T B E A U T I F U L L Y, In the center of which is a very large conservatory, and to which an addition is being made, and at every turn, or junction of roads, or foot-paths, is placed some piece of statuary, rustic chairs, tables, and in fact everything that luxury or comfort can demand. There are several hundred chairs and not less than one hundred pieces of fine statuary.<sup>54</sup>

Estranged for some years from his wife, Sutro moved in 1885 from his city residence on Fillmore, between Grove and Hayes Streets, to Sutro Heights, sharing his home at times with his three daughters, as well as many notables of San Francisco and the nation. Sutro's broad interests in horticulture, literature, art and science, as well as in the betterment of mankind in general, all found expression within the perimeters of his seaside estate.

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54. Tribune, Nov. 29, 1885, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F., S.F.; [Merritt?] to Gavin McNab, Reception Committee to Their Majesties the King and Queen of Belgium, Oct. 8, 1919, in "Material on Adolph Sutro," 3 vols., 3, Sutro Coll., U. of S.F., Album of Sutro Heights San Francisco, California ([Sacramento?]: California State Library, 1891), n.p.; according to Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 49, Sutro Heights opened as a park on September 5, 1885. Stewart, Adolph Sutro, pp. 176, 180; photo, opp. p. 174, shows Sutro with about forty employees on the grounds of Sutro Heights, no date.

When the Pacific Rural Press reporter visited in May 1886, he found it "exceedingly beautiful in situation," and commended Sutro for his efforts: "It certainly is a fitting enterprise to crown a life of great action to undertake, as Mr. Sutro has done, to establish upon the cliffs of the ocean a retreat clad in the beauties of tree and shrub and flowering plant and enriched by treasures of art and literature gathered from the best sources of the world." Sutro had only begun his work to develop and improve the Heights, the writer observed, as his nurseries, filled with millions of seedling maritime and Monterey pines, cypresses, and bedding plants, indicated.

Sutro's commitment to beautifying San Francisco with trees started at the Heights but extended also to his huge tracts of San Miguel Rancho south of the Golden Gate Park, and to Yerba Buena Island and the Presidio. In 1886 Sutro donated some 45,000 seedlings of Pinus maritima for the public school children of San Francisco to plant to help launch the first California Arbor Day, and in subsequent years he continued to support its anniversary by contributing more seedlings of pine, cypress, and eucalyptus for public planting. According to local newspaper reports, Sutro in 1886 was recognized as one of the leading authorities in arbor culture in California, having imported "numberless varieties" of trees from Europe and around the world, and having planted annually from 400,000 to 500,000 trees on his San Miguel tract.<sup>55</sup>

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55. San Francisco Pacific Rural Press, May 8, 1886; San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, Oct. 1, 1886; clipping, no source, Aug. 31 [1886]; San Francisco Evening Post, Sept. 24, 1886; San Francisco Daily Report, Mar. 24, 1887; Superintendent of Common Schools to Principals, Aug. 22, 1887, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; in 1889 Sutro had over 250,000 trees in his San Miguel Ranch nursery. Report No. 3 on San Miguel Ranch, June 24, 1889, Letterbook 41, Reports of G. W. Merritt [Sutro's son-in-law], Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley;

Sutro was a collector of art and literature from around the world, and it was at Sutro Heights that he planned to display his treasures. Already in 1886 he had filled his spacious house "with rare art and bricabrac," and he had plans to erect a "fine building according to his own designs" to serve as a public library for the "large collections of manuscripts and perhaps 100,000 volumes of valuable scientific and literary books" which he had imported from all over the world and was keeping in safe storage at his offices on Montgomery Street. Sutro's invaluable collection of books and manuscripts grew to some 250,000 volumes, representing one of the largest private libraries in the world, but he never realized his dream to build a library on Sutro Heights for the benefit of scholars and students of San Francisco. The 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed slightly more than half of the collection, and in 1913 Sutro's heirs donated the library to the State of California on the condition that it never leave San Francisco, the city so loved and improved by the library's founder.<sup>56</sup>

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Nebraska in 1872 initiated the first state Arbor Day. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Arbor Day: Its History and Observance, by N. H. Egleston (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 14; Fitch, "Millionaires," p. 35; Langeley's San Francisco Directory 1884-1885, lists no residence for Sutro, but the 1885-1886 edition, p. 1099, gives his residence as, "Sutro Heights, opp. Cliff House"; Stewart, Adolph Sutro, p. 181.

56. Quote from San Francisco Pacific Rural Press, May 8, 1886; San Francisco Morning Call, Aug. 17, 1887; Salt Lake City Daily Tribune, Nov. 29, 1885, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Fitch, "Millionaires," p. 35; [San Francisco Call], Feb. 13, 1896, in "Sutro Newspaper Clippings," Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Richard Dillon, Sutro Library Through the Centuries (Sacramento: California State Library, 1957), cover page; Sutro in 1885 told a Call reporter that he intended to build the library when he thought his collection was complete. At that date he had "a regular bookworm" as an agent in London to buy all scientific works offered for sale. San Francisco Morning Call, Aug. 30, 1885, p. 8, c.1.

If Sutro did not make Sutro Heights a center for scholars, he did fling the gates wide for kindergarten teachers and pupils in San Francisco. In April 1887 he hosted some sixty female teachers of the Pioneer Kindergarten Association at a luncheon at Sutro Heights and the following year invited some 220 children under the age of six to be his guests at a picnic on the grounds. Sutro appreciated and supported such innovative educational experiments as the kindergarten program and extended his hospitality to other such groups working towards improvements in cultural fields. In 1886 he invited the President of the University of California with many of his faculty to the Heights and in 1887 he asked California's leading viticulturalists to a four-hour breakfast at Sutro Heights when he and his son, Charles, both of whom had traveled extensively in Europe and were familiar with its viticulture, shared discussions on wine making while sampling numerous of the "grandest vintages of the world" which Sutro had imported by the barrel and stored in bottles at Sutro Heights.<sup>57</sup>

Sutro, a gregarious, energetic individual, seemed to relish entertaining at Sutro Heights. He often gave his guests personal tours of the grounds before he shared an elegant breakfast or lunch. Involved so deeply with the arts and sciences,

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57. San Francisco Pacific Rural Press, May 8, 1886; San Francisco Morning Call, Mar. 12, and Apr. 6, 1887; San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, Apr. 24, 1888, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F. According to The Life Work of Adolph Sutro An Address Made to the Pupils of Sutro School, San Francisco (no city, publisher, or date given; bound book at Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.), Sutro not only was a generous supporter of the kindergartens but he also built a school--Sutro School--in 1884 for the children of his employees at Sutro Heights, and hired and paid its first teacher. Moreover, he was very fond of children and would regale them with fantastic stories from his own imagination, pp. 11-12; George W. Merritt to Sutro, Sept. 17, 1889, Letterbooks, vol. 40, Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley.

with the commercial circles, and in political matters in San Francisco, across the country, and around the world, Sutro's list of guests to Sutro Heights not suprisingly was impressive. In February 1891 he hosted General John Gibbon, commanding officer of the Military Division of the Pacific, and Col. George H. Mendell of the Corps of Engineers at a luncheon which "in some respects [was] the most notable ever known on Sutro Heights." The next month President Benjamin Harrison and his party dined at the Heights after visiting the Cliff House. The assemblage and menu were both impressive, making front page news in the daily papers. The following year Sutro invited to lunch the officers of the Japanese training ship at port in San Francisco, along with George Davidson, the superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey on the Pacific Coast, a man Sutro admired and respected for his scientific accomplishments. Other notable guests to the Heights included William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, Oscar Wilde, and Kate Douglas Wiggin. Sutro's generous hospitality seemed to touch on the theatrical as he shared the splendors of his imaginative gardens and collections at Sutro Heights, and the public responded to the numerous accounts of his activities by visiting his park in increasing numbers. Even San Francisco's society set asked Sutro's permission to sponsor a production of As You Like It for a crowd of some 5,000 at Sutro Heights in August 1895. Sutro, of course, agreed to the performance, as he enjoyed his well earned reputation for opening his lands and gardens for public recreation and cultural improvement.<sup>58</sup>

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58. Quote from San Francisco Daily Report, Feb. 2, 1891, clipping, NA, RG 77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 5; San Francisco Daily Alta California, Apr. 28, 1891, p. 1, c.3; Sutro to Davidson, Nov. 18, 1886; Dec. 9, 1892, George Davidson Collection, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; Dillon, Humbugs and Heroes, p. 310; San Francisco Call, Aug. 9, 1895, p. 5, c.4. Sutro in 1887 had also donated to the city a Statue of Liberty monument on the

When traveling or residing at his country estate in Napa County, Sutro never lost contact with the work always underway at Sutro Heights. While on a trip through Mexico in the summer and fall of 1889, his son-in-law, George Merritt, supervised the progress of Sutro's projects, sending him almost weekly letters assuring him that the flower gardens and rose beds were beautifying the Heights, that the reservoir had sufficient water, that the plants which arrived from Mexico and Florida were doing well, that the hot houses, the green houses, and nursery were being carefully attended, that the trees and hedges planted around the grounds had grown noticeably, and that they were being pruned, thinned, and trimmed by Mr. Abraham, the head gardener, and his Japanese helper. Sutro then had seventeen men employed at Sutro Heights: ten gardeners, a treeman, a coachman, driver, gate keeper, machinist and helper, and a road maker. These men set out the cases of exotic plants which Sutro had ordered from Texas, Florida, Maryland, Mexico, and Germany, and took care of the prize horses and dogs, the fawns, chickens, monkeys, and eagles which were kept in or near the stables at the foot of Sutro Heights, or on the grounds themselves. With Sutro's finances, imagination, and large staff of grounds keepers, Sutro Heights by 1893 had gained a reputation with the San Francisco Park

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highest of the Twin Peaks. The sandstone statue stood thirty-two feet high and could be seen for miles. In 1895 Sutro donated twenty-six acres of land on the south side of Golden Gate Park for the University of California's Affiliated Colleges campus. San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 21, 1887; Sept. 11 and Oct. 9, 1895; unidentified clipping, Oct. 19, 1887, Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Eugenia Kellogg Holmes, Adolph Sutro A Brief Story of A Brilliant Life [San Francisco]: Press of San Francisco Photo-Engraving Company, 1895), p. 51; The "Triumph of Light." Dedication Services At the Sutro Monument on Mount Olympus . . . San Francisco, Thanksgiving Day . . . Nov. 24th A.D., 1887 (San Francisco: Donald Bruce, Printer and Publisher, 1888).

Commissioners as "one of the finest private gardens on the Pacific Coast." Free to the public with only the restriction that no visitor disfigure or destroy the grounds or scatter papers or trash around the park, Sutro Heights proved to be one of the most popular attractions at the beach which, by the early 1890s, had an assortment of impressive recreational features to entertain the mobs of weekend visitors, most of whom came out from the city by cable car and two connecting railroad lines, the Park and Ocean Railroad and the Ferries and Cliff House Railroad.<sup>59</sup>

The Ferries and Cliff House Railroad, which ran from Central (now Presidio) Avenue along California Street to Thirty-third Avenue and then along the shoreline to its terminus opposite Sutro Height's main gate, actually had seen its beginnings with Adolph Sutro and his cousin, Gustav Sutro. With Adolph apparently the financial and enthusiastic supporter of the plan, Gustav Sutro took out a franchise to build the road to Point Lobos in 1884, one year after the completion of the Park and Ocean line to the beach terminal below Sutro Heights. The railroad to his properties at Point Lobos, along a coastal route filled with spectacular views of Golden Gate scenery, fit Sutro's grand scheme to provide an impressive seaside resort for all San Franciscans, one which even the poorer classes could afford. As conceived, this new railroad would bring city dwellers to Sutro's attractions for only half the fare that the competing railroad charged, and would

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59. Quote from San Francisco Board of Park Commissioners, Twenty-Second Annual Report 1893 (San Francisco: Hinton Printing Company, 1893), p. 20, hereinafter these annual reports cited, S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, date and page; Reports of Merritt, June 19, July 2, 23, 31, Aug. 10, 22, Sept. 12, 27, Oct. 10, 14, 25, 29, Nov. 2 and 18, 1889, Letterbook 41; Merritt to Sutro, May 22, Dec. 7, 1889, Letterbook 40, Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; Album of Sutro Heights, n.p.

pass over a three-mile stretch of his own property between the City Cemetery and the Cliffs of Point Lobos, affording the passengers breathtaking panoramas of San Francisco and Marin Counties.

Such a promising tourist attraction had its problems in actuality, however, for it was not until 1886 that grading for a double track got underway at the western end of the road. Adolph Sutro had not as yet decided the type of rolling stock to place on the narrow gauge track, preferring to wait until the last stages of construction in order to take advantage of the latest railroad improvements, be they steam, electric, or pneumatic. However, with construction and improvements also underway at his proposed Point Lobos aquarium and at Sutro Heights, and with plans being formulated to build a four-story dance pavilion at the Cliff House, Sutro no doubt made a decision soon after to find a suitable buyer to take over the railroad franchise and free him from that added responsibility. In July 1887 Sutro sold the forty-year franchise for his Ferries and Cliff House Railway, along with the half-mile of grading completed, to the Powell and Jackson Streets Railroad Company, on the condition that they charge only one fare, five cents, for the ride from the city to the Cliff House area via cable car and railroad. The five cent fare had been an abiding motivation for Sutro on his own railroad scheme and it carried over to his unsuccessful attempts in 1886 and 1887 to get two other backers of proposed railroads to the beach to agree on this minimal charge, rather than impose a second fare at the transfer from cable to steam railroad. The Powell Street Railroad Company, however, honored their purchase agreement with Sutro to charge only five cents each way, and when the Cliff House and Ferries Railroad went into full-time service on July 1, 1888, they did an immense

business, even though only six steam dummy engines and ten cars had been put on the line at that date.<sup>60</sup>

When W. J. Adams and Associates, owners of the Powell and Jackson streets Railroad, purchased the Sutro franchise in 1887, they merged the two companies to form the Cliff House and Ferries Railroad. Retaining the Sutro plans to run the route along the cliff's edge and to build a branch line down to Golden Gate Park, construction soon began. When completed, the three and a quarter-mile narrow gauge track from the roundhouse at California Street and Central Avenue to the Cliff House area wound in double formation until it passed through a 200-foot arched tunnel which pierced a slaty rock bluff about midway around Land's End. The steel tracks then continued in a single line past Land's End station to the large brick terminal station across the street from Sutro Height's main gales. Two of the locomotives were built to pull the heavy trains on Sundays when the open-air coaches were filled to capacity, with some sixty persons in each car, while the four other locomotives were lighter models to handle the daily traffic.

Although immediately popular with San Francisco's citizens and tourists, the railroad soon experienced its first of many problems with the steep bluffs along which it ran. In March 1889 Sutro received word from his son-in-law that the railroad had been shut down for a week due to a big landslide "east of the old blacksmith shop." Two months later Merritt again wrote

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60. Stewart, Adolph Sutro, pp. 181-82; San Francisco Morning Call, Oct. 6, 1886, Apr. 6 and 27, May 1, July 9, 1887; San Francisco Examiner, July 2, 1888; two clippings, no date, no source, [ca. 1886], Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; George W. Hilton, The Cable Car in America (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1971), p. 217.

Sutro to report, "This new R.R. [sic] has such a bad reputation at present that people are afraid to ride on it. The trains are irregular and the road looks so dangerous." The following fall Merritt explained that the railroad would be stopped that winter of 1889 as often or oftener than the preceeding winter. A new tunnel had been built on the road but a slide had filled it with a "mountain of dirt." After being moved to the west end of the old tunnel, the pile of dirt had gradually slipped down the cliff into the ocean, and Meritt predicted that the tracks would go next, as they had once been known to slide two inches down hill in a day. The track at one point curved past several springs and a large rock, and here it had been sliding throughout the summer of 1889, and as much as the railroad hands worked to shore up the banks of the right-of-way, there always appeared to be more problems. Because the whole side of the hill at that point was sliding, the track had to be changed every day or so. "Mr. Leary the [supervisor?] is disgusted with the road," Merritt reported, and chances were that Sutro would have to expect a reduction in his rent from the railroad if the company shut down for a few months during the winter.<sup>61</sup>

Somehow the Cliff House and Ferries Railway Company improved and continued service in the years to come, providing the cheapest and most beautiful ride to the beach. In 1893, however, the Market Street Railway Company, owned by the Southern Pacific Railroad, bought out the Cliff House railway and upped the fare to ten cents. Having already worked so hard to

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61. Quotes from Merritt to Sutro, Mar. 20 and May 7, 1889; Merritt Report, Sept. 12, 1889, Letterbook 41, p. 69, Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley. Hilton, Cable Cars, pp. 217 and 219; Wald Sievers, Steam Dummies of San Francisco (San Mateo: Western Railroader, 1960), p. 17.

provide cheap public transportation to his beach properties, Adolph Sutro reacted immediately to the increased fare, offering to donate Sutro Heights, with the promised Sutro library, to San Francisco, and to charge a nominal fee at the Sutro Baths, then under construction, if the Market Street Railway would reinstate the five cent fare. The Southern Pacific Railroad, however, represented the biggest single monopoly in the state and its Market Street Railway in 1893 had little other competition in San Francisco. The company's president, the powerful Charles F. Crocker, intended to perpetuate the railroad's policy of charging all that the traffic would bear. In response to the Mayor's appeal to him to comply with Sutro's proposal, Crocker cast doubts on Sutro's sincerity. Indignant at the implication that he was holding strings on his offer, Sutro told reporters

I had intended Sutro Heights as a breathing spot for the poor people as a benefit to the public. I felt grieved, and I chafed under the contemptible meanness of these people who, while I kept these places open here at a cost of \$20,000 a year at least, and some years a good deal more, that they should get every nickel out of the people who visited.<sup>62</sup>

Combining action with his words, Sutro hired three agents, "all men of perfect honor and considerable ability," to fight against the Southern Pacific Railroad's Reilly funding bill

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62. Quote from San Francisco Examiner June 17, 1894, p. 24, c. 1; ibid., May 25, 1894, p. 6, c.4; Edward W. Townsend, "Adolph Sutro: Mayor-Elect of San Francisco. A Capitalist's Fight Against Monopoly," The Review of Reviews 10, No. 54 (Dec. 1894), p. 628; Stewart, Adolph Sutro, p. 199; L. R. Ellert, Mayor, San Francisco, to Col. C. F. Crocker, May 22, 1894, "Materials on Sutro," vol. 3, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.

which was before Congress and which Sutro believed would do great damage to California's economy. Having been unsuccessful in his efforts to buy the Metropolitan Railway Company and then extend its electric train from the Golden Gate Park to his seashore attractions, Sutro instead fenced in his properties and charged an entrance fee for anyone who had taken the railroad to the beach. Although slandered and ridiculed in the press, largely controlled by the railroad powers, Sutro's tactics made their mark and the railroad passengers to the beach dropped by some seventy-five percent. At the same time, Sutro received his own coverage in the press, and his fighting words sparked the support of the public at large. "These people say I promise to do a thing and don't do it," Sutro told reporters. "I will do everything I promise to do . . . Sutro Heights will go to the public . . . they are to own it forever and ever. But the Southern Pacific of Kentucky must keep their fingers off."<sup>63</sup>

Early in 1894 Sutro decided to build his own railroad to the Cliff House area. Work began in the spring and was

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63. Quotes from San Francisco Examiner, June 17, 1894, p. 24; Townsend, "Adolph Sutro," pp. 628-29; in one of his telegrams to President Cleveland in 1894, Sutro wrote of the Reilly Funding Bill: "The passage of a Pacific Railroad Funding Bill means perpetual depotism exercised by Collis P. Huntington and his gang for fifty years more to come. What have the people of the Pacific Coast, their children and children's children done to deserve such punishment?" This telegram was quoted in the S.F. Examiner, June 17, p. 24. The funding bill proposed a fifty-year extension to Central Pacific Railroad Company of its deadline for paying off its indebtedness to the government. Examiner, *ibid.* Sutro's battle against the bill continued until 1897 when, largely through his persistent campaign, it was voted down. The Life Work of Sutro, p. 16; Sutro to Louis Sutro, Jan. 26, 1897, "Materials on Sutro," vol. 3, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; San Francisco Examiner, May 25, 1894, p. 6, c.5.

well underway when Sutro found himself the Populist candidate for the mayor of San Francisco. So impressive had his vigorous battle against the giant railroad monopoly been, that San Francisco's citizens swept him into office, even though the Market Street Railway Company conceded to his wishes just prior to election day.<sup>64</sup>

During his first two years in office as Mayor, Sutro also devoted his energies to the three major construction projects underway at his seashore properties--the Sutro Railroad, which was being built out Geary Street to a terminal shed adjoining Sutro Baths; Sutro Baths themselves; and, a new Cliff House to replace the famous landmark which had burned to the ground in late December 1894. The conflict and stresses as mayor, combined with his responsibilities for his extensive improvements, taxed Sutro's energies to the extreme, and at his retirement in 1897, he collapsed into poor health which finally resulted on August 8, 1898, in his death.<sup>65</sup>

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64. Bids and Contracts 1894-1895, Sutro Railroad Company, Sutro Papers, Box 37, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; Stewart, Adolph Sutro, p. 199.

65. The Life Work of Sutro, p. 14; Sutro confided to his brother in 1894 that he found politics "a nasty mess to enter into" and that he would never have entered it had the circumstances not almost compelled him to. To Hugo Sutro in August 1894, Sutro candidly remarked about his candidacy: "I am quite sure I do not want the Office, as I have more to do now, than I can attend to, but sometimes we have no control over our fate." Sutro to Ludwig Sutro, Sept. 4, 1894 and to Hugo Sutro, Aug. 17, 1894, Sutro Correspondence, Outgoing, 1894, Sutro Papers, Box 1, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley. Sutro not only went into repeated deadlocks with the Board of Supervisors during his mayorship, but was publically ridiculed for his ideas and policies. Stewart, Adolph Sutro, pp. 204, 209; San Francisco Call, Feb. 13, 1898, Sutro Newspaper Clippings, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; In February 1898, Sutro was adjudged mentally incompetent and put under the guardianship of his daughter, Dr. Emma Sutro Merritt,

Before his death, however, Sutro had finally seen most of his elaborate plans for the Cliff House area realized. The completion of his own Cliff House in 1896 represented thirteen years of planning and improvements for the city's landmark. When he took control of the Cliff House in 1883, Sutro set out to make it a popular and respectable tourist attraction. His first move was to oust Junius Foster, who had reigned supreme for twenty years, and replace him with new tenants. After three years of losing money with a San Francisco wholesale liquor firm under lease, Sutro agreed to let James M. Wilkins try his hand at running the Cliff House. Wilkins interviewed Sutro in person and later gave his opinion of the famous tunnel millionaire: "I found Adolph Sutro a good man. He was my friend and neighbor, and I think I knew him better than any one else did. When he died I lost a good friend." Sutro must have reciprocated the respect, for Wilkins remained as the manager of the Cliff House until 1907, during which time he honored Sutro's main condition to the lease--to maintain the establishment as a respectable resort, with no beds in the house or locks on the doors.<sup>66</sup>

In 1887 some changes had already been made at the Cliff House in accordance with Sutro's grand scheme. Prices

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after he had suffered two strokes of apoplexy. San Francisco Call, Feb. 8, 13, 1898, Sutro Newspaper Clippings, ibid. Sutro Estate, Correspondence 1898-1915, Sutro Papers, Box 41, Bancroft Lib.

66. Quote from San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 6, 1918, p. 39, c.7; Sutro leased the Cliff House, sheds, stalls, and cottages adjacent to the north to Hugh McCrum and G. E. Sheldon on Jan. 3, 1884; on Jan. 4, 1886, he leased it to George E. Sheldon and R. L. Moss Jr. He purchased the Cliff House and Sheds and the "Cottage" and Shed in 1881, but Foster had received a renewal to his lease on April 28, 1880 and Sutro must have let it expire. Papers Relating to Property in San Francisco, Point Lobos Ranch or Cliff House Ranch, Sutro Papers, Box 23, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley.

had been lowered for refreshments sold in a new concession operation in the basement and in 1886 one newspaper reported that Sutro was doing "magnificent things" at the Cliff House. Whatever these latter improvements were, however, they probably were destroyed by the blast which heavily damaged the Cliff House on January 17, 1887, when the schooner, Parallel, exploded, having stranded offshore the night before with some 1,500 cases of dynamite and about ten tons of pig iron in her cargo. The Cliff House was left in a damaged condition, the San Francisco Daily Alta California reported, with windows shattered, walls stripped of plaster, and doors hanging by their hinges. The long shed from the Cliff House to the Cottage was prostrated and the Cottage itself, where Mr. Pearson, Cliff House manager, and his family lived, lost most of its window panes, as did Sutro's residence on the Heights. Characteristic of his concern for the public welfare, Sutro didn't seem to mind the damage to his property once he was assured that no lives were lost. So long as nobody was killed it was all right, Sutro told reporters; he could build another Cliff House easily enough. And besides, word of the explosion attracted an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 sightseers to the Cliff House area that day, giving Sutro an excellent source of free publicity for his recreation center developing on Point Lobos.<sup>67</sup>

The next month, on February 23, 1887, Sutro had the satisfaction of learning that the Seal Rocks, which provided one of the most popular tourist attractions at Point Lobos and which had been threatened by fishermen who wanted to put a bounty on the seals, their natural competitors, had been deeded by Act of Congress to San Francisco on the condition that they be kept free

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67. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Jan. 17, 1887, p. 1; Salt Lake City Daily Tribune, Nov. 29, 1885 and clipping, no source or date, (ca. 1886), Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.

from encroachments of man. Sutro had strongly backed this legislation which held the Seal Rocks "in trust for the people of the United States for all time," and its acceptance by the City Board of Supervisors secured another feature in his plan to provide a seaside resort for the public's benefit.<sup>68</sup>

Sutro, meanwhile, had already hired an architect to draw up his scheme for the damaged Cliff House. In accordance with his elaborate ideas for Sutro Heights, the Cliff House railroad, and the Point Lobos aquarium, Sutro planned to build a four-story pavilion in Gothic style, with a tower at each corner of the roof and a fantastic pagoda at the center of the roof. Potted plants and palms would decorate the rooftop where seats and an elegant promenade would be provided for some 3,000 spectators.

Although in April and May 1887 grading, blasting, and excavation for the new pavilion behind the Cliff House had gotten underway, the project never progressed into construction. With new enticements such as harp and violin music and his "attractive collection of shells and corral [sic]" installed in the Cliff House, Sutro turned his attention in 1888 to a new idea to build a large resort hotel, similar to those at Monterey and Coronado, on a site between the Sutro Baths, then under construction, and the Cliff House and Ferries Railroad terminal. Having consulted with John W. Root, of the prominent Chicago firm of Burnham and Root, as well as with several other architects, Sutro

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68. Quote from San Francisco Board of Park Commissioners, Annual Report 1924, p. 46; San Francisco Daily Report, Apr. 8, 1887, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; according to The Life Work of Sutro, p. 15, Sutro had been instrumental in the passage of the Seal Rocks legislation in Congress.

began clearing the ground for his hotel, but again construction never came to pass.<sup>69</sup>

The Cliff House during these years was in good hands with James Wilkins as manager. When improvements were needed, Wilkins not only identified them, but also proposed new designs and helped pay for them. In 1889 Wilkins arranged for the remodeling of the building for better restaurant facilities by moving the kitchen up to the same floor with the dining room, thus allowing for better and quicker service. Low partitions for the parlor were also built that year to provide private but respectable alcoves "for ladies and gentlemen to take meals or refreshments." During the summer new water closets were installed, the Cliff House foundation posts were renewed, over 100 pounds of putty were used around the window panes, and the building was painted in its entirety, leaving the Cliff House in very good repair. President Harrison in April 1891 visited the landmark, then famed for its excellent cuisine, but less than three years later, on Christmas 1894, the famous hotel, with its valuable sea shell and rare coin collections, and its guest register which bore the signatures of three presidents and numerous other prominent figures, all were destroyed in a raging fire.<sup>70</sup>

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69. Clipping, no source, New York, Apr. 22, 1888; San Francisco Morning Call, Apr. 6, 1887; clipping, no source or date [1888?], Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Emma L. Merritt, Executrix, Estate of Adolph Sutro, to Maj. C. H. McKinstry, C.E., San Francisco, NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corres. 1894-1923, #53234; Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Building Types (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 220-21.

70. Quote from Reports by George W. Merritt, June-Nov. 1889, Letterbook 41, Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; San Francisco Daily Alta California, Apr. 27, 1891, p. 1, c.4; Photo and caption, "San Francisco district, Ocean Beach, Cliff House No. 2," S.F.P.L.; O'Brien, This Is San Francisco, p. 331; San Francisco Morning Call, Dec. 27, 1894, p. 10, c.3.

While huge crowds gathered at the site to rummage in the ashes, reminisce, take drinks at Wilkin's temporary bar set up among the ruins, and to wander down to the beach, Sutro had already decided to rebuild the Cliff House in a style that met his lavish taste. Carpenters were hired immediately to put up a temporary structure for the tourists while Sutro consulted with several San Francisco contractors and architects, among whom he selected Emile S. Lemme and C. J. Colley, architects, to erect the new building. Against the wishes of the "venerable sportsmen" of the Cliff House, who wanted "a plain, old fashioned Cliff House" to be restored to the site, Sutro decided to build a massive hotel in the French chateau style. By July 1895 construction was rapidly progressing. Immense loads of earth had been removed from the site and some twenty or more massive iron rods had been secured in the rock face with cement as supports for the structure's foundation. According to the San Francisco Call of July 10, 1895, the main building would be five stories high surmounted with spires and a tower twenty-seven feet square which was to serve as an observatory. Tourists could rise the eight floors from the basement to the top, some 200 feet above the ocean, by an elevator. The main floor, level with the road, would contain a large dining room, parlor, bar, and numerous private dining rooms, with necessary kitchens. The second floor would have about twenty private lunch rooms, as well as a large art gallery to exhibit many of the gems from Sutro's private collection. The third floor would provide a very complete photograph gallery, reception rooms, and parlors, with panoramic views of the shoreline from large circular windows. On the first floor below the road level, Sutro planned to reinstate a popular price concession area where tourists could lunch, buy shells from the curio man, and watch the seals, as was the custom in the old Cliff House. And in the basement the building's laundry, boilers, machinery, and rooms for employees would be installed. The furnishings for the rooms were going to be

"elaborate and neat," and would provide the visitors with many settees and easy chairs in which to relax and enjoy the resort surroundings.<sup>71</sup>

Such grandiose plans cost Sutro \$50,000 to implement, but when completed in 1896, only the death of the legendary old seal, Ben Butler, cast any shadow on the enthusiastic reception San Francisco gave to its new landmark. Sutro sponsored a formal opening on February 1, 1896, both for the new Cliff House and the Sutro Railroad, his electric line which brought great crowds to the beach on opening day. Flags flew over Sutro Heights and the Richmond District in recognition of the dedication, and newspaper reporters found themselves properly impressed by the "handsomely proportioned and richly furnished building." A band concert and banquet for the city's Board of Supervisors, other city officials, and prominent citizens of San Francisco took place in the Cliff House's banquet hall. The table groaned with a feast of "everything worth eating." Mayor Sutro sat at the head of the table and "looked as contented as Caesar after he had carted his own and other people's fortunes across the turbulent sea." Sutro had realized one of his most cherished dreams to build a large and elegant resort to replace the original Cliff House and he was fortunate enough to die before this great masterpiece also burned to the ground in September 1907.<sup>72</sup>

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71. Quotes from S.F. Morning Call, Dec. 27, 1894, p. 10 and July 10, 1895, p. 7; Cliff House, Bids, Offers, Contracts, 1894-96, Sutro Coll., Box 38, Misc. Payrolls and Bids, 1890-1907, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley, Cal.; S.F. Morning Call, Dec. 31, 1894; "'Burning of the Cliff House' Sold Like Hot Cakes." The Pony Express 21, No. 9 (Feb. 1855), p. 2.

72. San Francisco Morning Call, Feb. 2, 1896, p. 6.

The third of Sutro's great preoccupations during his years at Sutro Heights was the construction of an aquarium and public baths in the cove just north of the Cliff House. With his years of experience working on the Sutro tunnel and his particular fascination with engineering, Sutro designed and personally supervised the construction of these projects. In what most reporters called an ingenious fashion, Sutro's aquarium, begun in 1885, was to be filled by the force of the ocean tides and the devices of a rock shelf, tunnel, and basin. As a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle learned from a tour of the site led by Sutro himself in September 1887,

The method by which the sea-water is conducted into the basin is exceedingly ingenious, and was devised by Mr. Sutro himself. On the other side of the point from where the aquarium lies is a natural shelf. Mr. Sutro observed how this caught the water from the combers at high tide and determined to make use of it. At great expense a tunnel was excavated eight feet high and 153 feet long, through the solid rock, its floor having a slight inclination from the before mentioned shelf down to the basin and it is through this tunnel that the water comes at extreme high tide, and for about two hours before and after.<sup>73</sup>

At that date Sutro envisioned two aquariums, one for sea animals swept in on the tides and another for stocked fish and marine animals in a heated glass-enclosed pool fifty feet

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73. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 5, 1887, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Executrix to Query Dept., San Francisco Call, Jan. 28, 1911, Materials on Sutro, vol. 3, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.

above the basin which would supply the water for both. Sutro had designed wire screened gates for the ocean side of the tunnel to trap marine animals as the tide receded. The animals naturally would seek out the deeper pools of the aquarium after being trapped in the tunnel, and thus furnished a daily variety of sea life for the public's enjoyment and edification. Rock to make the masonry walls of the basin and lower aquarium came from the tunnel excavation, and as more blasting was done, the rock would be carried by the tramway Sutro built out onto the point above, to the proposed construction sites for the swimming baths and the Sutro library. Sutro's project had made considerable progress with the completion of the tunnel and basin on September 3, 1887, but much work was still to be done on the swimming baths which Sutro then planned to extend over two and a half acres as open-air pools, from three to nine feet deep, and enclosed in masonry wall eight feet broad at the top. In Sutro's estimate, construction would take at least another year--an estimate which fell short by nearly ten years, in part because of unexpected problems on site and because of his own revisions to the original design.<sup>74</sup>

In order to build the swimming resort south of the aquarium, Sutro planned to erect a rock bulkhead from the aquarium to the rock under the Cliff House to enclose about two acres of the finest sandy beach. Blasting for rock on the peninsula forming the north boundary of the cove produced not only building material for the proposed seawall but also a small pocket of beautiful bluestone which Sutro quarried briefly to use for the library on Sutro Heights. During Sutro's absence in 1889 his construction foreman for the aquarium and baths, A. O.

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74. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 5, 1887, San Francisco Morning Call, May 1, 1887; San Francisco Daily Report, Sept. 3, 1887, Sutro Scrapbook, Sutro Call; Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.

Harrison, reported regularly to Sutro through George Merritt. Having had extended delays because the huge boulders for the breakwater twice sank into the sand with \$70,000 worth of concrete, Harrison in the fall of 1889 could report that the work was going very well and that seventeen feet of perpendicular rock wall then stood above the level of the beach, with twenty-two feet of sloped wall bolstering it. A railroad ran along the top of the wall to carry the huge foundation rocks being laid for an extension to the fishing rock, and with the stormy weather of November, workmen frequently got soaked and sometimes were washed off the wall by a wave.<sup>75</sup>

At his return from Europe in 1890, Sutro offered a \$500 reward for an architectural design for the baths building, the winner of which has been lost to record. With an engineer, a driller, derrickman, masons and laborers on the payroll, the construction of the baths progressed steadily during the early 1890s. Blasting for rock to line the fresh water pond dug out on the eastern slope of the cove, planting loam on the slopes to keep down the dust during the frequent windy days, building a road down from the cottage to the construction site, making gutterways and a cave, dumping clay over the sandy slopes to check erosion, hauling sand from the cave and from Ocean Beach south of the Cliff House to make cement, and hauling lumber from the San Miguel property to the work site, numbered among the many jobs at which the work crew of from twenty-nine to thirty-one men labored until July 1893, when Sutro ordered eleven men discharged. Sutro in 1893 was suffering financially because of the

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75. Stewart, Adolph Sutro, p. 184; Reports of G. W. Merritt, Sept. 2, Oct. 10, Nov. 2, 1889, Letterbook 41, Sutro Papers, Carton 2, Bancroft Lib.

enormous expense of constructing his baths in the grand manner he envisioned. To his brother Ludwig in January 1894 he apologized for running behind in money matters and explained that the baths to that date had cost him over \$250,000 and that California at large was then suffering a high rate of unemployment. Nonetheless, Sutro was determined to see the project through, as construction on the building itself had already begun during the summer of 1893 and a contracting outfit of miners that fall had completed another tunnel into the peninsula for a drain to the baths.

In September 1893 the Cliff House road buzzed with delivery wagons bringing building materials to the site. In an effort to save on the high cost of hauling heavy supplies overland from the city, Sutro requested a survey for a landing pier at the construction site, but the idea apparently never was implemented. While the builders continued to erect the massive baths structure during the winter of 1893-94, Sutro saw no relief in the worldwide financial scene. Such a depressed economy not only caused him problems but worked considerable hardship on the poorer classes for whom Sutro hoped to make his recreation facilities available. No wonder, then, that he took up battle against the Southern Pacific Railroad in the summer of 1894, after they refused to maintain the five cent fare on the old Cliff House and Ferries Railroad taken over in 1893 by the subsidiary Market Street Railway Company. Sutro specifically wanted his baths to be accessible at a reasonable price, for the health, enjoyment, and education of the city's public, and Charles Crocker was hindering his idealistic plans. Despite the drain on his finances, Sutro reluctantly but fervently plunged into politics while he also filed for a franchise to build the Sutro

Railroad to his attractions. Nothing could stand in his way or obstruct his dream for the baths, and, indeed, nothing did.<sup>76</sup>

Although the Sutro Baths building was completed enough in November 1894 so that Sutro opened it for a huge benefit gathering of some 9,000 to 10,000 people to raise money for the San Francisco press club which had burned down that month, the formal opening of the baths did not take place until March 14, 1896, one month after the new Cliff House and the Sutro Railroad opened to the public. The Sutro Baths dedication signaled the completion of Sutro's major works at the Cliff House area. In artistic detail and engineering ingenuity the Baths represented one of Sutro's greatest accomplishments, one for which he felt considerable pride. Although burdened with political obligations as mayor, and soon after in poor health, Sutro had come to realize his dream of eleven years' making.<sup>77</sup>

Above all, the completed Sutro Baths dazzled visitors with their size, beauty, and technical accomplishments. As

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76. Sutro Baths-Heights, Labor Reports, 1891-1909, A. O. Harrison, foreman, Sutro Papers, Box 35; Sutro to Ludwig Sutro, New York, Jan. 3, 1894; to E. Sutro, St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 9, 1894; to Moritz and Kate Nussbaum, Feb. 8, 1894; to Alice Brems, Weisbaden, Germany, Aug. 17, 1894; to Hugo Sutro, Dresden, Germ., Aug. 17, 1894, Sutro Corresp., Sutro Outgoing 1864-93, Sutro Papers, Box 1; Sutro to George Davidson, Jan. 19 and 26, 1894, George Davidson Coll., Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; Stewart, Adolph Sutro, p. 189.

77. Sutro to Press Club, San Francisco, Nov. 5, 1894; Sutro Corresp., Sutro Outgoing 1894, Sutro Papers, Box 1, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., at Berkeley; "Money for Press Club," no source, Nov. 11, 1894; Executrix to Query Dept., San Francisco Call, Jan. 28, 1911, Materials on Sutro, vol. 3, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.

one contemporary writer raved, Sutro Baths rivaled "in magnitude, utility and beauty, the famous ablution resorts of Titus, Caracella, Nero or Diodetian." Hailed as the largest salt water baths in the world and as "California's Tropical Winter Garden," Sutro Baths spread over nearly three acres. The classical Greek temple entranceway opened to a massive enclosure containing six salt water swimming tanks of varying sizes, shapes, and water temperature and one fresh water plunge tank. A broad stairway bordered on each side with tropical trees, plants, flowers, and fountains, led down to the swimming pools, the largest of which was L-shaped, with a length of 275 feet, a width of 150 feet, and a depth of from three to nine and one half feet. This tank contained salt water of ocean temperature, while the five other tanks--one of which measured fifty by seventy-five feet and the other four twenty-eight by seventy-five feet, with depths varying from two to six feet--all were heated to ten to twenty degrees warmer by live steam. Ten thousand barrels of cement went into the construction of the "creamy" concrete walls and floors of these tanks which together held 1,685,000 gallons of sea water. As originally planned for the aquariums, the tanks were filled from the catch basin which received sea water at high tide when the ocean's waves crashed on the bluff on the north face of the peninsula and rushed through the tunnel to the basin. In one hour the six tanks could be filled in this manner and in another hour the tanks could be emptied by gravity, releasing the water into drain pipes which traversed a second tunnel through the peninsula and continued far out to sea, beyond the low water line. If need be, the tanks could also be filled in five hours by electric pumps in the power house which, with its 900 horse power gasoline engines and dynamos, furnished electricity for the Sutro Baths' lighting, ventilation system, heating, and laundry, as well as for Sutro's electric railroad.

More than 1,600 bathers could be accommodated at once in the 517 private dressing rooms and the nine club rooms. Twenty thousand bathing suits and 40,000 towels were available for rent, all of which were kept scrupulously clean in the building's laundry. Nine springboards, seven toboggan slides, three trapezes, one high dive, and thirty swinging rings provided a variety of diversions at the swimming tanks, while a total of sixty-six showers awaited the bathers later in the dressing rooms. For those who had worked up an appetite or who wished some refreshment while at Sutro Baths, three restaurants, each on separate floors, could accommodate 1,000 persons at one sitting. For those who preferred not to take the stairs, large elevators carried visitors to the three levels where alcoves, balustrades and arcades, adorned with galleries of painting, sculpture, and tapestries from foreign countries awaited their inspection, along with cabinets filled with ancient artifacts Sutro had collected from the Aztec, Mexican, Egyptian, Syrian, Japanese, and Chinese cultures. Natural history specimens of animals, birds, fish and shells also flanked the corridors, while an amphitheater and promenade, each with a seating capacity of 3,700, faced a stage designed for performances of opera, drama, acrobatics, and any other talent seeking an outlet.

Perhaps the most spectacular show, however, came from the arched glass roof which stretched for more than two acres over the baths. Through 100,000 square feet of stained glass supported by 600 tons of iron girders, the sun filtered in a dazzling rainbow of colors which transformed the ocean scenery outside, as it did the exotic setting created within the baths building. Up to 25,000 people per day could comfortably visit this spectacular array of artistic, recreational, educational, and athletic features open to the public at Sutro Baths between the hours of seven in the morning and six in the evening at a mere fee of ten

cents for general admission, and twenty-five cents for swimming tickets. Three railroads connected the area with the city for a five-cent fare, and besides the Sutro Baths, visitors could find wholesome recreation at the Firth Wheel, Mystic Maze, and Haunted Spring--amusement features which Sutro purchased and moved to Merrie Way at the close of the 1894 Midwinter Fair--or at the Cliff House, Sutro Heights, and Ocean Beach attractions. Sutro's seaside resort thus came into full swing just at his own personal decline, but the rewards of his labors lingered long for San Franciscans after his death at age sixty-eight in August 1898.<sup>78</sup>

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78. Quotes from San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 6, 1972, p. 30 and Holmes, Adolph Sutro, pp. 41-48; The Life Work of Sutro, p. 13; San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 6, 1972, p. 30; Sutro Baths, May 28, 1897, Sutro Baths-Sutro Heights Labor Reports, 1891-1909, Sutro Papers, Box 35; Edgar Sutro to Sutro, Arcadia, [Napa County], Feb. 27, 1896, Incoming Corresp., Edgar E. Sutro, 1887-1896, Sutro Papers, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; "Sutro Tunnel and the New Cliff House Opened," no source, Materials on Sutro, vol. 3, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Ella M. Sexton, "The Sutro Baths, San Francisco," The Land of Sunshine 8, No. 2 (Jan. 1898), pp. 101-04; U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Labor, Bulletin 54 [Public Baths in the United States], September 1904), pp. 1360-61; Sutro Baths, San Francisco (no publication information; pamphlet printed ca. 1914 and available at S.F.P.L.), pp. 1-7, 12-16. On p. 16 a chart of Sutro Baths shows the water capacity for each tank. The largest, L-shaped tank held 1,310,000 gallons; the second largest 115,000; the four smaller salt water tanks each 65,000; and the fresh water plunge tank 25,000 gallons. As Sutro's daughter explained to Maj. C. H. McKinstry, civil engineer for the army, Sutro had cut three tunnels into the peninsula north of the baths. The most westerly one brought the sea water to the catch basin to supply the six salt water baths. They conveyed the drainage pipes for the baths and tunnel to its east held the pumping apparatus used at intervals for at least three months every year to fill the baths with fresh salt water. The most easterly tunnel was used as an access to the quarries which periodically supplied reinforcing rock for the seawall. This tunnel also connected with the mouth of the second tunnel. Emma L. Merritt to McKinstry, June 17, 1907, NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corresp. 1894-1923, #53234.

c) Cliff House Area in Twentieth Century

In February 1898 when she was appointed guardian of her ailing father's estate, Dr. Emma Merritt found Sutro's estate in serious financial trouble. She called for an inventory and appraisal of his property only to find that the document contained 125 pages. Liabilities against the estate at first showed to be \$696,564.23 but more debts were still accumulating. In addition, the real estate market in San Francisco in 1898 was very low due to the war, making it difficult for her to sell land to pay off the indebtedness. Although Dr. Merritt would report in July quite a profit at Sutro Baths and on the Sutro Railroad because many of the more than 10,000 soldiers camped nearby awaiting transport to Manila had taken the electric line to the baths, she found generally that these two properties did not pay for themselves. Receipts from the Baths only paid a small interest on the money invested and both the baths and railroad were the source of frequent damage suits on account of accidents. By April 1898, she had definitely decided to sell the railroad and by October 1899 she accomplished this sale for \$215,000 to Robert F. Morrow representing the Sutter Street cable car line.<sup>79</sup>

With the pressures from creditors, the responsibilities of such a huge amount of property, and the family conflicts which arose in October 1898, when Emma's sisters, Clara,

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79. Annual Report of Sutro Trustees, July 25, 1900, pp. 19-21, Sutro Estate, vol. 3, Sutro Papers, Box 42; Merritt to Mrs. Hugo Sutro, Dresden, Germ. Feb. 1898 ; to Mrs. Moritz Nussbaum, Bonn, Germ., [Feb. 1898]; to Ludwig Sutro, New York, Feb. 26, 1898; to Mrs. Kate Nussbaum, Apr. 9 and 30, July 9, 1898, Correspondence related to Sutro Estate, 1898-1915, Sutro Papers, Box 41; Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 13, 1899, Sutro Newspaper Clippings, Sutro Coll., Sutro Lib., U. of S.F.; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 52.

Rosa, and Kate, and her brother, Edgar, contested Sutro's will, Dr. Merritt found herself swamped with matters of the estate. In January 1899 she was appointed Executrix of the estate which had legally been placed under the direction of the court. Until all the many debts could be paid off, the final distribution of the property would be postponed, Dr. Merritt explained. The legal settlement would take several years during which time none of the heirs would be able to collect any of their inheritance.

The family conflicts over Sutro's will dragged on for another twenty years during which time the Sutro properties received cautious maintenance under Dr. Merritt's close supervision. In three lengthy reports on the Sutro Estate in 1898, 1900, and 1904, Dr. Merritt detailed her efforts to cut the heavy expenses of maintaining the Sutro Baths, Sutro Heights, and Cliff House properties. Gone were the days when Sutro lavished his time and money on his great works. In fact, with the notable exception of Dr. Merritt, Sutro's heirs seemed determined to sell his lifetime collections. In 1900 and 1909 the newspapers carried reports of attempts by the heirs to sell the valuable library which Sutro wanted to give to San Francisco. Without delving into the legal papers of the estate, it is difficult to draw conclusions on how the estate was finally settled and distributed in 1919, but by then Dr. Merritt had long since bought out her relatives' shares to Sutro's beach property and had proceeded to negotiate with the city to fulfill her father's intentions for Sutro Heights.<sup>80</sup>

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80. Merritt to Mrs. Hugo Sutro, Oct. 4, 1898; to Heinrich Warendorf, Cologne, Germ., Feb. 11, 1899, Corresp. rel. to Sutro Est. 1898-1915, Sutro Papers, Box 41; Agreement, Dec. 29, 1910, Sutro Estate Legal Papers 1910-1915, Sutro Papers, Box 41; Sutro Estate, vols. 2, 3, and 5, Sutro Papers, Box 42, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; vol. 5 contains a 339-page financial report of the estate from 1904 to 1908. San Francisco Call July 23, 1900, p. 11, c.5; July 17, 1909, p. 18, c.3; July 29, 1909, p. 5, c.1; Oct. 1, 1908, p. 5, c.1; Biggs, "Sutro Storms Heights," p. 11.

Sutro Heights by 1918 had already suffered some under the administration of the estate. The aging frame residence where Sutro had entertained so often was by 1904 the home for paid caretakers who also watched over the grounds which, because of a greatly reduced staff, no longer could be kept free of rubbish and debris left by careless visitors. Although Dr. Merritt oversaw the maintenance and repair of the grounds, there were only three gardeners employed in 1904 to furnish the work which Sutro in 1898 had been paying eleven men to accomplish.

Dr. Merritt's prolonged responsibility for the Sutro estate required her frequent contact with her lawyers who helped her to negotiate the gift of Sutro Heights to the city. In 1912 a deed was drafted for the transaction but not completed. In 1915 Dr. Merritt offered to Mayor Rolph the proposition that if the city paid off the \$150,000 mortgage on the Heights by January 1, 1920, with money collected from the sale of property in the "Ocean Shore Lands" and one sixth of the Byfield tract--lands donated by Dr. Merritt for the purpose--then she and her heirs would grant a deed to Sutro Heights. In 1918 the city voted down a bond issue of \$700,000 to purchase eighty acres of Sutro Land on the Point Lobos coastline, including Sutro Baths, for \$687,613 and the gift of Sutro Heights. An agreement was finally reached early in 1920 when the city purchased three parcels of Sutro estate land for park purposes from the Merritts for \$250,000 on January 28, in exchange, for which the Merritts transferred the 19.56-acre Sutro Heights property to the city on February 18, with the condition that it be "forever held and maintained as a free Public Resort or Park under the name of 'Sutro Heights' with the understanding that the parties of the first part shall have the privilege of living there for the rest of their lives." The agreement also specified that as long as either of the Merritts resided at Sutro Heights that they

would be responsible for maintaining the grounds in good condition.<sup>81</sup>

Until 1933, when the world-wide depression made its mark on Dr. Merritt's finances, she and her husband continued to maintain the grounds of Sutro Heights as "a source of constant enjoyment to thousands of citizens of San Francisco." In April 1933, at the request of the widowed Dr. Merritt, the city agreed to take over the care of Sutro Heights, even though Dr. Merritt continued her residency there. The city's Board of Supervisors had already approved, in 1924, the construction of a reinforced parapet roadway in Sutro Heights to accommodate the growing automobile traffic, and in 1925 Park Superintendent John McLaren had ordered the construction of two "huge artificial rocks of steel and concrete . . . on the rocky bluff below Sutro Heights," opposite the Cliff House, to prevent further slides after the widening of Point Lobos Avenue from twenty feet to sixty feet in 1921 and 1922, but no city funds yet had gone to the routine upkeep of the statues, benches, seats, walls, structures, paths, fences, trees, and gardens which covered Sutro Heights' grounds. Evidently during the four years subsequent to the takeover of Sutro Heights, the Park Commissioners fell behind in their care of the famous garden spot, for in 1937 they submitted a proposal for

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81. As quoted in S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1933, p. 24; Sutro Estate Legal Papers 1910-1915, Sutro Papers, Box 41, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; unidentified newspaper clipping in report by Lt. Col. T. H. Rees to OCE, May 26, 1918, NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corresp. 1894-1923, #64244; Sutro Heights, card on file at office of Secretary of San Francisco Park Commission, McLaren Lodge, San Francisco; according to Biggs, "Sutro Storms the Heights," p. 11, the property in 1920 was valued at \$300,000; San Francisco Department of Public Works, Index Squares, Parks & Playgrounds (San Francisco: 1921), Blocks 1313 and 1484-Sheet 1-Park Lands.

the rehabilitation of the grounds to the Works Progress Administration. On October 17, 1938, Dr. Merritt, last Sutro family guardian of Sutro Heights, passed away, and less than four months later Park Commissioner Lermen advised that the residence be demolished "because of its extreme state of disrepair and the high cost of rehabilitation." Work Progress Administration crews in 1939 accomplished all the needed work on Sutro Heights, including the razing of the house and other old buildings, cleaning and repairing all the existing statues, landscaping, and surfacing the walks and paths, at a cost of \$90,994.<sup>82</sup>

Although the Park Commissioners in 1940 and 1941 made plans to construct a diorama house for Sutro Heights to be financed by the city, the only actual construction on the property during the decade--other than the fire control stations and searchlight built near the parapet in 1943 by the United States

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82. Quotes from, S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1933, p. 24, "Minutes," 1939, p. 44, and The Municipal Employee 2 No. 5 (June 1928), p. 27; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1933, p. 24; 1925, p. 94; 1937, p. 102; 1938, p. 164 and 44; San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Journal of Proceedings, 1924, pp. 663 and 680; hereinafter cited, S.F. Bd. of Super., Journal, date; these journals can be found in the S.F.P.L.; San Francisco Municipal Record 14, No. 38 (Sept. 22, 1921), p. 302; San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 5, 1920, p. 56, c.1; Feb. 12, 1922, Sec. 2, p. 1; according to the 1922 Chronicle report cited above, the city not only widened the Point Lobos Avenue to sixty feet, but also constructed a sidewalk twenty feet wide on the ocean side. This was the first time that the stretch of road from the Cliff House down to the beach was paved. Photos of fake rocks under construction dated 10/?/25 and 1/20/26, in collection of Carl Poch, San Francisco. San Francisco Municipal Employee, 2, No. 5 (June 1928), p. 27; Clyde E. Healy, San Francisco Improved, report by City Engineer and Coordinator of W.P.A. Projects Period October 10, 1935 to August 31, 1939, (no publication information), p. 58; before Sutro's house was torn down, the Historical American Buildings Survey completed a survey on it, #1238.

Army--was the erection of the concrete staircases which lead up to the parapet overlook. In fact, Sutro Heights, devoid of its conservatory, observation tower, and residence, suffered neglect during the 1940s with weeds, blowing sand, broken fences, and dying trees as pointed testimony of the deterioration of the grounds. The Sutro family heirs publically announced around 1951 that they found the city shamefully neglectful of Sutro Heights but their censorship did not bring noticeable improvements. In March 1953 a reporter pointed out that "tons" of concrete shards from statues, urns, and pedestals broken by vandals or by the ravages of time and neglect, lay scattered around the grounds. Garbage and broken fences and benches contributed to the unsightly scene. A 1955 city bond issue approved \$13,271 for an irrigation system for the Heights but at that date, as one visitor knowledgeable of the park's history, noted, not much remained of the splendid work which cost Sutro about half a million dollars to create and still more to maintain for the public enjoyment. The transfer of Sutro Heights from the city's Recreation and Park Department to the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area in 1976, however, holds promise for the restoration of the grounds to reflect in part Adolph Sutro's generous dream conceived nearly a century ago.<sup>83</sup>

The romance, excitement, and style of the days when Sutro set the pace at Sutro Heights and his adjoining beach

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83. S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1940, p. 160; 1941, pp. 107-08, 122, 133, 137, 149, 159, 231, 364, 322; Photos with captions dated June 21, 1946, July 17, 1947, Mar. 19, 1953 in folder, "San Francisco District-Sutro Heights," and a photo and caption, undated, (ca. 1951), in folder, "San Francisco-Ocean Beach-1950s," S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; Biggs, "Sutro Storms Heights," p. 4; Report of Merritt, Guardian of Adolph Sutro and his estate to Superior Court of San Francisco, Sept. 23, 1898, p. 3; Sutro Estate, vol. 2, Feb. 7-Aug. 8, 1898, Sutro Papers, Box 42, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley.

properties faded fast in the twentieth century. The narrow gauge steam engines with their colorful open cars that chugged along the scenic Point Lobos railroad tracks to the Cliff House Area were replaced as of May 36, 1905, by a standard gauge electric line of modern street cars operated by the United Railroads of San Francisco, Inc., which took over both the Market Street Railway and the Sutter Street Railway in 1902.

While the magnificent views, the Lands End trails, and the occasional shipwrecks and dead whales off Point Lobos helped to retain the popularity of this coastal route until a major landslide on February 7, 1925 closed the line forever, the famed attractions at the end of the line were slowly losing character. By 1937 the Sutro Baths were not drawing sufficient income from their swimming facilities to warrant maintaining the large tank. Adolph Sutro's grandson that year converted the tank to an ice skating rink and around 1951 put the property up for sale. To the reporters Sutro explained that he was not willing to expend the time or money needed--from \$25,000 to \$90,000--to restore the baths which for some time had not been profitable, despite his diligent promotional campaigns. Sutro hoped that the city would purchase the eight and one half acres for public recreation but instead George K. Whitney Jr., owner of the Cliff House and the Playland-at-the Beach at the foot of Point Lobos Avenue, purchased the Sutro Baths on September 1, 1952. Whitney disposed of all the swimming tanks in favor of one large ice rink and a museum as the main attractions. Having reportedly blown "a fortune and new life" into Sutro Baths, Whitney lost fifty percent of the property in 1964 when his mother sold out her share to Robert D. Fraser, builder of two apartment skyscrapers in San Francisco, the Fontana and the Comstock. The Sutro Baths immediately were threatened by Fraser's plan to raze the building and erect a huge shopping center and apartment complex

comparable, ironically, to grand resort establishments elsewhere on California's coast, resorts which Adolph Sutro had hoped to copy during his ownership of the Cliff House area lands nearly a century earlier.

Plans and negotiations for a 200-unit apartment complex and a million-dollar restaurant overlooking the ocean continued another two years, beyond the June 1966 fire which destroyed the half demolished Sutro Baths. Just as in former days when fires consumed two historic Cliff House structures, crowds numbering in the thousands came out from the city to survey the damage and reminisce of days gone by in the magnificent historic landmark of glass and steel.<sup>84</sup>

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84. Charles A. Smallwood, The White Front Cars of San Francisco (South Gate, Cal.: Ira L. Swett, 1970), n.p.; Hilton, Cable Car in America, p. 210; San Francisco Department of Public Works, Bureau of Engineering, Annual Report of the Bureau of Engineering of the Board of Public Works City and County of San Francisco . . . 1918 (San Francisco: The General Printing Company, 1918), p. 7; clippings, San Francisco Examiner Feb. 28, Mar. 1, Mar. , 1966; San Francisco Chronicle, June 27, 1966, p. 1; John Martini Collection, San Francisco; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 67; photos with captions, Folder, "S.F. District-Ocean Beach-1950's," S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; Land Acquisition Map, G.G.N.R.A., Drawing No. 840/39003, on file at Div. of Land Acquisition, Western Regional Office; The San Francisco Chronicle on March 2, 1966, the day after the Sutro Baths building closed to the public for good, recorded some memorable occasions at Sutro Baths:

"In its heyday, up to 30,000 persons jammed the pleasure palace for such events as record-breaking swims by Duke Kahanamoku or such daring spectacles as Professor M. H. Gray and Jack--the world's highest-diving dog.

"Or the fascinating display of Tom Thumb including a life-size photograph (25 inches tall) and his bed next to a '3-D Lord's Supper.' In equally strange juxtaposition, memories of a mass baptism and the girl whose rubber bathing suit ripped off on her way down a slide sending her into the water wearing only the shreds and a horrified expression.

The Cliff House, however, was the first of Adolph Sutro's great projects to be destroyed. Having survived the earthquake of April 1906, the massive, frame, gingerbread palace burst into flames on September 7, 1907, and quickly was reduced to ashes. Firemen reportedly "made desperate efforts to save the far famed landmark," but the dry wooden building burned too fiercely for the chemical apparatus and one fire engine crew to make any headway. Instead, they turned their efforts to saving Sutro Baths. Automobile parties rushed out to the site to watch the landmark succumb to flames, as did soldiers from Fort Miley, and thousands of curious people who rode the streetcars out to the beach.<sup>85</sup>

Sutro's Cliff House had enjoyed some special and promising days in the nine years since his death. On

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"A mecca for tourists over the years--who typically carved their initials into the hide of a stuffed ox which stood six feet tall at the shoulder--the 'Tropic Beach' was haven for natives as well.

"They swam and cavorted to bands led by the former concert-master to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

"The bands gave way over the years to recorded organ music and the baths to ice-skating rinks, ending the years when 5000 towels frayed to rags against skins of swimmers.

"The dome's 100,000 panes of glass supported in steel lace-work rode out the 1906 earthquake and the weaker shudder in 1957 without a single crack.

"But not all the memories came from the dim past. The Giggling Ghost of Sutro Baths appeared three nights running in 1961, eluded 20 policemen and frightened away the night-watchman, a husky, 26-year-old former marine. He described the 'ghost' as a little, giggling man who whistled eerily and 'looked like a powder puff.'"

85. San Francisco Call, Sept. 8, 1907, p. 21.

August 23, 1899, the Cliff House served as a receiving station for the first wireless telegraph message sent on the American coast. At 5:15 P.M. the Cliff House crew, while in the midst of experiments with the equipment in preparation for the test transmittal scheduled for the following day, recorded the signals sent by the lightship, San Francisco, announcing the approach of the Army transport, Sherman, which was arriving from Manila with the California troops of the Spanish-American War. Marconi's wireless telegraphy was given formal demonstrations in the United States one month later, but the transmittal received at the Cliff House had already made history across the country.

On the eve of its destruction, the Cliff House received a new manager to replace James Wilkins who had run the historic establishment under its two consecutive roofs for twenty-one years. John Tait, who had built the Old Homestead roadhouse on Point Lobos Avenue, and his associates, bought out Wilkins' lease in June 1907 and immediately began to invest in the renovation of the landmark, with the intention of spending up to \$80,000 to rewire the building, install new plumbing, and refurbish it with new furniture and decorations. As many as 100 men had been working on the building at one time during the three months before the fire which cost Tait and his partners \$55,000 in damages, \$35,000 of which insurance covered.<sup>86</sup>

Two years earlier, the Sutro Estate appraised the Cliff House property of .70 acres with its improvements at \$125,000. Lining the road to the north of the Cliff House were

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86. San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 6, 1918, p. 39, c.7; San Francisco Call, Sept. 8, 1907, p. 21; Adamson, Keepers of the Lights pp. 212-14.

Sutro properties supporting small concessions--a photograph gallery, fruit stand, coffee kiosk, and a tourist information booth, among others--which, together with the stables near the Cliff House, were valued at \$32,150. To the distinguished urban architect, Daniel Burnham of Chicago, who was hired by the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco to design a plan for the city's beautification similar to the ones he had directed for Cleveland, Chicago, Washington, and Manila, the Cliff House and its adjoining structures obstructed the sweeping view of the headlands to the north as well as the ocean horizon when approaching the coast on the Cliff House road. Oblivious to the tradition associated with the building, Burnham recommended in 1905 that the Cliff House be torn down and replaced with a simple, open shelter where tourists could enjoy the panoramic seaside scenery.<sup>87</sup>

If Burnham was disenchanted by Sutro's Cliff House, so also were many tradition-minded San Franciscans who still harked back to the early days when the simple structure run by Captain Foster stood on the site. Only one day after the San Francisco Call announced the destruction of the Cliff House in 1907, the newspaper learned from John Tait and his Cliff House Company that the building would be reconstructed immediately on the general lines "of the squat structure which from 1863 to 1896 stood over the Pacific." The plan, actually, was to erect a two-story concrete

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87. Inventory and Appraisement, Adolph Sutro, Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, No. 20449, Apr. 22, 1905, Sutro Estate, Vol. 4; Sutro Papers, Box 42, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal. at Berkeley; Royal Cortissoz, "Daniel H. Burnham An American Architect," The Outlook 86, No. 13 (July 27, 1907), 681-82; Daniel H. Burnham, Report on a Plan for San Francisco (San Francisco: published by the City, 1905), preface and p. 156.

building which would conform generally to the contour of the rocks. The lessees assured the newspaper that although their proposed Cliff House would be larger and better made than the original structure, it would still be "reminiscent of that famous place."<sup>88</sup>

Other more influential citizens of San Francisco soon after announced their own plans for a new Cliff House. On September 14, 1907, the Call reported, "Union League Syndicate to Build Palace on Cliff House Site," and explained that a group of the club's members had raised \$200,000 through pledges to purchase the property from the Sutro estate. They proposed to erect a building in "antithesis of the wooden collection of turrets which artists called an abomination and said it had met a just fate in burning." The new Cliff House, moreover, would not be built for profit alone, but "to maintain traditions and reinforce the hold of the sea lions' playground on world wide fame." In a style which Sutro himself had assumed to the best of his capabilities, the Urban League backers announced their plan to lavish "one million on sentiment" in order to build a seaside resort which would rival the coastal "palaces of Monte Carlo and Nice." To add final irony to their never completed proposal, the Syndicate had hired Daniel Burnham's architectural firm to design the plans for the third Cliff House, the same firm which Sutro had consulted in 1887 in regards to his scheme for an elegant seaside hotel, and the same architect who had proposed in 1905 that the Cliff House be razed to clear the view for the city's tourists.<sup>89</sup>

A third Cliff House finally was completed nearly two years later, but not according to the plans of John Tait or the

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88. San Francisco Call, Sept. 8, 1907, p. 21.

89. Ibid., Sept. 14, 1907, p. 3.

Union League syndicate. Dr. Merritt applied for a permit to construct a concrete structure at a cost of \$42,500 on the site of the old Cliff House on October 21, 1908, and on July 1, 1909, the building opened to the public under John Tait's management. Designed by Reid Brothers, Architects, and constructed for some \$75,000, the new Cliff House shared many traits with its predecessors. A commodious hall greeted visitors on the first level of the building which stood below the road and faced out onto the promenade where tourists could enjoy the view out of doors. On the road level were banquet rooms and space for dancing, while on the third floor patrons found the main dining room, a large lounge, and dressing rooms. "The entire place is fitted up with the utmost good taste," reported the San Francisco Call writer who attended the reopening of the city's "famous cafe and landmark." The gathering of old patrons of the Cliff House that evening of July 1, 1909, filled the halls with nostalgic toasts to Seal Rocks and the Pacific "in thankfulness of the revival of old times." The Cliff House stood again but was to face its hardest days in the years to come.<sup>90</sup>

The troubles began in July 1918, seven years after President Taft made his pilgrimage to the famous San Francisco landmark. The United States Army in 1918 issued an order for all establishments within one half mile of military reservations to close. The Cliff House numbered among them with Fort Miley perched on the peaks of Point Lobos nearby. In December 1920, the Cliff House management staged a gala reopening with 450 guests seated at reserved tables. Richard (Shorty) Roberts, a San Francisco restaurant and cafe operator, had taken

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90. San Francisco Call, Oct. 22, 1908, p. 8, c.5; July 2, 1909, p. 7; c.1; Photo cap. in Sunset 20, No. 4 (Apr. 1909), n.p.

over the Cliff House lease and invested thousands in redecorating and refurnishing the building. With expert caterers, talented entertainers, and head chef of local prominence, the Cliff House reopening, like those before it, reminded its guests of former gay days at the beach, despite the limitations which Prohibition laws placed on the large gathering.

Five years later, however, Roberts gave up on the Cliff House, and the establishment briefly supported a coffee shop before it closed its doors for over a decade. In 1933 one writer observed that the tourists to San Francisco who still flocked to the famed landmark, found only a "handful of mangy seals" and a Cliff House practically closed. In 1936 the San Francisco Chronicle published a letter from one of the Cliff House's old patrons who felt sad about "the old box, dead box, called Cliff House," and who wondered why some public spirited citizens didn't consider building a new Cliff House as "an inspiration to all our guests that enter the Golden Gate." The following year San Francisco concessionaires George K. and Leo C. Whitney, purchased, remodeled, and reopened the Cliff House with a curio shop reportedly the largest in the world, and a modern restaurant and bar. The Whitneys remodeled the building again in 1950 at a cost of \$150,000, adding 3,510 square feet to the floor space. An enlarged dining room to seat 275, a special banquet room to seat 150, and a new top floor numbered among the extensive renovations. The entire facade of the building also was modernized in the style of the 1950s, making the original 1909 structure almost unrecognizable from the street side.<sup>91</sup>

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91. Quotes from Dobie, San Francisco Pageant, p. 297 and San Francisco Chronicle Feb. 7, 1936, p. 8; clipping, "Millie's Column," (San Francisco Chronicle) in Scrapbook, "Millie's Column," CHS; San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 9, 1920, p. 8; Kahn, Cable Car Days, p. 19.

The Whitneys, however, had their problems with making the Cliff House a profitable enterprise and in February 1973 they closed the doors, supposedly forever. Only one month later, however, a group of five men, calling themselves "We Four," took a lease on the Cliff House and prepared to reopen it. Immediately San Francisco's social set organized "A Night of Nostalgia" which rivaled the gay reopenings of the past. And so in 1978 the Cliff House still operates, still draws thousands of tourists, and still evokes nostalgic memories of former days. While it continues to serve tourists and to stand on its historic site, the Cliff House will undoubtedly endure as a landmark on San Francisco's coastline.<sup>92</sup>

d. Great Highway and Esplanade

In 1868, some five years after the construction of the Point Lobos Toll Road and the Cliff House on the northern end of the ocean beach, the city of San Francisco, by "Order 800," set aside a strip of land from the Seal Rock south along the ordinary high water mark to the county line, a distance of nearly three miles, for a city street or highway. On March 7, 1868, the State legislature ratified and confirmed the order, thus launching a colossal undertaking which would take over sixty years to complete.

Order 800 also created Golden Gate Park--then only a vast acreage of high, rolling sand dunes--as well as the city's Board of Park Commissioners, which assumed responsibility for the improvement of San Francisco's public parks. The Great Highway received little mention during the decades of the 1870s and 1880s while Golden Gate Park was prodigiously landscaped and beautified to make it one of the city's principal attractions. In

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92. San Francisco Chronicle Apr. 19, 1973, p. 18.

1889, however, the Park Commissioners voiced their concern that shifting sands made it difficult to drive along the beach--the main north-south thoroughfare along the coast which only could be used at low tide--and their hope that a boulevard might be built along the entire highway, "thus making one of the most beautiful ocean drives in the world."<sup>93</sup>

The Park Commissioners' hope to create a beauty spot known the world over sparked a responsive chord among the city's leaders who made funds available the next year for improvements to the Great Highway. In 1890 a boulevard was graded for one mile from the foot of the Cliff House hill south to the lower end of the park. The width of the road averaged 180 feet except opposite the park, where it widened to 2,600 feet. To protect it from blowing, drifting sands, the Park Commissioners put up a ten-foot high picket fence on the ocean side, and on the inland side, planted a thick row of trees. Between the trees and shelter fence they laid an eight-foot-wide drive and a twenty-foot-wide foot path interspersed with a belt of evergreens and a thick strip of acacia, cypress, and leptospernum trees. Finally, they also seeded a 100-foot-wide band of sea grass along the entire three-mile right-of-way to reclaim the shifting sands and raise the sand embankment which was protecting the roadway from the ocean's encroachments.

The completion of the first mile of boulevard with its landscaping raised the hopes of the Park Commissioners of continuing the project south to the county line. In their annual

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93. Quote from S.F. Board of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1889, p. 12; S.F. Board of Park Commrs., "Minutes," Apr. 4, 1870-Jan. 22, 1884, p. 363; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 44.

report they reminded the city leaders that other great cities such as Chicago, New York, Boston, Detroit, and Rochester, all had adopted boulevard systems to beautify their environment, and that San Francisco likewise would benefit from the continuation of the Great Highway project. Possibly with Adolph Sutro in mind, the Board noted that the road needed "the generosity of some wealthy gentleman ready to distinguish himself" in service to those less fortunate in order to carry out its completion.<sup>94</sup>

Evidently no rich backers volunteered to finance the continuation of the Great Highway project that year, or in the years to come, probably because the city had already completed the most popular stretch of coast road. By 1892 saloons, a hotel, the Beach Chalet, the Lurline Pier, its powerhouse, the railroad station, the Golden Gate life-saving station, and small, inexpensive concessions, lined both sides of the completed boulevard offering entertainment, refreshment, or ready transportation to and from the city. In 1894 large crowds came out to the Golden Gate Park and the beach to attend the Mid-Winter Exposition represented by some nineteen countries from around the world. Every Christmas day the beach near the Lurline Pier filled with spectators to witness the chilling ocean swim taken by Olympic Club members who had completed a foot race out from the city. In 1896 Sutro Baths opened, making available heated sea water swimming without the dangers of the ocean's strong and dangerous tidal currents and undertow. Carriages from the city drove through the park, along the highway, and back to the city by the Point Lobos Road which the Park Commissioners repaired and

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94. Quote from Report of Board of Park Commrs. in S.F. Board of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1890, pp. 18-19, 23-24; San Francisco Municipal Reports, 1890, p. 581.

improved in March and April of 1897. Thus, with so much activity and use of the stretch of Great Highway connecting Golden Gate Park with Sutro's attractions, the Park Commissioners did well to maintain the completed boulevard, especially since it represented the least protected section of the three-mile right-of-way.<sup>95</sup>

Indeed, the Park Commissioners observed in their 1897 annual report that the Great Highway had been maintained at considerable cost. Nevertheless, the popular boulevard between the park and Cliff House hill again received major construction in 1902 when the one mile grade was widened by fifty feet, thereby giving the drive a 100-foot width. Considerable filling to the west of the drive had to be completed in order to reinstate a footpath and border which evidently had been lost to drifting sands and high tides over the years.

The Cliff House Road, while not a part of the Great Highway project, had fallen under the care of the Park Commissioners by this date and in January 1906 Superintendent John McLaren ordered its widening and grading to allow a forty-foot-wide drive with a grade no greater than six percent. At the same time, a concrete wall to line the ocean side of the road was begun with the understanding that the Sutro estate would finance five-sixths of the cost.

By 1909 the Great Highway was extended its entire three miles, oiled, and in repair. An additional section of

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95. S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1897, p. 9; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 201; San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 20, 1967, p. 10; Photos-S.F.-Cliff House No. 3, California Historical Society, S.F.; Rudolph W. Van Norden, "The Ocean Beach Esplanade and Protective Parapet at San Francisco," The Architect and Engineer of California 48, No. 1 (Jan. 1917), p. 66; Rider's California, p. 111.

the retaining wall along the foot of the Cliff House road was completed, and the Park Commissioners were in a position to propose again the improvement of the entire highway in order to place it "among the supremely great avenues of the world." In their annual report for fiscal year 1910, the Board announced its plans to widen the boulevard to a uniform width of 250 feet and border it with an Italian balustrade "of a superb design." Two hundred piers of reinforced concrete, each thirty feet long, already had been ordered but had not, by 1912, been driven eighteen feet into the sand, as planned, in order to prevent the sands and ocean from damaging the Great Highway.<sup>96</sup>

The improvements outlined in 1910 and 1912 reflected the prepared plans of City Engineer M. M. O'Shaughnessy and his assistant, Clyde E. Healy, not only for the Great Highway--"the dream of the landscape architect"--but also for a concrete esplanade to provide a foolproof and beautifully designed protection for the scenic roadway. In 1915 and 1916 contracts were let to J. D. Hannah for the first two sections of the "Ocean Beach Esplanade," and by the close of 1916, 670 feet of reinforced concrete bulkhead had been completed from the foot of the Cliff House hill southward, at a cost of \$80,000.<sup>97</sup>

While the esplanade still had two more sections to go before completion, the existing 670 feet had demonstrated that

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96. Quoted in S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1910, p. 33; Ibid., 29-35; Ibid., 1897, p. 9; Ibid., 1902, p. 25.

97. Quote from Ibid., 1912, pp. 14-15; "Minutes," Jan. 5, 1906; S.F. Bur. of Engineering, Annual Report, 1915-1916, pp. 10; 14, 66; 1916-1917, p. 15; "Completing the Great Highway, 1929," The Municipal Employee 3, No. 6 (June 1929), p. 30; Van Norden, "Ocean Beach Esplanade," p. 67.

the problems of design and construction of this novel structure had been solved. Civil Engineer Rudolph W. Van Norden studied O'Shaughnessy's plans for the concrete bulkhead in 1916 and found them highly praiseworthy:

Nothing has ever been done like it before and the daring in its conception, the cleverness and thoroughness in design where an exceedingly difficult group of conditions were to be contended with is, from the engineer's point of view, most satisfactory, while the final effect as an architectural finish which will add rather than detract from the natural beauty is like a coinciding inspiration.

Because of the esplanade, Van Norden added, San Francisco would have a parkway according to "its most cherished plans" without fearing the ocean would wash over and damage it during high spring tides and storms.

The one mile stretch of road down to the Golden Gate Park needed the esplanade the most because it lacked the natural sand dunes which sheltered the highway south of the park. The bulkhead had to be designed, therefore, to turn back the sea and prevent any moisture from seeping onto the roadway. O'Shaughnessy's massive curved embankment neutralized the ocean's forces and provided concrete bleachers along the beach for the thousands of weekend visitors. Twenty-foot concrete piles driven sixteen feet down below mean sea level made up an interlocking framework for the wall. The construction was technical and difficult, and Van Norden felt contractor Hannah deserved much credit "for the rapid and satisfactory completion" of the two

sections and "the high class of workmanship" which he demonstrated under the careful supervision of O'Shaughnessy himself.<sup>98</sup>

Despite the great success of the first sections of the esplanade, the final completion and dedication of the Great Highway and Ocean Beach Esplanade did not come for another thirteen years, due to funding restrictions. During the interim, O'Shaughnessy's plans remained intact, and were gradually implemented, while thousands upon thousands of tourists drove over the Great Highway on a day's outings from the city. One traffic officer in the early 1920s estimated as many as 50,000 automobiles had come to the beach to celebrate the first day of spring, creating a great congestion on the Great Highway. In fact, so popular was the scenic road that the Park Commissioners had had to lay a concrete surface forty feet wide on the Great Highway in 1919, and in 1921, they ordered the paving, widening, and grading of the Cliff House Road or Point Lobos Avenue. The long awaited work on the Cliff House Road required the cutting away of over 39,000 cubic yards of the slopes of Sutro Heights to insure its stability; the construction of 4,300 cubic yards of rubble masonry wall along the road; and the completion of 23,000 square feet of twenty-foot-wide sidewalk, 3,930 feet of ironstone pipe sewer, ten manholes, twenty catch basins, and a concrete half-bridge, 173 feet long, to span a rock gorge on the right-of-way.

In 1920 and 1921 the Park Commissioners also awarded contracts for the construction of an underground comfort station and the third section of the esplanade which continued southward for 1,070 lineal feet, covering over the public toilets and a large concrete conduit specially constructed to protect both the

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98. Van Norden, "Ocean Beach Esplanade," pp. 67, 70-72, 77.

Olympic Saltwater Company's intake pipes from the Lurline Pier and the Trans-Pacific cablelines. In 1924 the Park Commissioners gratefully acknowledged the splendid progress made by the Board of Public Works towards providing the city with the majestic boulevard, "the dream of nearly all Park Commissioners," which, when completed, would represent "one of the grandest achievements of its kind in the history of public improvements."<sup>99</sup>

The finishing touches of the Point Lobos Road and Great Highway projects were made between 1925 and June 1929. Superintendent John McLaren, a man with vision and with a preference for blending the man-made with the natural, ordered the construction of artificial rocks, patterned after the Seal Rocks, to be erected on the excavated slopes of Sutro Heights in 1925 to check further landslides onto the road below. With the artistic touch of Max Pinter, the steel framework for the two boulders were covered with a concrete surface and painted a copper color to look as natural as possible. Early in January 1929 more artificial rocks were built on the slope and cypress were planted to help prevent further erosion.

Much more extensive work proceeded on the Great Highway after a 1927 highway bond vote appropriated \$9,380,000 to complete the well-publicized project. By December 1928 the last stretch of esplanade between Fulton Street and Lincoln Way was on the verge of completion and \$90,000 had been funded by the Board of Supervisors so that the Park Commissioners could

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99. Quote from S.F. Board of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1924, p. 51; Photos-S.F., Ocean Beach-1920s, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; S.F. Bur. of Engineering, Annual Report, 1919, p. 23; 1920, p. 25; 1921-1922, pp. 5-6, 23-24; The Municipal Employee 3, No. 6 (June 1929), p. 28.

spread soil and fertilizer for the planting of lawns and ornamental shrubs along the highway, and for the completion of the footpaths and general parking areas. Nearly 100 men had been at work for close to a year leveling sand dunes and paving the drive with a two-inch asphalt concrete base covered with red gravel. The joint project of the Public Works Department and the City's Park Commission on the Great Highway was on the verge of completion and would be climaxed on June 9, 1929, at a giant opening day celebration attended by more than 50,000 people and led by a band of 1,014 musicians from fraternal organizations, and a host of prominent officials of San Francisco.

At its completion, the Great Highway and Esplanade cost over \$1,000,000 and boasted several outstanding features besides its concrete bulkhead, among them an equestrian ramp from the road down to the beach which Mayor Rolph pointed out was the only one of its kind in the world. The stretch of highway fronting Golden Gate Park also represented the widest expanse of pavement in the United States, while the sprinkling system for the highway's landscaping extended for 30,000 feet, or five and one half miles, and was said to be the world's largest sprinkling system. The layout for the Great Highway filled everyone's expectations for beauty and convenience. On the inland side ran a fifty-five foot service road bordered to its west with a seventy-foot-wide terraced lawn which climbed eight feet above the service road to a bridle path twenty feet wide. Lining the seaward side of the bridle path was a ten-foot wide strip of lawn followed by a fifty-foot-wide drive and a twenty-five-foot parking strip. Then came another fifty-foot-wide drive, a twenty-foot-wide lawn, and, finally, a twenty-foot-wide concrete sidewalk which ran along the parapet of the esplanade. One large comfort station under the esplanade was open to the public for the dedication and a second underground station was completed the next year opposite Judah

and Taraval Streets. Having seen the enormous project come to reality during its years of construction, Superintendent of Parks John McLaren finally could declare that the Great Highway "was one of the finest and most scenic boulevards in the world."<sup>100</sup>

Unfortunately, the long dreamed-of scenic boulevard has suffered the abuses of traffic, weather, neglect, and blowing, drifting sands since its bright opening day in June 1929. The vegetation and lawns have gone, and the somewhat bleak sidewalks and comfort stations have been vandalized. Recently, in 1977, a special engineering study was underway to decide the fate of the Great Highway and to correct the problems which have arisen since its completion nearly fifty years ago.

## 2. Lincoln Park

Before Lincoln Park was established in 1910, the Point Lobos headlands served as the second city cemetery.

### a. Golden Gate Cemetery

In expectation of constructing a new city hall on the site of the Yerba Buena Cemetery, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors' Committee on Outside Land in 1868 selected some 200 acres near Point Lobos for public burials which the City purchased

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100. Photos-S.F. Dist.-Ocean Beach-1920s, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; The Municipal Employee 2, No. 12 (Dec. 1928), p. 30; 3, No. 1 (Jan. 1929), p. 15; 3, No. 2 (Feb. 1929), pp. 9, 15, 28; 3, No. 6 (June 1929), pp. 28, 30; 4, No. 8 (Aug. 1930), p. 243; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1930, p. 35; Interview, Toogood with Frank Goehr, ex-Supt. of Parks, S.F., July 14, 1976; Superintendent McLaren received a \$15,000 appropriation in February 1925 to remove slides and prevent further damage to the road. S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1925, p. 94; he built the rocks in imitation of the Seal Rocks. The Municipal Employee 2, No. 5 (June 1928), p. 27. The W.P.A. and S.F. Parks Dept. have since added to the rock work. Interview, Foehr, July 14, 1976.

for \$127,465. According to the city's sanitation laws, the Yerba Buena Cemetery also endangered the health of San Francisco's population and its relocation to the isolated Golden Gate cemetery tract six miles from the city seemed to assure its continued use throughout the century.

By 1873 the Yerba Buena cemetery graves had been dug up and their remains reburied in the new tract on the San Francisco headlands. Designated for the burial of the city's indigent dead, the Golden Gate cemetery also had received several new graves marked by numbered head and foot boards which corresponded to a register of the dead persons' descendants kept by the cemetery's keeper. The city had also enclosed the 200 acres in a plank fence, built a house and well for the caretaker, and laid out a road and footpaths in the cemetery.

After the initial expenditures, however, maintenance funds seemed to be scarce, for in 1876 and 1878 the Keeper reported that the fence had become dilapidated and the entrance roadway to the cemetery gate was in such bad condition that he had received "a great deal of complaint." The Keeper expected that the Chinese Six Companies, which had been granted several burial plots in the cemetery and had already spent "considerable money" improving their burial grounds, would be willing to finance the grading and macadamization of the avenues separating and leading up to their plots, including the entrance roadway, were they requested to do so. Several other benevolent and charitable associations and societies had also applied for and received burial plots in the new cemetery but their numbers of dead were few compared to those from San Francisco's growing Chinese population. In 1880, for instance, the Chinese Six Companies buried 475, whereas the French Mutual Benevolent Society buried only nineteen, the Beth Olam, nine, the Red Men Society, two, the

Italian Mutual Benevolent Society, two, and the Christian Chinese, five.

Each group assumed responsibility for fencing their plots but not one was required to maintain the roads. Although the Chinese Six Companies set an example in 1882 by constructing the first macadam road in the cemetery, from the entrance gates to and around their grounds, the city neglected to follow suit for the approach road, leaving it in such very poor repair that it evoked "constant and bitter complaints" from the cemetery's visitors. What's more, the fencing put up by the city had nearly rotted away in some sections and, at best, remained dilapidated. So persistent were the funding shortages for the cemetery, in fact, that by 1890 the Keeper bluntly reported that the neglect to the pioneer dead plot had become a disgrace to the city.<sup>101</sup>

In 1890, however, the Golden Gate Cemetery faced far more critical maintenance problems. The tract lay only blocks from Adolph Sutro's residence and recreation projects nearby the Cliff House, and he didn't like its proximity. Having waged battles in the political arena earlier in his lifetime, Sutro was well-armed to launch a campaign to close the cemetery. Having learned that the U.S. Army planned to purchase some land within the cemetery, Sutro invited all the distinguished parties together to discuss the subject over lunch at Sutro Heights. According to the San Francisco Examiner, the gathering of Mayor Sanderson, Major General John Gibbon, Colonel George Mendell, Park Commissioners

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101. City Cemetery Keeper's reports in San Francisco, Municipal Reports, 1872-1873, p. 482; 1876-1877, p. 479; 1877-1878, pp. 303-04; 1879-1880, p. 532; 1881-1882, p. 15; 1883-1884, p. 366; 1890, p. 415.

W. W. Stow and Joseph Austin, along with several other city officials and members of the press, represented in some respects "the most notable ever known on Sutro Heights." Sutro led the entourage to the city cemetery where he narrated his complaints. The Examiner reporter cooperated with his host, reporting that the cemetery was "where the victims of smallpox, the paupers and the Chinese are buried, and to say that all present were thoroughly disgusted with the scenes and smells of that delectable locality is to state the case very mildly."<sup>102</sup>

The Chinese burial practices received the brunt of inflammatory criticism from the Examiner: "It so happened that decayed and stinking Chinese clothes were scattered about that portion of the cemetery, and a Chinese funeral, with the usual heathen rites was in progress." As Sutro told the reporters and his distinguished municipal and military guests, the cemetery had become "an eyesore and a constant menace to the health of citizens. . . . The most attractive portions . . . have been given over to the Chinese, who defile it by their rites and burial customs."<sup>103</sup>

To read descriptions of the nineteenth century ceremonies for the Chinese dead in California casts some question on the supposed filth and contamination of the Chinese burial practices at the city cemetery. Although the Chinese did disinter the remains of their dead, scrape their bones clean, and ship them back to China for burial, the ceremonies appear to have been respectable affairs. While the explosion of firecrackers and the

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102. San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 2, 1891, clipping in NA, RG 77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 5.

103. Ibid.

moaning of mourners may well have been disturbing sounds on Sutro Heights when the wind was right, the Chinese buried their dead until their disinternment, and only burned incense and paper effigies at the grave sites, leaving few items on the burial grounds to create an offensive odor.

Although Sutro wrote directly to the Secretary of War and to U.S. Senator Leland Stanford requesting they lend their influence in the military purchase of the entire cemetery, the U.S. Army rejected the city's offer of \$75,000 for the entire property and filed, instead, in September 1891, a condemnation suit which in June 1893 won the military fifty-four and one half acres in the southwest corner of the tract, at a price of \$75,000. The Army had also shied away from purchasing the whole cemetery after the U.S. Attorney warned that legal complications might arise from the acquisition of the burial plots granted by the city to some seventeen associations, (the Chinese Six Companies not listed among them and apparently not given consideration as a legal threat by the U.S. Attorney), and such a potential delay in securing title no doubt dampened the local military's interest in cooperating with Sutro's request.<sup>104</sup>

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104. News clippings, San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 1, 1891; San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, Feb. 2, 1891; San Francisco Daily Report, Feb. 2, 1891; Sutro to Sec. of War Redfield Proctor, and to U.S. Senator Stanford, Feb. 5, 1891; Maj. H. M. Adams, In Charge, Office of the Chief of Engrs., to Sec. of War, Sept. 2, 1891; Col. G. Mendell, Annual Report, F.Y. 1893; Col. G. Mendell to Chief of Engrs., June 5, 1891 encloses the U.S. Atty's opinion and an incomplete list of associations. NA, RG 77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 5; In Real Estate Owned by the City and County of San Francisco 1916 (no publishing information), the City Cemetery associations are more fully listed: Improved Order of Red Men; Slavonic Mutual Benevolent Society; Greek-Russian-Slavonian Benevolent Society; German Benevolent Society; Scandinavian Society; French Benevolent Society; Congregation Sherith Karaab ? ; Congregation Beth Israel; Congregation Schaari Hadeck ? ; Italian

The abandonment of the Golden Gate Cemetery came but a few years later, after the Board of Supervisors on June 15, 1897, approved Order No. 3096 prohibiting further burials there, and on March 30, 1900, voted to discontinue burials within the City and County of San Francisco. Not until December 31, 1908, however, did the Board serve notice that all bodies be disinterred at the city cemetery by July 1, 1909.

With Daniel Burnham's 1905 proposal to make the tract a public park, and petitions from the Outdoor Art League and the North Richmond Improvement Club in 1909 to set aside the cemetery as a park, the Supervisors resolved in July 1909 to have the Park Commissioners prepare a plan for the tract, and on November 22, 1909, they formally set aside the Golden Gate Cemetery for park purposes, thereby placing the 150 acres under the jurisdiction of the Board of Park Commissioners. On December 13, 1909, the Supervisors allocated \$10,000 for the construction of roads and improvements for St. Francis Park, formerly the City Cemetery, and the following year, having received petitions from influential representatives of the Grand

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Benevolent Society; Italian Mutual Benevolent Society; Master Mariners' Benevolent Association; Ladies Seamen's Friend Society; St. Andrew's Society and Caledonian Club; Grand Army of the Republic; Society of Old Friends; Sons and Daughters of Old Friends; Knights of Pythias; Golden Gate Lodge No. 2007, G.U.O. of S.F.A. ? ; Japanese Colony of San Francisco; Qui. Son Tong Company; Hop Wo Association; Ning Yung Association; Christian Chinese Society, and Chuo Sen Tong Company. Alexander McLeod, Pigtails and Gold Dust (Caldwell, Idaho: the Caxton Press, 1947), pp. 270-76; Dillon, in the Hatchet Men, pp. 338-39, gives a contemporary account of the 1897 funeral services for San Francisco's notorious tong leader, "Little Pete." Beginning in the San Francisco, Municipal Reports 1878, the City Cemetery Keeper listed the number of disinternments. In that year, 10; in 1880, 17; 1882, none listed; 1883-1884, 243 (235 Chinese); 1890, 570 (559 Chinese); 1895-1896, 348 (313 Chinese).

Army of the Republic, they changed the name to Lincoln Park, in honor of the Abraham Lincoln.<sup>105</sup>

b. Public Golf Course, Clubhouse, and Art Museum

The \$10,000 appropriation for Lincoln Park went towards the construction of public golf links, six holes of which apparently were ready for use by 1911 when the park opened. Most of the several associations agreed to relinquish their burial plots, although thousands of graves reportedly still lie under the golf course lawns and a part of a Chinese ceremonial shrine stands in a grove of trees near one of the greens. By 1913 a full eighteen holes reportedly covered the main sections of the park between Thirty-third and Fortieth Avenues north of Clement Street, but the public clubhouse was another twenty-six years in coming. Following World War I, the A. B. Spreckels family gave the city a gift of the Legion of Honor Art Museum which was completed in 1920 under architect G. A. Applegarth, and dedicated in Lincoln Park on February 12, 1921, on Abraham Lincoln's birthday.

In January 1936 the Park Commissioners resolved that Gardner A. Daily be appointed architect for the construction of a new clubhouse at Lincoln Park golf course under the Works Progress Administration, at a fee of seven percent of the estimated contract cost of \$35,000. They also requested the W.P.A. to proceed with the construction of a reservoir near the sixth green to provide fire protection for the Palace of the Legion of Honor and irrigation for the golf course. Negotiations for the clubhouse

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105. Burnham, Report on San Francisco, p. 156; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report 1910, p. 54; S.F. Bd. of Supervisors, Journal, 1909, pp. 103, 426, 704, 752, 934, 1057, 1144; Real Estate, San Francisco, 1916, Lincoln Park.

continued another year before the projects got underway in 1938. In 1939 the large, one-story white, frame structure stood completed at a cost of \$133,622, which may or may not have included the expense of furnishing and landscaping the clubhouse. According to Clyde Healy, City Engineer in 1939, the clubhouse had already become "a very popular public asset."

Since the construction of the clubhouse, the only major work apparently undertaken at the Lincoln Park golf course was the replacement of the irrigation system early in the 1950s. More money and concern had, through the years, gone to the maintenance and repair of the boulevard system through the park, first envisioned at the park's establishment.<sup>106</sup>

c. Camino del Mar

Superintendent of Parks John McLaren has been credited as the source of the original 1909 or 1910 plan to construct a boulevard system in Lincoln Park which would connect with a

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106. As quoted in Healy, San Francisco Improved, No. 28; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1910, p. 394; 1911, pp. 394, 397; 1912, p. 586; 1936, pp. 7, 12; 1937, p. 99; 1938, p. 106; Annual Report 1910, p. 54; San Francisco Recreation and Park Commission, Annual Report, 1953, p. 45; the Italian Benevolent Society refused to relinquish their burial plot as late as May 1915, Bd. of Supervisors, Journal, 1915, p. 497; 1921, p. 43; the City Engineer's office prepared plans for the clubhouse, playfield, and landscaping surrounding the clubhouse in 1938 and 1939. RP-075-38-2, RP-075-39-1, City Engr's. Office, S.F. Rec. and Parks Dept.; San Francisco, The Bay, pp. 314-16; Aubrey Drury, California An Intimate Guide (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935), p. 273; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 217, notes the golf course opened in 1909 and was completed by 1913; Rider's California, p. 89, notes that the "public playgrounds" were still in process of development in 1925; Purdy's San Francisco, published in 1912, however, spoke in the future tense in reference to the golf links: They "are to be a feature of this Lincoln park." p. 89.

drive overlooking Bakers Beach--as well as other Presidio boulevards--affording magnificent views of the Golden Gate and Marin Headlands. In 1912, moreover, plans for the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915 already had set Lincoln Park aside as part of the exposition territory and had identified a boulevard system from Telegraph Hill along the coast to Lincoln Park and then south through the Richmond district to the western end of Golden Gate Park.

Having taken some two years to arrange for the funding, the purchase of the right-of-way, and the letting of the contract, construction got underway in 1915, and by the close of the year the first stretch of El Camino del Mar, "The Road of the Sea," had been completed between the Presidio and Lincoln Park by Contractor John Brickell Company of San Francisco under the direction of the City Engineer. As the boulevard also was to serve the military, \$30,000 from the U.S. Army went towards construction of the 1,665-foot section of asphalt roadway, while the Panama Pacific Exposition Company contributed \$56,000, and the City, \$30,000. In September 1915, some seven months after the opening of the exposition, two ceremonies were held in Lincoln Park to celebrate first, the completion of the transcontinental Lincoln Highway in the park, and second, the opening of the boulevard El Camino del Mar on September 26.<sup>107</sup>

In 1920 Lincoln Park was enlarged by the City's purchase of seventy-five acres of the Sutro estate lands lying north of the park from Thirty-Third Avenue west to Sutro Baths. Since the new acreage contained mostly hills, gullies, and rock formations

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107. S.F. Bur. of Engr., Annual Report, 1915-16, p. 7; 1916-17, p. 14; 1920, p. 88; S.F. Bd. of Park Comms., Annual Report, 1912, p. 37; Purdy, San Francisco, p. 89; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 57; Drury, California, p. 273.

unsuitable for a golf course, Superintendent McLaren recommended that El Camino del Mar be extended, and by 1924 the Park Commissioners had planted thousands of pine and cypress trees on the hillsides to beautify the winding boulevard which was nearly completed that year with some \$75,000 appropriated by the Board of Supervisors out of the Country Road Fund.

The scenic El Camino del Mar carried the growing automobile traffic through the park to Sutro Heights for less than four years before the first landslide damaged the roadway. Slides in 1925 had finally closed the scenic overhead trolley along the original Cliff House and Ferries Railway route which ran below El Camino del Mar, and now, in 1928, the unstable hillsides were making their mark on the City's boulevard system. With \$15,000 appropriated to prevent further slides, Superintendent McLaren, in cooperation with the army officers at Fort Miley, set his employees to work on repairing the damage.

Nature, however, won most of the battles in the years to come. During World War II the road was shut off to the public by the military and in 1947 following a geological study to determine the cause of the slides, the city needed from \$75,000 to \$100,000 to prepare the road for reopening. Not until June 1951, some ten years after the road had again been closed to the public on account of slides, did the Recreation and Parks Commission reopen El Camino del Mar, and only three and one half years later, on January 27, 1955, they had to close it once more on account of more slides.

Water from springs in the hillsides and runoff stood at the root of the problem, so that late in 1957 the city put in a drainage system with huge ditches to protect the roadway, one mile of which had to be reconstructed. But the drainage system

did not prevent the slide which prompted the decision to fence off the Camino permanently to motor vehicles, leaving it to become one of many shifting trails that crisscross Lands End.<sup>108</sup>

d. Lands End

Lands End, the northernmost projection of the Point Lobos coast, grew in the popular mind during the late nineteenth century to mean those shoreline lands north and west of the Lands End railroad station of the Cliff House and Ferries Railway. Picnickers, tourists, sightseers, and hikers took the Lands End trails down to the short stretches of beach or to an overlook to observe one of several ships wrecked through the years along the rocky coast. The beautiful scenery and the compelling force of the ocean crashing against the shoreline no doubt compensated for the difficult footing of some of the steep trails of Lands End, trails which by 1913 were concerning the Park Commissioners on account of the dangers they presented to the public.

Not until some fifteen years after the City purchased the area from the Sutro Estate in 1920, however, did the Park Commissioners expend funds to improve the public facilities at Lands End. In 1935 they awarded a contract to DeLuca and Son, Inc., to erect a convenience station and septic tank at Lands End and in 1936 they arranged for W.P.A. crews to improve and make new trails through the area. In 1937 the Commissioners served

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108. S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1924, p. 50; "Minutes," 1945, p. 115; S.F. Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1920, p. 562; 1922, p. 224; 1923, p. 912; 1924, pp. 819 and 1432; photos and caps., dated 1941, Nov. 12, 1947, Nov. 15, 1957, in "S.F. Districts-Lands End," S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; The Municipal Employee 2, No. 9 (Sept. 1928), p. 31; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, pp. 67-68.

notice to Mrs. C. L. Harris, popular concessioner at Lands End since 1906, that if she didn't make her building safe, she would have to close the refreshment stand, and after World War II, they supervised the placement of the bullet-riddled bridge of the U.S.S. San Francisco on Lands End in memoriam to the cruiser and her company which survived Pearl Harbor Day and numerous battles in the Pacific to be awarded the Presidential Unit Citation, the Nation's highest tribute to ship and crew.

But the maintenance and improvement of the Lands End trails presented a chronic problem for the Park Commissioners who periodically ordered the obliteration of certain sections or features on the trails for public safety. In 1941 flood slides undermined the Harris home and refreshment stand, requiring their demolition, as well as the closure of the nearby convenience station. Signs and fences were thereafter put up to warn visitors away from the dangerous trails. By 1947 the signs, however, apparently had been removed, to the dismay of one citizen who successfully petitioned "Mr. Fixit" to have them restored after two persons died from slides on Lands End trails.

In November 1947, when the Park Commissioners were about to resume responsibility for Lands End after its wartime military occupation, they found themselves faced with the problem of rubbish which littered much of the area. By 1950 Lands End had become a common dump, not only for individual citizens, but also merchants and businessmen who were saving on the cost of trash collection. Although Mr. Fixit exposed the problem to the newspaper public and reminded them that Land End was "the last refuge" of those who pursued the old-fashioned custom of walking, the problem persisted well over a decade. In 1961 and 1964 articles in the local papers scorned the no trespassing signs which closed Lands End to the public, while keeping it available for the city

dump trucks, including those used by the Recreation and Parks Department, to unload debris down the cliffside. In recent years, however, the area was cleaned up and reopened to the public and today constitutes one of the shoreline properties within Golden Gate National Recreation Area, thus restoring and protecting its historic use as a recreation area.<sup>109</sup>

### 3. Aquatic Park

#### a. Picnics, Baths, and Swimmers

From the 1870s to the 1890s the Black Point Cove invited picnickers, swimmers, and bathers to its clean, white beach, its protected, clear waters, its moss-covered rocks, and its bulkhead on the east side, where some chose to dive into the deeper waters. North Beach listed three baths in the city directory for 1885 and 1886, Bamber and Berg's at the foot of Jones Street, Frahm Henry's at the foot of Hyde Street, and the Neptune and Mermaid Sea Baths on the beach between Hyde and Larkin Streets. Charlie Hanson reportedly provided 300 brightly painted frame bath houses at the Neptune and Mermaid baths, all of which usually were rented by city dwellers who had walked or driven out to the beach for a day's outing. Swimming in the cove was especially popular once the Ghiradelli chocolate factory at Beach between Polk and Larkin Streets began pumping streams of warm water out into the cove as part of its water-cooling system.

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109. "Stories of Early San Francisco," Pony Express Courier (Oct. 1942): 3; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1913, p. 652; 1935, pp. 5, 54; 1937, pp. 16, 25, 31, 37; 1939, pp. 117, 129; 1940, p. 71; 1941, pp. 9, 29, 186, 229, 285; photos and caps., in S.F. Dist.-Land's End, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; San Francisco, The Bay, p. 317; RP-075-65-2, Proposed location for Bridge of U.S.S. San Francisco at Lands End, Mar. 10, 1950, City Engr's. Office, S.F. Rec. and Parks Dept.; S.F. Rec. and Park Dept., Annual Report, 1953, p. 43; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 104.

Possibly because of the construction of large indoor swimming pools such as Sutro Baths during the 1890s, the Neptune and Mermaid enterprise folded, so that by 1895 the deserted, dilapidated bath houses lent an air of decay to the cove's surroundings. That year, however, the sports enthusiasts in the Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club found the cove an ideal location for their new boathouse, thus maintaining the tradition of recreation in the still somewhat remote city outskirts.<sup>110</sup>

b. Rowing and Swimming Clubs

Although the first to locate at Black Point Cove, the Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club was only one of several pioneer rowing clubs in San Francisco. By 1870 the Pioneer Rowing Club had organized and sponsored a Thanksgiving regatta. On May 5, 1873, the South End Boat Club (later called South End Rowing Club) was formed with Peter McAvoy, James Bolan, H. Comfort, and James Roe, its officers. In April 1877 the Ariel Rowing Club (now called San Francisco Rowing Club) organized, followed in August 1877 by the founding of the Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club. By the 1880s other clubs had also organized to enjoy rowing competition on the bay, among them the Tritons, and the Station B Post Office crew, but these and the Pioneer Club did not live out the century.<sup>111</sup>

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110. San Francisco Chronicle, July 30, 1916, p. 28, c. 3; May 1, 1950, clipping at Maritime Museum, Aquatic Park, San Francisco; Langley's San Francisco Directory 1885-1886, p. 1258; Joseph and Domingo Ghiradelli occupied the site by 1894. Handy Block Book, 1894, p. 118.

111. San Francisco Evening Bulletin, Nov. 10, 1870, p. 3; c.4; The Aquatic Monthly 2, No. 1 (June 1873), p. 54; this journal gave the names of the first officers, while Langley's San Francisco

Perhaps because of a stronger sense of tradition among its club members, more recollections and memorabilia have been preserved pertaining to the Dolphin Club than any other, and in a general way this club typifies the social and athletic activities pursued by the membership of all three clubs now located on the cove at Aquatic Park. A group of young men of German descent led by John Wieland a brewery owner, and Emil Kehrlin, an engraver, gathered in 1877 to form a sporting and social club similar to the Turnverein, the club they had all been members of in Germany. The first charter members in 1877 included two engravers and a jeweler for Hubash, Kutz and Company. Of the total thirty-two charter members, all were German by name, seven of whom were jewelers, three engravers, four brewers, and one, the state printer.

This group of rowers and swimmers located their first boathouse at North Beach, presumably at the corner of Montgomery and Beach Streets, the address given in the 1887 city directory. With the development of the waterfront, the members moved their boathouse to the foot of Leavenworth Street in 1890, and in 1895, selected a protected site at the foot of Van Ness Avenue to try to assure the membership a dependable location out of the path of construction for some years to come.<sup>112</sup>

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Directory, 1873, provided the occupations of two of them, Peter McAvoy, mattress maker with Goodwin and Company, and James Bolan, coachman at the Grand Hotel. Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 47, gave the 1877 date for the Championship Regatta of the Pacific Association of Amateur Oarsmen (P.A.A.O.), p. 14, the Ariel Club organized in 1870 as the first boat club on the Pacific Coast. Program loaned by Philip Hunter, South End Rowing Club. San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 7, 1887, p. 6, c.4; Nov. 21, 1887, p. 5, c.2.

112. Photo of seven charter members, 1877: John Wieland, Edward J. Borremans, Louis Schroeder, Ernest H. Lutgens, Edward

The Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club had become well known in San Francisco by 1895 for its sporting events and its "very strong and influential members," among whom were A. P. Rothkopf, T. J. Sullivan, A. L. Schupert, A. V. Vandewater, F. C. Staib, J. C. Atridge, T. Kennedy, and C. M. Farrell. The club had grown to some fifty members by 1886, had incorporated in 1888, and in 1887 had added the forty-foot barge, John Wieland--reportedly "the largest and handsomest pleasure barge on the Pacific Coast"--to its fleet which, in 1895, contained more boats than owned by all the other rowing clubs combined on the bay. In 1892 the Dolphins apparently had initiated an annual New Year's hike to the Cliff House beach where the members took a dip in the ocean and closed their event with a banquet and election of officers at the Cliff House. (Later, this event was associated with the Olympic Club of San Francisco.) The Dolphins' enthusiasm for swimming, especially open water swimming, no doubt had won them by 1895 a local reputation among the numerous sporting clubs in San Francisco and the bay communities, a reputation which later was to be enhanced by their promotion of the first annual Golden Gate swim in 1917, followed some years later by the first annual swims around Alcatraz Island and in Raccoon Straits.<sup>113</sup>

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Peterson, Emil Kehrlein, Ernest H. Lutgins, framed at Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club; Langley's San Francisco Directory 1876 lists Wieland, Borremans, Schroeder and Kehrlein and three Petersons; photo clipping of the thirty-two charter members with the first boat house, "Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club," MS, ca. 1935, copy provided by William Walden, Dolphin Club; San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, July 6, 1975, People Magazine, pp. 14-16; for the locations of the Dolphin Club, see Langley's San Francisco Directories, 1887-1896.

113. San Francisco Call, Nov. 7, 1895, p. 9, c1; "The Cronin Story is the Dolphin Story," typescript, MS, ca. 1954; "The Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club," MS, ca. 1935; "Opening Address by F. C. Staib Financial Secretary on Occasion of 50th Anniversary The Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club," MS, ca.

Although Black Point Cove had looked promising to the Dolphins as a location that would not be threatened by the rapid expansion of the city's streets and waterfront, in November 1895, when five carpenters were busy at work on the boathouse, Van Ness Avenue had just been bituminized down to Bay Street, only two blocks away from the beach, and influential persons were pressuring the Board of Supervisors to cut down and to grade the bluff so that the avenue might be extended to the waters edge, making it one of the city's most scenic drives. The Dolphins, no doubt in recognition of possible problems, had their clubhouse built so that it could be moved.<sup>114</sup>

At their new clubhouse, completed at a cost of \$1,800, the Dolphins staged annual Ladies' Days which drew reporters and spectators to the colorful swimming, boating, and social event. The club's German and Irish teams (later varied by French and Italian members), competed then against each other in barge and shell races, both in the cove and on the bay. Like other rowing clubs in the city, their numbers were growing and their reputation for fun social outings, such as picnics, barbecues, dances, and banquets, stood beside their proud record of aquatic sport competition. Possibly their handsome frame boathouse nestled in the cove's elbow, as well as their local influence in San Francisco, helped Daniel Burnham to propose in 1905 "a bay shore park" along the waterfront to the east and west of Black Point, in his plan for the improvement and adornment of San Francisco. But

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1927, loaned by William Walden, Dolphin Club. The latter document gave 1905 as the date for the first Cliff House hike and dip. Built in 1887 by an Alameda boat builder, the John Wieland continues to be a valued member of the Dolphin Club fleet. Interview and club tour with Bill Walden, Nov. 9, 1976.

114. San Francisco Call, Nov. 7, 1895, p. 9, c1.

Burnham's plan for Black Point Cove went unheeded, while the city's commercial interests pushed for more and more fill to build up the waterfront. In 1909 both the Ariel and South End Rowing Clubs' boathouses were relocated from the foot of Seventeenth Street, south of the Ferry Building, to the foot of Van Ness Avenue, next to the Dolphin boathouse. All three clubhouses, however, still stood in the line of future developments which not only threatened to put an end to all aquatic sports in Black Point Cove, but which also provoked the rowing clubs to agitate for a city park to secure a permanent spot for safe aquatic recreation on San Francisco's extensive commercial waterfront.<sup>115</sup>

c. Park Movement

As already mentioned, Daniel Burnham envisioned in 1905 a bay shore park stretching from Laguna and Lewis streets east, beyond and including Black Point Cove, "the proposed yacht harbor." Burnham intended thereby "to preserve the beauty of the point [Black Point] and to restrain the encroachment of any buildings other than clubhouses and those of a semi-public character." Burnham's appreciation for the aquatic opportunities and scenic setting of Black Point Cove were lost, however, on the city's officials during the reconstruction of San Francisco after the April 1906 earthquake and fire. The beautiful

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115. Burnham, Report on San Francisco, p. 146; "Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club," MS., ca. 1935; San Francisco Morning Call, July 16, 1900, clipping provided by Bill Walden, Dolphin Club; Sept. 13, 1907, p. 9, c4; Crocker-Langley San Francisco Directory For the Year Ending September 1909 (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker [1909?], pp. 517, 1468; 1910, p. 200; 1912, p. 203; hereinafter cited Crocker-Langley Directory; photo of Dolphin Clubhouse at foot of Van Ness, ca. 1925; a framed invitation to the "Annual Ladies Day and Regatta," Oct. 13, 1901, called Black Point Cove, "Campo Bello Cove." Memorabilia on clubhouse walls; Malcolm W. Steel to Karl Kortum, no date, Aquatic Park photographs, S.F. Maritime Mus.

white sand beach of the cove became the dumping grounds for tons of debris from the Palace Hotel and other destroyed downtown buildings. According to one account, some 15,000 truck loads of red brick rubble from the hotel "utterly ruined" the fine bathing beach, possibly setting the precedent for the bay fill carried out in 1907-08 along the shore just east of the Dolphin Swimming and Boating Club.

Perhaps led by Dolphin Club members who had already passed thirteen years at the foot of Van Ness Ave, an Aquatic Improvement Association organized to promote the establishment of an aquatic park at the site. The association submitted a cost estimate for the park in April 1909, along with a request to the Board of Supervisors that the proposition be incorporated into a bond issue. With no objections from the Public Utilities Committee, which had designated a site on the northwestern shore of the cove for a salt water pumping station, the bond issue came to vote in November 1909, but San Francisco's public rejected the proposal to allocate \$796,000 to acquire lands at the north end of Van Ness Avenue for a public aquatic park.<sup>116</sup>

Although a dead issue so far as funding was concerned, the aquatic park proposal lived on during the years after the 1909 bond election and surfaced again in 1912 as a new

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116. Burnham, Report on San Francisco, p. 146; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 66; "Map Showing Structures in Eastern Addition Blocks 32 to 38 Inclusive. Prepared by Marsden Manson, City Eng. . . . July 1908," Aquatic Park file, Bureau of Engineering; City and County of San Francisco; S.F., Bd. of Supervisors, Journal, 1909, pp. 355, 733; S.F., Municipal Reports, 1908-08, pp. 387, 399; according to Harry Field, Dolphin club member, Charlie Farrell originated the proposal for a San Francisco aquatic park. "The Cronin Story," a copy provided by Bill Walden of Dolphin Club.

city-wide bond issue. The Board of Supervisors, accepting the concept that the establishment, construction, and completion of the park stood in the public interest, recommended an \$800,000 bond to purchase land for an aquatic park at the foot of Van Ness Avenue. Even though the majority of San Francisco's electorate voted in favor of the proposition, the two-thirds majority required to secure the issue was not received and the aquatic park movement again stalled, but only momentarily, for within the year the San Francisco Recreation League and the South End Rowing Club (now located at the foot of Van Ness Avenue) petitioned the Board of Supervisors for an exchange of lands to achieve the aquatic park establishment.

The proposal to exchange lands at the foot of Van Ness Avenue owned by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company for city lands desired by the company on the city's southern waterfront may have originated with J. E. ("Ed") Sculley, president in 1913 of the South End Rowing Club, who has been honored as the "Father of Aquatic Park" by the club. The exchange idea, as well as the 1912 bond issue, may have resulted directly from the Southern Pacific's announced plans to construct several piers in the Black Point Cove for its subsidiary, Pacific Mail Steamship Company. As imposing a threat to the future of aquatic sports in the cove, however, was the approved plan of the State Board of Harbor Commissioners to extend the waterfront belt railway to the future site of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and to the U.S. Army's transport docks by tunneling through Black Point just west of the three rowing clubs. The proposed exchange of lands, in fact, got temporarily laid aside for a time in 1913 and 1914 while construction of the belt railway, as well as a military road from the foot of Van Ness Avenue out to the ferry wharf at the end of the point, required all the attention of the San Francisco Recreation League which spearheaded the fight to protect the cove as the site for the proposed aquatic park.

The problems began in the spring and summer of 1913 as the construction crews for the military road dumped "considerable material" along the line of ordinary high tide on the west shore of the cove, causing the Recreation League to petition the Board of supervisors to obtain an order stopping the Army's dumping from the United States Attorney General. By March 1914 the Pacific Athletic Association, the Corinthian Yacht Club, the South End Rowing Club, the P.A.C. Boat Club, the Pacific Association of Amateur Oarsmen, the Ariel Rowing Club, the North Beach Improvement Club, and the Retailers Protective Association, as well as numerous citizens and other organizations, had joined the San Francisco Recreation League in protest to the continued filling in of the bay for the State Belt Railroad. While the Board of Supervisors were giving consideration to a resolution to preserve the site by initiating legal proceedings against the contractors through the District Attorneys for San Francisco and the Northern District of California, the State Board of Harbor Commissioners' crews dumped more wagon loads of material, excavated from the tunnel and other diggings, into the bay on lots thirty-three and thirty-seven, along the railroad trestle which had been constructed from Jefferson and Hyde Streets, across the cove, to the east end of the tunnel. Despite the public outcry and the telegram sent to Congressman Julius Kahn from the eleven principle citizens' groups in protest, the City and State seemed disinterested in preserving the beach and cove. In fact, by April 1914 the Board of Supervisors had received an application from the State Harbor Commissioners to fill in cove blocks thirty-three, thirty-six, and thirty-seven, which, if approved, would have cut off the three rowing club boathouses from the water, spoiled the beach, and precluded use of the cove as an aquatic park.<sup>117</sup>

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117. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1913, pp. 653, 684; 1914, p. 286; 1916, p. 474; a photo of J. E. Sculley entitled "Father of

Influential military and municipal officials had, by 1914, been apprised of the situation and persuaded to support the aquatic park movement. In April 1914, Lt. Col. Thomas Rees, civil engineer for the Army in San Francisco, informed his superior that the proposed plan to preserve the beach and cove for recreational purposes, which required the relocation of the belt line railroad track back to Beach Street and the recovery of the harbor lines back to the shoreline at Hyde or Larkin Streets, met with his approval. In July 1914 San Francisco's Supervisor Power moved that the Lands and Tunnel Committee of the Board of Supervisors reopen the question of an exchange of lands to create an Aquatic park at North Beach. Just as Van Ness Avenue was being extended down to Beach Street, the San Francisco Recreation League was making headway in its efforts to promote the land exchange. In April 1915, on the basis of the league's petition and the willingness of the Southern Pacific company to negotiate a land swap, the Board unanimously approved the resolution to request a legal opinion on the exchange from the city's attorney. Five months later, on September 23, 1915, the City Attorney submitted an elaborate opinion in favor of the exchange so long as the

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Aquatic Park," hangs on the wall at the South End Rowing Club; a clipping entitled, "Malcolm's Memories," in the Aquatic Park File, San Francisco Maritime Museum, provides the recollection of Malcolm Steel, who joined the South End Rowing Club in 1913 when Sculley was president. Steel recalls Sculley telling him he had the idea to promote an aquatic park in the area; notes on Survey of Cove by Punnett, Perez, and Hutchison, Engrs., San Francisco, May 1925, in Aquatic Park File, Bur. of Engr., S.F.; [California State Board of Harbor Commissioners] Biennial Report . . . For the Fiscal Years Commencing July 1, 1912, and Ending June 30, 1914, p. 19, hereinafter cited, Harbor Commrs., Biennial Report; Telegram, S.F. Citizens to Hon. Julius Kahn, Mar. 20, 1914; E. H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, War Dept., to Chief, Quartermaster Corps., Mar. 30, 1914; Lt. Col. Thomas H. Rees, C.E. S.F., to Chf. of Engrs., Apr. 2, 1914, NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corres., 1894-1923.

Southern Pacific Company used the "Market Place lots" which it would receive exclusively for transportation purposes and terminals.

In January 1916, after a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the lands had been completed by the city, the San Francisco Recreation League renewed its efforts to gain public support for the project. Concerned that real estate values might negatively determine the Board of Supervisors' decision on the exchange, and convinced that Black Point Cove was the best available site for an aquatic park, the aquatic section of the League met and organized a committee with Walter McArthur, chairman, and J. E. Sculley, John S. Phillips, James J. Cronin, and L. Grundy, members, to lead "an aggressive campaign" to win the support of other civic groups. By May 1916, several meetings before the Lands and Tunnels Committee had been held to give voice to the proponents and opponents of the proposition. Edward Sculley submitted diagrams for the proposed aquatic park, while formal endorsements were received by the committee from the Recreation League, Juvenile Protective Association, the Aerial, Dolphin, and South End rowing clubs, the Corinthian Yacht Club, the North Beach Promotion Association, the Uittria Colonna Club, and other sports clubs and individuals. With all the history and arguments submitted to the Board of Supervisors for their May 15, 1916, meeting, Sculley representing the proponents of the proposal, eloquently summarized the objections to using the yacht harbor at the site of the 1915 exposition as an aquatic park, and again stressed the fact that Black Point Cove provided the only sheltered location on that section of bay shore for a safe and enjoyable pursuit of aquatic sports. Possibly to counteract the protests of the Van Ness Avenue Improvement Club, which argued that the park would limit the area commercially, Sculley also pointed out that an aquatic park as a "public water place" would encourage San

Franciscans to patronize city facilities rather than leave in large numbers each Sunday for the Alameda baths.<sup>118</sup>

Sculley's oratory, backed by the many endorsements and plans for the aquatic park, led to the Board of Supervisors' May 22, 1916, Resolution, No. 12596, approving the land exchange and directing the Committee of Lands and Tunnels to negotiate with the Southern Pacific Company through appointed arbitrators. Even with this crucial vote in favor of the park, however, plans and negotiations dragged into 1917. During the intervening months, the campaign for an aquatic park continued, so that by January 4, 1917, when the Board of Supervisors met to consider the proposed exchange again, several more individuals and organizations had added their endorsements to the growing list of park backers, among them Major General J. Franklin Bell, Commanding General, Department of the Pacific; Civic League of Improvement Clubs; Congress of Mothers; Indoor Yacht Club; and the San Francisco Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. The movement thus had expanded far beyond the sports clubs' perimeters, and now reflected a broader interest group which no doubt helped to bring the negotiations to a close in May 1917, when Southern Pacific Railroad Company paid the city \$392,000 to compensate for the greater value of the Market place lots it received in exchange for the Southern Pacific property at the foot of Van Ness Avenue.

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118. Sculley was a South End club member and James J. Cronin a Dolphin club member. San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 8, 1916, clipping, Aquatic Park file, S.F. Maritime Museum; S.F. Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1914, p. 756; 1915, p. 448; 1916, pp. 157, 473-74; [San Francisco Board of Public Works], Annual Report . . . For the Fiscal Year 1914-1915, p. 2; hereinafter cited S.F., Bd. of Public Works, Annual Report; Rees to Chf. of Engrs., Apr. 2, 1914, NA, RG 77, OCE, Gen. Corres., 1894-1923.

Although the movement to establish an aquatic park had thereby been accomplished, the struggle to provide for its completion had only begun. Within the year the Board of Supervisors opened discussions on the disbursement of the \$392,000 received from the land exchange, and all the proposals, except Supervisor McLeran's, gave aquatic park development a small slice of the pie. The movement had gained popular support, however, and despite the endless delays and problems, the plans and improvements for aquatic park progressed in the decade to follow, making it possible, finally, late in 1928, to begin the actual construction of the park's facilities.<sup>119</sup>

d. Plans and Improvements, 1917-1927

The Southern Pacific Company lands at the foot of Van Ness Avenue in Block 38, Western Addition, only comprised a portion of the waterfront acreage planned for the aquatic park, and as early as December 1917, the Board of Supervisors voted to condemn part of Block 37, which contained the shoreline where the three rowing clubs and the pier for the Spring Valley Water Company stood. The following month Supervisor Hayden presented a resolution that a citizens committee on Aquatic Park be appointed by the Mayor to prepare a plan for the park's development, to be submitted to the Board of Supervisors. With the passage of Hayden's resolution on February 4, 1918, and the condemnation of additional submerged lots in Blocks 406, 427, 428, and 430 in Black Point Cove on May 20, 1918, the advancement of the park's development looked very promising. One year passed, however, before Aquatic Park again received mention in the Board of Supervisors' meetings, when they voted to order the improvement of

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119. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1917, pp. 17-18, 116, 224, 243, 485-87, 1226, 1385-87.

the beach according to plans drawn up by the city's Board of Public Works. Having specified contract labor for the cleanup, the Supervisors on June 16, 1919, authorized \$5,000 to let a contract with Owen McHugh to do the work, and in November 1918 they authorized the Board of Public Works to contract for development plans and specifications which would be subject to the approval of the Mayor's Citizens' Committee on Aquatic Park.

All these favorable actions, however, paled somewhat in September 1919 when the President of the City Planning Commission recommended the purchase of Sutro property including Sutro Baths, with Aquatic Park funds, arguing before the Supervisors that this acquisition was "of vastly greater importance than the Aquatic Park project." Still the appointed representative for the San Francisco Recreation League and for the proponents of Aquatic Park, J. Edward Sculley objected to the diversion of the park's funds, and his protest apparently helped to scuttle the proposed land purchase.<sup>120</sup>

During 1920 the Board of Public Works announced a competition among architectural draftsmen to draw up plans for Aquatic Park in accordance with the complete surveys and basic plans prepared for the Bureau of Engineering by civil engineer, John Punnett, of San Francisco. The Board also appointed a committee of five to judge the competition, consisting of the City Architect, John Reid Jr.; the City Engineer, M. M. O'Shaughnessy; and Fredrick H. Meyer, Arthur Brown Jr., and J. E. Sculley, from the professional and recreational ranks of the city population. Punnett's basic plan for Aquatic Park, dated

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120. S.F. Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1917, p. 1439; 1918, pp. 87, 118, 366, 417; 1919, pp. 292, 302, 480, 771, 1039.

January 1920, showed the general lines of later development, while the architectural schemes which won first prize in the contest had little resemblance to the later plans selected for the park.

Certain problems in the cove had also been addressed by the Board of Public Works during 1920. Plans for the relocation of the belt line railway and the removal of the trestle over the cove waters had been completed, as had the design for a complete sanitary system for the park to stop sewage from flowing into the cove. Moreover, a study was being made to determine how best to sterilize and filter the water for a proposed swimming pool for the park.<sup>121</sup>

More than three years had passed since the authorization of aquatic Park, and little physical improvement had been made at the location. In August 1920 the North Beach Promotion Association endorsed the plans for Aquatic Park and urged action be taken as soon as possible to implement them. Once the Board of Supervisors approved a resolution in October to get the actual work on Aquatic Park started immediately, one contract was let with San Francisco Motor Drayage Company to grade the park lands between Van Ness Avenue and Larkin Streets, north of Beach Street, at a cost of \$25,500, and another with Healy-Tibbitts Construction Company for some \$18,400 for relocating the belt line railway inshore along the curve of Aquatic Park, and behind the proposed bath house on the beach at the foot of Polk Street. This

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121. S.F., Bur. of Engr., Annual Report, 1920, pp. 33-36; "Plan of Proposed Aquatic Park San Francisco, Cal. Prepared For Aquatic Park Committee by John M. Punnett, C.E.," January 1920, RP-005-20-1, San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, Engineering Division, hereinafter cited, S.F. Rec. and Parks Dept., Engr. Div.

work completed, the Board of Public Works transferred the jurisdiction for Aquatic Park to the Park Commissioners in January 1922, along with the balance of available funds for the park's development, which, when finally transferred the following November, amounted to \$59,000. That the balance in November reflected a decrease of more than \$20,000 from the preceding January may have been the reason why Supervisor Hynes moved to repeal the resolution which transferred the Aquatic Park funds to the Park Commissioners. Evidently a delicate subject, Mayor Rolph himself appeared before the Board of Supervisors on November 27, 1922, to defend the "unjustifiable criticism" of the Park Commission, and especially of its President, Herbert Fleishaker, and to assure them that they could feel confident that Aquatic Park would be safe under the Commissioners' management.<sup>122</sup>

Despite the mistrust over their competence, the Park Commissioners proceeded with their plans for Aquatic Park. Only two weeks after the Mayor's speech in their behalf the Commissioners approved an agreement with Bakewell and Brown, Architects, of San Francisco, to prepare a comprehensive sketch of the proposed Aquatic Park, along with estimates of the cost of completing the improvements, without charge, unless the Park Commission decided to use the plans. More prestigious local architects could hardly have been selected for the job of designing Aquatic Park, for John Bakewell, Jr., and Arthur J. Brown, Jr., both had gained prominence in San Francisco for their numerous designs for commercial and civic structures in the city reborn after the 1906 earthquake. Among their greatest architectural

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122. S.F. Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1920, pp. 679, 849; 1921, pp. 178, 189, 550; 1922, pp. 58, 79-80, 104, 968, 985; S.F., Bur. of Engr., Annual Report, 1921-22, p. 23.

achievements were the new City Hall building (1917) and the Horticultural Building at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Brown not only had served as associate architect for the Exposition from 1912 to 1915, but he had also served as professor of architecture at the University of California, as lecturer at Harvard University, and as judge for the 1920 architectural competition to design Aquatic Park's development. Such a distinguished record stood behind their plans for Aquatic Park submitted to the Park Commissioners early in 1923 and approved by them and the Board of Supervisors at the close of the year.<sup>123</sup>

With every good intention of progressing rapidly with the actual construction called for in the accepted plans, the Park Commissioners, through Bakewell and Brown, hired Frank G. White, engineer of the San Francisco Subway, to prepare detailed plans and specifications for the relocation of the army quartermaster's pier on Black Point and for the construction of a recreation pier and breakwater proposed for the west side of the cove. In preparation for this construction the city had initiated condemnation proceedings on four parcels of land along the cove from the army pier to the railroad trestle. It was these legal transactions, as well as the securing of a building permit from the United States Army, however, which delayed construction for about five years.

In the meantime, the Board of Supervisors and the Park Commissioners gave considerable attention to the

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123. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1922-23, p. 27, 1925, p. 166; 1927, p. 1437; The Architect and Engineer (July 1930), p. 27; Men of California (San Francisco: Western Press Reporter, Inc., 1925), pp. 43, 163; Roger Olmsted and T. H. Watkins, Here Today San Francisco's Architectural Heritage (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1968), p. 329.

acquisition of additional lands to enlarge the original eight-acre Aquatic Park along the lines of the Bakewell and Brown scheme for the recreation area. In addition to condemning and buying cove lots between 1923 and 1925, the city arranged with the State of California to transfer its tidelands property between Polk and Larkin, and Tonquin and Jefferson Streets for the aquatic park project. With these land acquisitions, the approved plans for a great basin nearly 1,500 feet in diameter protected by a massive, semi-circular concrete bulkhead, 1,600 feet long and sixty feet wide, extending north from the Fort Mason shoreline approximately 1,400 feet from Van Ness Avenue, could be carried to completion, thereby creating in accordance with the Park Commissioners' expectations, "one of the world's most perfect municipal beach resorts."<sup>124</sup>

Within the harbor created by this great bulkhead or recreation pier, both rowing and sailing boats could find safe waters and anchorage, while the beach would receive protection from the destructive "northers" which blew off the bay. The plans envisioned the construction of permanent buildings for the rowing clubs on the west side of the cove and for the smaller

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124. The frequent considerations and decisions made on Aquatic Park land acquisition between 1923 and 1925 can be found in S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1923, pp. 109, 127, 138, 155, 196, 245, 265, 1237; 1924, pp. 61, 1124, 1520; 1925, pp. 112, 133, 166, 1064, 1611, 1796; and S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1924, p. 61, which provides a copy of the act passed by the California legislature and accepted by Mayor Rolph on December 10, 1924, granting the submerged lands to the city for the aquatic park. Descriptions of the park plans were found in S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1924, pp. 34-35, and in Clay M. Greene, Park Development in San Francisco, Past, Present and Future (San Francisco: James H. Barry Co., n.d., [ca. 1924], p. 11. Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 232; Aquatic Park file, S.F. Bur. of Engr.

yacht clubs of the city on the east side of the basin, with bathhouses, childrens' wading pools, restrooms, gardens, an esplanade, bandstand, and various amusements along the beach or south side of the park. According to John M. Punnett's engineering map with cost estimates, the city was to spend \$1,000,000 to see the Aquatic Park plans to completion.

By the close of 1925 all the lands necessary for the park had been acquired, but development still hinged on the necessary permit from the War Department. In anticipation of the forthcoming construction, the Board of Supervisors hired Bakewell, Brown, and Baver to prepare preliminary architectural plans for the park, and the State Board of Harbor Commissioners received from the State Engineer detailed plans and cost estimates for the removal of the Golden Gate Ferry which operated off the Hyde Street pier. While the proposal for relocating the military pier to make room for the recreation pier was still under negotiation, (because the Judge Advocate General's Department had denied the city a permit in 1923 due to a conflict over boundary lines), the Board of Supervisors gave recognition to the "injustice" done to the public by delaying the Aquatic Park plans for over ten years. In April 1926 the Board adopted a resolution which called for the completion of Aquatic Park at the earliest possible date and the requisition by the Finance Committee of whatever funds necessary to accomplish the work. As if a fresh wind had thus stirred, the Park commissioners received completed engineering plans in June 1926 and the Board of Supervisors ordered the removal of the rowing clubs and the appropriation of \$5,000 for the improvement of the park, most likely to help defray the cost of moving the rowing club boathouses to the foot of Polk Street to make way for work on the seawall. By the close of 1926 the city had expended \$378,799.96 for improvements, grading, sewer, railroad relocation, plans, surveys, labor, and land acquisition for Aquatic Park, but only \$10,000 had been

appropriated in the 1926 to 1927 fiscal year for the park's future development.

Although short on funds, preliminary improvements were completed in the summer of 1927 when Pearson and Johnson, contractors, moved the rowing club boathouses and the Renner Foundation Company relocated their approaches and aprons, for a total cost of more than \$10,000. But in August the Board of Supervisors learned that it not only had taken funds from the Aquatic Park account and had not replaced it, but that the projected cost of the proposed park construction was \$1,500,000, to be spread over a five-year period. Unable to come up with that kind of money, the Board backed a city-wide bond issue in November 1928 to raise \$950,000 for the Aquatic Park and Marina Park projects, in order to assure San Francisco "a system of parks unequalled in the world."<sup>125</sup>

Bond Issue 59 for Aquatic Park and Marina Park funding stood an especially good chance that year because Congress finally had approved on March 28, 1928, the construction of the Aquatic Park recreation pier which required the relocation of

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125. Greene, Park Development, p. 11; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report 1924, p. 34; San Francisco Bulletin, Jan. 1925, Aquatic Park text, S.F. Maritime Mus.; [Aquatic Park] "Surveyed For Board of Park Commissioners, San Francisco, Cal. By Punnett, Parez and Hutchison, Engineers, San Francisco, May 1925"; Memo, B. P. Lamb, Sec., S.F. Park Commrs., to Mr. Fleishaker, May 4, 1927, Aquatic Park File, S.F. Bur. of Engr.; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1925, pp. 77, 129, 130, 146, 162, 166; 1926, p. 203; 1927, pp. 29, 31-32, 36, 38, 46; S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1924, pp. 720, 1063; 1925, pp. 990, 1064; 1926, pp. 609, 1228, 1257, 1435, 1791-92, 1927, pp. 1382, 1437-38; The Municipal Employee 1, No. 3 (Sept. 1927), 27; 2, No. 2 (Nov. 1928), 5; Flyer for Bond Issue 59, Oct. 1, 1928, in Aquatic park Folder, Soc. of Cal. Pioneers, S.F.

the military pier. After President Coolidge's signature confirmed the act, San Francisco announced a \$100,000 appropriation for Aquatic Park in fiscal year 1928-29, with hopes that the bond issue would be passed. While the bond issue failed by only a few votes, the Board of Supervisors had committed themselves to the construction of the well-publicized recreation pier, and plans went forward to see its completion.<sup>126</sup>

e. Municipal Pier, 1928-33

One year after the 1928 bond issue failed, the Board of Supervisors put before the electorate a proposal to appropriate \$250,000 in each annual budget, beginning in 1930-31, to complete Aquatic Park. Presumably having received public approval of such expenditures, the Park Commissioners opened negotiations with the War Department for the relocation of the army wharf early in 1930, and in June awarded a contract with M. B. McGowan, lowest bidder at \$30,357, to do the work.

One year later, on June 22, 1931, the Board of Supervisors, by Resolution No. 34579, presented the newly-constructed Army Transport Service wharf to the United States with the understanding that the city had a permit to build its recreation pier, and that the army wharf reverted to municipal ownership if the government ever permanently ceased to use it.

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126. Monthly Catalogue of U.S. Public Documents July 1927-June 1928, pp. 565 and 803 (H. Rpt. 696, Feb. 16, 1928, and Act to authorize board of park commissioners of San Francisco to construct recreation pier at foot of Van Ness Avenue."); The Municipal Employee, 2, No. 5 (May 1928), 9; 2, No. 7 (July 1928), 24; 2, No. 10 (Oct. 1928), 21; 2, No. 11 (Nov. 1928), 5; S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1928, p. 1723; John S. Bolles and Ernest Born, A Plan for Fisherman's Wharf (Prepared for the San Francisco Port Authority, 1961), p. 22.

The following month the Park Commissioners selected Healy-Tibbitts Construction Company's low bid of \$97,570 to build the first unit of the recreation pier--bents eighty to 133, or approximately 636 feet--according to plans dated March 23, 1931. While hand laborers hired by the City began to grade and clear the beach area for the seawall and other later improvements, a crew of Healy-Tibbitts Company men set to work on the recreation pier early in August 1931, under the supervision of Inspector L. D. Smith and engineers Frank G. White and Harry E. Squire. The casting for concrete jackets, begun on August 4, was completed by December 18, 1931, as was the removal of the old army pier, and the construction of 126 feet of the recreation pier. After another year and a half of construction, the entire 1,850-foot-long recreation pier stood finished with the exception of concrete curbing, seats, and parapet wall, for which the Board of Supervisors let a contract with Meyer Brothers in October 1933, at an estimated cost of \$10,996.<sup>127</sup>

f. Federal and State Programs of Assistance,  
1933-39

Between 1931 and 1933, when the city first applied for federal relief money available because of the nationwide

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127. S.F. Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1929, p. 1922; 1931, pp. 2208, 2224, 3458-59; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1930, pp. 10, 22, 25; 1931, pp. 51-52, 58, 60-66, 69, 77; according to the June 1932 "Minutes," p. 44, the Park Commissioners voted to ask Mayor Rossi for an appropriation of \$250,000 to complete the pier; 1933, pp. 21, 39, 42, 57; 1934, p. 21, records the completion of Meyers Brothers contract in March; in March 1932, Punnett, Parez and Hutchison, consulting engineers to the Park Commissioners, prepared a "Plan of Re-Alignment of Recreation Pier . . ." now on file at Engr. Div., S.F. Dept. of Rec. and Parks. This realignment may have been the result of recommendations made by engineers White and Squire in October 1931. "Minutes," 1931, p. 77; San Francisco, The Bay, p. 305.

depression, San Francisco authorized hand labor to clean, grade, and prepare the Aquatic Park site for major construction along the beach. By December 1931 some twenty-two men had excavated thousands of yards of dirt from the proposed stadium site; constructed a parking space off Beach Street; fenced the construction area; erected an office; and hauled more than fifty truckloads of cobblestones from all over the city to a huge pile at Larkin and Jefferson Streets to await construction of the seawall. The office building, as well as the signs describing the construction work and the cribbing for excavated dirt, had been made from salvaged lumber, while railroad handcars had been borrowed from the belt railroad to haul much of the excavated dirt to a point near Van Ness Avenue, south of the railroad trestle. By November 1931 the Board of Supervisors had approved an \$8,000 appropriation from the "Urgent Necessity" funds for the work and in January 1933 they allocated another \$10,000 from the Public Parks and Squares fund to pay for this hand labor.

The hundreds of thousands of dollars needed to proceed with the development of Aquatic Park, however, could not be drawn from such limited municipal accounts. On June 17, 1933, the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act by Congress offered hope for the park's future. The Board of Supervisors, recognizing at once their opportunities, resolved to apply to the National Recovery Administration (NRA) for assistance in completion of Aquatic Park and the Yacht Harbor, "two of the most important recreational developments in the City and County." At the same time, they hoped to borrow \$480,000, thirty percent of which the NRA would cover, to complete the sewer project so that the

condemned waters at Bakers Beach and Aquatic Park no longer would present a serious health hazard.<sup>128</sup>

Having pledged to allocate \$1,600,000 from federal grants to see the Yacht Harbor and Aquatic Park completed, the Board of Supervisors called for a special election in November 1933 to incur a bonded debt as its part of the project money. Proposition 9 called for a bond of \$700,000 for Aquatic Park, on the condition that the NRA would pay thirty percent of the labor and materials required to complete construction, which included

boat houses for rowing clubs, the creation of a bathing beach, park and playground areas, a concrete wharf to facilitate auto parking, bathhouses, convenience stations, service buildings, gymnasiums, hand ball courts, shower and locker rooms, solariums, and club quarters, grading and rock filling, construction of concrete seawall and retaining walls, and paving street promenade and sidewalk areas, relocating belt line railway and creating water and electric light systems and landscape gardening at Aquatic Park, . . . .

Twelve other municipal bond issues ran on the ballot with Proposition 9, all of which the NRA endorsed, having assured the city it would provide the thirty percent, or \$10,000,000, as its part of the agreement. Six thousand unemployed men and women would immediately go to work if all the bond issues passed which no doubt gave reason for some bonds to

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128. Quote from, S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1931, pp. 3221, 3256, 3458-59; 1933, pp. 1212, 1304; Richard B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1953), p. 345; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1933, p. 5.

pass. But the Aquatic Park proposition failed, and construction at the site limped along in 1934 and 1935, in part with the aid of State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA) labor and private contributions of equipment, until a proposal submitted to the newly-created Works Progress Administration (WPA) in December 1935, finally set construction into full swing.<sup>129</sup>

The State Works Progress Administration office approved the city's Aquatic Park project proposal on December 12, 1935, and on December 19, the Board of Supervisors resolved to appropriate \$6,000 from the Public Parks and Squares Fund so that the WPA Aquatic Park project might be provided with engineering plans, specifications, and supervision which federal funds did not cover. Due to his long association with the Aquatic Park plans, the Board appointed John M. Punnett as consulting engineer and on January 16, 1936, Punnett presented a revised plan to the Board of Park Commissioners who unanimously approved it.

Construction on the site began early in 1936 with some 782 WPA laborers from the certified rolls. According to the official project proposal approved in December 1935, the work over a twelve-month period was to cost \$1,194,887 and entail,

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129. Quote from S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1933, p. 1739; Ibid., p. 1212; 1934, pp. 1090, 1391; S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1934, pp. 61, 80, and pp. 48-51, which pages relate that in July 1934 the recreation pier still had not been completed although it was opened and especially popular with bass fishermen. The opening at the base of the pier requested by the rowing clubs, now organized into the Allied Rowing Clubs, had been closed on account of the refuse which came through and collected on the beach and in the cove waters. Morris, Encyclopedia, p. 349; L. M. Canady, Director, Div. of Operations, to C. E. Goranson; Dept. of Investigation, San Francisco, Aug. 20, 1937, NA, RG 69, W.P.A. Northern California Operations, Project Files, Official Project #65-3-2014, Reel B-447, hereinafter cited NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Opers., Proj. Files, O.P. #65-3-2014, Reel B-447.

The construction of 3,250 cubic yards masonry rubble sea wall, 1 bath house, 2 boat houses, 2 life saving stations; paving 101,000 square feet of promenades; excavation and fill of 20,000 Cubic yards; relocation of 1,400 lineal feet of railroad track; the installation of flood light system for night swimming and rowing; and approach wharf to school boat house, pile cotter berths and landing floats.

The two boathouses, as explained in June 1936 by William Mooser Jr., Assistant Director for the WPA program in District 7, Northern California were to be constructed to accommodate four rowing clubs in one, and the public schools and Sea Scouts in the other. The excavation and fill was part of the street work needed to extend Van Ness Avenue out to the recreation pier, while the bathhouse, planned to accommodate some 5,000 people, was designed to be mostly below street grade in order to act as a retraining wall for Beach Street and the adjacent gardens.<sup>130</sup>

Mooser could speak from authority, as he and Elmore E. Hutchison, as former city employees, had prepared the elevations and floor plans for Aquatic Park. Moreover, Mooser's subsequent position as Chief Engineer and District Director for San Francisco's WPA program gave him first-hand knowledge of the

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130. Quotation from Report on Progress of The Works Program in San Francisco ( San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, 1938 , p. 18; Canady to Goranson, Aug. 20, 1937; William R. Lawson, Director, District 7, by Mooser, Jr., Asst. Dir., to L. M. Canady, Director, Div. of Operations, June 2, 1936, NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Opers., Proj. Files., O.P. #65-3-2014, Reel B-447; Summary Report on the Works Program in Northern California Cumulative Through December 1937 (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, Northern California, 1938), p. 13.

construction at Aquatic Park and made it possible for him to appoint his father, William Mooser, Sr., as consulting architect through the firm of Punnett, Perez, and Hutchison, for the erection of the bathhouse he had designed. The two Moosers were second and third generation San Francisco architects; the first William Mooser began practice as an architect in San Francisco in 1860, and at his death in 1898, William Mooser, Jr., succeeded him. Mooser, Jr., went on to become the first City Architect in 1902 where he did excellent work to establish a Bureau of Buildings and a system for building codes in San Francisco. In his private practice he designed many noteworthy buildings, among them the Ghiradelli warehouse near Aquatic Park. After World War I, his son, by then William Mooser, Jr., joined the firm which continued to operate during the Depression years, despite the fact that Mooser, Jr., received the directorship of the San Francisco WPA program.<sup>131</sup>

Before construction of the buildings got underway at Aquatic Park, all hands went to work on the stone masonry seawall and the promenades. Made entirely of salvaged materials discarded from the abandoned Odd Fellows Cemetery and from the WPA street improvement projects in San Francisco, the

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131. San Francisco A Brief Biographical Sketch of Some of the Most Prominent Men Who Will Preside Over Her Destiny For At Least Two Years (San Francisco: Pacific Publishing Company, 1902), p. 117; San Francisco Examiner Aug. 11, 1969, clipping (obituary of Mooser Jr.), Notebook 32 D, S.F. Maritime Museum; a photo copy of the January 1937 plans for the bathhouse prepared for the Board of Park Commissioners by Mooser and Punnett, architect and engineer, exists in the photo files for Aquatic Park in the S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L. The original plans did not come to light during this research. Interview with William Mooser Sr., typescript, no date, in photo notebook for Aquatic Park, S.F. Maritime Museum. J. J. Mieldazis to E. E. Smith, Oct. 23, 1939, Aquatic Park Investigation, pp. 1, 3, NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.

3,250 cubic yards of rubble seawall progressed slowly during 1936 and 1937, much of the work having to be done in the early hours of the morning to take advantage of the ebb tides in order to lay the foundation below the water level. By March 1937 the 101,000 square feet of promenades had been paved except a small section where the boat houses still stood at the foot of Polk Street, and the retaining wall only awaited the necessary relocation of the railroad tracks before it could be completed. In the opinion of WPA field representative, E. L. Whelan, the work looked first class and well organized. At that date about 403 of 600 men requisitioned for Aquatic Park were actively assigned, but only 150 to 200 were working daily.<sup>132</sup>

In July 1936, while swimmers and sunbathers enjoyed the cove's still skimpy beach, WPA laborers laid the foundations for the bathhouse, and by October the framing for the structure stood nearly completed. William Mooser Sr., supervising architect, later recalled the frugal but skilled procedures followed during construction:

We made everything on the scene . . . that we could. We had a regular machine shop--had our own mill for doing mill work--made all our own electrical fixtures--had our own foundry. Had a blacksmith's shop--made our own wrought iron work.

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132. Lawson, by Mooser, to Canady, June 2, 1936; Whelan to Charles F. B. Roeth, San Francisco, Mar. 29, 1937, NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Oper., Proj. Files, O.P. 65-3-2014; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 184; several photographs of the seawall and promenades under construction have been collected in a notebook on Aquatic Park at S.F. Maritime Museum.

We made our requisitions for what we had to buy--glass, stainless steel, steel frame of building--and sent it to Treasury Department in Washington.

We contracted for almost nothing except steel frame of building and fabrication of the stainless steel.

His recollections, as transcribed from an interview, suggest a spirit of comraderie and self-sufficiency which must have contributed to the high quality of workmanship commented on by WPA field representative Whelan in March 1937.<sup>133</sup>

Another apparent reason for the distinguished workmanship on the Aquatic Park project in the late 1930s related to the ready supply of skilled and semi-skilled building mechanics in San Francisco, many of whom found employment in their trades through the WPA work rolls. Men like Mooser Jr., and Mooser Sr., and E. Elmore Hutchison, of Punnett, Perez and Hutchison, Civil Engineers--all with established reputations in San Francisco--contributed to the planning and construction of the long-awaited project, while, through the Federal Art Project of WPA, the well known San Francisco artist, Hilaire Hiler, was hired to design the interior of the bathing pavilion, and the prominent local sculptor, Beniamino Bufano, was available to complete some ten statues in red granite for the esplanade and interior of the building. By May 1938 the list of persons actually working on the project reflected the high percentage of skilled labor represented on

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133. Interview with Mooser, transcript, no date, and construction photos, Aquatic Park photo notebook, S.F. Maritime Museum; Whelan to Roeth, Mar. 29, 1937, NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Oper., Proj. Files, O.P. 65-3-2014, Reel B-447.

the job: nine general supervisory engineers and inspectors, thirty-six skilled labor foremen, thirty clerical and first aid, 284 skilled and intermediate workers, and 453 common laborers. Even with more than half the crew skilled or semi-skilled, however, the WPA inspector considered the project undermanned in most trades which may have helped explain the slow progress of construction through December 1937.<sup>134</sup>

As explained after the building's completion, the bathhouse represented "one of the most modern in design in the bay region." The design, which throughout the building was "based geometrically on the spiral and the summation series of intervals engendered by its protection," reflected a motif "rich in symbolic as well as biological significance." According to Hilaire Hiler, the marine theme found expression in the colors, patterns, and materials of the interior decoration. In the main lounge the terrazzo marble floors were embellished with crushed abalone shells, while thirty-seven mural panels designed by Hiler presented "a flowing arabesque based on the ocean wave." Symbolic representations of the lost continents of Atlantis and the lost Pacific Continent linked the murals with the building's architecture. The water symbol, "oft repeated in its biological, mythological, ethnological, historical, and psychoanalytical implications," suggested the extremely sophisticated message of Hiler's decorative designs.

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134. Lawson by Mooser to Canady, June 2, 1936; Whelan's inspection report for May 11, 12 and 16, 1938; Hutchison worked under Mooser Jr., supervising the San Francisco WPA projects. San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 30, 1938, clipping in NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Opers., Proj. Files, O.P. 65-3-2014, Reels B-447 and 448.

Other artists contributed to various aspects of the interior, among them John Glut, who designed the lighting fixtures for the main lounge; Sargent Johnson, who designed the intaglio carvings of greenish slate on the entrance pediments, as well as the large tile mosaics and two sculptures on the portico; Richard Ayer, who provided the design for the banquet room with its relief work in different materials and floor design based on a shoal chart of the bay region; and, Robert Clark, who designed the colorful, semi-abstract decoration for the radio room on the fourth floor. A team of skilled artisans helped Hiller complete 26,000 square feet of red floor tile, more than 20,000 square feet of terrazzo, over 1,250 pieces of art metal work, and 5,000 square feet of mural paintings for the building's interior and surroundings. The lavish decoration, costing over \$30,000, helped to bring the project costs of Aquatic Park up to \$1,839,644 by the close of construction in May 1939.<sup>135</sup>

Problems with the art project, which originally was estimated to cost only \$7,000, as well as with other features of the Aquatic Park construction, eventually led to formal complaints and official WPA investigations of the project in 1938 and 1939. At first, public attention was drawn to an investigation of the family and business relationships of Mooser Sr. and Jr., and of E. Elmore Hutchison who held a high WPA office in San Francisco and was a

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135. Quotations from untitled typescript, describing decoration in Aquatic Park building, with Hilaire Hiller's name provided under heading, in photo notebook on Aquatic Park, S.F. Maritime Museum; Report on Works Program, pp. 23-24; Mieldazis to Smith, Oct. 23, 1939, pp. 3 and 6, NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.; Healy, San Francisco Improved, p. 55; Achievements (Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration, Northern California, Jobs 1935 WPA 1939), pp. 79-80.

member of the firm Punnett, Perez and Hutchison which received contracts from the City's WPA program for Aquatic Park and the Yacht Harbor. Later, in May 1938, Field Representative Whelan made an inspection of the Aquatic Park project, and while he found the quality of the work "excellent throughout," especially in relation to the craftsmanship shown in the interior design, he criticized San Francisco as the WPA sponsor, for contributing less than five percent of the skilled labor, noting, at the same time, that the project needed 236 more men, 186 of which represented skilled workmen.

A far more comprehensive investigation of the Aquatic Park construction followed in October 1939, after sculptor Beniamino Bufano and Adolph S. Oko, Jr., of San Francisco, called upon Howard Hunter, WPA Deputy Commissioner in Washington D.C., to voice their complaints about the City's management of Aquatic Park which had officially been dedicated in January 1939 by Mayor Rossi. The complaint focused on the Gordon Brothers, who had been granted a lease on the building by the Park Commissioners in September 1938, but the complaint sparked an investigation which revealed that extensive management problems during construction had led to the high costs and numerous delays on the project. J. J. Mieldazis, the WPA investigator, completed a thirty-three page comprehensive report based on interviews with twenty-three persons associated with the project, as well as on available records in San Francisco. The most glaring problems, he learned, had arisen from poor supervision over the work and from a lack of completed plans for the building, which together led to some 150 revisions in the original building specifications. According to Mieldazis' findings, "the frequent changes caused confusion among the workers and friction between the numerous individuals interested in the project." Few of the at least six different WPA project superintendents on the site knew the intended use of the building under construction, and

most agreed that the structure progressed ahead of the current plans, which at times arrived at the site without dates. The frequent revisions, moreover, occasionally required that completed construction be ripped out and redone. Mooser Sr. told Mieldazis that the plumbing and electrical features were changed so often that it would be difficult to determine the exact locations of the final installations. After Leo and Kenneth Gordon received their lease on the building as concessionaires in September 1938, they demanded that changes be made on the still uncompleted interior in order to accommodate their restaurant business. Casting aside the original scheme for the buildings' rooms, the Gordons converted the bathhouse to serve their purposes, partially at WPA expense. Between January 1939, when the WPA turned the project over to the City and the Gordons took over the building, and September 1939, public criticism of the Gordons' exclusive casino restaurant in a building originally constructed for a park bathhouse, mounted to the point where sculptor Bufano refused to release his art works for display at Aquatic Park, thereby helping to trigger the October 1939 report and a subsequent investigation in November.<sup>136</sup>

The WPA investigations of the Aquatic Park project also found fault in the sponsor, San Francisco, for not furnishing the labor, funds, and interest in the project which the original agreement specified, making the park's construction "almost entirely a WPA undertaking." The City, moreover, had complete

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136. Whalen, report on inspection made May 11, 12, and 16, 1938; San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 30, 1938, clipping, NA, RG 69, WPA, N. Cal. Opers., Proj. Files, O.P. 65-3-2014, Reel B-448; Lease by Board of Park Commissioners to Leo Gordon and Kenneth Gordon, Sept. 21, 1938; Mieldazis to Smith, Oct. 23, 1939, pp. 1, 3, 5-9; Investigation dated Nov. 14, 1939, p. 4, by Division of Investigation, WPA, Federal Works Agency, NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.

responsibility for the development of the bathing beach which required the removal of about 5,600 cubic yards of debris and the pumping in of about 35,000 cubic yards of sand, at an estimated cost of \$16,420. By October 1939 the project still had not been completed, although the City had made two unsuccessful attempts to secure a sandy beach along the south end of the cove. San Francisco had, however, also drawn up a proposal to construct a submerged rock retaining wall about 200 feet from the seawall in order to protect the beach area from the erosive action of high tides, and to fill in the space behind the wall with clean white sand from Monterey to complete the beach. At the same time, the City had assumed responsibility for the two Aquatic Park units left uncompleted by WPA laborers--the three comfort stations (77% completed) and the floodlight system (96% completed)--and negotiations were underway for the City to sponsor the completion of the tile mosaic murals and sculptural work for the park.

Because of the complications and delays during the three years of construction at Aquatic Park, five of the thirteen original units proposed for the project were abandoned--the two boathouses--one for the rowing clubs and the other for the public schools and Sea Scouts--and the cutter berths, approach wharf, and landing floats.

Despite all the unfinished work, however, Aquatic Park was hailed as "A Palace for the Public" by the Works Projects Administration in 1939. Into its construction went more than 1,747,800 man hours of labor and direction, more than 100,000 sacks of cement, over 1,000 tons of reinforcing steel, over 2,000 trees and shrubs, as well as numerous lawns, flowers, and special beds, not to mention the lavish materials and skilled labor to decorate the interior of the main building. "The finished park," the WPA writer concluded, "fills completely the need for a central

water playland." His romantic picture of a protected playground "in the water and on the shore" for happy youngsters and thousands of wearied adults, however, shortly thereafter was dispelled by continued problems and interferences which restricted the general public's use of the nearly \$2,000,000 Aquatic Park for many years to come.<sup>137</sup>

g. Early Operational Problems, 1939-41

When the WPA officials decided to terminate the Aquatic Park project and transfer the uncompleted recreation area to its sponsor in January 1939, San Francisco assumed a difficult task to satisfy the public at large and the special interests groups who had been pushing for the completion of the park since 1909. The Dolphin, Ariel, and South End Rowing Clubs, especially, expected improvements for their boating facilities in the cove, having had their clubhouses and launching wharves relocated late in 1937 to the eastern end of the beach where the action of the waves made it dangerous to launch their boats. According to the approved plans of December 1935, the rowing clubs were to receive a modern boathouse on the sheltered west side of the cove, and although plans and specifications for its construction were completed and materials delivered by 1938, the WPA had ordered the project's abandonment in order to complete the main building. As one of their first acts of responsibility as managers of the thirty-one acre Angelo Rossi Aquatic Park in January 1939, the Board of Park Commissioners carried through an agreement to purchase the three clubhouses at a total cost of \$5,947.71, with the understanding that the clubs' members could lease the facilities at a reasonable rate

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137. Quotations from Achievements, pp. 79-80; Mieldazis to Smith, Oct. 23, 1939, pp. 1-3; NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.

until a new building or buildings were erected by the City for them, and so long as they maintained the structures up to city standards. From that date until the present the club members have continued to anticipate the eventual relocation of their buildings or the construction of a new clubhouse on the cove's western shore, as originally planned and promised them by the city, state, and federal planners.<sup>138</sup>

The Board of Park Commissioners had more success satisfying the City's School Board and Sea Scout organizations when they made arrangements in the fall of 1939 for them to move from the Yacht Harbor to Aquatic Park as soon as the city completed their boathouse as originally described in the 1935 WPA project proposal. An equally direct solution to a potential problem raised by the San Francisco Housing Authority's proposal to construct low-cost housing on the vacant lots just east of the bathhouse had been reached in February 1939, when the Board of Supervisors approved an appropriation of \$10,250 to purchase the first of several parcels of land from the California Packing Corporation, thus increasing the future responsibility of the Park Commissioners for improving Aquatic Park.

Another pressing problem immediately faced by the Board of Park Commissioners at Aquatic Park in 1939 concerned the high level of contaminants in the cove from the Jefferson and Hyde Street sewer, the nearby park comfort station, and from sewer pipes off Pier 37 to the east. Having studied the conclusions

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138. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1937, pp. 27-28, 78; 1938, pp. 65, 89, 113-117, 120, 165; 1939, pp. 3, 17-21; 1940, p. 32; photo dated Dec. 7, 1937, showing clubhouses being moved, Aquatic Park photo notebook, S.F. Maritime Museum.

of a report from the City's Public Health Service, the Commissioners in February 1939 quarantined the cove for swimming until funds were appropriated to correct the sewer systems. Typically, city appropriations did not come easily and the public was forbidden to swim at Aquatic Park for many years to follow.<sup>139</sup>

The most controversial and complicated problem faced by the Park Commissioners during the first years of operation, however, centered around concessionaires Leo and Kenneth Gordon who not only had won their lease without any competition, but who operated a commercial enterprise which excluded the public from parts of the main building with signs reading, "Private Keep Out." What's more, the Gordons refused to pay their agreed rent of \$1,000 per month for the building because of its state of incompleteness. After extensive investigations by WPA representatives, and outspoken criticism of the City's mismanagement of Aquatic Park by the press, the Board of Supervisors finally cancelled the lease on August 9, 1940, when the Gordons owed \$15,000 to the City. Two months earlier the Park Commissioners had closed the building to the public after giving notice to the Gordons to vacate or pay the rent. The final settlement between the city and the Gordons did not come, however, until April 1941, at which time the San Francisco Examiner informed its readers that the City finally could start planning a public use for the Aquatic Park Casino (as the Gordons had named

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139. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1939, pp. 33-34; 1940, pp. 2, 260, 291; 1941, pp. 28, 40; Polks Progress, July 25, 1940, San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 11, 1935, clippings, Aquatic Park Text, S.F. Maritime Museum; Investigation of Nov. 14, 1939, p. 20, NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.

it), now that the two-year controversy over the two million dollar white elephant had been resolved.<sup>140</sup>

Although plans already had been announced to convert the Aquatic Park building into headquarters for visiting soldiers and sailors to provide them a canteen, showers, dance hall, and reading and writing rooms during their stay in San Francisco, the Park Commissioners, weary of setting off another public scandal by permitting part of the park building for the exclusive use of any one organization, voted on April 10, 1941, to reject the Citizens' Hospitality and Welfare Committee's request for the building's top two floors. The same day the Board heard the request of Walter J. Walsh representing the San Francisco Museum of Science and Industry for space in the Aquatic Park building to display marine exhibits for the public's enjoyment. Although favorable to the proposal, the Board explained that no funds were available to pay the necessary maintenance and supervision for such exhibits, nor could they assume responsibility for them. Obviously bound by financial shortages and by public censure, the Park Commissioners were proceeding cautiously to plan for the building's use. While they did make some special concessions for the servicemen that month, undoubtedly under public pressure, and in July carried out long-overdue improvements to the rock and gravel strewn beach by hauling eighty million cubic feet of sand from the Union Square excavations to Aquatic Park, the Board of Park Com-

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140. Mieldazis to Smith, Oct. 23, 1939; Investigation of Nov. 14, 1939; B. M. Harloe, Asst. Commr., to H. E. Smith, Reg. Dir., WPA, Dec. 12, 1939; H. E. Smith to Harloe, July 11, 1940; unsigned memo, Dec. 3, 1940; San Francisco News, July 12, 15, Nov. 6, 1940, clippings, NA, RG 69, WPA, Box 902, Calif., File 651.109, Aquatic Park, S.F.; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1940, pp. 139, 212; San Francisco Examiner Apr. 5, 1941, clipping, Aquatic Park photo album, S.F. Maritime Museum.

missioners found themselves relieved of the thorny problem of managing the controversial park building in the fall of 1941 when the troops of Battery B, 216th Coast Artillery from Camp Maan, took it over as a barracks during their tour of duty in the Bay Area. After the United States entered World War II, in January 1942 the U.S. Army proposed to lease the park facilities for military purposes and on February 13, 1942, the Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to approve the lease for the Municipal Pier and Aquatic Park Center. The lavishly decorated Aquatic Park building had a role to play in guarding the city and country from foreign attack.<sup>141</sup>

h. World War II Occupation, 1941-1948

While the United States held a lease on Aquatic Park for six years, until February 1948, the military made the most significant use of the main building from around June 1942 to January 1946 when it served as headquarters first for the 216th Coast Artillery Regiment, and then for the entire Fourth Anti-Aircraft Command which covered the defense of the Pacific Coast. According to Col. Robert B. Gifford, who served as Chief of Staff of the Fourth Anti-Aircraft Command, the first floor of the Aquatic Park building was set aside for the officers' mess on the west end, for the General's driver and other functions in the main lobby, and for the enlisted mess on the east end. On the second floor, the administrative command had the space partitioned into

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141. Clippings, San Francisco Call-Bulletin, May 1, 1941, and untitled, June 6 and July 9, 1941, Aquatic Park photo notebook, S.F. Maritime Mus.; photo and caption, Nov. 1941, in folder "S.F. Parks, Aquatic Park, Maritime Museum," S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1941, pp. 122-24, 139-40; 1942, pp. 27, 32.

offices, and on the top floor, General John L. Homer had his office as commander of the headquarters.

In July 1942 the Board of Supervisors approved a proposal to house the Army Chaplain of the 216th Coast Artillery in the eastern convenience station of Aquatic Park. In December 1943 the War Department received a permit to survey for and construct a landing wharf and four six-foot floats at the west end of the lagoon. From year to year the lease between the city and federal government was extended, while the need for the facilities declined after the battle of Midway in June 1942 and after the close of the war in September 1945. By March 1946 the army was making plans to restore the Aquatic Park facilities in preparation of transferring them back to the city. Before the transfer could be arranged, however, an army tug crashed into the Municipal Pier, making it unsafe for public use. A study of the damage and the necessary repair work took several months in late 1947, so it was not until early 1948 when San Francisco once again assumed complete responsibility for Aquatic Park.<sup>142</sup>

During the military occupation and control of the Aquatic Park building and pier, the Board of Park Commissioners continued to address certain problems and issues which remained under their jurisdiction. As early as March 1942 requests began to be received for the use of Aquatic Park by

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142. Notes taken at visit of Col. Robt. Gifford to Maritime Museum in 1953, Aquatic Park, Illustrations, S.F. Maritime Mus.; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1942, pp. 205, 272, 307; 1943, pp. 7, 313, 366; 1944, pp. 1, 33, 137; 1945, p. 88; 1946, p. 54; 1947-48, pp. 130, 141, 148-49, 182; 1948, p. 28; Punnett, Perez and Hutchison, the engineering firm investigated in 1938-39 for its role in WPA work at Aquatic Park, received the contract to study the pier. "Minutes," 1947-48, p. 141.

commercial parties as well as special interest groups, among them the Sea Scouts who still had not secured their promised boating facilities in the cove. Until hostilities had come to a close, however, the Park Commissioners refused to commit themselves to any specific plan for the park's use. The San Francisco Museum of Science and Industry, represented by San Francisco's socialites, Mrs. Adolph Spreckels and Mrs. Henry Dippell, as well as by Commander Howard M. McKinley, U.S.N.R., also put in frequent bids for display space in the main building, but the Commissioners would only grant them storage space for their marine models and artifacts until the war had ended. The only exception the Commissioners made for park facilities was a month to month lease of the round house granted to concessionaires in June 1944 for a snack bar.

More critical matters, however, captured the Board's attention. Erosion of the beach, which they had improved with sand from Union Square in 1941, had become so serious on the southwest corner of the park by January 1944 that the foundation of the seawall stood in danger of collapsing under the weight of the freight trains which passed over it enroute to and from the Fort Mason transport docks. Moreover, the sand lost on the western beach had piled up under the rowing clubs' wharves, making it impossible for the members to launch their boats. The fault clearly lay with the Park Commission which had not completed the original plans to construct groins on the west end of the cove to minimize beach erosion, so that the Board resolved to satisfy the clubs' complaint by appropriating immediate relief money. Instead of the clubs' proposal to construct an extension for the three landing wharves, however, the Board decided to spend the money on the construction of three groins, as originally designed by the Board of Public Works, and on the restoration of the beach by the relocation

of the sand under the boat club wharves to the southwest corner of the cove.<sup>143</sup>

During 1945 the Park Commissioners reconsidered the problem of sewage pollution at Aquatic Park, and in March 1946 approved a transfer of fifty square feet on the southwest corner of Hyde and Jefferson Streets to the San Francisco Department of Public Works for the construction of a sewage pumping plant. Part of the incentive for this transfer may have come from the San Francisco Committee for the Development of Aquatic Park which, represented by Harry Sullivan and Elmer Delaney (former President of the Allied Rowing Clubs), addressed the Board of Park Commissioners in June 1947 to declare their interest in and expectations for Aquatic Park. According to their statement, the committee, composed of more than thirty organizations throughout the city, had succeeded in obtaining an appropriation of \$70,000 for the sewage disposal plant's construction in order to eliminate the unsanitary conditions in the cove. Concerned that the park building be made available to the public at large, the committee representatives also requested the opportunity to participate in the future planning of the park so that funds would be available for maintenance, daily operation, and future development at the site. Obviously the committee had been informed that the Park Commissioners faced the 1947-1948 fiscal year without any operating budget for Aquatic Park because the

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143. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1942, p. 84; 1943, pp. 341, 354; 1944, pp. 2-3, 26, 131, 167, 257-58, 269; 1945, pp. 30, 187, 198, 214; 1946, pp. 4, 35, 43, 66, 75, 84, 104, 122, 169, 179, 182, 190, 201, 209, 217, 227, 227, 233; 1947, pp. 3, 58. Evidently unsatisfied with the Park Commissioners' solution, the South End Rowing Club in Sept. 1948 received permission to extend their pier at their own expense. *Ibid.*, 1948, p. 149.

appropriation they had requested had been deleted from the city's annual program, despite the fact that the United States was on the verge of terminating their lease on the main building and Municipal Pier.<sup>144</sup>

i. Post-War Slump, 1948-50

Without any funds to operate Aquatic Park once the Army gave up its lease in February 1948, the Park Commissioners necessarily closed the bathhouse building to the public until the end of the fiscal year. Few, except the stubborn Dolphin, Ariel, and South End club members, dared disregard the no swimming regulations at Aquatic Park, however, so that the facilities for bathers really were not needed. Thus the once-glorified Aquatic Park continued to offer few benefits to the public at large in 1948, but expectations for improvements at the site during the 1948-49 fiscal year ran high after \$15,000 was appropriated for repairs to the main building--which the military had turned over to the city in first rate condition--and \$100,000 for new pilings needed to make the recreation pier structurally sound.

The 1948-49 budget, however, failed to include funds for Aquatic Park's maintenance and operation, except to provide for watchmen and a skeletal janitorial force, so that the Park Commissioners could do little more for the park's development than consider proposals for its use from the San Francisco Sportsmen's Aquatic Park Committee and the Committee for the Development of Aquatic Park. On their shoestring finances, the Park Commissioners did arrive at a temporary operating procedure for the park in their September 22, 1948, meeting. The four-point

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144. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1940, p. 32; 1945, p. 198; 1946, p. 55; 1947-48, pp. 117-18.

policy opened the building to the public on a five-day week schedule; made the lower floor available for sunbathers who could use the dressing room facilities; set aside the Blue Room for an adult recreation program under the American Women's Voluntary Service; and made the other rooms available for social gatherings, meetings, and the like, on a scheduled basis. Real impetus for the improvement and public use of the Aquatic Park facilities did not come until 1950, however, when the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association received permission to set up a museum in the building to preserve San Francisco's rich maritime history.<sup>145</sup>

j. Recreational Plans and Improvements, 1950-77

No sooner had the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association won their bid for the Aquatic Park lease with extensive backing from the press, than the development of Aquatic Park became a serious issue for the City, commercial interests in the surrounding area, and private interest groups. In December 1950 the City proposed constructing a swimming pool and aquatic sports stadium for Aquatic Park as part of the post-war capital improvement projects. By March 1952 the plans for the indoor swimming pool had been presented to the National Production Authority (NPA) in Washington, D.C., and already the public had voted for a bond issue to cover the construction of the pool with the aid of federal funds, should the NPA officials approve the project. The city's School Board stood staunchly behind the proposal, as did individuals and groups who still were banned from swimming in the cove's sheltered waters on account of pollution

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145. San Francisco Chronicle, June 28, 1948, clipping, Aquatic Park Illustrations, S.F. Maritime Museum; S.F., Bd. of Park Comms., "Minutes," 1948, pp. 126, 148; 1950, pp. 53, 70, 80; Karl Kortum, Director, S.F. Maritime Museum, to Jack R. Dent, Nov. 2, 1959, S.F. Maritime Museum (Notebook) II, S.F. Maritime Museum.

(despite the fact that reports from the \$7,000,000 sewage treatment plant at Hyde and Jefferson Streets indicated that the contaminants had been reduced to a safe level.) With the failure to receive final approval for the elaborate enclosed swimming pool, however, the Park Commissioners evidently redirected their attention to the conditions at the cove, and in July 1953, they lifted the fifteen-year ban on swimming at Aquatic Park. Shortly thereafter lifeguards stood on duty, the lockers and showers were made available to the public at no charge, and the beach was attracting swimmers and sunbathers, as originally planned for the park. The improved conditions for aquatic recreation lasted only eight years, however, before the Park Commissioners again had to ban swimming at the cove on account of pollution, a ban which continued to limit the public's enjoyment of the beach until June 1970, when health officers gave permission to open the cove once again to swimmers, making it the only beach in San Francisco where the water was safe for swimming.<sup>146</sup>

Besides the swimming conditions, the Park Commissioners turned their attention to the recreation pier at Aquatic Park during the decade of the fifties, after the 7838-ton freighter, Harry Luckenback, crashed into the breakwater in February 1953. A bond issue approved by the public in 1955 included \$82,000 to rehabilitate the popular fishing wharf and to provide a convenience station on it for the public. In July 1957 work on the pier, consisting of repairs, new supports, and a stone

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146. The San Francisco Maritime Museum will be discussed in the next section, Conservation and Preservation. San Francisco News, Mar. 13, 1952; Little City News, June 19, 1952; San Francisco Chronicle, July 4, 1953, June 20, 1970, clippings, and unidentified clippings, Dec. 18, 1950 and July 23, 1960; KCBS radio script, Oct. 10, 1953, Aquatic Park Text, S.F. Maritime Museum.

groin to protect it from the beating of the waves, was completed at a total cost of \$71,634.79.

But as conditions in one area of Aquatic Park improved, they seemed to deteriorate in others. After the Park Commissioners reinstated a ban on swimming in July 1960, private interest groups launched their last effort to transform the area into a dream Aquatic Park. Originating with Philip S. Davies, a leading businessman and civic leader in San Francisco, and introduced by Commander Howard McKinley, U.S.N. Ret., who had worked to provide Aquatic Park with a maritime museum during the 1940s, the plan proposed a \$2,000,000 investment in the development of four indoor swimming pools with the heated and purified salt water; grandstands; beaches; and docks in the cove for 100 small boats. The group even hired the original architect and engineer for Aquatic Park, William Mooser and E. Elmore Hutchison, as well as J. E. Hayes, to draw up a tentative design for the new park, but no more came of the elaborate scheme, undoubtedly because the State of California had taken interest in establishing a maritime museum at Hyde Street and a Victorian Park on lands acquired at Beach and Hyde Streets. Thus, the preservation of San Francisco's rich maritime history, rather than the development of aquatic recreation, had taken precedence in the movement to improve the Aquatic Park area, and that story follows in the section on conservation and preservation below.<sup>147</sup>

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147. Clippings, no name, July 23, 1960; San Francisco Progress Sept. 8, 1960; San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 4, 1953, July 25, 1955; San Francisco News, July 7, 1955, Aquatic Park Text, S.F. Maritime Museum; S.F. Rec. and Park Dept., Annual Report 1955-56, p. 3; 1957-58, p. 35.

#### 4. Marina and Yacht Harbor

##### a. Harbor View

The irregular, marshy shoreline between the Presidio and Fort Mason military reservations supported a scattering of structures during the late nineteenth century, among them the recreation center called Harbor View which Rudolph Hermann reportedly opened after he purchased land near today's Jefferson and Baker Streets early in the 1860s. According to one recollection, Hermann at first built a roadhouse and shooting gallery on his property, but by the 1890s he had added picnic grounds laid out with rows of trees, flowers, high sculptured hedges, and an octagonal dancing pavilion, as well as hot salt water baths replete with elegantly appointed family rooms. According to one period advertisement, Hermann's Harbor View Baths were the finest on the Coast.

Before 1880, when the Presidio and Ferries steam dummy railroad began bringing customers to Hermann's resort, balloon-shaped cars drawn by mules apparently brought the public out from the city on today's Lombard Street, the one road then connecting the Presidio--Harbor View's neighbor to the west--with San Francisco. Like Sutro's attractions, Harbor View enjoyed scenic panoramas of Marin County's shoreline and fresh, ocean breezes, away from the congested, noisy, and sometimes foul, neighborhoods of downtown San Francisco. Moonlight picnics at Harbor View apparently sparked many a romance and marriage, and the heated salt water baths held a reputation for curing every ailment, from rheumatism to hangovers. While several social clubs frequently gathered at Harbor View on Sundays during the summer months, other patrons preferred to find their recreation in the bar housed in a pillared, one-story building between the shooting gallery and park. For further variety, Harbor View customers could also visit neighboring Seaside Gardens, picnic grounds run

by Mr. Mack, who also provided a Punch and Judy show and other attractions, or Krahnert's German Beer Garden at Broderick and Jefferson Streets, where family picnics were encouraged.

Harbor View, however, stood on the principal site selected for the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, so that by 1912 the resort had closed and was shortly thereafter razed in preparation for the construction of the dazzling array of exhibition buildings and ornamental gardens which covered over 635 acres of fair grounds, 184 of which were reclaimed from the marshy shallows along the shore.<sup>148</sup>

b. Panama Pacific International Exposition

No more spectacular recreation than that offered at the 1915 World Fair has ever graced the shoreline between the Presidio and Fort Mason. To create the ideal city plan envisioned for the exposition, the best talent in San Francisco and across the country was recruited, among them architects Willis Polk, Arthur Brown, and Bernard Maybeck; landscape architect John McLaren; and illumination engineer W. D'A. Ryan, who designed over 370 searchlights and 500 projectors to flood the intricate architecture with magical, indirect lighting at night. The international exhibits, the numerous fountains, statues, and avenues, the displays of agricultural and technological advancements, the amusement pavilions, the Yacht Harbor, Marina lawns, and ferry slips along

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148. Recollections of Pat Krane in, Seonaid L. Khorsand, ed., Marina Memories Local History Studies 16 (Cupertino, Cal.: California History Center, 1973), pp. 17-18, 48; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 219; Hilton, Cable Car in America, p. 25; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 91; several nineteenth century photos of the Marina District, then called "Cow Hollow," and of a lithograph of Harbor View exist in the Marina District photo file, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.

the shore, all were designed to draw the greatest number of people to the greatest show in the world, one which San Francisco proudly hosted under the theme of "East Meets West."

So popular was the Exposition, despite the shadow cast by World War I, that crowds continued to visit the grounds for months after the official closing on December 4, 1915, and a group of citizens formed the Exposition Preservation League to try to save some of the distinguished architecture then destined for demolition. Although Maybeck's Palace of Fine Arts was the only building to survive the clearing of the leased fair grounds, the Exposition Preservation League, through its "untiring efforts," obtained the city's cooperation 1916 to advance a plan to convert the site to a "choice residential tract" which was to "be traversed by the Marina Boulevard and marked here and there with gems preserved from the Exposition, namely, the Column of Progress, the California Building, the Marina, Palace of Fine Arts, the Lagoon and the Yacht Harbor." While only part of the plan was realized, contractors by the close of 1918 had graded and paved the Marina Boulevard from Laguna to Steiner Streets at a cost to the county road fund of \$38,147.54.<sup>149</sup>

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149. Quotations from S.F., Bur. of Engrs., Annual Report, 1916-1917; 1920, p. 91. Doris O. Bidakovits, "The 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition," in Khorsand, ed., Marina Memories, pp. 47-53; the Panama-Pacific International Exposition can be found in Chapter IV, Part C, above. According to Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 333, the Exposition's California Building stood on the site of Harbor View. The California Building was to the west of the Yacht Harbor and northeast of the Palace of Fine Arts. Map, "Panama Pacific International Exposition . . . Block Plan," in P.P.I.E. folder, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.

c. Marina Airport and Park, 1920-1931

After the completion of Marina Boulevard in 1918, no other developments were pursued for the area until 1920, when the City leased land on the eastern end of the Marina from Virginia Vanderbilt, Herbert E. Law, Theresa Oelrichs, and Dr. Hartland Law, at \$15,000 per year, to secure an airstrip for the Post Office Department's newly established Aerial Mail Service. In July 1920 Mayor Rolph and the Board of Supervisors assured the Post Office Department that San Francisco would establish a large landing field either at the Marina or Bay View, but that until such time, they hoped that mail planes might land at the Presidio. Although the War Department granted temporary use of Crissy Field to the Post Office Department, the Aerial Mail Service delivered its first year's cargoes for San Francisco to the Marina where Exposition stunt men had awed large crowds of spectators with their flying acrobatics only five years before.

Even after spending \$40,000 for improvements and buildings at the Marina airport, however, the Board of Supervisors decided the following year that they could no longer afford the \$15,000 annual rental; consequently in July 1921, the Post Office Department requested and received permission to make their air mail deliveries at the Presidio's Crissy Field.<sup>150</sup>

Possibly bearing on the Supervisors' decision concerning the airstrip lease, the owners of the land, represented

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150. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1921, p. 637; Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General, to Maj. Gen. C. T. Menoher, July 27, 1920; Will H. Hayes, Office of the Postmaster General, to Sec. of War John W. Weeks, July 21, 1921; Sec. of War to Postmaster General, July 29, 1921, NA, RG 18, Army Air Forces, Project Files, Crissy Field, 680.3 & 680.4-680.421-680.47, hereinafter cited RG 18, AAD, Proj. Files, Crissy Field.

by W. H. Crocker, offered on June 28, 1921, to donate the same four blocks of shoreline property between Webster Street on the east, Steiner on the west, Tonquin (Marina Boulevard) on the south, and the waterline on the north, to San Francisco as a public park. On July 18, 1921, by Resolution No. 19088, the Board of Supervisors accepted the gift of deed, thus making their first commitment to the Marina as the site for another aquatic park.

The city's interest in the Marina as a waterfront park received State approval and assistance in May 1923 when the legislature practically unanimously voted in favor of Assembly Bill No. 1376 which provided for the transfer of fourteen parcels of bayshore State-owned land between the Presidio and Steiner Streets north of Tonquin Street to San Francisco to be "used solely for park and boulevard purposes." On December 18, 1924, the City formally accepted the grant, and placed the newly acquired lands under the control of the Park Commissioners thus rededicating the Marina area for the free access and enjoyment of the public.<sup>151</sup>

Executing one of their last direct resolutions concerning the management of the Marina lands, the Board of Supervisors ordered the Board of Public Works on December 1, 1924, to discontinue dumping sewage and offal at the "Aquatic Park Site . . . situate along the Marina." Indeed, such defacement of the Marina grounds by the City's Public Works Department represented a strange conflict of interest within the municipal administration, for by that date the Park Commissioners had already prepared plans to improve the Marina by enlarging the yacht harbor

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151. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1921, p. 637; 1923, p. 582; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1924, p. 62; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 104.

eight times its original size to accommodate the constant demand for mooring berths from local sportsmen. The yacht harbor was to be enlarged by building an arm out from the northwest corner of the harbor and by dredging the filled in land for about four blocks east. When completed, this project promised not only to beautify the park's "somewhat conventional . . . vista," but it also assured a great increase in the value of taxable property in the Marina Gardens neighborhood being planned and designed that year. No wonder, then, that the Board of Supervisors put a stop to the offensive dumpings which the Public Works Department had been making on the site of a city park area which was one of the most popular among influential and wealthy Bay Area sportsmen.

While the Park Commissioners were developing their plans for the Marina area, a citizens' group had formed a Column of Progress Committee to rebuild the Column of Progress, a prominent landmark which stood on the north side of the fair grounds, opposite the Marina, during the Panama Pacific International Exposition. In January 1925, the Column of Progress Committee presented to Senator James Phelan its scheme to restore the tower to a height of 185 feet. The plan anticipated raising \$100,000 by public subscription for the column's construction. Already the committee had pledges from the Exposition Preservation League for \$5,000 and \$1,000 from Phelan himself and Frederick W. Bradley.

Although backed by influential San Franciscans, the plan to reconstruct the Column of Progress fell through because the height of the structure posed a threat to the aviators flying into nearby Crissy Field. Nevertheless, the committee's stated acknowledgement that the Marina would "form one of the City's most attractive parks," indicated the mounting public expectations for the area's future. In June 1925 another private group, calling

itself the Marina Improvement Association, made a formal request to the Park Commissioners to complete the improvements at Marina Park in time for California's Diamond Jubilee celebration in September 1925. While the Park Commissioners had already received a survey for the Yacht Harbor improvements from their consulting engineer firm, Punnett, Perez, and Hutchison, in May 1925, the Board hastened to instruct Superintendent of Parks, John McLaren, to present complete plans for the entire development of the Yacht Harbor and Marina Park at its next meeting.<sup>152</sup>

While land acquisition, plans, and surveys were underway for Marina Park, private aviators had continued to use the east end of the Marina as an airport. Wishing to continue this privilege, the flyers won the support of the Board of Supervisors' Committee on Recreation, Parks and Playgrounds, who informed the Park Commissioners in June 1925 that they would like to see an airport established in some part of the Marina Park, if possible. The Park Commissioners' final deliberation on the subject was shortlived. Having heard complaints from a number of Marina District residents on the proposal, and having received the opinion of the Chief of Police on the number of accidents actually caused by the use of the Marina as an airport, the Board voted to order all aviators from the Marina by August 1, 1925. Although the San

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152. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1924, p. 1417; S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1925, p. 123; Column of Progress Committee to Hon. James D. Phelan, S.F., Jan. 25, 1925; Sec. of War John Weeks to Frank I. Turner, President, Exposition Preservation League, S.F., Mar. 2, 1925, NA, RG 18, AAD, Proj. Files, Crissy Field; a photo of the May 1925 survey of the yacht harbor can be found in S.F. Dist.-Yacht Harbor photos, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 60, explains that Diamond Jubilee celebrated California's seventy-fifth anniversary of its admittance to the Union.

Francisco Flyers' Club, the Research Association of Aerial Transportation, and Walter T. Varney, all immediately submitted requests that the Board reconsider their decision, the Park Commissioners unanimously upheld their opinion that the lands being used as an airport constituted space for park and recreation purposes and that the area should be immediately developed accordingly.<sup>153</sup>

On December 3, 1925, the Board of Park Commissioners approved the third set of plans prepared by John M. Punnett for enlarging the Yacht Harbor. The total cost estimate came to \$140,162, broken down as follows:

Outer breakwater and seawall	\$29,920
Riprap seawall inside harbor	\$12,500
Dredging harbor	\$85,000
Contingent expenses, engineering	\$12,742

Plans and specifications prepared by Willis Polk and Company, Architects, for altering the Yacht Harbor's wharf also were submitted that month, and at their approval instructions were issued to proceed with all necessary arrangements to get construction underway. Also under consideration at the time were plans and specifications submitted by the San Francisco Yacht Club which proposed to carry out some of the improvements at the harbor if it be permitted to construct a clubhouse on park land and to moor their boats in the harbor.

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153. S.F. Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1925, pp. 124-25, 130; the opinion of the City Attorney on the use of Marina Park as an airport agreed with the Park Commissioners' decision but was not received by the Board until January 1927. "Minutes," 1927, p. 3; Rider's California, p. 83.

On February 20, 1925, construction began on dredging an area 850 by 580 feet to a depth of seven feet below mean water in the yacht harbor. In 1927 more dredging removed 149,500 cubic yards of material from the harbor. In that year and 1928 the breakwater and seawall were extended eastward about 800 feet with concrete piers salvaged from the Beach Chalet site; with cobblestones torn up from the city's street reconstruction projects, a seawall was erected within the harbor; and a 400-foot pier was built from the foot of Scott Street. The enlargement of the yacht harbor made room for a large number of additional boats which enhanced San Francisco's importance as a yachting center. So also did the completion of the clubhouse for the Saint Francis Yacht Club, organized May 13, 1927.<sup>154</sup>

While construction improvements at Marina Park and Yacht Harbor were approaching completion in 1928, the city supervisors turned their attention to the park's land acquisition needs and to that end proposed a joint \$950,000 bond issue for the November 1928 elections to cover land purchases at the Marina and developments for Aquatic Park, but the necessary two-thirds vote in favor of the proposition was not raised. Nonetheless, in 1930, the Park Commissioners again approved plans for enlarging the yacht harbor, this time with the construction of two wharves and 100 additional berths at an estimated cost of \$39,200. In November

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154. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1925, pp. 161, 164-65; Dow, "Bay Fill," pp. 105-06; The Municipal Employee 1, No. 2 (Aug. 1927), pp. 4, 10; 2, No. 4 (April 1928); 2, No. 7 (July 1928), p. 24; 2 No. 9 (Sept. 1928); S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., Annual Report, 1924, p. 36; Photo and caption dated Feb. 21, 1925, and photo of Willis Polk and Co., Architects, drawings entitled, "Yacht Harbor For the San Francisco Board of Park Commissioners," dated July 7, 1927. Photos, S.F. District-Marina and Yacht Harbor, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 220.

1930 a group of unemployed laborers were given temporary work through the City's relief program in order to carry out the contract which was given to Healy-Tibbitts Construction Company. On February 21, 1931, Park Commissioner Lamb dedicated the new "T" type piers at the Yacht Harbor, while representatives of the Associated Boat Industries and the Yacht Owners' Association stood by to witness the auspicious event. Only three months later, in May 1931, construction of a twenty-five-foot-high stone lighthouse on "the Saint Francis spit" to mark the entrance of the yacht harbor was completed, mostly likely under the same relief program sponsored by the city in cooperation with local businessmen.

The depression, however, soon thereafter made it impossible for the city to finance further improvements at the Yacht Harbor. Although the boat slips were shoaling rapidly by September 1931, the Park Commissioners had to wait until Federal and State relief programs offered the possibility to make these repairs, as well as other improvements, at the Marina Park and Yacht Harbor.<sup>155</sup>

d. State and Federal Assistance 1934-38

Having failed to receive the public's approval of a 1933 bond issue for \$815,000 to enlarge the Yacht Harbor five times its size with the assistance from the National Industrial Recovery Act program which was to cover thirty percent of the

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155. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1930, p. 42; Capt. H. B. Nurse, Q.M., Completion Report on Dredging at U.S. Army Transport Docks, Fort Mason, Sept. 5, 1931, FARC, Suitland, Md., RG 77, OCE, Completion Reports, Fort Mason; The Municipal Employee 2, No. 11 (Nov. 1928), p. 5; photos and captions dated Nov. 18, 1930, Feb. 27 and May 15, 1931, photos, S.F. Districts-Marina District and Yacht Harbor, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.

costs, the city applied in 1934 for State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA) assistance. The Park Commissioners' plans for the Yacht Harbor in 1933 were elaborate, calling for the extension of the basin east from Scott Street toward Laguna Street, and the construction of a breakwater, a concrete pier approach to the seawall, service and landing wharves, lighting and water facilities, a service building, public convenience stations, and two lighthouses. SERA agreed to provide the labor to engineer, supervise, and survey the proposed seawall and shortly thereafter work began under the supervision of Edward Thornton, a construction engineer and seawall builder of international fame. By October 1934 laborers had completed a 500-foot extension to the rubble seawall protecting the harbor, and were proceeding with the construction of a stone boat house for the rowing crews of San Francisco's high schools. As well, work was scheduled to begin on 2,000 additional feet of seawall from the St. Francis Yacht Club west to the boundary of the Presidio, to prevent the sea's erosion of the shoreline. Basalt paving blocks or cobbles again were salvaged from the city's street improvement projects for the seawall construction, building materials which reportedly first served as ballast for sailing ships coming to port at San Francisco in the late 1800s.<sup>156</sup>

Despite the Depression San Francisco was witnessing a growing interest in yachting during the early 1930s. Not only did the sportsmen sponsor numerous aquatic activities, but they also promoted improvement for the Marina Park and Yacht

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156. S.F., Bd. of Suprs., Journal, 1933, pp. 1212, 1732; San Francisco Municipal Record, 7, No. 11 (Nov. 1933), p. 20; Dow, "Bay Fill," pp. 108-09; photos and captions dated Oct. 23, Nov. 25, 1934 in photos, S.F. Districts-Marina, S.F. Hist. Room, S.F.P.L.

Harbor through the Yacht Harbor Association which acted as spokesman for all the principal yacht clubs, the bay area shipbuilding industry, boating repair plants, improvement clubs, and recreation organizations interested in the promotion of aquatic park facilities on San Francisco's coastline.

With such local groups encouraging the Park Commissioners and with the creation of the Works Progress Administration in April 1935, the Board proceeded to have plans drawn up to double the size of the yacht harbor to accommodate 700 yachts and power boats. In February 1936 the WPA approved San Francisco's proposal to construct a masonry seawall, a harbor master's house, and an underground convenience station, and to pave the Marina Park's drives. In June 1936 the Park Commissioners again hired John M. Punnett as construction engineer for the yacht harbor improvements which at that date also included the construction of a watchman's tower. When completed in 1938, the Marina Sea Wall, WPA Project Number 3932, consisted of 600 lineal feet of seawall, the harbor master's station, and the paving of certain drives with asphalt, at a total cost of \$105,919.<sup>157</sup>

e. Municipal Improvements, 1938-68

The record of improvements made at the Marina Park and Yacht Harbor after the completion of the WPA project has yet to be researched for further details, but major construction efforts can be outlined. In 1938 Punnett, Perez and Hutchison were authorized to prepare plans and specifications to dredge the

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157. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1936, pp. 38, 40; Marina, S.F., Project No. 65-3-4966, NA, RG 69, WPA, Central Office, Reference Card Location, File 1935-1937, Microfilm Roll 5; Healy, San Francisco Improved, p. 57; San Francisco Municipal Record 9, No. 9 (Sept. 1935), pp. 10, 16.

Yacht Harbor but whether construction was carried out is not now known. In October 1940 Healy Tibbitts Construction Company was awarded the contract to complete within ninety days the second unit of the Yacht Harbor extension at an estimated cost of \$23,726. In 1943 the Navy Department received permission from the Park Commissioners to construct a building for a degaussing station on the Marina Park which many years earlier had been seeded in lawn to create a pleasant spot for spectators to enjoy the yacht harbor scenes and activities. In 1948 Marina residents created quite a local dispute when they complained about the ramshackle buildings and dock used by San Francisco's sports fishing boats at Gas House Cove on the eastern end of the Marina. In sympathy with these complaints, the Park Commissioners banned all automobiles from the parking lot adjoining the dock and authorized the grading of the area in March 1948, in preparation for its seeding into lawn. Local sports fishermen protested vehemently this action which would obliterate the only facilities in the city for charter boat services and other deep sea fishing conveniences. Heated controversy deserves resolution, but unfortunately the final decision on the use of Gas House Cove in 1948 did not come to the writer's attention during research.<sup>158</sup>

During the 1950s the Recreation and Park Department completed the first approved master plan for the development and enlargement of the yacht harbor and saw the

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158. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., "Minutes," 1938, p. 42; 1940, p. 242; 1943, p. 107; photo, caption and article on Gas House Cove dated Mar. 19, 1948, photos, S.F. District-Yacht Harbor, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; by 1939 the Marina Park, "a long grass-covered strip" was popular on Sundays with promenaders. Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, California A Guide to the Golden State (New York: Hastings House, 1939), p. 286.

construction to completion with the financial assistance from a 1955 bond issue. In 1953 repairs costing \$21,940 were carried out at the harbor and the improvements at Gas House Cove were one fourth completed. During May and June 1955, the entrance to the harbor was dredged, costing \$30,147, and in 1958 construction was started to provide a new 100-foot-wide entrance channel for the harbor by cutting into the existing embankment and building a new breakwater at the old entrance. Plans also were approved with the project due to be completed by July 31, 1959, to dredge approximately 128,000 square feet of the harbor and to add thirty-two new berths. The master plan improvements reached completion in fiscal year 1959-1960, thus affording yachtsmen a safer and larger basin in which to moor their boats.<sup>159</sup>

The enlargement of the Yacht Harbor during the 1950s, however, gave little satisfaction to the numerous San Francisco boat owners who were unable to reserve a space at the park. In 1954 the Department of City Planning reported that the waiting list for berths at the Yacht Harbor exceeded the number of spaces available by at least five times and that the popularity of sailing and boating on the bay was steadily increasing. Further improvements at the harbor during the 1960s therefore arose from a constant public demand for more and better facilities which the Recreation and Parks Department met as funds became available. From 1961 to 1963 the Department arranged with the Public Works Department to issue permits to local construction firms allowing them to dump selected building materials from demolition sites onto the harbor breakwater in order to widen and strengthen the spit beyond the old entrance, where the bay surge pounded away at the

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159. S.F. Recreation and Park Dept., Annual Report, 1953, pp. 39, 46; 1955-56, pp. 3, 69; 1958-59, pp. 36, 40.

riprap construction. By March 1963 at least 45,000 cubic yards of rubble from torn up side walks, torn down concrete buildings, and from the abandoned Laurel Hill Cemetery, had been unloaded along 1,100 feet of seawall extension, thus correcting a potentially hazardous condition at the yacht harbor.

Between 1964 and 1966 the Recreation and Parks Department completed an extensive enlargement of the yacht harbor by contracting for the construction of a new yacht harbor for boats up to thirty-five feet long at Gas House Cove, and by carrying out major repairs and improvements to the crumbling seawall and piers at the old harbor. Construction was completed by March 1966, at which time the number of docking berths had been increased from 257 to 680, 329 of which were located at Gas House Cove and 351 at the original yacht harbor. By the close of fiscal year 1967-68 a request had also been approved to allocate another \$15,000 to prepare plans and specifications for a new breakwater at Gas House Cove harbor where surge from the bay threatened to make the new berthing facilities unpopular with potential tenants. Thus the Recreation and Parks Department looked forward to providing the City with as much as \$239,183 worth of rental fees for the berths while it assured sportsmen a greater opportunity to moor their boats for a reasonable rental at a protected harbor convenient to downtown San Francisco, at a location still in great demand today among yachtsmen of the Bay Area.<sup>160</sup>

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160. San Francisco Department of City Planning, Report on a Plan for the Location of Parks and Recreation Areas in San Francisco ([San Francisco]: April 1954), p. 40; Dow, "Bay Fill," pp. 110-11; S.F., Recreation and Parks Dept., Annual Report, 1968, p. 28; photos and captions dated Mar. 10, 1964, July 8, 1965, photos, S.F. Districts-Yacht Harbor, Marina District, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.; telephone interview, Katherine Calzani, Secretary Recreation and Park Commission, with writer, 1976. In the past decade, several plans have been approved for Marina Park as

5. Phelan Beach

The crescent-shaped sandy beach tucked beneath the high cliffs of San Francisco's shoreline northeast of Lincoln Park became known as the James D. Phelan Memorial Beach State Park in 1933, after a five-year battle to protect it from private development. Originally known as China Beach on account of the Chinese fishermen who once camped there to take advantage of the safe anchorage offshore, Phelan Beach received its current name in memory of the former Mayor and U.S. Senator, James Durall Phelan, who not only worked during his last years to see the beach protected for public recreation, but also bequeathed \$50,000 towards its purchase as a city park by his will, probated in 1930.

The movement to save the beach apparently arose in 1928 to counter plans announced by Allen Company, developers of the elite Sea Cliff community on the heights above the cove. A womens committee led by Mrs. Annette L. Bachman, Mrs. Herbert Gunn, Mrs. Charles Robinson, Mrs. W. S. Berry, and Mrs. Paul Paige, campaigned hard to win public approval of a 1929 bond issue which the City sponsored to purchase the beach, but the proposal failed, in spite of the active support of a variety of city, state, and private organizations, including the San Francisco Playground Commission, the San Francisco City Planning Commission, the

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indicated by the drawings for the improvements at the Engineering Division, S.F. Recreation and Parks Department. These include a plan to improve and extend the Marina small craft harbor and replace the existing seawall, approved Mar. 15, 1969; the reconstruction of berthing facilities and of the masonry seawall at the small craft harbor, approved in March and April 1975; the replacement of two gangways, approved October 1975; and the installation of a navigation light at the small craft harbor, approved in August 1975. In December 1976 the St. Francis Yacht Club burned down.

California Department of Natural Resources, the San Francisco Garden Club, the Park Presidio Improvement Association, the Geary Street and Clement Street Merchants' Associations, the San Francisco Building Trades Council, the Daughters of California Pioneers, the Disabled Veterans of the World War, and the Association of Sportsmen of California.<sup>161</sup>

Having received the support of Senator Phelan, then President of the San Francisco Playground Commission, the park's backers found their reward in 1933, when the State of California settled on a purchase price of \$160,000 to acquire the six-acre beach from the Allen Company. While the State held title to the land, the San Francisco Recreation and Park Department, by agreement with the State, assumed responsibility for the park's development, maintenance, and operation. Originally the Recreation Commission announced that Phelan Beach provided the only spot on the City's shoreline between Fort Point and Fleishaker's Pool where it was safe for swimming, and that plans called for "terraced gardens for the sloping hillsides; leafy walks; an alluring tea house; tennis courts, and an artificial pool." In 1940, however, the beach only provided barbeque pits and public convenience stations, the latter probably built by WPA workers in the late 1930s under a blanket appropriation for convenience stations in San Francisco's parks.<sup>162</sup>

Although the citizens of San Francisco voted in 1947 in favor of a bond issue to develop Phelan Beach, construction did

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161. San Francisco, The Bay, p. 314; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, pp. 85, 119; The Municipal Record 3, No. 12 (Dec. 1929), 14.

162. Quotation from San Francisco, The Bay, p. 314; Healy, San Francisco Improved, p. 7; S.F., Dept. of City Planning, Report on Parks and Recreation Areas, p. 19.

not get underway until the early 1950s when the bathhouse building was completed and plans were drawn up for landscaping the park and improving the beach. In its sheltered location several hundred feet below the street in a neighborhood reserved for wealthy San Franciscians, Phelan Beach has remained a relatively secluded recreation area, but one which constitutes an important link in the succession of shoreline parks now included within Golden Gate National Recreation Area.<sup>163</sup>

C. Conservation and Preservation Movements in Marin and San Francisco Counties

Although the conservation and preservation movements of the twentieth century have always overlapped with efforts to provide public recreation in the same areas, the two concerns--the protection of the environment and cultural resources on the one hand, and the development of an area for recreation on the other--reflect distinctly different motives which require separate coverage. The dedicated and energetic pursuit of legislation to protect such endangered natural resources as the redwoods of Muir Woods National Monument; the lofty peaks and deep ravines of Mount Tamalpais State Park; and the rolling, open countryside of Point Reyes National Seashore, began at the turn of the century and culminated in 1972 with the creation of Golden Gate National Recreation Area. While the primary focus has been on natural resources, since the close of World War II several efforts to recognize and protect historic resources in the Bay Area have proven successful, notably at Angel Island State Park in Marin

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163. Preliminary, general, structural, electrical, plumbing, landscaping, and, other assorted plans for Phelan Beach are found in the Engr. Div., S.F. Recreation and Park Dept., and in the Bur. of Engr., S.F. Public Works Dept.; S.F., Rec. and Park Dept., Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 65.

County, and at Aquatic Park and the former San Francisco Maritime State Park in San Francisco. Together these conservation and preservation movements paved the way for the largest urban national park in the country, and set a precedent for a nationwide interest in establishing more public parks in and near this country's many urban centers.

1. Marin County

The wilderness, wildlife, and scenic beauty of West Marin County have attracted outdoor enthusiasts from around the Bay for more than a century, but not until the early 1900s did citizens organize informally and formally to protect the rich natural resources which were increasingly threatened by man's carelessness or indifference. In 1901 a group of Ross Valley District citizens, led by William Kent, formed the Mount Tamalpais Forestry Association to preserve the mountain's beauty and promote a public park. At the same time, hikers of the region, calling themselves the "hill tribe," set high standards for the protection of the region by never fishing or hunting, never picnicking without careful cleanups of their camping area, and never leaving behind ashes at their fire sites, always careful to preserve the pristine beauty of the countryside. In popular Bear Valley at Point Reyes, the Shafters and Howards posted signs to keep visitors on designated roads and trails, and those who abused these conservation measures found themselves confronted by a "committee of vigilant wardens who were . . . ever on the alert." This core of conservation-minded outdoorsmen grew steadily during the early 20th century as development schemes for Marin County required their united resistance.<sup>164</sup>

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164. "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, p. 323; San Francisco Chronicle, Magazine Section, p. 4; Benjamin Brooks, "The Land of Tamalpais," Scribner's Magazine 38 (July-Dec. 1905), 75.

a. Muir Woods National Monument, 1908

To stand within the redwood forest of Muir Woods National Monument and feel the magical presence of the giant trees, some of which have stood as many as 1700 years and measure twelve feet in diameter and 240 feet high, gives a person insight into the ardent campaign carried out early in the twentieth century to save Redwood Canyon from private development. As enthusiast William Thomas, Superintendent of the Mill Valley and Muir Woods Railway, declared in 1907, "I'm not bothering about the golden stairs, but I want you to know that if heaven is half as good as Redwood Canyon, you will not find me complaining." Such sentiment also spurred many sportsmen hikers, and tourists to seek out the forest and, often, to work towards its preservation as a public park.<sup>165</sup>

Among the earliest park proponents was a reporter for the San Francisco Call in 1895 who declared that all "lovers of nature and beauty" should work to reserve Sequoia Grove as a state park. Owned by the Tamalpais Land and Water Company, the canyon floor for some years had been included in a vast tract of land leased by the Tamalpais Sportsmens' Club as a hunting preserve. The president of the company, Lovell White, tried to interest William Kent, leader of the Mount Tamalpais Forestry Association and wealthy Marin County resident, in purchasing the canyon to secure its future protection as early as 1903, but the time was not yet ripe. Members of the Forestry Section of the California Club in San Francisco organized a movement to establish Redwood Canyon as a national park the following year, and, simultaneously, the club women of San

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165. As quoted in San Francisco Sunday Call, July 7, 1907, Magazine Section, p. 3; Hoover, Rensch and Rensch, Historic Spots, p. 187.

Francisco launched a campaign to raise \$80,000 to purchase the canyon and to arouse local interest in its preservation. The campaign committee, led by Mrs. Emil Pohl, Miss Catherine Hittel, Charles Keeler, Miss Alice Eastwood, Mrs. Ella G. Sexton, John Ray, and James P. Booth, reportedly succeeded in stimulating support from the Sempervirens, Sierra, and California Clubs, the Tamalpais National Park and California State Floral Associations, and from the Native Sons and Daughters of California.<sup>166</sup>

William Kent, however, personally assumed responsibility for the protection of Redwood Canyon on August 29, 1905, when he bought the 611.57-acre tract for \$45,000 through a personal arrangement with Lovell White who, as President of the Tamalpais Land and Water Company, had just rejected another party's \$100,000 purchase offer for the canyon in order to assure the preservation of the forest. A great believer in sharing such natural treasures with the public, Kent purchased a large interest in the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Railroad Company and proceeded to sell a two and one-half mile right-of-way to the company for a gravity car line from the double bow knot down to the edge of Redwood Canyon. He also sold the company 190 acres at the bottom of the gravity run to construct a modern and convenient inn which, when completed, was named Muir Inn after the famous conservationist, John Muir.

By July 1907 Redwood Canyon had been readied for the expected rush of the public once the rolling stock for the gravity car line was set on the tracks. The railroad company had constructed numerous trails, as well as a broad road for automobiles

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166. San Francisco Call, July 19, 1895, p. 8, c.1; "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, pp. 367-68; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 2.

and wagons, from the end of the gravity line into the forest so that the large crowds could be easily absorbed within the narrow canyon. The company had also arranged for vehicles to carry those visitors unable or unwilling to walk into the forest so that everyone could be assured a visit to "this heaven in the woods."

While extending an open invitation to Redwood Canyon, Kent also demanded certain conservation measures be observed. Signs were posted against building fires, damaging trees, picking greenery, littering the grounds, or hunting on the canyon floor. To accommodate his visitors and help encourage his conservation directives, Kent opened only eighty acres to the public and had designated trails cut to popular areas in the forest where he provided redwood slab rustic benches and tables, as well as trash containers.<sup>167</sup>

The future of Kent's park was threatened, however, only a few months later when, in November 1907, the North Coast Water Company filed a condemnation suit to acquire Redwood Canyon as a water reservoir. Outraged by such a plan to destroy "that beautiful grove of native timber," Kent vowed to take the case to the highest court in the nation before he would give up the fight to protect the redwood forest. Instead, Kent learned from friends Gifford Pinchot and F. E. Olmsted that Section Two of the 1906 Antiquities Act provided for the establishment of national monuments of historic or scientific interest on lands owned by or donated to the government. Immediately he contacted the Secretary of the Interior with his proposal to donate the redwood grove for park purposes. Finding negotiations with Secretary Garfield slow

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167. Quote from San Francisco Sunday Call, July 7, 1907, Mag. Sec., p. 3; Morley, Muir Woods, p. 6; Deed Book 95, p. 58, RDO, MCC.

and frustrating, Kent corresponded directly with President Theodore Roosevelt who made it possible to finalize the bequest by December 26, 1907. On January 9, 1908, President Roosevelt proclaimed the 298.29-acre Redwood Canyon tract as Muir Woods National Monument in honor of John Muir, in accordance with Kent's specific request. Having provided Marin County with the nation's first national monument donated by a private individual, William Kent won immediate popularity with the electorate, who, in 1912, voted him into Congress where he carried on his conservation interests, notably as the author and sponsor of the 1916 bill creating the National Park Service.<sup>168</sup>

Clearly moved by Kent's stipulation that the national monument be named in his honor, John Muir responded,

Saving these woods from the axe and saw, from the money changers and water changers is in many ways the most notable service to God and man I have heard of since my forest wanderings began, a much needed lesson to saint and sinner alike, and a credit and encouragement to God.<sup>169</sup>

Recognized and protected for its "extraordinary scientific interest and importance because of the primeval character of the forest," an important section of Redwood Canyon thus became

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168. As quoted in "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, p. 407; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods, p. 3; Morley, Muir Woods, p. 6; Teather, Discovering Marin, p. 46; Ronald F. Lee, The Antiquities Act of 1906 (Washington, D.C.: Office of History and Historic Architecture, National Park Service, 1970), pp. 73 and 90.

169. As quoted in Morley, Muir Woods, p. 6.

the first public park in West Marin County, one which helped promote the movement for a Mount Tamalpais National Park in the years to follow.<sup>170</sup>

b. Mount Tamalpais State Park, 1927

Before the problems at Redwood Canyon first arose, William Kent had involved himself in plans to protect and preserve Mount Tamalpais. In 1901 he helped organize the Tamalpais Forestry Association which dedicated itself to the preservation of the scenic beauty of the mountain region. As president of the Association in 1903 and 1904, William Kent not only helped to launch an effective fire fighting unit for the often-dry mountainside, but also presided over the September 12, 1903 meeting which issued a formal proposal for a 12,000-acre Tamalpais National Park and organized a Tamalpais National Park Association with such prominent Bay Area citizens on its Executive Committee as Senator James D. Phelan, Alice Eastwood, Mrs. Lovell White, William Kent, William Thomas, Mary Elizabeth Parsons and Benjamin Ide Wheeler. In his address to the gathering, Kent pointed out that Gifford Pinchot, Director of the U.S. Forest Service, who was

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170. As quoted from the January 9, 1908 proclamation in Lee, Antiquities Act, p. 40. For conservation measures taken by William Kent in years after the establishment of the monument, as well as those practiced by the National Park Service, see, "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, p. 407; Mason, The Making of Marin, p. 82; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," pp. 7, 9, 11-36. CCC workers carried out extensive conservation restoration at the monument under the Superintendent's supervision in 1933 and 1934. A stream revetment project begun under the Emergency Conservation Work program in 1933 continued until 1938. "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," pp. 18-20; Mill Valley Record, Nov. 9, 1934, clipping, Mountain Play Press Book, 1933-37, Marin Co. Library.

present at the meeting also favored the creation of the park which no doubt lifted the hopes of everyone concerned.<sup>171</sup>

Years passed, however, before the proposal gathered momentum again. In July 1909 William Kent once more stirred the ambitions of the park supporters when he offered to donate 4,000 acres, including the "famously beautiful Steep Ravine," towards "a vast public park" on Mount Tamalpais if other landowners followed suit to assist the project. The delays in advancing the park proposal, however, had stemmed from staunch resistance among several of the Tamalpais landowners, not only to a public park, but to a transbay municipal water district in the Mount Tamalpais region.

The park project had made progress after the 1903 Tamalpais Forestry Association meeting until one major Mount Tamalpais landowner, the trustees of the Stanford University estate, raised the price of their holdings from \$100,000 to \$250,000. Two years after that disappointment, the citizens of San Rafael had organized a campaign for a municipal water supply to counter the exorbitant prices exacted by the Marin Water and Power Company, another large landowner in the Tamalpais district. In 1909, after the state passed legislation favoring municipal water districts, the backers of the Mount Tamalpais park revived their scheme, seeing the mutual benefit which a water district and public park would have for Marin County.

The 1909 park movement showed new strength in its supporters. One of the largest landowners, Mrs. Emma

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171. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 12, 1903, p. 43, c.2; "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 2; "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, pp. 323, 365.

Shafter Howard, expressed her willingness to sell necessary lands for the project at at nominal price. The California Promotion committee of San Francisco pitched in by organizing a special committee to advance the water district and park proposal. Kent, who had already gained widespread respect and admiration for his Muir Woods land donation, inspired dedicated followers with his oratory which stressed the importance of preserving Marin County's greatest asset--its scenery. Concerning the park proposal he stated his position directly and simply: "It has been the wish closest to my heart to accomplish this result."<sup>172</sup>

With such committed leadership, the Marin County Municipal Water District became a reality in 1911. William Kent deeded all his property above 1,000 feet to the district, while the county proceeded to purchase other mountain real estate to establish its watershed. But resistance continued to hold sway against the creation of a public park for Mount Tamalpais, so that 135 members of Bay Area hiking clubs gathered in February 1912 to organize the Tamalpais Conservation Club which set as its purpose, "the conservation of things animate and inanimate in Marin County, California, and particularly the preservation 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 Sierra, Sight Seers, Cross Country, Coyote, and Tahoe Hiking Clubs were among the more than 200 people to join the Tamalpais Conservation Club that year, helping to keep the mountain free of rubbish and to improve the trails and bridges, as they lent their active support to the continued effort to establish a public park in the area. Their hopes, however, to interest the State in purchasing the land

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172. As quoted in San Francisco Morning Call, July 9, 1909, p. 1, c.1; July 10, 1909, p. 20, c.4.

for a park were hampered by the continued opposition among the area's landowners to sell their property when land values were rising, and by the limited appeal which the Tamalpais region had for the statewide electorate who had to approve funds for the park's acquisition. As a substitute measure, the club backed a bill introduced by Assemblyman Clark and Senator Owens in 1913 for a Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge which was to prohibit hunting game animals or birds in an area extending over the Mount Tamalpais watershed, Bolinas Ridge, and the countryside south to Tennessee Valley. Because of adamant opposition from hunting clubs and property owners, the legislation for the game refuge took more than four years to pass, but as of July 27, 1917, the few deer and other depleted wildlife of the mountain were safe from hunters' bullets, as were the hikers and tourists in the area some of whom had feared accidental shootings during the hunting season.<sup>173</sup>

Although the Tamalpais Conservation Club and other mountain enthusiasts continued to campaign for a park, years passed before the public's interest was aroused sufficiently to give the proposal substance. The turning point came in 1925 after Marin County voters approved a \$125,000 bond issue for a road program which not only earmarked \$75,000 for a new road between Mill Valley and Stinson Beach over one of the hiking clubs' favorite trails, but which also threatened to destroy popular Bootjack and Rattlesnake Camps for hikers by opening the privately-owned

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173. Quotation from "History of Tamalpais Conservation Club," MS, in notebook, "Tamalpais Conservation Club, 1914-" at CHS, S.F.; Harold French, "Mount Tamalpais Game Refuge," The Overland Monthly 61 (Jan.-June, 1913), 424-32; San Francisco Call, Mar. 29, 1913, p. 20, c.4; "Chronological History, Marin county," vol. 2, pp. 418, 434; San Francisco Examiner, Nov. 30, 1916, p. 8, c.2; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 23, 1951, clipping, in Scrapbook 5, San Rafael Public Library.

Newlands tract for development as subdivision. Marvelous Marin, Inc., the county's private promoting outfit, leaped into the fray in support of the Tamalpais State Park proposal which the Tamalpais Conservation Club had been pushing for some eight years. At the same time, they also supported the proposal for a Mill Valley to Stinson Beach road via the Pipe Line Trail and Bridge, arguing that the county needed to keep pace with the modern day of the motorist. Marvelous Marin's compromise position in 1926 may have helped clinch the creation of Mount Tamalpais State Park by an act passed January 20, 1927, which provided for

the erection and management of the Tamalpais state park, making an appropriation therefore, and creating the Tamalpais state park commission, with power to acquire land and other property for the creation, maintenance, and improvement of said park, and for additions thereto, and to maintain and manage the same and to appoint a guardian thereof.<sup>174</sup>

Behind this wordy legislation, the State set aside the 550-acre Newlands-Magee tract as part of the Tamalpais Park, thus sparing it from subdivision, but it did not provide the necessary funds to purchase the tract which the State found necessary to condemn. By September 1929 the Bay Area community showed commitment to the park by raising \$32,000 for the land purchase, while the State put up \$20,000 to meet the \$100 per acre

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174. As quoted from California Assembly Bill 677 in Eric Montizambert, "A History of Mount Tamalpais," p. 4; in "Marin County History," typescript, by students of Mount Tamalpais High School, Mill Valley, Cal., Spring 1969; Annual Reports, Officers Marvelous Marin, Nov. 9, 1926, in Scrapbook 5, S.R.P.L.; "Tamalpais Conservation Club 1914-," p. 72; "Historical Chronology Muir Woods," p. 10.

price fixed on 520 condemned acres. Of the private subscription, the Tamalpais Conservation Club members contributed about \$10,000; the members of the Sierra Club, the California Alpine Club of San Francisco, the Contra Costa Hills Club, the Berkeley Hiking Club, the Tourist Club, the Cross Country Club, the California Camera Club, and the San Rafael Improvement Club, pitched in another \$10,000 or so; and \$12,000 came from B. F. Shelesinger and friends. William Kent followed through on his promised donation of the 204-acre Steep Ravine tract to the park on the day before his death on March 13, 1928. Between 1930 and 1960 the trustees of his estate carried on Kent's precedent by deeding another 295 acres of land to the Mount Tamalpais State Park which now contains some 6,000 acres in West Marin County.<sup>175</sup>

c. Angel Island State Park

With the establishment of a municipal water district and a state and national park on its western coast, Marin County offered the Bay Area outstanding scenic and recreational opportunities which projected land acquisition programs promised to improve over the years. Outspoken public appreciation, especially from the Marin Conservation League, for the natural attributes of the rural, almost wild, Marin shoreline helped facilitate the donation and acceptance of Stinson Beach as a county park in 1932 and 1939, while the continued usefulness of the military reservations on the Bay and on the headlands, as well as the continued prosperity of

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175. "Historical Chronology, Muir Woods," p. 10; "Chronological History, Marin County," vol. 2, p. 513; California Department of Parks and Recreation, Division of Beaches and Parks, Mount Tamalpais State Park, Ownership Map; H. Howe Wagner, Mount Tamalpais State Park, Marin County (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1941), n.p. Wagner also notes that when the park opened to the public in 1930 it consisted of 892 acres.

ranching along the coast, cast a protective mantle over the panorama of rolling grasslands still restricted from public recreation.

In July 1946, however, Fort McDowell on Angel Island was declared surplus, making it the first military post within the boundaries of Marin County to require consideration on its future use. Although speculation and various proposals were aired in the press in 1946 and 1947, no definite plan for the island surfaced until Public Law 616 of June 1948 revised the 1944 Surplus Act to authorize the War Assets Administration to dispose of surplus real property and its improvements to states, counties, or municipalities for recreational or historical park purposes. Accordingly, on October 11, 1948, Marin County's Board of Supervisors applied for the entire 640.8-acre island, together with tidal lands for 300 yards below low tide mark, and all improvements, to preserve its historic values and to construct a museum for the interpretation of the island and San Francisco Bay history. In order to evaluate its historic resources the Secretary of the Interior directed the National Park Service in July 1948 to prepare a study on Angel Island which Region Four's historian, John A. Hussey, completed in April 1949. Although the study confirmed that the entire island possessed historic significance, Marin County dropped its proposal, undoubtedly after it completed cost estimates for the project.<sup>176</sup>

Interest in Angel Island for its historic values, however, was perpetuated by the Department of the Interior the following June when the Secretary reserved the island for disposal

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176. MacDonald, Angel Island, pp. 135-37; Hussey, Fort McDowell, p. 1.

to the State or one of its subdivisions for park or recreational use, and by a group of Bay Area citizens who formed the Angel Island Foundation in the fall of 1950 to promote a historical park. The State finally clarified its position on the matter in May 1951 when it stipulated that if a local park authority would assume the management and protection of the island under lease, then it would purchase the property at the fair price set in 1947 by the War Assets Administration.

To stimulate local support for the park concept, the Angel Island Foundation, together with the Pacific Maritime Academy and other groups, staged an "Angel Island Day" on September 21, 1952, at which they passed out carefully prepared souvenir programs which recounted the island's history and possibilities for its development. San Francisco voters responded to the publicity by narrowly passing Proposition R on the November 1952 ballot which only provided that the Angel Island city park plan be further considered. Despite strong opposition from five important business groups in the city, San Francisco's Board of Supervisors approved a resolution in January 1953 to place Angel Island on the City's Park and Recreation master plan. Encouraged, the Angel Island Foundation produced a report the following month with recommendations for long-range use of the island as a park, and the State, in April 1953, announced their plans to preserve the island. But by June the opposition had mounted in San Francisco against adding another costly park to the City's network of parks and playgrounds, making the future of the island so uncertain that the Angel Island Foundation reportedly suspended their efforts in disgust.<sup>177</sup>

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177. MacDonald, Angel Island, pp. 140-43. When founded, the Angel Island Foundation had as its executive secretary John F. Landis, and as its officers, Mrs. Norman B. Livermore, Charles A.

California, on the other hand, still seemed ready to purchase Angel Island according to news accounts printed in October 1953. Governor Knight, however, further delayed the transaction when he requested additional time to consider the matter of the island's historic resources. Taking the plunge, the California Division of Beaches and Parks first assumed management of Hospital Cove as an historical park on April 30, 1954, by an agreement with the federal government which relieved the State of any cost. So began Angel Island State Park on only some 36.82 acres containing the abandoned U.S. Quarantine Station. On the rest of the island the Secretary of the Interior had issued permits to the Army for a guided missile base, to the Coast Guard for three light stations, and to the Navy for a degaussing station at the old immigration station, known as North Garrison as of the 1941 military occupation of the station.

The state park's nominal foothold on the island seemed to revitalize the Angel Island Foundation which has, to date, continued to play an active role in the planning for the historical park. In honor of one of the foundation's founders and principal officers, and of one of Marin County's leading conservationists, the State Park Commissioners changed the name of Mount Ida, the central geographic feature of the island, to Mount Caroline S. Livermore on September 21, 1959. In apparent contradiction to the purpose of the park, however, the Division of Parks and Beaches in 1957 authorized the demolition of nearly all the historic structures in Hospital Cove, sparing only the four residential quarters now serving the park's staff. This nearly

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Winslow, M. A. Cremer, Bruce Johnstone, A. A. Moran, Thomas G. Plant, Fred Parr, Porter Dunlap, Frank Marsh, Aubrey Neasham, and Maj. O. A. Tomlinson. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

complete destruction of the abandoned national quarantine station which protected San Francisco Bay, the West Coast, and the nation from contagious diseases for half a century, in order to provide public picnic facilities and finger piers, suggested a short-sighted appreciation of the historic values present on the island. Moreover, not until two years after California assumed control over the entire island in 1962 did it provide the first funds for historical restoration planned for East Garrison, and only this past year, 1976, has preservation funding been approved, and in-depth research been completed, on the rapidly deteriorating immigration station. Nonetheless, the Angel Island State Park represented an important public recognition of the rich historic resources around San Francisco Bay and no doubt helped pave the way for Marin Headlands State Park in the 1960s and Golden Gate National Recreation Area in the subsequent decade.<sup>178</sup>

d. Point Reyes National Seashore, 1962

In 1962, after nearly thirty years in proposal, Point Reyes peninsula was declared a national seashore "to save and preserve for purposes of public recreation and inspiration, a

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178. MacDonald, Angel Island., pp. 144-48; untitled chronology of Angel Island, 1954-1975, n.p., typescript at Angel Island State Park. In July 1976 Governor Brown signed a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the preservation of the oriental barracks at the immigration station site. A strong public campaign led by the Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco and the Angel Island Immigration Historical Advisory Committee, had gained the active support of Senator John Foran, who co-authored and pushed the bill to protect this historic structure. San Francisco Chronicle, July 10, 1976, p. 2. In 1971 Angel Island was placed on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district by the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Only a partial representation of the island's historic structures was included, however, on the form. A copy of the form in GGNRA files, Historic Preservation Division, Denver Service Center.

portion of the diminishing seashore of the United States still undeveloped." As early as 1935 the National Park Service had found Point Reyes worthy of national seashore status and had recommended the purchase of 53,000 acres on the peninsula to provide, primarily, an exceptional recreation area in close proximity to the concentrated population of central California. Conrad Wirth, Assistant Director of Region Eight's Branch of Planning in San Francisco, had completed this first National Park Service study on Point Reyes in 1935, and, in 1961, as Director of the National Park Service, he again testified in favor of its establishment as a national seashore before Congressional subcommittee hearings. Wirth argued that the Service's thorough study of the nation's coast during the thirties had resulted in the creation of only one national seashore, Cape Hatteras, and that many other areas similarly recommended had since been lost to park status through private development. There was, he urged, all the more reason to proceed immediately in 1961 to set aside Point Reyes peninsula for the future enjoyment of the nation's public.

Conrad Wirth's strong endorsement of the Point Reyes National Seashore legislation which Marin County's Congressman, Clem Miller, and Senator Clair Engle had first introduced in July 1959, reflected an impressive body of public opinion. Public support had begun to rally behind the National Park Service's renewed recommendation in 1957 for the establishment of Point Reyes as a national seashore once it became clear that developers, calling themselves Drakes Beach Estates, had purchased land near Limantour Spit and had planned to build a golf course, a large commercial center, and a housing development with half-acre sites along the bay shore. On Inverness Ridge, too, the Sweet Timber Company had begun cutting the virgin forests of Bishop pine and Douglas fir and had set up a sawmill in 1958, and talk of oil development on the peninsula added fire to the conservationists'

crusade. A 500-strong Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation took form under the leadership of Marin County's Joel Gustafson, Associate Director of the California Academy of Sciences, who in 1961 presented the following list of supporting organizations at the subcommittee on national park's hearings on the Point Reyes legislation, H.R. 2775 and H.R. 3244:

American Forestry Association.  
American Institute of Planners, California Chapter.  
American Nature Association.  
Associated Students, College of Marin.  
Belvedere City Recreation Commission.  
Berkeley City Council.  
California Academy of Sciences.  
California Roadside Council.  
California State Park Commission.  
California Wildlife Federation.  
Castro Valley Chamber of Commerce.  
Central California Council of Diving Clubs.  
Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks in the San Francisco Bay Area.  
Conservation Associates.  
Contra Costa Hills Club.  
East Bay Regional Park District, Oakland, Calif.  
Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.  
Girl Scouts of San Francisco.  
Hayward Chamber of Commerce.  
Inverness Improvement Association.  
Izaak Walton League, Marin County Chapter.  
Izaak Walton League of America.  
Izaak Walton League, Redwood Empire Chapter.  
Lagunitas Parent-Teachers Association.  
Marin and Sonoma Counties 14th District Parent-Teachers Association.  
Marin Audubon Society.  
Marin Conservation League.  
Marin County Labor Council.  
Marin County Parks and Recreation Commission.  
Marin Rod and Gun Club.  
Mill Valley City Parks and Recreation Commission.  
National Audubon Society.  
National Parks Advisory Board.  
National Parks Association.  
National Wildlife Federation.  
Nature Conservancy.  
Novato Community Club.

Oakland Chamber of Commerce Sports and Recreation Committee.  
Point Reyes National Seashore Foundation.  
Regional Parks Association (Berkeley, Calif.).  
Ross Valley Council of Parents and Teachers.  
San Francisco Bay Area Planning Directors Committee.  
San Francisco City and County Board of Supervisors.  
San Francisco Garden Club.  
San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce.  
San Francisco Zoological Society.  
Sierra Club.  
Society of American Landscape Architects, Northern California.  
Sport Fishing Institute.  
Tamalpais Conservation Club.  
Trustees for Conservation.  
Wildlife Management Institute.  
Wilderness Society.

The total of fifty-three groups thus covered a range of city, county, regional, state, and national organizations which represented a large assortment of people from across the country who voiced the need to preserve vanishing open spaces, especially near densely populated centers, for the common good of all people.<sup>179</sup>

But local resistance from the Point Reyes ranchers, many of whom were second and third generation residents on the peninsula, the Marin County Board of Supervisors, and the California and Marin County Farm Bureaus, to the designation of

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179. Conrad L. Wirth, Study of A National Seashore Recreation Area Point Reyes Peninsula California, San Francisco: [National Park Service, Region Eight], July 15, 1935, n.p.; U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on National Parks, Bills to Establish The Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California, and For Other Purposes: Hearings on H.R. 2275 and H.R. 3244, 87th Cong., 1st sess., March 24, July 6 and August 11, 1961, pp. 2, 70-71, 86, 111-13, 119; U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Region Four, Pacific Coast Seashore Survey Preliminary Report Point Reyes Peninsula, California Seashore Area. [San Francisco:] National Park Service, June 30, 1957, cover page and p. 14; Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 160-63.

53,000 acres for a national seashore recreation area slowed the legislation. Consideration had to be given to their counter proposal to set aside only the southernmost 20,000 acres for the seashore park, leaving most of the grazing lands in private ownership, and to Senator McCarthy's proposal to create--instead of the Point Reyes National Seashore--a large state park from surplus military lands at Forts Baker, Barry, and Cronkhite at the Golden Gate, on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, and at Fort Funston on the San Francisco County coast.

Point Reyes' striking beauty and remarkable state of preservation, however, represented too great a national treasure to lose to private ownership and development. Under a compromise bill presented by Director Wirth in August 1961, Congress finally passed the legislation creating Point Reyes National Seashore and President Kennedy gave it final authorization on September 13, 1962, in time to stop the progress of the Drakes Beach Estates Company which had received permission to enlarge their subdivision overlooking Drakes Bay to 701 lots. According to the final bill, 23,000 acres of Point Reyes peninsula were set aside for public recreation, while 26,000 acres were designated as a pastoral zone to perpetuate the dairy and beef cattle ranching tradition on the peninsula. The Bay Area conservationists had again played an important role in the protection of their natural resources, and their combined effort for Point Reyes provided a firm foundation for a united front to establish Golden Gate National Recreation Area only a decade later.<sup>180</sup>

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180. House, Subcommittee on Nat. Parks, Point Reyes N.S., 87th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 24, July 6, Aug. 11, 1961, pp. 8, 12-58, 64, 66-69, 111, 119. Senator John McCarthy's (San Rafael) proposal seemingly has no relationship with the later Golden Gate NRA legislation. As Senator Engle and Congressman Miller pointed out in their January 1961 statement made when introducing their

2. San Francisco County

a. San Francisco Maritime Museum, 1950

Aquatic Park, the \$2,000,000 playground finally dedicated in 1939 after decades of effort to see its completion, stood deserted and closed to the public in 1941 when Karl Kortum, Petaluma-born sailing ship enthusiast, first anticipated its potential as a maritime museum. Kortum was forming his scheme while departing San Francisco on board the Kaiulani, the last American-made square-rigger to sail around Cape Horn. In his boyhood Kortum had passed many hours inspecting the sailing vessels anchored around San Francisco Bay and had oft-dreamed of signing up on one of the great nineteenth century ships fast disappearing from the modern scene. When the shortage of available ships during World War II resurrected the Kaiulani, as well as several other relics from the West Coast's maritime history, Kortum lost no time securing a position as crew member. This experience, combined with his deep appreciation and knowledge of West Coast maritime history, led to his leadership in the creation and development of the San Francisco Maritime Museum and the San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park in the years following the war.<sup>181</sup>

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seashore bill, the National Park Service had completed three studies on Point Reyes, (1935, 1957, 1960), all of which reported in favor of a national seashore. The joint Engle and Miller bill embodied the proposal set forth by the National Park Service in a public hearing held in Marin County by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in April 1960, p. 66. U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Region Four, Tentative Report on the Economic Feasibility of the Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore 1960 ([San Francisco: National Park Service, 1960]); Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 168-69.

181. Clippings, Petaluma Argus-Courier, May 31, 1951; Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 13, 1951, notebook, "San Francisco Maritime Museum-I," San Francisco Maritime Museum, hereinafter cited, "S.F.M.M.-I," S.F.M.M.; Moulton H. Farnham, "Balclutha and the San Francisco Maritime Museum," reprint from Boating (June 1972), n.p.

Having returned after the war to his Petaluma ranch, where he hoped to write a book about his sailing adventures on board the Kaiulani, Kortum gave further thought to the need for preserving San Francisco's maritime heritage. In a deftly-worded letter to Scott Newhall, editor of the San Francisco Chronicle's "This World" section and brother to one of the crew on board the Kaiulani, Kortum laid out his proposal for Aquatic Park. "At the foot of Van Ness avenue is one of the most pointless areas in San Francisco--Aquatic Park--and my proposal is to give it point by concentrating there the story of the city's great maritime past. At the present time the place has motif but no substance; it always reminds me of an empty stage." To enliven the scene and wake San Francisco up to its sailing ship tradition, Kortum envisioned the casino or bathhouse building as a marine museum for Mrs. Spreckel's collection of marine artifacts, paintings, and ship models and for other nautical displays, while the lagoon would shelter the "only full rigged merchant ship on the face of the earth," the Star of Alaska. With little faith in the city's Park Commissioners who, Kortum felt, knew "nothing about ships" and who cared only for "bronze effigies and flower beds," Kortum hoped that a newspaper campaign might arouse enough public support to give the proposal momentum.

Patterned after the Mystic Seaport project in Connecticut, which attracted some 50,000 visitors annually, Kortum's proposal for Aquatic Park had reason for success. More importantly, the story in itself commanded great interest, as Kortum so eloquently explained:

Real sailing ships are so rare these days that they create their own publicity, and if any city has a right to share it, it is San Francisco, the port that inspired the building of the Yankee clipper ships, that supported the magnificent "downeast" Cape Horners until the turn of the century, that sent whaling ships to the Arctic, sealing

vessels to the Western Pacific, lumber schooners to the South Seas, and which, in the Salmon packing fleet, had the last great gathering of sailing ships on the face of the earth.

By building a shrine to the ships that built San Francisco, Kortum felt confident that the Chamber of Commerce and the Chronicle both would be provided with material to entice the city's visitors and readers for years to come. Already Kortum had written to the Mayor who had shown interest in the plan but had warned that municipal funding was not available for such a project. What Kortum needed most, however, was publicity for his ideas which newspaper coverage so readily could accomplish, and his heartfelt presentation to Scott Newhall got the results he had hoped for. Fascinated by Kortum's plan, Newhall forwarded it to Paul C. Smith, editor of the Chronicle, with a note describing Kortum as "a stubborn and enthusiastic young man" whose "one great passion is sailing." Convinced that "if anybody could put the program over [Kortum] . . . could," Newhall promised to contribute his "excess energy" if the newspaper decided to back the idea.<sup>182</sup>

Editor Smith saw the potential in Kortum's plan as well, and on March 29, 1949, gave Newhall the go ahead to get a project prospectus. Within a week Kortum had been contacted, had met with Newhall, and had taken a late afternoon tour of the Aquatic Park area, at a time when the setting sun struck the old brick waterfront buildings with golden light, helping to inspire Kortum's extended scheme for the project. Why not restore several blocks of waterfront to their nineteenth century appearance? Already two-thirds of the work was done with the Haslett Warehouse and Ghirardelli chocolate factory flanking the square. To complete

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182. Kortum to Newhall, Mar. 5, 1949; Newhall, memo, to Smith, Mar. 8, 1949, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-I"; Kortum to Lawrence Barber, Marine Editor, Portland Oregonian, June 19, 1962, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," S.F.M.M.

the period setting only a row of stores would need a face lifting, and, perhaps, the square might be cobbled, the Hyde Street cable car extended down a few hundred yards to enter the empty lot adjoining Aquatic Park to the east, and an appropriately designed railway station built at its terminus. Should there be an interest in exhibiting some of the old trains and cable cars, then part of Haslett warehouse could be remodeled to accommodate them, and in the square itself an old shipyard could be recreated to display smaller sailing craft of the period, such as the Italian fishermen's felucca, the scow schooner, or the sloop Gjoa, which carried Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen through the Northwest Passage between 1903 and 1906. With the talents of an able landscape architect, the square's nineteenth century appearance could be brought together to complete the outdoor exhibit on shore, while the Star of Alaska moored at the recreation pier "would look magnificent" from any vantage point in the neighborhood. And although the casino building would not architecturally fit the setting, Kortum thought its nautical design harmonious with the scheme. Its interior, moreover, was "just crying for use as a marine museum." Spacious, light, and open, the building offered excellent room for displays as well as vaults to store valuable historic material, the acquisition of which the museum would encourage. Writing to Scott Newhall on April 7, 1949, Kortum concluded that if California's second biggest industry was the tourist trade as he had just learned, then the justification for his Aquatic Park proposal was already prepared for a presentation to the City's Park Commissioners.<sup>183</sup>

With the benefit of more than twenty-five years hindsight since Karl Kortum first laid out his scheme for the

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183. Kortum to Scott, Apr. 7, 1949, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-I," S.F.M.M.

Aquatic Park area, it can be readily recognized the extent to which his original vision came into reality. First, the establishment of the San Francisco Maritime Museum in May 1951, and the purchase and restoration of the square-rigger, Star of Alaska, or Balclutha, in 1954 and 1955; the extension of the cable car line in 1955; the landscaping and construction of a railway station house on the lot east of Aquatic Park to complete Victorian Plaza in 1962; the preservation and remodeling of the Ghirardelli chocolate factory into Ghirardelli Square in 1962 and 1963; and the purchase of Haslett warehouse for a railroad museum in January 1963. Kortum, too, had a major part in planning the acquisition and restoration of the historic ships at Hyde Street pier to make possible its opening as the San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park in 1963.<sup>184</sup>

Kortum, however, would be the first to share the credit for the developments at Aquatic Park with the many energetic, aggressive, and enthusiastic people who cooperated in the often-frustrating effort to bring the plan into realization. Kortum's first newspaper contact, Scott Newhall, assigned young Chronicle reporter, Dave Nelson, to the project late in 1949 and together they organized its necessary private and political backbone. First they secured the cooperation of the City's three other newspapers in a press campaign which opened on December 12, 1949, with the Mayor's endorsement of a "living"

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184. "Background of the Maritime Museum," no date; Kortum to Barber, June 19, 1962, pp. 2-3; "San Francisco's Maritime Museum," Compass (May 1962), 21-24; "A Salute to San Francisco's Maritime Museum," Matsonews (July-Aug. 1960), 12-13, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II"; Farnham, "Balclutha," n.p.; "Karl Kortum CHS Fellow," California Historical Society announcement, SFMM; [Jerome A. Greene,] "History of Haslett Warehouse," in Special Report Haslett Warehouse, San Francisco, California ([National Park Service]: Denver Service Center, 1974), pp. 14, 17; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 71.

maritime museum at Aquatic Park. The same month Mayor Robinson approved the proposal of Gilbert Kneiss, vice-president of the Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, to contribute a collection of fifteen pieces of historic rolling stock to the Aquatic Park exhibits. Enthusiasm for the project spread rapidly among the San Francisco Board of Supervisors who backed the Mayor's proposal on December 28, 1949. Based on Nelson's recommendations, the Mayor appointed a citizens' committee of thirty-seven prominent civic leaders from the shipping industry, the press, and various commercial, cultural, and professional circles of San Francisco to prepare the plans for the museum. With Edward H. Harms at its head, the committee had the proposals before the Mayor and Park Commissioners by early spring 1950, after which the Mayor urged the project get underway immediately.

Having received official approval of the project and on annual lease of \$1.00 a year for the Aquatic Park casino for the newly-formed non-profit San Francisco Maritime Museum Association, Karl Kortum and a brigade of volunteers went to work gathering, planning, building, and setting up displays for the museum. Thanks to a continued press coverage, gifts for the museum poured into the Mayor's office where Kortum had been assigned space to coordinate the project. As predicted by Kortum in 1949, Mrs. Alma de Brettsville Spreckels donated the \$50,000 collection of marine artifacts and ship models which originally had been assembled by Edward H. Clark, of Interoceanic Steamship Company and founder of the San Francisco Ship Model Society, for display at the 1940 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. The other two-thirds of the contributed exhibits came from varying sources, including the Coast Guard and Navy, while financial support, primarily for necessary supplies, came from the steamship industry and Mrs. Spreckels, who Kortum later

recognized as the principal patroness of the project. Key volunteer assistance in preparing the exhibits was provided by the Pacific Marine Research Society and the Nautical Research Guild, and in arranging for the May 27, 1951 dedication, by the Marine Committee of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Dolphin Rowing Club, the Sea Explorers, the Military Transportation Service, the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the California Maritime Academy.

Within the first year in operation, the San Francisco Maritime Museum drew over 300,000 visitors, reportedly the largest attendance ever recorded at a maritime museum in the United States. Besides credit due to the press, the museum owed its notable success to the innovation of its displays. Kortum had taken some of his ideas from a catalogue of Stockholm's Sea History Museum which set up parts of real ships in the museum along side traditional ship models and artifact displays. During 1950 Kortum and a group of volunteers extracted the bow of the 600-ton schooner, Commerce, lying at Sausalito, for one of the museum's prominent exhibits. Impressive ships' figureheads and relics from all types of bay and coastal vessels also intermingled with what was said to be the finest collection of shipping paintings and photographs then in existence. In addition, the museum offered the enthusiasts and scholars free use of an excellent marine and nautical library, and all this with only one salaried employee, Kortum himself, who, with Newhall's assistance, obtained a municipal civil service appointment shortly after the museum opened.<sup>185</sup>

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185. "San Francisco's Maritime Museum," p. 23; Farnham, "Balclutha," n.p.; clippings, San Francisco Call, Dec. 12, 1949; San Francisco News, Dec. 12, 15, 1949; San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 26, 28, 1949, May 16, 1951; San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 2,

The San Francisco Maritime Museum Association's "Argonaut Bay" development plan for Aquatic Park got underway early in 1953 with help from the press. The ambitious scheme which envisioned a restored windjammer and Sacramento riverboat in the cove and a roundhouse, railroad museum, and typical Bay Area shipyard in the empty lot east of the museum, depended largely on raising some \$225,000 from public subscription. The most immediate concern, however, was rescuing the Pacific Queen, the last of the square riggers still afloat, from the fate of her sisters. Christened originally Balclutha when launched by owner Robert McMillan in 1886, the English steel-hulled three-masted ship had adapted herself to many other owners, roles, and names following her brief career in the San Francisco-based grain trade. Star of France, Star of Holland, Star of Lapland, Star of Zealand, Star of Finland, and Star of Alaska graced her hull as she plied the seas carrying lumber, salmon, and other cargoes to their destination. In 1933, however, ex-carnival performer, Tex Kissinger, purchased her from the Alaska Packers' Association to serve as a money-making tourist attraction. Renamed

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Mar. 9, 1950, May 20, 1951; San Francisco Argonaut, Mar. 31, 1950; San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Apr. 26, 1950; Park Merced News, May 3, 1951; Petaluma Argus-Courier, May 31, 1951; San Francisco The Sextant, Nov. 1952; notebook, "S.F.M.M.-I"; Kortum to Jack R. Dant, States Steamship Co., S.F., Nov. 2, 1959. Kortum here gives the following dates: on Jan. 6, 1950, the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association incorporated; on Sept. 14, 1950, the Association received a lease to the Aquatic Park building; on Feb. 28, 1951, the Association took over the Spreckels collection, until that date called the Marine Section, Museum of Science and Industry. Kortum to Mrs. Edward S. Clark, Long Beach, Cal., Oct. 25, 1960; Mrs. Clark to Kortum, Nov. 2, 1960; "Background of Maritime Museum," n.p., notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," S.F.M.M.; photos with captions dated Mar. 24, Apr. 18, 1950; Apr. 5, 1951, Aquatic Park photo file, S.F. History Room, S.F.P.L.

the Pacific Queen, she was towed from port to port along the coast for nearly twenty years, occasionally performing in American movies such as Mutiny on the Bounty. Finally, in 1952, Kissinger unceremoniously grounded her at Sausalito and only a few months later died, leaving the abandoned square rigger to his widow. Anxious to acquire her as a floating museum, the Museum Association raised \$20,000 to purchase the Pacific Queen from Rose Kissinger, but she prolonged the negotiations for nearly a year, during which time the Association members divided camps on the wisdom of the whole endeavor. On the brink of losing his long-dreamed of project, Karl Kortum took the problem to Harry Lundenberg, powerful Sailors' Union leader, who made a surprise attendance at the annual Maritime Museum Association Board meeting of April 19, 1954 to testify in behalf of completing the purchase. In response to the opposition's argument that it was folly to spend so much for an old ship which hadn't even any scrap value, Lundenberg quietly but eloquently replied, "The scrap value is no way to set a price for the last great sailing ship left on the Coast." His statement reportedly was met with a "stunned silence" and a vote from the Board to continue negotiations with Mrs. Kissinger. Within a few weeks the purchase of the Pacific Queen was completed for \$25,000, one third of the original asking price.

How to raise the quarter million dollars estimated to restore the dilapidated windjammer to her original condition when launched in 1886 presented the next major obstacle to the project's progress. Again public support came to the rescue when the press carried the story of the Pacific Queen's touch-and-go purchase and proposed restoration. Aroused by the coverage, Donn Shannon, a shipbuilding union man, inquired of Kortum whether the city's labor unions might be of assistance on the project. Subsequently eight labor unions, largely under the leadership of Mario Grossetti, Secretary of the Iron Shipbuilders

Union Local Nine, contributed more than 13,000 man hours towards the carefully planned restoration, while the shipping industry pitched in more than \$100,000 worth of services and goods to the remarkable community effort. On July 19, 1955, after more than a year of volunteer work, the Balclutha, sporting her original colors as a British grain cargo ship, was docked at Pier 43, where the public was invited to tour her for a fifty cent admission charge. More than one million people visited her during the first five years, providing the Museum Association the necessary funds to operate and to pursue the incompleated plans for the Aquatic Park neighborhood.

The continued popularity of the historic ship museum owed much to the quality of the interpretive exhibits. Giving credit to Karl Kortum for their completion, Director of the Independent Historical Studies, Walter Muir Whitehall, found the Balclutha to be a "remarkable piece of work" exhibited "with extraordinary perceptiveness and skill, without a trace of nonsense or tourist bally hoo." National Park Service Regional Chief of Interpretation Bennett T. Gale in San Francisco personally informed Kortum that his staff, having visited the Balclutha in 1959, had been "much impressed with the interpretive markers and devices used in telling her colorful story, and the effective manner in which the historical role of sailing ships is woven in throughout."<sup>186</sup>

Not one to rest on his laurels, however, Kortum led the Association into another battle to preserve and develop the

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186. "A Salute," p. 13; Farnham, "Balclutha," n.p.; "Background of Maritime Museum," n.p., notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II"; Bennett T. Gale, Reg. Chf. of Interp., Region Four, NPS, to Kortum, Mar. 10, 1959; Whitehall, Dir. of the Study, Independent Historical Studies, to George Blake, Glasgow, Scotland, Mar. 31, 1960, S.F.M.M.

Aquatic Park area in 1955 when the city announced its plans to sell the property to the east of the museum, where the Association anticipated developing its transport museum. Despite the Mayor's original endorsement of the sale, with a mind to use the funds to purchase land for McLaren Park or Hamilton Square, "a flood of architects, city planners, and citizens' groups" banded together as the Citizens' Committee for the Preservation of Aquatic Park to support the museum directors in their effort to save the block for a major tourist attraction. So strong was the protest that within weeks of the City's announcement, Mayor Robinson relented and the block was again made available for park or museum planning.

By July 1955 the City's Board of Supervisors showed its support of the Maritime Museum by sponsoring a park and recreation bond issue which included funds for the cable car turntable and for landscaping and developing the empty block as a transport museum. Both Proposition B and C were approved by the electorate, allowing the City to contract in December 1955 with Payne Construction Company of Oakland, through the Public Utilities Commission, for the construction of the cable car turntable at Hyde and Beach Streets for some \$100,000. Landscaping the block came later, but the transport museum fell to the wayside with conflicting plans for its future.<sup>187</sup>

Coincidentally the Museum Association had launched a campaign to interest the State in a proposal for a maritime monument at Aquatic Park. Acting as catalyst, the

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187. Quoted from clipping, San Francisco Chronicle, May 18, 1955; Mar. 29, May 5, 7, Dec. 6, 1955; San Francisco News, May 5, 7, July 7, 1955; San Francisco Examiner, May 18, Sept. 27, 1955, notebook, "Aquatic Park Text," S.F.M.M.; "Background of Maritime Museum," n.p., notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," S.F.M.M.

Association brought together representatives from the State and City to consider the Museum Association's master plan for the area which now included the acquisition of two historic wooden schooners for restoration and display in the cove, and the Haslett Warehouse for an early California historical museum. On January 21, 1955, Congressman Maloney got the legislation rolling when he introduced California Assembly Bill No. 3689, which was an act "to establish a State Mariner's Memorial in San Francisco, relating to the State Park System and making an appropriation therefor." Nearly nine years passed, however, between this bill and the opening of the San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park, years in which great community effort helped to bring some more of Karl Kortum's 1949 dreams into reality.<sup>188</sup>

b. San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park

Behind the movement for a state maritime monument lay sixty-five million dollars returned to California in 1955 from the Tidelands Oil Royalty Fund sponsored by President Eisenhower. Refunded from coastal oil drilling royalties, the money went to California's Department of Natural Resources which included the Division of Beaches and Parks. Hoping to secure some of the Tidelands refund for a maritime state park Kortum, Dave Nelson, and Hugh Gallagher, president of the Museum Association, went to the State Capitol to talk up their plan to rescue the Wapama (1915), the last of 224 steam schooners, and the C.A. Thayer (1895), the last of 122 three-masted schooners which once plied the Pacific coast in the heyday of maritime commerce. With the full endorsement of the city's press and the invaluable support of Harry Lundenberg, who had been so instrumental in saving the Balclutha

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188. "Background of Maritime Museum," n.p., notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II"; copy of Assembly Bill 3689, S.F.M.M.

project in 1954, the State legislature authorized \$200,000 to purchase and restore the two cargo ships as historical monuments. In 1957 the two ships were brought down from the North Pacific Coast to San Francisco where the Maritime Museum Association assembled the best wooden shipwrights in the Bay Area to carry out the restoration for the State under the expert supervision of Harry Dring, a former mate of Kortum's on the Kaiulani.<sup>189</sup>

In the meantime, the State legislature approved \$2,000,000 for a state maritime park on the San Francisco waterfront and the Association, under the leadership of its president, R. Stanley Dollar, Jr., went after the entire sum to carry out their "Project X" plan for Hyde Street pier, Haslett warehouse, and the transportation center. The Museum Association, however, had competition from the City which hoped to capture the State funds by including the historic ships in their Ferry Building Park plan. With Dollar's aggressive leadership and the support of the Chairman of the State Park Commission, Joseph R. Knowland, publisher of the Oakland Tribune and a man whose family once had operated lumber schooners to and from their mill in Gardiner, Oregon, the \$2,000,000 were won for the Association's proposal in 1957, thus assuring the further development of the Aquatic Park area as a center of maritime history.<sup>190</sup>

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189. Farnham, "Balclutha," n.p.; "A Salute," p. 13; Kortum to Barber, June 19, 1962, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," S.F.M.M.; clippings, San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 25, 1955; San Francisco News, Apr. 22, 1955; San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 25, 1955; San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Apr. 21, 1955, Scrapbook I, San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park, hereinafter cited, S.F.M.S.H.P.

190. Greene, "History of Haslett Warehouse," p. 15; Kortum to Barber, June 19, 1962, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," S.F.M.M.; "A Salute," p. 13; Farnham; "Balclutha," n.p.

Another significant break occurred for the maritime monument in 1957, when the Southern Pacific Company donated the bay ferry, Eureka, to the San Francisco Maritime Museum which turned it over to the State of California for the Hyde Street exhibit. Having carried during part of her long career great numbers of commuters, weekend visitors, and tourists from Hyde Street pier to Sausalito, the retired Eureka served as an appropriate reminder of the century-old tradition of bay ferries on San Francisco's waterfront. Moreover, her gigantic walking-beam engine provided an excellent opportunity to interpret a typical form of locomotion for the enormous bay ferry fleet, as well as a common feature among the river and coastal steamers which connected with San Francisco.

With restoration of the two schooners, C.A. Thayer and Wapama, well underway, the State agreed to rescue yet another historic vessel type from oblivion. In August 1959 Karl Kortum and Edward Dolder, Deputy Director of the California Department of Natural Resources, purchased the last of some 300 San Francisco Bay scow schooners, the Alma, laid up at the Bay Shell Company yard at Alviso, California. Although drastically remodeled over the years, the State, with the expertise provided by the Maritime Museum, planned to restore this practical, bulk cargo craft to her original design when built at Hunters Point in 1891, thus making five historic ships, (including the Balclutha), preserved for the San Francisco maritime museum and park.<sup>191</sup>

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191. California Department of Parks and Recreation, San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park (no publication information), pp. 13-14, 33-34; San Francisco Examiner, Aug. 22, 1959, p. 6; Kortum to Barber, June 19, 1962, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II."

After such gratifying progress on Project X, the plan suffered conflict and delays in 1960 and 1961 as the State worked out arrangements to lease the Hyde Street pier and purchase the Haslett warehouse. Finally, in the spring of 1961, the problems were resolved, making it possible in 1962 and 1963 to rebuild the pier at a cost of some \$385,000, and to condemn and purchase the warehouse for \$729,000, all from the \$2,000,000 of tidelands oil royalties designated for the maritime park. Also, in 1962, the State, under the guidance of the Maritime Museum, completed a charming Victorian plaza at the terminal of the Hyde Street cable car, at a cost of \$139,000. Featuring a period waiting room, gas lights, and ornate cast iron fences and benches designed by prominent landscape architect, Thomas Church, along the lines first suggested by Kortum in 1949, the plaza blended with the turn-of-the-century setting struck by the brick buildings bordering the square. To secure the future of the Ghirardelli chocolate factory, which Kortum feared would be demolished to build a high-rise motel on the site, Kortum and Dave Nelson had, the year before, paid a visit to William Roth, new trustee of the Maritime Museum Association, Regent of the University of California, and grandson of the founder of the Matson Navigation Company, to suggest that the building be acquired as an extension campus for the university. Roth, instead, purchased the complex himself early in 1962, remodeled the interior, and opened the now-famous Ghirardelli Square in 1964, making it an important visual contribution to the San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park which opened on October 5, 1963 with four historic vessels, the Alma the C.A. Thayer, Eureka and Wapama, displayed at Hyde Street Pier.<sup>192</sup>

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192. Cal. Dept. of Parks and Rec., San Francisco Maritime State Park, p. 45; clippings, San Francisco Examiner, Sept. 29, Oct. 7,

The maintenance and exhibition of historic ships, especially when kept afloat, is a costly procedure, one which has plagued the San Francisco Maritime State Park since its opening in 1963. Inadequate funding not only has hampered the proper care of the ships, however, but has restricted the park's growth and development, especially in respect to the plans for Haslett Warehouse. By 1966 studies showed that remodeling the building for the railroad and transportation museum would cost \$1,500,000 but no funding had been programmed by the State to finance the plan. While the State, City, and Museum Association tried to work out a feasible scheme to get the project moving, a private firm, Abbott Western, acquired a five-year lease and proceeded to convert the top two floors into office space. To compound the problem the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society announced in May 1968 that the train exhibit, originally donated to the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association in 1949, had been pledged for a proposed state railroad park in Sacramento. A swirl of public outrage was followed by three years of controversy and conflict, but, ultimately, the prohibitive cost estimates for remodeling and maintaining Haslett Warehouse as a museum undermined even the most persistent efforts to see the project implemented.

Recently, in March 1977, Haslett Warehouse was transferred to Golden Gate National Recreation Area, shifting the burden of decision on the building's future to the National Park Service. Also, in July 1977, the historic ship museum at Hyde

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1960; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 28, 1960; Scrapbook 1, SFMSHP; clipping, no source, June 5, 1961, notebook, "SFMM-II"; Kortum to Barber, June 19, 1962, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II"; clipping, San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 17, 1962, Aquatic Park Text, S.F.M.M.; Farnham, "Balclutha," n.p., Greene, "Haslett Warehouse," p. 16.

Street pier came under Golden Gate NRA control. In addition to the five vessels acquired for the state park's opening, the collection also included the ocean-going tugboat, Hercules, donated to the park in 1976 by the California State Parks Foundation which raised the purchase money through a spirited fund raising drive. The Hercules, representing yet another significant vessel type once common on the bay and Pacific Coast, joined the maritime fleet at Hyde Street pier as a manifest expression of the continued public appreciation for San Francisco's maritime history and as a fair indication to the National Park Service of the popular support for the future preservation, development, and interpretation of the park's collection.<sup>193</sup>

### 3. Golden Gate National Recreation Area

The climate for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area movement had long been building in the Bay Area ever since the earliest conservation efforts to protect the magnificent Mount Tamalpais countryside at the turn of the century. Especially after World War II, when population increases and the Golden Gate Bridge

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193. The complicated and prolonged controversy over Haslett warehouse during the 1960s and early 1970s is clearly presented in Greene, "Haslett Warehouse," pp. 16-29. On p. 29, Greene also notes that the Haslett Warehouse was designated a San Francisco historical landmark on January 4, 1974. San Francisco Chronicle, May 7, 1968, p. 3; clipping, San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, May 8, 1966, notebook, "S.F.M.M.-II," SFMM; Cal. Dept. of Parks and Rec., San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park, pp. 39-42; National Fisherman, Oct. 1976, Sect. B., p. 1; "The Changing North Face of San Francisco," Sunset (Nov. 1967), 67. The San Francisco Maritime Museum prepared a five volume report on the history and restoration of the C.A. Thayer in 1959 and 1960 and a similar, two-volume report on the Wapama in 1960, copies of which can be found in the museum's library. All five restored historic ships at Hyde Street pier have been placed on the National Register.

brought rapid development to Marin County, the conservationists had fought frequent battles to keep modern highways and housing subdivisions from the still wild and open hills of West Marin. Parcel by parcel land was acquired for Mount Tamalpais State Park so that the original 969 acres had grown to nearly 6,000 by 1970. During the 1950s and 1960s citizen groups had pushed for Angel Island, Marin Headlands, and Tomales Bay State Parks and for Point Reyes National Seashore, all created out of federal or private lands. In the late 1960s a critical conservation issue had brought together several national and Bay Area organizations to oppose the plan of a local developer and Gulf Reston Corporation, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation, to build a city called Marincello of high rise apartments with a multi-storied hotel for some 25,000 people on a tract of 2,138 acres in Tennessee Valley. Conservationists still were holding Gulf Reston Corporation at bay in 1969 when the seed of a plan for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area took root and spread easily to include the endangered open space labeled Marincello.<sup>194</sup>

On a national level, too, conservation of open spaces, especially around the urban areas which supported fifty-eight percent of the country's population, had become a growing concern, reflected in 1969 by Secretary of Interior Hickel's "parks for the people" slogan and by the proposal before Congress for a Gateway National Recreation Area at and near New York City. In the same year, San Francisco was considering the possibility of

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194. Frank Cameron, "National Parks Are Coming to Your Doorstep Now," unpublished article, copyright by Readers Digest Association, no date, p. 5; Anne Hanley, "Golden Gate's Grass Roots," Westways (Mar. 1975), p. 39; Edgar Wayburn, "The Significance of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area," an address made at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Feb. 27, 1974, pp. 6-8.

taking over Alcatraz Island which had been declared surplus in 1964 after the abandonment of the federal penitentiary there. One proposal favored using Alcatraz for park and recreational purposes, while another, introduced by Texas millionaire and developer, Lamar Hunt, recommended the construction of a modern commercial center on the island. In October 1969, several months after the City's Surplus Property Committee chose Hunt's proposal for Alcatraz, a San Francisco dressmaker, Alvin Duskin, ran full-page advertisements to "Save Alcatraz" in two local newspapers, evidently arousing sufficient public support to prompt the Secretary of Interior to announce three weeks later that his Department would be willing to take over Alcatraz as a national monument should San Francisco's public be in favor of the idea. Given until December 1, 1969 by the General Services Administration (GSA) to evaluate the potential recreational use of the island, Secretary Hickel directed the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) to complete a special study on Alcatraz. The BOR report was on the verge of completion on November 20, 1969, when ninety American Indians landed on the island and announced their plans to remain until proper recognition had been given to their claim on the island and their plans to use Alcatraz as a center for Native American studies and related educational and cultural interests. Five days later, BOR submitted its report entitled, "A New Look at Alcatraz," which not only recommended that the island be transferred to the National Park Service for park and open space purposes, but that a study be made on the possibility of establishing a Golden Gate National Recreation Area in the Bay Area as a counterpart to Gateway National Recreation Area on the East Coast. Although by December 13, 1969, BOR had prepared a second study, "The Golden Gate--A Matchless Opportunity," recommending the creation of a Golden Gate National Recreation Area from Alcatraz Island and other surplus, or potentially surplus, federal lands on the Bay, a decision on the future of the park proposals was ordered deferred

until the Indian occupation had come to a close, which unforeseen by all, was not to be for another year and a half.<sup>195</sup>

Shortly thereafter, early in 1970, GSA announced its plan to construct a large, windowless archives building at Fort Miley, overlooking the Golden Gate. Led by Amy Meyer, housewife and mother who lived only four blocks from Fort Miley, a citizens' group, supported by the San Francisco Bay Chapter of the Sierra Club, the Outer Richmond Neighborhood Association, and the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR), successfully resisted the GSA plan, thus keeping that open space available for a shoreline greenbelt proposed that year in the City and County of San Francisco's master plan.<sup>196</sup>

Such a quick and effective opposition led the group into a bigger struggle to protect other open spaces in Marin and San Francisco Counties. During 1970 BOR approached representatives of SPUR, the City of San Francisco, the State of California, the Army, the Outer Richmond Neighborhood Association, and the National Park Service for opinions on its proposal to set aside some 4,000 acres from Alcatraz, Angel Island, City parklands, and the headlands on both sides of the Golden Gate, for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Having learned of the proposal from SPUR, a conservation-oriented private

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195. Alvin S. Swanson, "Citizen Participation: People For A Golden Gate National Recreation Area," typescript, paper prepared for PA [Public Administration?] 390, December 1973, n.p. A copy of this twenty-page paper is at GGNRA, Gretchen Feiker, compiler, "Indian Occupation of Alcatraz," 4 vols., (looseleaf, General Services Administration correspondence and newspaper clippings), n.p., copy at GGNRA.

196. Cameron, "National Parks," p. 3; Wayburn, "The Significance of GGNRA," pp. 8-9; Swanson, "Citizen Participation," n.p.

organization, Amy Meyer, still an enthusiastic proponent of open spaces in the Bay Area, contacted Edgar Wayburn, a dedicated member and former president of the Bay Area Chapter of the Sierra Club, a practicing physician, and one of the leading conservationists for the frequent battles to protect the Mount Tamalpais region after the war. With Wayburn as Chairman and Meyer as Co-Chairman, they formed the People for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area (PFGGNRA) in January 1971, establishing its headquarters in the kitchen of the Meyers' home. During the less than two years of its campaign, the organization received support from thousands of individuals across the country as well as from some sixty-five civic and conservation groups, including the Sierra Club, the Marin Conservation League, the Tamalpais Conservation Club, the California Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, the California Chapter of the American Society of Landscape Architects, the California Historical Society, the League of Women Voters of the Bay Area, the Audobon Society, Golden Gate Chapter, and SPUR.<sup>197</sup>

At its January 1971 invitational meeting attended by some thirty carefully selected conservation leaders from around the Bay, PFGGNRA adopted a proposal to expand the acreage for GGNRA to include all the land north to Mount Tamalpais State Park, the northern and western shoreline of San Francisco County, Angel Island, and, perhaps Alcatraz Island. Congressmen Philip Burton (D-S.F.) and William Mailliard (R-S.F. and Marin) had already, in June 1970, introduced the first legislation to establish a GGNRA, but these bills were intended only to serve

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197. Telephone interview, writer with Amy Meyer, Feb. 1976; Cameron, "National Parks," pp. 3-4; Wayburn, pp. 8-9; Swanson, "Citizen Participation," n.p.; "A Park for the People" a proposal of PFGGNRA, April 1972; Hanley, "Grass Roots," pp. 38, 40.

notice of the park plan and to obstruct any development on the lands proposed for inclusion in the park. During the year plans for GGNRA expanded to encompass all the lands of West Marin up to and including Olema Valley. With Congressman Burton's blessings, PFGGNRA drafted a bill which proposed a 34,000-acre park, mostly in Marin County. If authorized the park would connect seventy-five miles of shoreline, from Point Reyes south to Fort Funston, and would unify a total of 115,000 acres of open space.

In June 1971 Congressman Burton, who served on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, not only introduced H.R. 9498, a bill based on the PFGGNRA draft, but he led it through legislative channels. A companion bill, S. 2342, was introduced by Senators Alan Cranston and John Tunney, and was nurtured in the Senate by Alan Bible of Nevada, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation. Problems arose, however, in February 1972, when the Nixon administration introduced its own bills, H.R. 13060 and S. 3174, which withdrew from the park proposal Olema Valley, the San Francisco city lands, Sutro Baths and the Cliff House area, and part of the Marincello tract. PFGGNRA mounted a campaign to save the original 34,000 acres. A strong delegation, led by the articulate Dr. Wayburn, traveled to Washington for the May hearings of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, and PFGGNRA, encouraged its supporters to barrage Congress with protests against reducing the park boundaries from those proposed in H.R. 9498.

President Nixon, however, did endorse the park which complemented his administration's slogan, "parks to the people," and on September 5, 1972, he underscored his support by visiting San Francisco to "dedicate" GGNRA, even though its boundaries still had not been decided. On September 22 the Senate

Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation held hearings on the park and again a delegation of PFGGNRA members traveled to the Capitol to testify in behalf of the Burton, Cranston and Tunney bills. A compromise finally was reached the following month when the House and Senate passed on October 11 and 12 a modified bill, H.R. 16444, which deleted some military lands objected to by the army and added about 285 acres of Mount Tamalpais Valley Ridgeland. President Nixon signed the bill into Public Law 92-589 on October 27, 1972, and Golden Gate National Recreation Area became a reality, with \$60,610,000 appropriated for land acquisition and \$58,000,000 for development. The legislation, which retained the original 34,000-acre proposal, provided for the preservation of the area's "outstanding natural, historic, scenic, and recreational values" and for "the maintenance of needed recreational open space necessary to urban environment and planning." Such foresightedness was the wave of the future for other urban centers across the country, but for the San Francisco Bay Area it was an old theme amplified for all the nation to enjoy and appreciate.<sup>198</sup>

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198. Donald Dale Jackson, "Gateway to Heaven," Sports Illustrated (Aug. 25, 1975), 30; Swanson, "Citizen Participation," n.p.; Hanley, "Grass Roots," p. 41; Wayburn, "Golden Gate National Recreation Area," pp. 9-10; Cameron, "National Parks," pp. 4-5; U.S., Congress, House, An Act to establish the "Golden Gate National Recreation Area" in the State of California, and for other purposes, Pub. L. 92-589, 92nd Cong., Oct. 27, 1972, H.R. 16444; "A Park for the People," PFGGNRA flyer, Apr. 1972.



## X. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Within the existing and projected boundaries of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore lies a wealth of historic sites associated with the commerce, industry, and recreation life of the San Francisco Bay Area and Point Reyes peninsula. While the majority of the nonmilitary historic sites and structures within the two areas possesses only local significance, a few have regional or national significance. Accordingly, recommended treatment for historic structures will vary to reflect the level of significance. When no structures or ruins remain on a site, as is the case for all sites prior to the American takeover of California, interpretation of the history by contemporary drawings and accounts is recommended. It is emphasized that this section contains recommendations and not approved proposals. The latter will appear in the appropriate documents, such as the General Management Plan and the Interpretive Prospectus.

Three basic treatments for historic structures are followed by the National Park Service--preservation, restoration, and reconstruction. Preservation, the maintenance of a historic structure and its historic setting in its existing state, has the widest application to historic properties. Restoration, the process of restoring a property to a historic appearance and form, is less often justifiable. Reconstruction, the accurate reproduction of a historic property that no longer exists, is carried out only where there are compelling justifications. Both restoration and reconstruction may be carried out in whole or in part.<sup>1</sup>

### A. Explorers and Indians at the Golden Gate

Coast Miwok archeological sites in West Marin County and Costanoan sites in San Francisco County have been nominated to the

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1. See National Park Service, Management Policies (1978) pp. 13-17.

National Register. No historic structures from the Native American period are known to exist within GGNRA or Point Reyes National Seashore.

Recommend cooperative effort with surviving Bay Area Native Americans and interested groups or individuals in the interpretation of the urban and native Indian populations of San Francisco and Marin Counties.

Recommend an ethnohistory of Bay Area Indians be programmed in view of the questions being raised concerning the appropriate terminology of native tribes, their prehistory, and early history.

The site where the English explorer, Sir Francis Drake, landed on the California coast in June 1579 has been the subject of heated debate for many years. Of the several conjectured landing sites, one lies within Point Reyes National Seashore at Drakes Bay, while two others--at Bolinas Bay and at San Francisco Bay--are outside the boundaries of both Point Reyes NS and GGNRA. In 1971 the National Park Service commissioned a committee of three California scholars to study the available information on the subject and to determine, if possible, the Drake landing site. The committee concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to make a final determination as to the Drake landing site. The U.S. Department of Interior and the National Park Service have accepted this conclusion. Independently, the California State Historic Resources Commission, which was appointed by the State to settle the issue on Drake's landing site, arrived at the same conclusion as the committee of California scholars. Moreover, the U.S. Department of Interior and the National Park Service have declined to carry out further research on the matter because:

It is not the Service's responsibility to settle an issue of such complexity when the historical profession itself has been unable to do so. In addition, there is no reasonable expectation of finding additional definitive evidence that would make research on this subject fruitful and justify the expenditure of public funds badly needed for other research and preservation work.

Since the State of California's Historic Resource Commission has been given responsibility for determining the site of Drake's landing, and since at least two possible sites are outside the National Park System, an effort by this Federal agency to assume the State Commission's responsibilities and duplicate its efforts would be unwarranted.<sup>2</sup>

On October 23, 1978, the State of California Historic Resources Commission met in a special session at GGNRA and at Point Reyes National Seashore, respectively, to consider further the evidence where Drake landed. They concluded that there was still insufficient data to make a decision.

Later explorers definitely made landings within the existing and projected boundaries of GGNRA and Point Reyes National Seashore. Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno, Portuguese explorer in the employ of Spain, wrecked his ship, San Agustin, at Drakes Bay in 1594 and later wrote an account of his experiences

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2. Robert L. Herbst, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, to Edward Von der Porten, May 23, 1977, Denver, Denver Service Center, History Files.

there. In 1602 Sebastian Vizcaino, in command of another Spanish exploration party along the California coast, also landed at Drakes Bay while attempting to recover the cargo, said to be of gold, lost on the Cermeno expedition. A century and a half later the San Carlos, commanded by Spanish Lt. Juan Manuel de Ayala, sailed through the Golden Gate and moored in a cove on the northwest coast of Angel Island while the crew prepared the first navigator's chart of San Francisco Bay.

Recommend interpretation of the expeditions of these explorers, as well as their impressions of the countryside and its native populations, at Drakes Bay in Point Reyes National Seashore, and at Ayala Cove, in Angel Island State Park.

B. Spain and Mexico on the California Frontier

No historic structures of civil history phase remain from this period. The only Mexican rancho that stood within the existing boundaries of the areas was Rafael Garcia's in Point Reyes National Seashore, near the present town of Olema and the National Seashore headquarters. The approximate site of the Garcia rancho has been located. Recommend additional on-site archeological investigation and the interpretation of rancho life at the site.

C. American Takeover and the Gold Rush

No historic structures remain from this period. The American takeover of California spelled the end of Mexican rancho life with all its color and parochialism. Rapidly the land was acquired by Americans who found the rich resources of Marin County a source of ready income.

D. San Francisco As A Center for Trade, Industry and Commerce

In Marin County San Francisco supplied a ready market for such products as lumber, grains, fruit, hogs, poultry

products, dairy products, and fresh water. The local lumbering and agricultural industries concentrated around Bolinas Bay, while the best dairy region (to be discussed later) lay at Point Reyes. The State of California has made a historic landmark of the site of the Bolinas lightering wharf, where thousands of feet of lumber, quantities of cordwood, and tons of agricultural and poultry products were taken out to ocean going ships in lighters for their trip to San Francisco. No structures or sites within GGNRA or Point Reyes National Seashore remain from this period of early commerce in Marin County.

In San Francisco, the Pioneer Woolen Mills building, completed in 1862, still stands and is preserved as part of the famous Ghirardelli Square, thus keeping a nineteenth century flavor to the waterfront around Aquatic Park. The historic ships at Hyde Street Pier--the ferryboat, Eureka; the scow schooner, Alma; the tugboat, Hercules; the three-masted schooner, C.A. Thayer; and the steam schooner, Wapama--and the square-rigger, Balclutha, of Pier 54, illustrate the varied and colorful history of the San Francisco-based maritime commerce on San Francisco Bay, the inland waterways, along the Pacific Coast, and around the world. Each ship tells a different story. The Eureka bespeaks of the brisk ferryboat traffic which carried passengers and freight across the Bay before the completion of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay and Golden Gate bridges in the late 1930s. The Alma, the local "truck" of the pre-bridge era, represents a unique boat design created in San Francisco to make the shallow inland waterways accessible as avenues of trade between the city and the country. The C.A. Thayer, harks back to days when schooners hauled the coastal lumber supplies to San Francisco and later, when they entered the Alaska salmon and codfishing industries. The Wapama takes the lumber industry history into the late nineteenth century when steam schooners replaced sailing ships as the freighters because they

were able to navigate the coastal inland waterways, thus facilitating the loading of lumber supplies. The Hercules represents one of many San Francisco tugs which towed ships in and out of the Golden Gate or around the bay, or performed valuable rescue missions in the bay or along the coast. And the Balclutha, the last of the square-riggers to have sailed from San Francisco, takes us back to the late nineteenth century when iron-hulled ships carried California grain around Cape Horn to England.

While all these ships already are on the National Register of Historic Places, recommend that a historic structure report for each ship be completed by a maritime historian who is familiar with the sources on, and characteristics of, historic ships.

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 not only changed the San Francisco peninsula coastline, but it provided a memorable array of buildings, structures, and natural features to display the exhibits and to accommodate the crowds at the fair. The Palace of Fine Arts, just outside the boundary of GGNRA, is the only building to survive the dismantling of the exposition grounds. The Marina, or stretch of grounds used as a landing strip for airplane stuntmen during the exposition and as the first landing field for the U.S. Air Mail Service in San Francisco after the exposition, became a part of the city park system in 1923, as did the exposition's yacht harbor. Both the marina and yacht harbor appear to qualify for and are therefore recommended for nomination to the National Register as locally significant features associated with the recreational and transportation history in San Francisco, when transferred to the National Park Service. Recommendations for the marina and yacht harbor will be made under the heading of recreation.

## E. Marin County as Leader in California Dairy Industry

### 1. Point Reyes

By 1865 Point Reyes had emerged as the leading dairy district in California. All but 2,200 acres on Tomales Point were owned by the Shafter and Howard families of San Francisco and Oakland. The dairies of the Shafter-Howard ranch were leased to experienced dairymen who benefited from the excellent natural pasturage and climate on Point Reyes. Similar advantages for dairying helped Abram Pierce win a local reputation for his dairy operations on Tomales Point. Butter from the Point Reyes dairy district maintained the standard of excellence in California until after the turn of the century.

The few remnants of the Shafter-Howard tenant dairy ranches--three badly dilapidated barns, two decayed tack rooms, and the remaining walls of a trapper's cabin--on and to the south of Mount Wittenburg which were still standing in 1962 have been removed by the National Park Service. Although a few of the original two-story tenant ranch houses, built according to a standard plan by the Shafter and Howard in the 1860s and 1870s, still stand, the ranches individually do not have enough historic integrity or historic significance to receive special treatment. Two Point Reyes ranches, however, appear to qualify for and are recommended for nomination to the National Register: the Home Ranch and the Pierce Ranch.

Home Ranch. The first written reference to Home Ranch found in this research appeared in an 1870 Marin County newspaper. The ranch, however, undoubtedly had its beginnings in 1858 when Oscar and James Shafter, with their San Francisco law partners, legally assumed title to the 48,000-acre Point Reyes ranch and set up their cousin, John Shafter, out on Point Reyes as manager of the ranch properties. From description in Oscar's

letters and diary from 1858 to 1865, and from accounts in national and local publications during the 1860s, it is evident that Home Ranch until 1869 was headquarters for all the Point Reyes tenant ranches. Built with large, spacious barns and a modern dairy, Home Ranch became a model ranch where the Shafters kept purebred Devons and Durhams which they had imported from the East to upgrade the dairy cattle at Point Reyes. The Shafters leased the selectively bred dairy cattle on Home Ranch to their Point Reyes tenants who were experienced and responsible dairymen carefully chosen by the Shafters themselves. The Shafters' conscientious effort to achieve high standards in their dairy industry, centered at Home Ranch, and the excellent natural setting for cattle of Point Reyes, went far towards giving Point Reyes butter its regulation in 1865 as the best in California.

In 1869 the Shafters and their new partner and in-law, Charles Webb Howard, divided the Point Reyes ranch into six tracts, two for each owner. Home Ranch fell to James Shafter who may have given the ranch its name. While no longer the headquarters for all the ranches on Point Reyes, Home Ranch still held a special place in family operations. James' brother, William, lived there in 1880s and his daughter, Julia, took an interest in the ranch after James' death, selling it only under financial pressure in 1929. Since 1929 Leland Murphy has managed the Home Ranch, retaining its original name and, undoubtedly, some of its original buildings.

Although no construction dates are available on the existing structures at Home Ranch, the ranch has obviously been in continual use for well over a century, part of which time it served as the headquarters for the vast Shafter ranch lands on Point Reyes. Home Ranch was a staging ground for upgrading the Point Reyes dairy cattle which produced the most coveted butter in

California for over a quarter of a century. Home Ranch, therefore, appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its regional significance in the agricultural history of California.

Sixteen structures which now stand at Home Ranch have been entered on the List of Classified Structures (LCS): the main house (PR-251), a hay barn and silo (252) a storage shed (253), pig shed (254), freezer shed (255), residence (256), shop (257), hospital barn (258), heifer barn (259), old hog shed and storage shed (260), water tank (261), storage shed (262), garage (263), pumphouse (264), granary (265), and horse barn (266). (See Maps and Drawings, #15.) The main house, of vertical plank frame construction, probably dates to the ranch origins in 1858. While some of the outbuildings undoubtedly are as old, this research did not uncover any useful information to identify the earliest structures on the ranch.

Recommend that the road (PR-267) through the ranch structure--until recently the main access road to Point Reyes--be included on the LCS and nominated to the National Register.

Recommend a historic structure report for the ranch and preservation of the ranch buildings within the main complex in their present state because historic photographs of the ranch are lacking. Recommend preservation only of the exterior of the ranch buildings, and, when the ranch permit to the Murphy family expires, recommend that the ranch become a nature center, hostel, or working ranch to keep the buildings in use. Recommend also the continued search for historic photographs, as well as any more recent ones in the Murphy family or in the Point Reyes ranchers' possession.

Pierce Ranch. In 1858, after acquiring title to Point Reyes, the Shafters and their partners, Trenor Park and Solomon Heydenfeldt, sold 2,200 acres of Tomales Point to Solomon Pierce, after which they refused to open any more land for independent ranches on Point Reyes. Pierce's unique inholding on the peninsula afforded him the same excellent opportunity to develop a successful dairy as his tenant neighbors on Point Reyes, an opportunity which his son, Abram, took full advantage of. In 1880 Abram Pierce's ranch received recognition in the county history for its extensive and well managed dairy. Recognizing Pierce Ranch as a standard of excellence, the county history described its buildings and dairy methods in considerable detail. The ranch had two tracts, each equipped with milk houses and other dairy facilities, but all the cream was churned at the home ranch, today known as the Upper Pierce Point Ranch. (The Lower Pierce Point Ranch was unoccupied and in partial ruins in 1976 when the National Park Service removed its remains.)

The buildings at the Pierce Ranch in 1880 were functional--cow and horse barns, a dairy house, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, school house, laundry, butcher shop, and a store fully stocked with a wide variety of foodstuffs. The "large, roomy, and homelike" dwelling, as well as the dairy and barns, were equipped with gas burners for light. The cow and horse barns were "models of convenience." The dairy house, measuring thirty-six feet by sixty-four feet, with a wing twenty feet by twelve feet, contained three milk rooms, each twelve by twenty-four feet; a churning room, twenty by twenty feet; a butter room, sixteen by twenty feet; and a packing room, sixteen by sixteen feet.

Twenty-one frame structures now stand at Pierce Ranch, many of which probably date to the nineteenth century. (See plan

of ranch in Maps and Drawings, #15.) In 1975 Western Regional Historical Architect, Robert M. Cox, listed the following nineteen structures, all of which have been included on the List of Classified Structures (LCS): the main house (PR-180); the washroom (181), north bunkhouse (182), schoolhouse (183), outhouse (184), open front shed (185), west bunkhouse (186), west garage (187), calf shed (188), hay barn (189), new dairy house (190), old horse barn (191), old garage (192), old wagon shed (193), chicken houses (194 and 195), old dairy house (196), new garage (197), and, corral fences (198). Not included on the LCS but recommended for addition as part of the ranch complex are the hogpens, the springhouse (tank house-PR-199), the road (PR-200) through the ranch complex, and the cypress trees planted as a windbreak along the north and west side of the ranch.

Local tradition maintains that the dwelling at Upper Pierce Ranch was begun in the 1850s and added onto through the years. The 1880 county history, however, tells us that Abram Pierce built a new house on the ranch in 1869, presumably part of the one now standing. Architect Cox thinks the house has been added to perhaps three times.

Of the outbuildings, specific information on their origin has been gathered on only four--the schoolhouse, the hay or cow barn, the new dairy, and the horse barn. The schoolhouse probably is the one described in the 1880 county history. Architectural investigations and local tradition indicate that the hay barn dates from the 1870s or earlier. The new dairy was completed in the 1930s and the horse barn was built fifty or sixty years ago, after the original one burned down.

The old dairy house apparently was built after 1880, for the county history of that date described the dairy house as

sixty-four by thirty-six feet, whereas the existing old dairy measures twenty by forty-five feet. Nevertheless, this old dairy house still has many original features from the nineteenth century dairying methods and probably was constructed in the 1890s or earlier.

Upper Pierce Point Ranch is the best preserved nineteenth century dairy ranch on Point Reyes. Presently it is operated as a beef ranch, but it once was one of the most successful dairy ranches in the famous Point Reyes dairy district. The ranch was also unique as the only dairy ranch independent of the great Shafter-Howard tenant system on Point Reyes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Recommend a historic structure report on the ranch. Recommend preservation of the structures and interpretation of nineteenth century dairy methods, as described in the 1880 county history at the ranch. Recommend that a National Park Service ranger live in the main house to protect and preserve that structure, as well as the other historic resources of the ranch. Upper Pierce Point Ranch appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its regional significance.

## 2. Olema Valley

Sheltered between the heavily wooded Inverness and Bolinas Ridges, Olema Valley has lured settlement in its lush rolling country-side since before the arrival of white men to California. During the Mexican period, the valley supported the cattle, horses, and sheep of the rancho, Rafael Garcia, whose adobe home stood near the present town of Olema. In 1856, when the Gold Rush fever had subsided, Nelson and Daniel Olds found their way to Marin County, purchased 4,366 acres of northern Olema Valley from

Garcia, and commenced to ranch. Other Americans discovered the beauty of the valley shortly thereafter and acquired land from Garcia, Garcia's brother-in-law, Gregorio Briones, or from the Olds family. By 1873 most of the valley floor had been divided into large, independently owned ranches which contributed to the high quality of dairy products in Marin County during the nineteenth century. During the 1940s Olema Valley's ranches began to convert from the dairy to the beef cattle industry, maintaining an agricultural and rural continuity in the community to the present.

Continuity and tradition also marked the history of the ranchers in the valley. Although many of the original American settlers--the Olds, Randall, Nelson, Parson, Wilkins, Miller, McCurdy and Strain families--moved from the valley, they typically kept their ranch property and leased it to experienced Italian-Swiss dairymen who began migrating to the county in the 1870s. Moreover, the pioneer families intermarried and kept in contact through the years so that a strong sense of kinship and tradition pervades the recollections of current and former residents of the valley.

Although some of the early ranches no longer stand, Olema Valley's agricultural setting has remained in exceptional preservation. Few modern buildings intrude on the nineteenth century rural setting, and those that do are residential, not commercial. To maintain this near pristine ranching country in its historic setting, a historic district of local significance from the Truttman Ranch eight miles south to the Wilkins or Las Baulinas Ranch appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its local significance. The ranch structures to be included within this district are as follows:

Truttman Ranch. Originally established by Karner and Baldwin in 1864. Later nineteenth century owners, Joseph Fieri and Joseph Bloom. The original ranch house burned down but the outbuildings, most of which appear to date from the nineteenth century, still stand. Structures recommended for the LCS and for nomination to the National Register for local significance at the ranch are: the dairy shed (OV-17.5), dairy calf shed (OV-17.6), dairy shop (OV-17.10), dairy sheds (OV-17.11, OV-17.14), dairy bunkhouse (OV-17.16), dairy horse barn (OV-17.19), and dairy hay barn (OV-17.20).

Boyd Stewart Ranch. Originally established by Nelson Horatio Olds in the late 1860s, after his brother, Daniel, sold out his share of their vast valley holdings. The house is original to the ranch but historical photographs indicate that the barns and sheds have replaced the ones standing in the 1870s. Only the house (OV-12.1) and the westernmost barn (OV-12.12) have been recommended for the LCS, but consideration should be given to including the other ranch outbuildings on the LCS and for nomination to the National Register for local significance since this ranch, above all in the valley, has local significance because the Olds family were among the first Americans to settle there.

Old Lupton Ranch. The Luptons, who now live in one of the few modern houses in Olema Valley, are descendants of the original owners, Charles and Minerva T. Parsons, who purchased their ranch lands from Daniel Olds in 1865. The date of the ranch buildings are not known but their location tucked away near the top of Bolinas Ridge gives the ranch a striking and unique setting among the Olema Valley ranches. The structures recommended to the LCS and for nomination to the National Register for local significance are: ranch house (OV-9.1), ranch barn (OV-9.2), ranch creamery (OV-9.3), and water tank (OV-9.4).

Giacomini Ranch. Matilda C. Woods purchased 614 acres from Daniel Olds in 1864 and sold it with her husband, Albert Moore, to Angelo Pedrotti and Guiseppi Muscio, Italian-Swiss dairymen, in 1871. The ranch house, composed of two structures butted together, the front one dating to ca. 1910 and the rear one to ca. 1890, indicates that this ranch complex may not have been built until the late nineteenth century. Six structures--the ranch house (OV-6.1), the ranch shed (OV-6.5), the loafing barn (OV-6.6), the main barn (OV-6.7), the bunkhouse (OV-6.8), and the storage shed (OV-6.11)--have been recommended for the LCS and appear to be eligible for nomination to the National Register for local significance.

Randall House. William Randall and John Nelson purchased 1,400 acres south of the Olds' tract from Rafael Garcia in 1857, making them the second largest landowners in the valley. Nelson sold out to Randall who was shot by his neighbor, Benjamin Miller, during a feud in 1860. Randall's widow lived on at the ranch, continuing to maintain the dairy, and local tradition tells us that she helped her two sons to build a new ranch house, the house now standing, which dates from 1881. The original house with its complex of outbuildings is gone. The second (1881) house (OV-5.1) still stands as a reminder of the first American families to settle in Olema valley. Its architectural integrity has suffered, the building having lost its chimney, its original front porch, and other features.

Texeira Ranch. Henry Strain purchased seventy-five acres of land from Gregorio Briones in 1857, making him another early American settler in the valley. At first he entered the cordwood business but by 1859 he had worked his way into the dairy industry. His house, the third family residence on the property, dates to the early 1880s, and probably reflects

Strain's success in the dairy business. Its size also likely indicates the space he needed for his wife and eight children. The house (OV-3.1), and two barns (OV-3.7 and 3.8) have been recommended for the LCS and appear to be eligible for nomination to the National Register for local significance.

Las Baulinas Ranch. William W. Wilkins purchased 1,397 acres of land just northeast of Bolinas Bay from Isaac Morgan in September 1866. Wilkins and Morgan had been partners on the Belvidere Ranch which had included the tract which Wilkins purchased in 1866. Reportedly, Wilkins immediately began dairying on his property but didn't build the existing ranchhouse until 1876, after he married Mary Morse. The barn (OV-1.5) may be older than the house (OV-1.1). The creamery (OV-1.4) and buggy shed (OV-1.6) probably date to the late nineteenth century. These four appear to be eligible for and are recommended for nomination to the national register for their local significance.

These seven ranch components of the proposed historic district present the best remaining examples of nineteenth century dairy ranches in Olema Valley. Architecturally they mask the wide range of construction dates for the ranch buildings, and suggest the strong continuity of life style in the valley since its early settlement.

Recommend preservation of the ranch buildings which still are in use and are basically sound.

Lifetime leases exist for some of the ranches in Olema Valley. Recommend that lessees maintain and preserve the ranch settings and exterior of the ranch buildings. Recommend that the ranch complexes be kept in use after the existing leases expire. Recommend adaptive uses for the ranches, such as food

concessions, hostels, ranger quarters, nature centers, or day camp centers. Also recommend consideration of renewing the ranching permits to maintain the historic pastoral setting. Should the leases in the future be discontinued, recommend the National Park Service maintain a working ranch(es) in the valley.

Although dairy ranching was also the foremost occupation on the lands south of Olema Valley, none of the existing ranches have sufficient historic significance or historic integrity to warrant preservation.

F. Marin County's Mining

1. Olema Lime Kilns (PR-110)

In July 1850 Rafael Garcia granted James A. Shorb and William F. Mercer--Marin County office holders--the right to quarry limestone on his lands. Evidently Shorb and Mercer had four lime kilns constructed along the east bank of Olema Creek that year, the ruins of which have been added to the National Register for their regional significance as examples of pioneer American industry in Marin County. Recommend the preservation of the remaining three kilns and their interpretation in the history of Marin County.

2. Granite Quarries

Another pioneer industry of Marin County was the quarrying of granite on Point Reyes. At first report in 1854 the Point Reyes granite, used in the construction of Fort Point at the Golden Gate, was comparable to the celebrated Quincy stone, but apparently its quarrying was unsuccessful and short-lived. The location of this early Point Reyes granite quarry is not known, but possibly it was on the same site as the granite quarry on Drake's Bay which the U.S. Lighthouse Service had access to in 1869 for the construction of the Point Reyes Lighthouse station.

No granite quarry remains have been located to date on Point Reyes, but should they be discovered in the future, recommend their on-site identification.

### 3. Copper Mines

In 1863 several local Bolinas residents opened a copper mine in Union Gulch, about one mile east of Dogtown (later renamed Woodville), in Olema Valley. While not the only copper mine in the vicinity, the Union Copper Mine showed the most promise during the 1860s, operating for several years with moderate success. In 1895 and 1900 the copper mine in Union Gulch was reopened briefly, but the low grade copper made it unprofitable mining. Finally, for a short time in 1917 and 1918, the Cheteo Mining Company again reopened the mine and apparently struck a good quality ore which was shipped out to Martinez, on San Francisco Bay. With prices escalated by World War I, the company apparently mined as much as twelve tons of copper at the site where they erected a forty-ton mill with a crusher, Hendy ball-mill, and an Overstrom concentrator, as well as a 3,000-foot flume to carry mine tailings to a dam.

Today Copper Mine Gulch (USGS nomenclature) contains ruins--abandoned tunnels--of perhaps four separate efforts to mine copper in Marin County. The copper mines appear to qualify for and are recommended for nomination to the National Register for their local significance in Marin County's industrial history.

Recommend the preservation and interpretation of the copper mining ruins as part of the short-lived and unsuccessful efforts to mine valuable minerals in Marin County.

G. Aids to Navigation and Maritime Commerce

1. Point Bonita Lighthouse

Authorized in 1853, the Point Bonita Lighthouse was completed and lit in 1855 as one of the first aids to navigation on the West Coast. Its location high on the Marin headlands obscured the light during heavy fogs, so that in 1876 a new lighthouse was constructed on the western end of Point Bonita's rocky promontory and illuminated in February 1877 with the second order fresnel lens which had already been in service for thirteen years at the original lighthouse. Also, the upper portion of the new lighthouse incorporated the upper portion of the original structure, including its "gargoyle" drains in the form of cast iron eagles.

In 1855 Point Bonita light station acquired the first fog signal on the West Coast; a twenty-four pounder cannon from the Benicia Arsenal, this gun is now preserved by the U.S. Coast Guard at Alameda, California. In 1856 the cannon was replaced by a fog bell which continued in operation until 1872 when a frame structure on the eastern end of the promontory was constructed for a first class fog siren and keeper's quarters. To reach the site a pathway from the mainland was cut along the cove side of the promontory and a boat landing in the cove below the path was constructed for the delivery of station supplies. A tramway ran from the landing up the steep embankment and out to the fog signal. Landslides in 1874 and 1875 forced the Lighthouse Service to cut a tunnel 118 feet long through solid rock to make the path safe, and to raze and completely rebuild the fog signal building on more secure ground. In 1903 the Lighthouse Service constructed the brick fog signal building now standing northwest of the lighthouse. The 1872 fog signal building continued to be used as keepers' quarters until the mid-twentieth century, when it was torn down.

The residential quarters for the keepers stood on the mainland, near the original lighthouse tower. Neither the quarters nor 1855 tower still stand.

The prime historic features of the Point Bonita Lighthouse station still standing are: the pathway, tunnel, boat landing ruins, fog signal building site (1872), fog signal building (1903), and the lighthouse (1877). In 1939-40 a landslide wiped out the pathway between the old fog signal building and the light and fog signal. A wooden bridge crossed the gap until 1954 when the existing suspension bridge was erected. This bridge reportedly is the only one of its kind at any U.S. lighthouse station and may, therefore, have significance for its uniqueness in lighthouse history.

A lighthouse and fog signal have marked the entrance to the Golden Gate at Point Bonita for 123 years, helping to safeguard the vast maritime traffic in and out of San Francisco Bay during the past century. The second order fresnel lens has operated since 1855, giving Point Bonita the most powerful lighthouse on the bay. Today Point Bonita stands as the only working second order light on the West Coast. The lighthouse itself has stood on the rocky promontory for over a century and the fog signal building since 1903. Point Bonita, moreover, remains as one of the best preserved nineteenth century lighthouse stations on the West Coast and should be recommended to the National Register of Historic Places for its regional significance.

Although included within the projected boundaries of GGNRA, Point Bonita lighthouse station remains under U.S. Coast Guard administration. Should the National Park Service be granted permission to interpret the history of Point Bonita lighthouse, recommend the preservation of the prime historic features at the

station and their on-site interpretation. Recommend the restoration of the lighthouse to its 1877 construction, i.e., the removal of the 1950 watchroom.

## 2. Point Reyes Lighthouse

Authorized in 1854 as one of the earliest lighthouses on the West Coast, Point Reyes light was not completed until 1870 because of problems acquiring the eighty-three-acre tract and Drakes Bay landing site for the station.

The Point Reyes lighthouse began operation on October 9, 1870 with a first order lens manufactured in Paris. The light continued in operation for 105 years, until it was automated in 1975. The unusual sixteen-sided iron tower with its first order lens remains on the original lighthouse site, and it was opened to public visitation in 1977. Point Reyes is the oldest first order light in the Twelfth Coast Guard District (San Luis Obispo north to Washington State) and the second oldest first order light still standing on the West Coast. (The oldest first order lens on the coast, dating from 1856, is at Point Conception in the Eleventh Coast Guard District. This light has been automated but not destroyed and is still under Coast Guard administration.)

Point Reyes also received a steam fog signal in 1871. Providing water for the fog signal became a chronic problem. A 10,000-foot concrete watershed and a 100,000-gallon cistern were constructed originally (1871) to gather and store rainfall but the expected supply was rarely met. The fog signal itself stood below the lighthouse on a level site dynamited out of the rocky promontory. Fuel for the fog signal was delivered on a chute which ran along the stairway down to the lighthouse and over the ledge to the signal below. This fog signal was rebuilt and remodeled several times before a new fog signal building was constructed a few feet northwest and below the lighthouse in 1934.

In the 1960s the lighthouse station underwent major alterations. All the keepers' quarters dating from the 1870s and 1880s were razed and replaced with modern housing units and a garage. The old U.S. Weather Bureau station (1902) on the crest of the hill overlooking the lighthouse was also demolished. Concrete steps replaced the old wooden ones to the lighthouse and a new railing alongside the stairway was installed. The Coast Guard also demolished the 1934 fog signal building to install a more modern structure but objections to the destruction of historic features at the station reportedly resulted in the rebuilding of the frame signal building on which they mounted the new automated light.

In addition to the lighthouse (PR-25), the historic features still standing at the station are the concrete watershed and cistern (PR-19), the stairway and cable track (PR-12), the fog signal building (PR-10), the power house (1928; PR-16), the pumphouse (1934; PR-22), the transformer building (1934; PR-11), the fuel and paint storage building (the original pump house, 1900? PR-21), and garage (1900?; PR-17). Although only the lighthouse, stairway, and rain shed represent historic features from the original construction, the other later structures help to tell the development and evolution of the station during its 108 years in service.

The Point Reyes lighthouse station has been determined to be eligible for nomination to the National Register for its regional significance in the maritime history of the West Coast.

Recommend preservation and adaptive use of the historic structures at the station. The power house, for instance, might be adapted as a museum for historic objects related to the lighthouse and may also be a center for the interpretation of the

station's history. Recommend complete restoration of the Point Reyes light and interpretation of its structural and service history.

The National Park Service now administers a third order lighthouse at Point Loma, California, and the first order light at Point Reyes. Should the Service also acquire Point Bonita in the future, it will have a representative lighthouse to display the first, second, and third order fresnel lenses developed in the mid-nineteenth century.

#### H. Life-Saving and Coast Guard Service

In 1915 the U.S. Life-Saving Service (established in 1877) and the U.S. Revenue-Cutter Service were joined to form the U.S. Coast Guard. After 1915 the life-saving stations along the coast became known as Coast Guard lifeboat stations; and, more recently, search and rescue stations. In 1899 the Twelfth Life-Saving District, which covered about 600 miles of the northern West Coast, had fifteen stations, including the Golden Gate, Fort Point, Bolinas Bay, and Point Reyes stations. Today only seven search and rescue stations are in operation in the district. The Golden Gate station was demolished in the 1950s. The Fort Point Station at the Presidio remains in Coast Guard control. The Bolinas Bay station stands no more. The discontinued Point Reyes lifeboat station, opened in 1927, is within Point Reyes National Seashore and will be recommended to the National Register for its regional significance in the maritime history on the West Coast.

##### 1. Point Reyes Lifeboat Station

In 1927 the Point Reyes lifeboat station moved from its Ocean Beach location to Drakes Bay to secure a safer launching site for the Coast Guard rescue boats and to unite the station buildings in one area. The original life-saving station at Ocean Beach was established in 1890 but the pounding surf made the

necessary rescue drills dangerous for the crews. In 1894 a boathouse was built on Drakes Bay so that practice drills and boat launchings could be carried out in protected waters. A complete station on Drakes Bay became the next goal and by 1913 the Life-Saving Service had acquired three land parcels on the bay side to that end. Authorization and funding for the new station, however, was held up until 1926 when construction finally got underway. When opened in 1927 the Drakes Bay station had the boat house and quarters building (PR-125) on the shore, a two-story dwelling (PR-159), garage, power house, and coal house about 1,300 feet northwest of the station building; and a lookout up on the headlands, about three-eighths of a mile southeast of the station complex. The pumphouses (PR-119 and 123) at the station were built in 1935 and 1941. The two garages (PR-118 and 126) now at the station both were constructed in 1927, so that one originally served as a power house or coal house. The six existing structures represent part of the station's history and will be included on the National Register nomination.

A 1923 map of the original station on ocean beach indicates that the lookout building now standing on the hill northeast of the old radio compass station building (now a private residence) may have been constructed around 1923 to replace one built on the hill in 1894. Recommend further research on this structure to determine if it was part of the ocean beach life-boat station, and if so, recommend its preservation and its inclusion in the National Register nomination. The present occupants have a 50-year reservation-of-use for these structures.

Recommend preservation of the Drakes Bay station buildings and the adaptive use of all the structures except the boathouse where recommended interpretation of the Life-Saving Service and the Coast Guard Service at Point Reyes be carried out.

Recommend acquisition of a typical ca. 1927 powerboat for the interpretation of the lifeboat station, and, if possible, the acquisition of a Dobbins surfboat to include the history of the life-saving station.

2. Point Bonita Life-Saving Station

Only ruins of the wharf, the marine railway, concrete foundations of the boathouse, and one of the structures in the residential area on the hilltop remain of the Point Bonita life-saving and lifeboat station. Because so little of the station has survived, no recommendations will be made for treatment of the existing remains. If the National Park Service receives permission to interpret the Point Bonita lighthouse, recommend that interpretation of the life-saving station be combined with that of the lighthouse and that the sites of the historic life-saving and lifeboat station structures in the cove be identified.

3. Weather Bureau Stations

Neither the Point Reyes or Mount Tamalpais Weather Bureau stations still stand. Recommend identification of the foundations of the Point Reyes station building on the crest of the hill overlooking the lighthouse.

4. Point Lobos Marine Lookout

Beginning around 1850 and continuing until about 1967 marine lookouts have been stationed at Point Lobos to give advance notice to the city's commercial interests of the arrival of ships to San Francisco. Built in 1926 by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the existing octagonal lookout on Point Lobos represents the last of several different structures built at Point Lobos as marine lookouts. The Point Lobos lookout appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its local significance. Recommend its preservation and interpretation as part of the history of marine lookouts on the site.

I. Protection Against Contagious Diseases and Illegal Immigration

1. U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island

The Angel Island quarantine station opened in 1891 and continued in operation until 1946. The station protected San Francisco, the West Coast, and the nation from the introduction of contagious diseases such as smallpox, cholera, yellow fever, and the plague. As the largest port on the West Coast and one of the few designated ports of entry for immigrants on the West Coast, San Francisco attracted large numbers of ships from foreign ports, all of which required inspection by the quarantine staff. The station held thousands of immigrants--mostly Oriental--in quarantine over the years and the staff fumigated and disinfected many of the arriving ships, as well as all the personal belongings of the immigrants in quarantine. The station also had a laboratory for the study and detection of contagious germs.

After the deactivation of the station in 1946 the California Department of Parks and Recreation took over administration of the station as the site of a state park. Although a study on the history of Angel Island completed by the National Park Service recognized the historic significance of the Quarantine Station, the State demolished all but four of the station's forty-odd buildings. Should Angel Island ever be transferred from the State to the National Park Service as part of GGNRA, recommend the preservation of the three residential quarters for the Surgeon in charge (1890), for the assistant surgeon (1890), and for the pharmacist (1893), and the two-story single attendants' quarters and mess hall completed in February 1936. Recommend their nomination to the National Register as locally significant remains of the nationally significant station. Recommend adaptive uses for original station quarters and use of the 1936 attendants' quarters as a center for interpretation.

## 2. U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island

National legislation to restrict undesirable immigrants to the United States first came into force in 1891, almost ten years after racial discrimination on the West Coast had brought about the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. By 1907 immigration legislation included a so-called Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan to limit the number of Japanese entering the country. To implement this legislation, an immigration service was established in 1891 and immigration stations at designated ports of entry were authorized.

San Francisco as the principal port of entry on the West Coast received an immigration station in 1910. The Angel Island station remained open until 1940 when a fire destroyed the administration building. During its thirty years in operation it served as headquarters for the Eighteenth Immigration District which included Northern California, Nevada, and the Angel Island station. The vast majority of immigrants applying for entry at San Francisco were Chinese and Japanese who were confined in a barracks building at the Angel Island station until they could appear before a board of inquiry. Scandal cloaked the operations and conditions at the station throughout its service, especially concerning the treatment and living quarters of the Asian immigrants.

In 1941 the U.S. Army took over the abandoned immigration station, renaming it North Garrison. For over thirty years now North Garrison has been abandoned and the inevitable deterioration of the buildings and the overgrowth of vegetation has taken its toll on the historic resources at the site.

Plans now are underway by the California Department of Parks and Recreation to restore the barracks building where so many Oriental immigrants first lived before entering this country. Should Angel Island ever be transferred to

the National Park Service as part of GGNRA, recommend the restoration of the barracks building and the preservation of the power house, the hospital building (if structurally sound enough), and the foundations of the administration building. Recommend restoring the immigration station grounds by removing the trees and brush which have overgrown the historic setting. Recommend interpretation of the station history with the aid of the many historic photographs available. Recommend the station be nominated to the National Register for its national significance as the most important immigration station on the West Coast, comparable to Ellis Island on the East Coast.

J. Recreation, Conservation, and Preservation in Marin and San Francisco Counties

1. Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway and Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, 1889-1930

At the close of the nineteenth century West Marin County increasingly became popular for its recreational attractions, foremost of which was the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway which began carrying tourists to the eastern summit of Mount Tamalpais in August 1896. To overcome the 2,353 feet of elevation to the mountain top, the railroad company laid the 8.19 miles of track with 281 curves, so giving the line the reputation as the crookedest railroad in the world. In its day the successful construction of the line represented an engineering accomplishment of exceptional note.

Once at the summit tourists enjoyed the panoramic view of the Bay Area, found refreshment and rooms to rent in the Tamalpais Tavern, climbed 210 feet to the peak to inspect the Marine Exchange lookout, visited the Weather Bureau station (opened in 1898), or struck out on one of the several hiking trails connecting the summit with outlying areas.

In 1907 the company added a branch line down to the northern end of Redwood Canyon which William Kent had purchased in 1905 to protect the virgin forest from being flooded by a water reservoir. With Kent's money a Muir Inn was erected at the bottom of the extension to accommodate visitors to the redwoods. And after Kent donated the redwood tract to the government as a national monument in 1909, the tourist traffic on the railroad increased sufficiently to encourage the company directors to plan another extension of the road to Bolinas. To implement their scheme, the directors formed a new company in 1913 and renamed the railroad the Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway. Although the anticipated extensions never were carried out, large numbers of visitors rode the famous "wigggle train" to the summit of Mount Tamalpais and the gravity line--publicized as "the longest roller coaster ride in the world"--down to the second Muir Inn (1913) and Muir Woods National Monument. The increase of private automobiles, however, finally brought the railroad to a close in 1930, after which the tracks, rolling stock, and railroad equipment were sold and moved from the site. In 1929 the Muir Inn also went out of business, and was torn down and the Tamalpais Tavern on the summit also met its demise in the years following.

Today the entire right-of-way from upper Corte Madera Canyon to the summit of Mount Tamalpais survives as an emergency fire road and foundations mark the site of the Muir and Tamalpais Inns. Only a portion of the railroad right-of-way (MT-150) stands within the existing and projected boundaries of GGNRA. The Muir Inn and Tamalpais Tavern sites are within Mount Tamalpais State Park.

Recommend continued preservation and interpretation of the right-of-way by the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the Marin Municipal Water District and continued use

of the route as an emergency fire road and hiking trail. Should Mount Tamalpais State Park be included in GGNRA in the future, recommend interpretation of the railroad's history at the site of the Tamalpais Tavern, and the site identification of the two inns' foundations. Also recommend that the railroad's right-of-way will be nominated to the National Register for its local significance in the history of recreation in the Bay Area.

2. Bootjack Trail, Muir Woods National Monument

Redwood Canyon, today's Muir Woods National Monument, has traditionally been a popular place for recreational outings in Marin County. At some point in the 1890s or earlier, a wagon road was cut through the canyon to the fork of Redwood Creek where Bootjack trail took off up the mountainside. In 1905 the beautiful virgin grove was threatened by a water reservoir project slated for the canyon. To protect the majestic trees William Kent purchased the canyon and made it available to the growing number of Bay Area residents who came to Marin to hike and ride over the scenic railway or wagon roads. Kent improved the wagon road through the canyon in 1907 to connect it with the Muir Inn he had constructed at the north end of the canyon, at the foot of the Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway's gravity car line. By 1909 tourists could reach the Redwood Canyon by train to Muir Inn and by foot or wagon to the forest floor or they could hike or ride by wagon over roads from Mill Valley. Automobiles soon after began taking the wagon road through Muir Woods National Monument but the subsequent damage to the fragile undergrowth by the motor vehicle traffic led to the exclusion of cars from the monument proper in 1924.

Today the old wagon road which connected with Bootjack Trail at the fork of Redwood Creek is still the principal access to the virgin forest and, for many visitors, the only trail

walked on in Muir Woods National Monument. Currently the whole path through the forest is known as Bootjack Trail. Bootjack Trail appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its local significance in the history of recreation in the Bay Area. (Bootjack Trail within Muir Woods has been designated as a National Recreation Trail.)

Recommend the continued preservation of Bootjack Trail (MT-152) as the main route through the canyon floor.

3. Trail to Willow Camp and Lone Tree Trail or Dipsea Trail

In the late nineteenth century the Dipsea Trail was called the trail to Willow Camp until it reached a solitary pine tree on the hillside which marked the beginning of the Lone Tree Trail into Willow Camp. According to an 1898 tourist map of the region, the Lone Tree Trail and trail to Willow Camp were two of only four trails named south of Mount Tamalpais. In 1905 these trails were selected as the route for a foot race to Willow Camp by members of the Olympic Athletic Club of San Francisco. The arduous seven-mile trek ended at the Dipsea Inn by the beach, where the tired runners took a swim in the ocean. So popular was this race to Dipsea Inn that it has been repeated annually, thereby eventually giving the old hiking trail its current name of Dipsea Trail.

Nearly all of the Dipsea Trail (MT-151) falls within the boundaries of Mount Tamalpais State Park. Should the park be incorporated into GGNRA in the future, recommend its nomination to the National Register for its local significance in the recreation history of the Bay Area. The information herein on the Dipsea Trail came from secondary sources alone. Recommend additional research in Olympic Club records and in local newspapers for

August (when the race was run) around 1905 and thereafter. Recommend the continued preservation and use of the trail.

4. The Sidney B. Cushing Mountain Theater

In 1913 three Mount Tamalpais enthusiasts organized the first production of an outdoor drama in the natural amphitheater on the mountain's southwest slope. Garnet Holmes, the director of dramatics at the University of California, directed the miracle play performed and produced by members of several Bay Area hiking clubs who enthusiastically contributed their efforts towards this community event. So excellent did the natural amphitheater prove to be and so popular was the play that the directors formed the Mountain Play Association and decided to make the production an annual event which it continues to be to the present.

In 1915 William Kent donated the site of the natural amphitheater to the Mountain Play Association on the terms that the play be continued annually and that the theater be named after his good friend, Sidney B. Cushing. In 1936, during construction work which improved the amphitheater by providing it with stone tiers to seat the audience and with an extension to the natural stage, the Mountain Play Association gave the theater site to the Mount Tamalpais State Park on the condition that the plays be continued, which they have been to the present. The Sidney B. Cushing Mountain Theater (MT-85) still sits within Mount Tamalpais State Park, and should it be included within GGNRA in the future, recommend its nomination to the National Register for its local significance in the Bay Area recreational history. Recommend the continued preservation and use of the theater, and interpretation of its history.

5. Ocean Beach and Cliff House Area

The Ocean Beach and Seal Rocks held an early fascination for Americans in San Francisco. During the 1850s Seal

Rock House opened at the northern end of the beach and shortly thereafter the Ocean House opened near the southern end. Anticipating the increased popularity of the beach, several San Franciscans formed a company to build the Point Lobos Road out to the bluff opposite Seal Rocks where the first Cliff House was erected in 1863.

The Cliff House soon won a reputation as a fashionable resort. The more affluent came by horseback, carriage, and phaeton to enjoy the ocean breezes, the hospitality and cuisine of Captain Foster, the manager, and to view the sea lions basking on the rocks offshore. By 1870 the Cliff House had been enlarged about three times its original size to accommodate the increasing number of customers and had secured a steady clientele of prominent San Franciscans. Many visitors to the city also took the drive out to the Cliff House, among them General Ulysses Grant in 1879, and President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880. Within its first twenty years in business, the Cliff House had achieved fame as a seaside resort and city landmark.

In the early 1880s the Cliff House began to change under the ownership of Adolph Sutro, Comstock millionaire who had bought up all the land around the Cliff House, as well as some 2,000 acres of Western Addition lands. Sutro conceived of a popular recreation area at his seaside property and went to great trouble and expense to see his scheme realized. Sutro lowered prices at the Cliff House, fought to provide inexpensive public transportation to the Cliff House, opened his garden estate on Sutro Heights to the public at no charge, and constructed the spectacular Sutro Baths, said to be the largest indoor swimming tanks in the world when completed in 1896. Sutro also helped to organize and finance the Cliff House and Ferries Railway which began bringing crowds of city dwellers out to the Cliff House area

in 1886. Before his death in 1898 Sutro also saw the completion of the second Cliff House--a massive structure in the French Chateau style--in 1896, after the first Cliff House burned to the ground

Firm in his commitment to public recreation, Sutro provided in his will that Sutro Heights would go to the City of San Francisco as a park. In the spirit of her father, Emma Merritt had the Cliff House reconstructed for a third time in 1909, after Sutro's structure burned down. But Sutro's heirs sold the Cliff House and Sutro Baths in the years to come, and the quality of recreation at the site gradually deteriorated.

The San Francisco Park Commissioners also originated a plan to improve recreational opportunities at Ocean Beach. In 1868 the construction of a Great Highway was authorized from the Seal Rocks south along the high tide line for three miles. Funds to complete the road, which was expected to be one of the most beautiful ocean drives in the world, came slowly. Work didn't get underway until 1890 and wasn't completed until June 1929. After nearly forty years in construction the Great Highway project cost over \$1,000,000 and included several outstanding structural features, most notably the mile-long esplanade or concrete bulkhead built to hold the sea and sands from the Great Highway. At its dedication in 1929 the Great Highway right-of-way offered San Francisco's public a variety of recreational facilities, such as a bridle path, bleachers on the beach, restrooms, a broad sidewalk, and a paved boulevard with parking areas for the scores of automobiles which converged at the beach on weekends.

Today the Cliff House and Ocean Beach area is included within GGNRA, thus perpetuating its recreational history. The area appears to qualify for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register as a historic district for its local

significance in the history of recreation in San Francisco. The district includes the 1909 Cliff House (SH-1), the ruins of Sutro Baths (SH-3), the main tunnel for filling the baths with seawater (SH-6), the wellhouse (SH-7), parapet (SH-9), and grounds (SH-25) at Sutro Heights, the right-of-way for the Ferries and Cliff House Railroad (SH-23), and the esplanade or seawall (OB-1) at Ocean Beach.

Recommend a historic structure report for the Cliff House and the partial restoration of the building to return the exterior to its 1909 facade. Recommend retaining the addition on the south side constructed in the 1950s and the treatment of it as part of the continuing history of the Cliff House. Recommend a historic structure and grounds report for Sutro Heights and the restoration of the gardens, walkways, and well house. Recommend preservation of the Sutro Bath ruins and the Sutro Heights parapet. Recommend site identification of the former structures at Sutro Heights and Baths. Recommend the interpretation of Sutro's contributions to the improvement of public recreation in San Francisco at Sutro Heights. Recommend a brochure to direct a walking tour of the district, with explanations of the ruins and remains of what once was one of the most popular recreation areas in San Francisco.

#### 6. Aquatic Park

Black Point Cove--the site of Aquatic Park--has provided recreation in its waters for close to a century. In the 1880s people came to the cove to swim and picnic, and in 1895 the Dolphin Rowing and Swimming Club built a new boathouse at the foot of Van Ness Avenue where the city's waterfront development would not interfere with its aquatic recreation. In 1909 continued bay fill along the waterfront forced the relocation of the Ariel and South End Rowing Clubs to Black Point Cove which, too, was being

threatened with future commercial development. That year an Aquatic Improvement Association, led by rowing club members, organized to fight for the preservation of Black Point Cove for aquatic recreation. The park movement took years to gain momentum but by 1917 the city had approved the exchange of lands with the Southern Pacific Railroad which set aside land at the foot of Van Ness Avenue for an aquatic park.

Acquiring the rest of the cove for the aquatic park took another seven years to arrange, requiring condemnation suits, negotiations with the U.S. Army, and Congressional approval. Finally, in 1931, construction began on the Municipal Pier which was designed to protect the cove waters. Construction of the bathhouse, complex and seawall, however, were completed with Works Progress Administration money and labor between 1936 and 1939. When dedicated in January 1939, Aquatic Park had been thirty years in the making, and had cost some \$2,000,000 to construct. It represented one of the most important recreational developments in the city and county of San Francisco. Architecturally, it possessed a bold maritime design conceived by San Francisco's noted architect, William Moose, Jr., and embellished by some of San Francisco's noted artists.

Although in the years since its completion Aquatic Park has not fulfilled its anticipated role as one of the greatest recreation areas in the city, its park facilities still have the potential to provide San Franciscans with a place in their urban environment to swim, fish, and row outdoors, in protected waters. Aquatic Park, with its boathouse (AP-1), east and west restroom buildings (AP-2, 11), east and west speakers (AP-19 and 20), amphitheater (AP-16), seawall (AP-18), and municipal pier (AP-4), appears to meet the criteria for and is recommended for nomination to the National Register for its local significance in San Francisco's recreational history.

Of the three rowing clubs which have been on the San Francisco waterfront for over a century and on Black Point Cove since 1909, two still are functioning, the Dolphin and Southend. These clubs led the movement to establish an aquatic park for San Francisco, and were included in the ongoing plans for the park since its authorization. Today the Dolphin and South End Clubs are the only nineteenth century rowing and swimming clubs still active in San Francisco County. Although now under city control, the rowing clubs at Aquatic Park will be transferred to GGNRA after legal complications are corrected. Recommend their inclusion in the National Register nomination for Aquatic Park when they are under National Park Service management.

Recommend a historic structure report for Aquatic Park and the preservation of its structures. Aquatic Park's bathhouse was adapted for the use of the San Francisco Maritime Museum in 1950. Recommend similar appropriate adaptive uses for buildings and structures when needed, to keep them in use.

7. Marina and Yacht Harbor

After being the site for the popular Harbor View amusement park in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then the site of the Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1915, the shoreline between the Presidio and Fort Mason became a city park known as the Marina and Yacht Harbor in 1924. Both the marina and yacht harbor originally were constructed for the 1915 exposition. The marina served as the landing field for stunt flyers during the exposition and for private aviators and San Francisco's first airmail service between 1920 and 1925. As a public park the marina and yacht harbor made more of the city's waterfront available for recreation, and protected the exceptional panoramic view of the bay and Marin Headlands for the benefit of all citizens and visitors to San Francisco.

During the Depression state and federal funds put laborers to work at the Yacht Harbor constructing a stone lighthouse (1931, MA-5), harbor master's station (1938, MA-8), boat house (1934, MA-7?), and seawall (1938, MA-9). Edward Thornton, a construction engineer and seawall builder of international fame, supervised the seawall construction during the mid-thirties. When completed, the enlarged and improved yacht harbor possessed an architectural unity and integrity in its stone construction. As fine examples of Works Progress Administration workmanship and as products of the recreational vision of the city of San Francisco, these structures appear to meet the criteria for and are recommended for nomination to the National Register along with the Marina Green (MA-10) for their local significance in the recreation history of San Francisco, when they are transferred to the National Park Service.

Recommend historic structure report on the yacht harbor and marina green. Recommend their preservation.

8. Historic Ships, Hyde Street Pier and Pier 43

To preserve and interpret San Francisco's rich maritime history the San Francisco Maritime Museum and the State of California purchased several historic ships in various states of disrepair and restored them for public exhibition on the city's waterfront. The square rigger, Balclutha (1886), the three-masted schooner, C.A. Thayer (1895), the steam schooner, Wapama (1915), the scow schooner, Alma (1891), the walking-beam ferryboat, Eureka (1890), and the tugboat, Hercules (1907), each represent a different aspect of Pacific Coast and San Francisco Bay maritime commerce. All six ships have been nominated to the National Register.

Recommend a preservation plan for each of the ships and their continued preservation and interpretation as floating relics of San Francisco's maritime history.

9. Haslett Warehouse

The State of California also acquired the Haslett Warehouse as part of the historic waterfront scene in San Francisco. Constructed between 1907 and 1909, the Haslett Warehouse is a post-earthquake structure reflecting the prosperous maritime commerce of the early part of this century. The Haslett Warehouse was transferred to GGNRA as part of the San Francisco Maritime State Park. It has been entered on the National Register, designated a city landmark, and is being considered for national landmark status.

Recommend a historic structure report on Haslett Warehouse, its preservation as is (with recent remodeling), and its adaptive use for park purposes.

10. San Francisco Maritime Museum

Historic objects, ship models, paintings, photographs, books, original records, scrapbooks, and tapes of interviews have been collected and donated to the San Francisco Maritime Museum to help preserve the colorful maritime history on the Bay and Pacific Coast. Recommend that the collection be completely accessioned and preserved and made available to the public in a larger space than that provided in the Aquatic Park bathhouse building.



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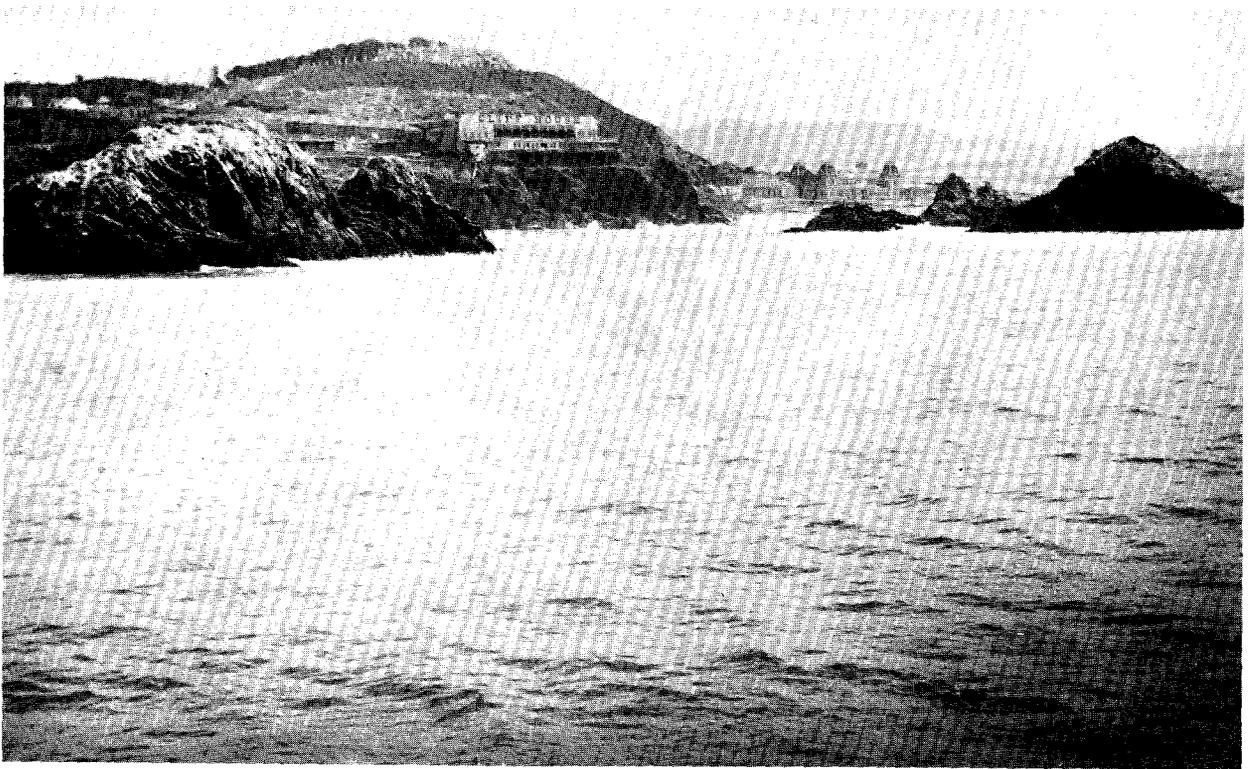
I L L U S T R A T I O N S

Circumstances have prevented the inclusion in this study of all the illustrations that the author had selected.



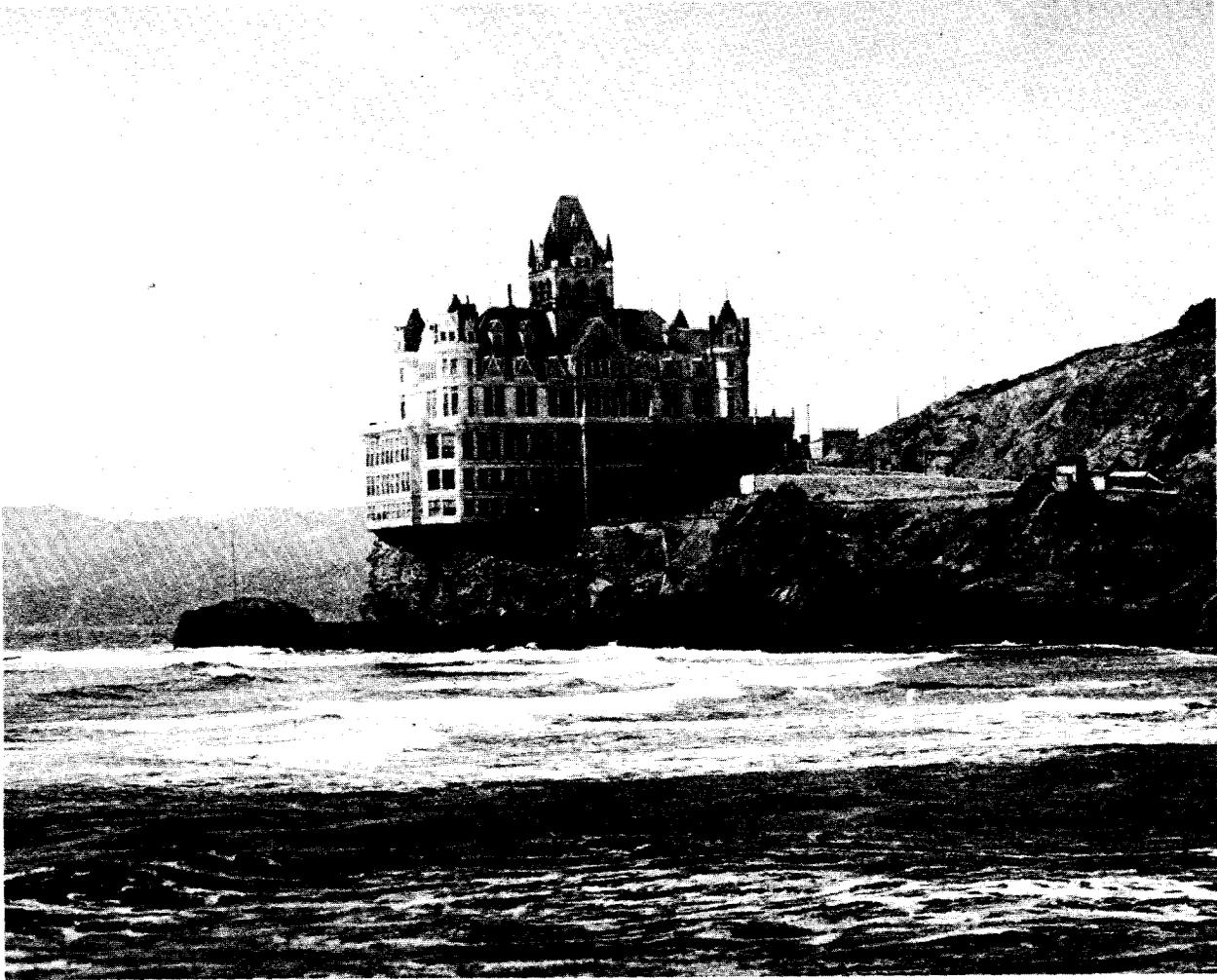
1. The original Cliff House, completed in June 1863 by Messrs Butter and Buckley. No date, pre-1868 addition.

Courtesy, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection at Cliff House shop, San Francisco.



2. Cliff House with 1868 additions. Sutro Heights showing residence, parapet wall, and some vegetation. Ocean Beach with hotels and concessions. c. 1887-1890.

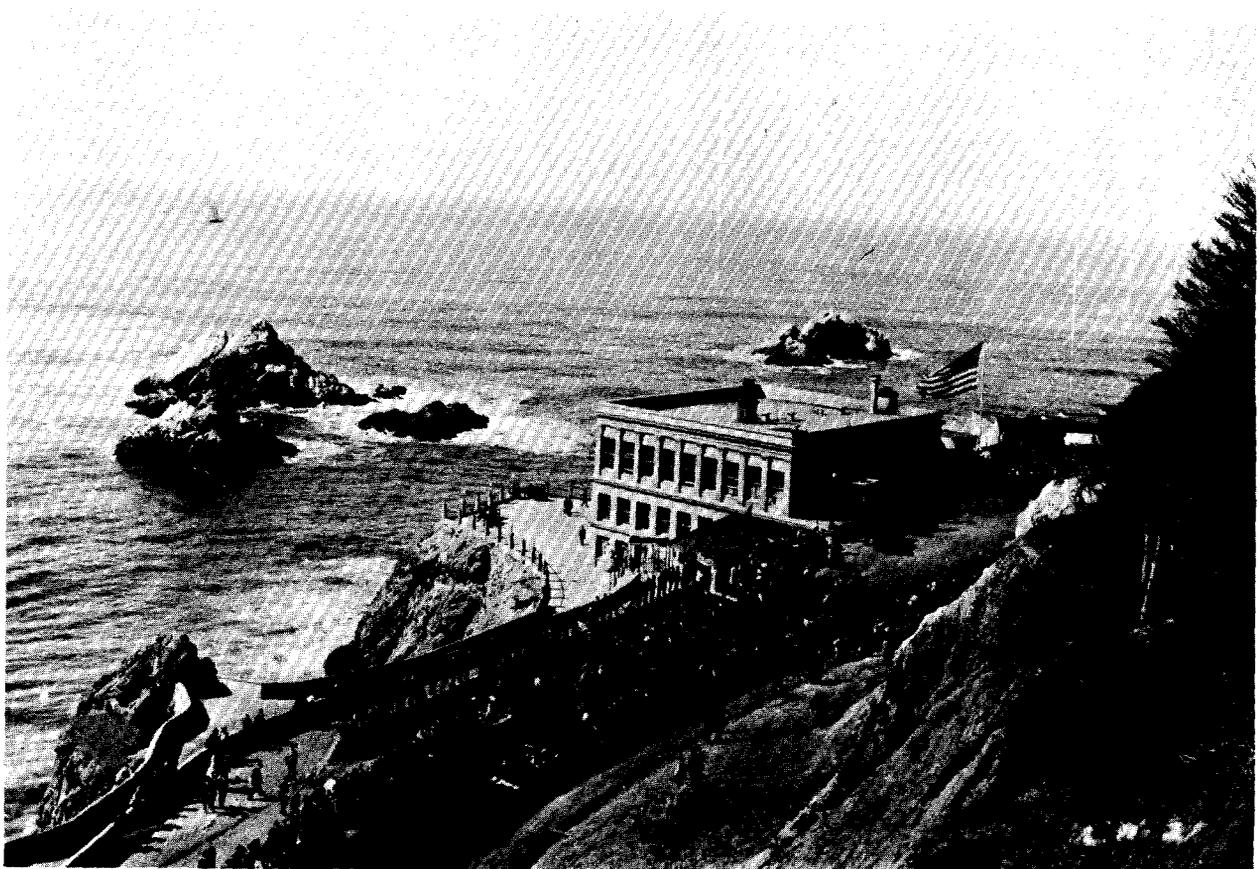
Photo by T.E. Hecht, #690, Courtesy, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco.



3. Cliff House, no date.

Adolph Sutro built this fanciful second Cliff House in 1895 after the original structure burned in December 1894.

Courtesy, San Francisco History Room, San Francisco City Library.



4. The Third Cliff House, completed in 1909.

Sutro's Cliff House burned down in 1907 and was replaced by this concrete structure.

This photo taken in 1912 when President Taft visited the Cliff House on his trip to San Francisco to dedicate the grounds for the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

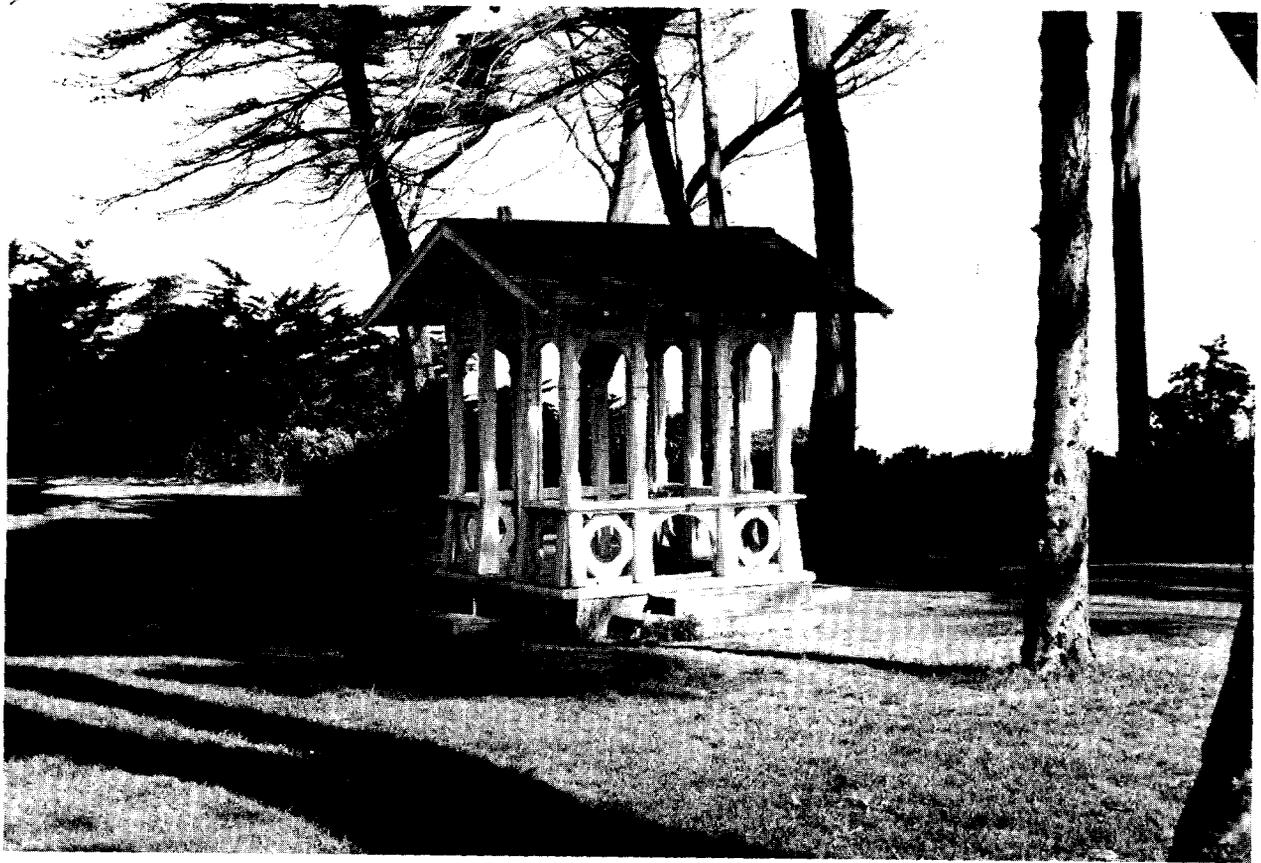
Courtesy, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Cliff House Shop, San Francisco, Cal.



5. Cliff House, 1923.

Along the road to the north of the Cliff House are several frame structures for tourist concessions. Across the road, on the Sutro Heights property, the structures look in poor repair.

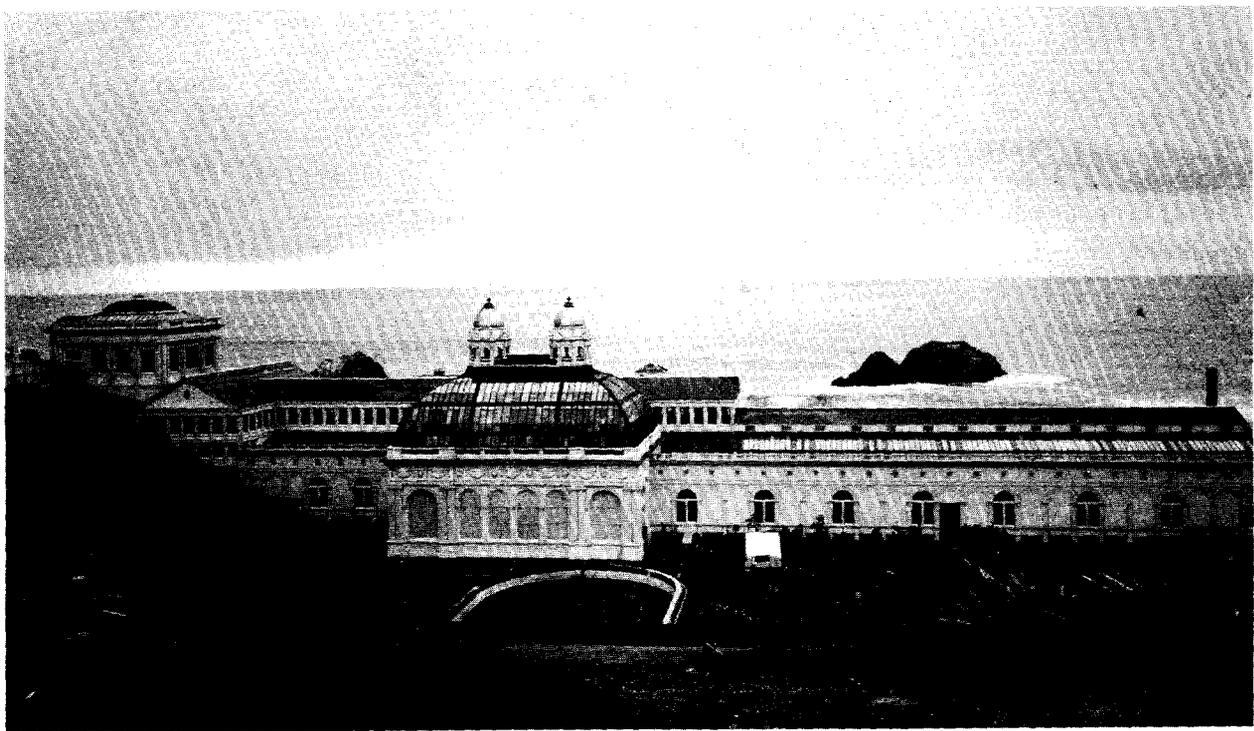
Courtesy, National Archives, Still Pictures, Army Air Forces, Photo No. 18-AN-2632.



6. Sutro Heights, Well House, no date.

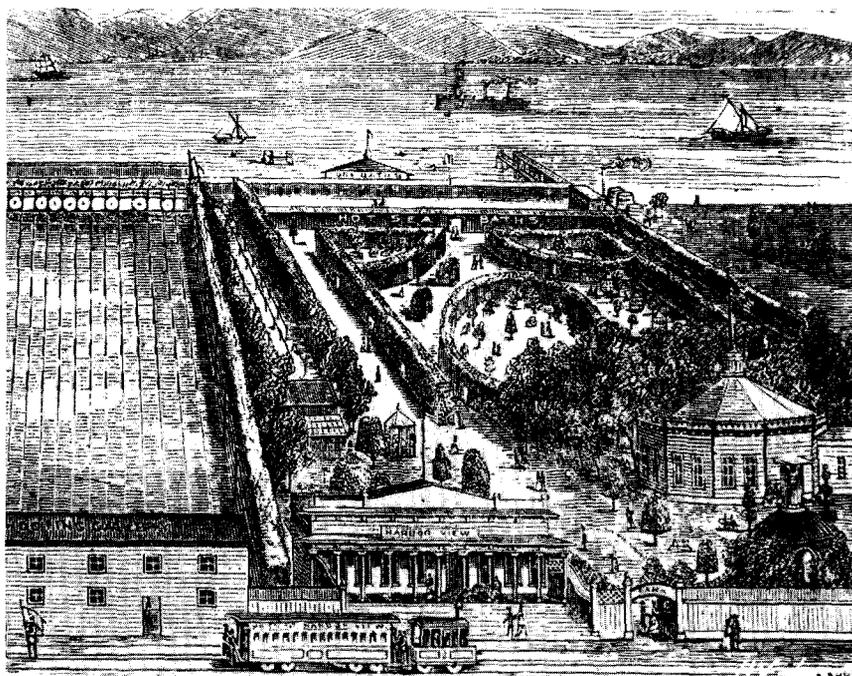
The framing and roof of this structure still stand as the only reminder of the several buildings which once graced the property.

Photo by James P. Delagado, NPS



7. Sutro Baths during construction, c. 1895.

Courtesy, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Cliff House shop, San Francisco, Cal.



8. Harbor View, n.d.

Harbor View offered picnic grounds, a bar, a shooting gallery, a dance hall, and hot salt water baths with private dressing rooms. All these structures were removed for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915.

Courtesy, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco History Room.



9. Black Point Cove, site of Aquatic Park, April 11, 1925.

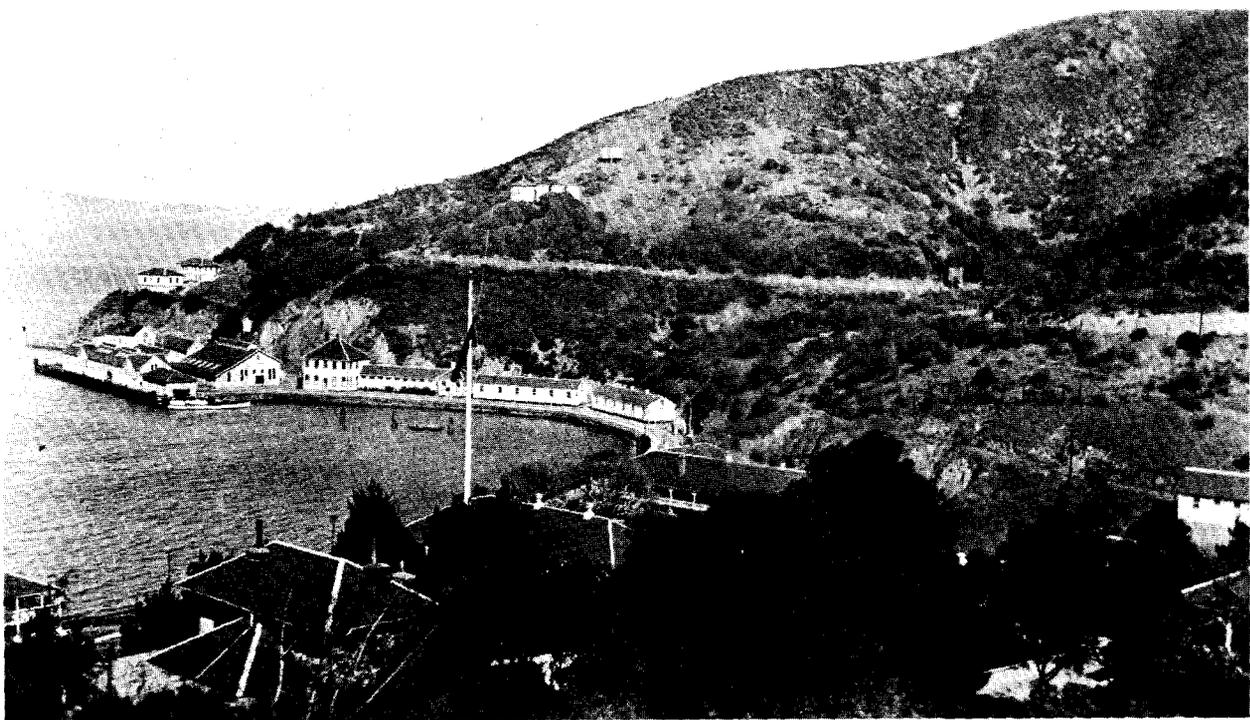
The three rowing and swimming clubs--Ariel, Southend, and Dolphin--stand in their original location at the foot of Van Ness Avenue. The California State Beltline Railroad trestle crosses the water's edge just in front of the clubhouses and over the launching piers. Original quartermaster's pier projects from end of cove.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 18, Army Air Forces, Central Decimal Files 1917-1938, Project Files, Air Fields, Crissy Field.



10. Aquatic Park, 1939.

Courtesy, Library of Congress.



11. Quarantine Station, Angel Island, Cal., c. 1919.

The principal station buildings visible along the far edge of Hospital Cove were, from left to right, beginning with the white structures on the hill; the quarantine hospitals, the disinfecting sheds, the boathouse, the two-story structure for the Chinese kitchen and for staff offices, and the one-story barracks buildings for Chinese immigrants.

The original barracks buildings, hospital buildings, and officers' quarters stood along or near the central shore of the cove.

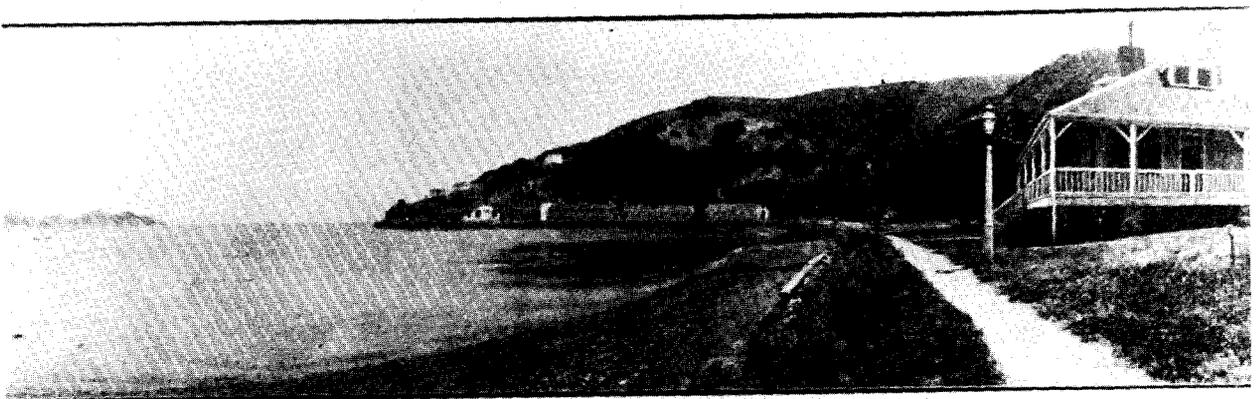
Courtesy, Dr. Elliot Evans Collection, Orinda, Cal.



12. Surgeon's Quarters, U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island, Cal., 1976.

This residence, completed in 1890, is one of three original station structures still standing.

Photo by Harold LaFleur, NPS



HOSPITAL COVE, ANGEL ISLAND, LOOKING NORTHEAST INTO RACCOON STRAITS, AND TOWARD WHARF AND DISTILLERY PLANT

13. Hospital Cove, c. 1902

From Sunset, September 1902



14. Asian Barracks Building and part of Administration Building, U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, Cal., c. 1910-11.

The barracks building, top, housed the arriving Chinese and Japanese immigrants until they passed or failed the entrance examination giving them liberty to enter the United States.

The covered, screened-in stairway connected the barracks with the Administration building, where the Asian dining room and the interrogation rooms were located.

Today the barracks building is one of only three station structures (the hospital, power house, and barracks) still standing.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 85, Immigration and Naturalization Service, District 13, General Correspondence, 1915-1941.



15. Barracks Building, site of U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, Cal., July 1976.

Plans for the restoration of the barracks building are underway by the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

Courtesy, Harold LaFleur, Historical Architect, Denver Service Center.



16. Hospital Building, site of U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, Cal., July 1976.

Nearly hidden by the thick ground cover, the hospital building stands in very poor repair.

Courtesy, Harold La Fleur, Historical Architect, Denver Service Center.

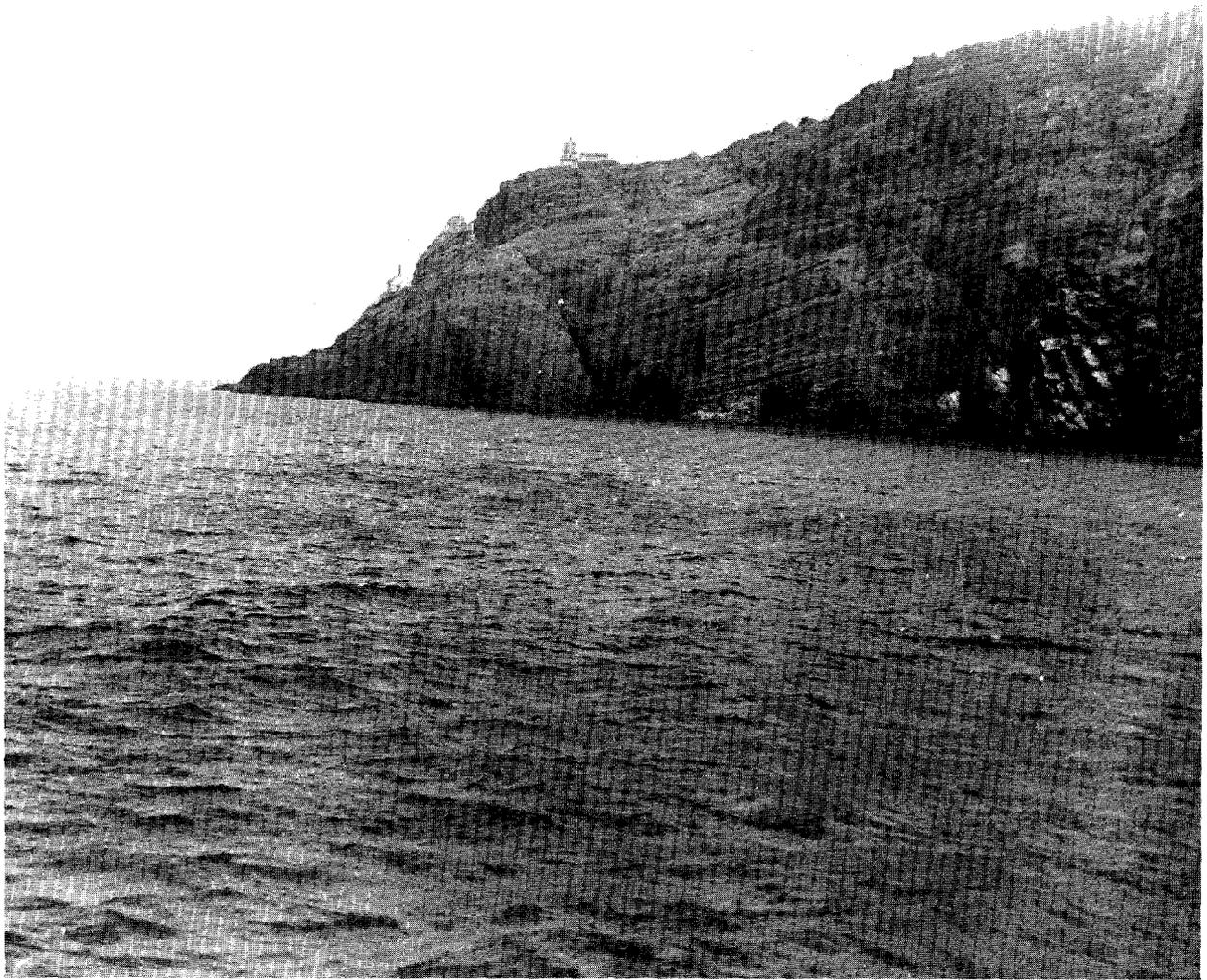


17. Point Bonita Lighthouse, no date, c. 1940s.

The lighthouse (1872) and fog signal building (1903) stand at the end of the point. On the eastern end of the peninsula is an earlier fog signal building (1874) which was converted to lighthouse keeper quarters after the completion of the 1903 fog signal.

At top of photo, right, on the headlands, are the principal quarters for the lighthouse keepers, and right, the station buildings, excepting the boathouse, of the Point Bonita Life-Saving Station.

Courtesy, National Archives, Still Pictures, Navy Department, Photo No. 80-G-71868-2.



18. Point Reyes Lighthouse and Fog Signal, no date, pre-1915.

The original fog signal buildings (1871, 1873) stood well below the lighthouse at Point Reyes. Coal for the signal boilers was transported down the slope in a chute (barely visible in this photograph) to the fog signal.

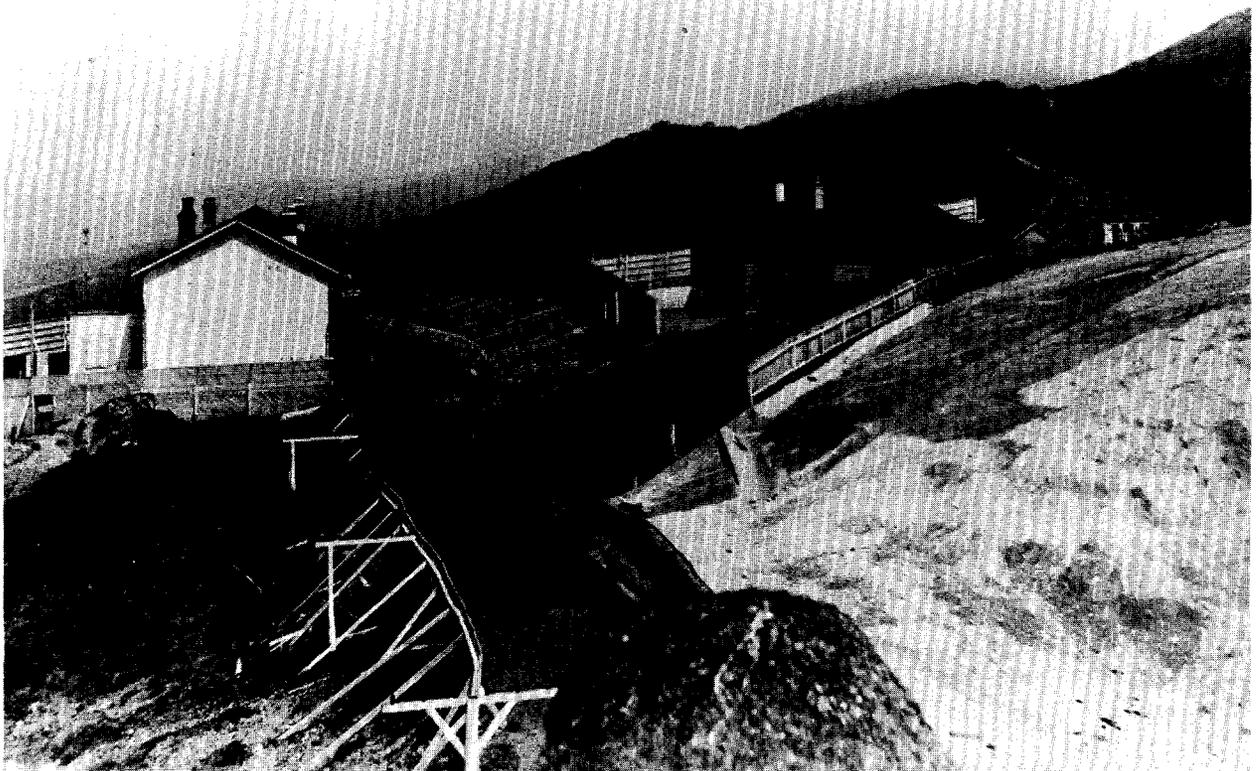
Courtesy, National Archives, Still Pictures, U.S. Coast Guard, Photo No. 26-L6-66-20-2.



19. Point Reyes Lighthouse, c. 1870.

Edward Muybridge shot this picture of the lighthouse shortly after its completion.

Courtesy, National Archives, Still Pictures, U.S. Coast Guard, Photo No. 26-L5-67-8.



20. Keepers Quarters and Rain Shed, Point Reyes Lighthouse Station, Cal., c. 1885.

The large white structure (1870) housed the principal and first assistant keepers; while the two cottages, right, were constructed in 1885 for the second and third assistant keepers. In the foreground, right, is the original concrete rain shed and cistern which provided water for the fog signal boilers.

Courtesy, National Archives, Still Pictures, U.S. Coast Guard, Photo No. 26-LG-67-10.



21. Point Reyes Life-Saving Station lookout (?), February 1976.

This lookout near the abandoned Naval Compass Station may be the one built c. 1923 by the Coast Guard before relocating the station to Drakes Bay in 1927.

Photo by writer.



22. Pierce Ranch, Point Reyes, Cal., February 1976.

Solomon Pierce purchased 2,200 acres of Point Reyes from the Shafters and their partners in 1858, thus becoming the only inholding in the vast Shafter dairy ranch. Solomon's son, Abram, moved into a new house in 1863 and by 1880 had won local fame for his successful dairy operations. The house and dairy barn may be the oldest ranch buildings still standing on Point Reyes.

Photo by Harold LaFleur, NPS.



MAPS AND DRAWINGS

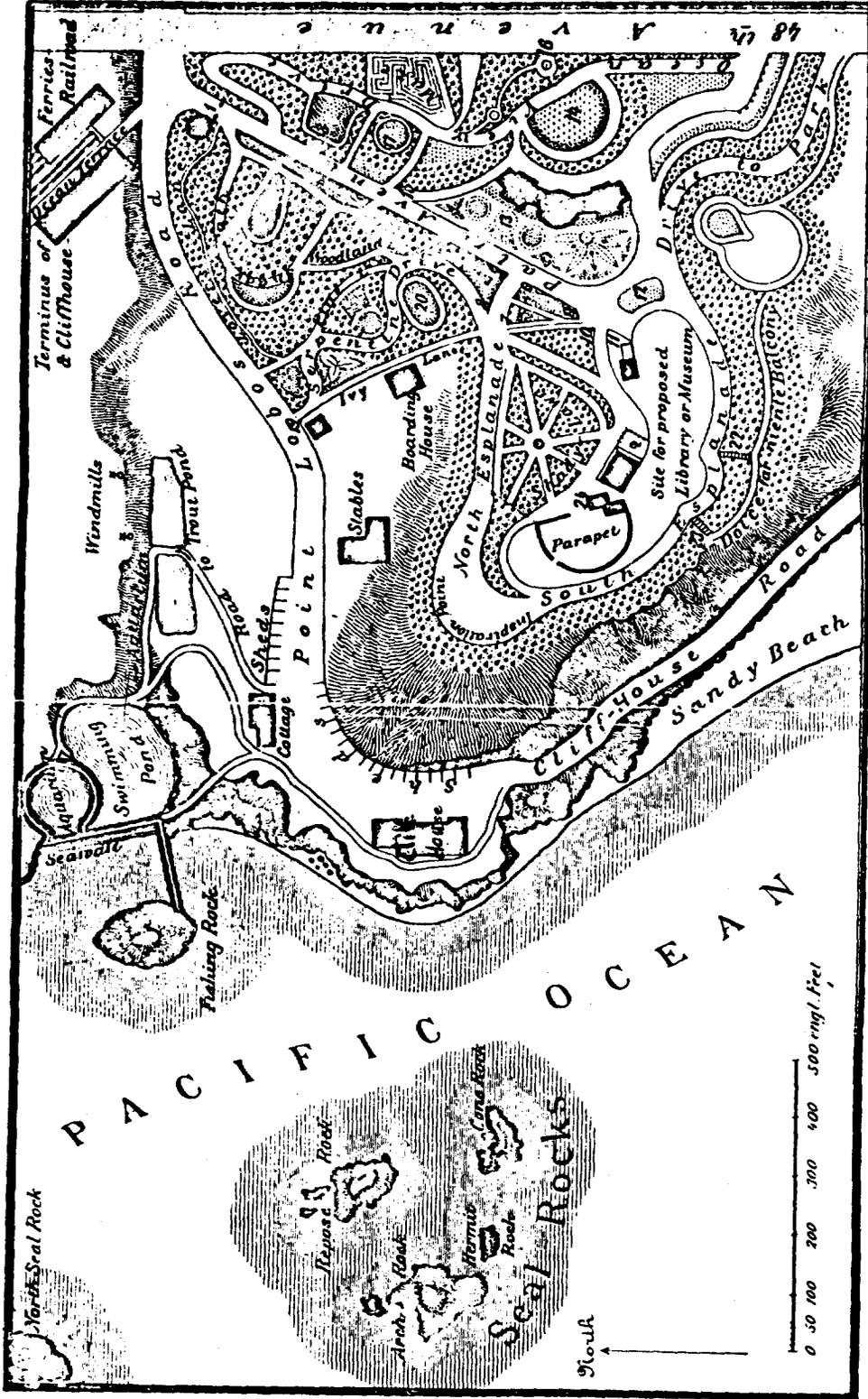
1. "Plan of Sutro Heights, Cliff House & Seal Rocks."  
c. 1890.

Nos. for structures, statues, and landscaping,  
Sutro Heights:

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Main Gate                                | (13) Venus of Milo                |
| (2) Gate-keeper's Lodge                      | (14) Adonis                       |
| (3) The Oval                                 | (15) Diana                        |
| (4) Gryphon                                  | (16) Mercury (Antique, Florence)  |
| (5) Dancing Girl (Canova)                    | (17) Faun                         |
| (6) Dancing Girl (Canova)                    | (18) Mercury (Patron of Commerce) |
| (7) Venus Coming Out of the<br>Bath (Canova) | (19) Lower Gate                   |
| (8) Hebe (Canova)                            | (20) Rosarium                     |
| (9) Venus Genetrix                           | (21) Dwelling                     |
| (10) Fisher Girl                             | (22) Stairs to "Dolce far niente" |
| (11) Autumn                                  | (23) Balcony                      |
| (12) Comic Figures                           | (24) Observatory                  |

This plan only gave a selection of statues on Sutro Heights. Numerous others stood on the parapet, on the rocks below the parapet, on the lane in front of the house, at the lower and upper gates, around the Oval, near the main road, in and in front of the Conservatory, and around "Adonis Circle."

Plan from Album of Sutro Heights, San Francisco, California. (no pub. info.) received at California State Library in January 1891.



Copyright 1909

PLAN OF SUTRO HEIGHTS, CLIFF HOUSE & SEAL ROCKS.

2. "Map of Sutro Heights, Sutro Baths, Cliff House, Shore Lands, and Richmond Blocks and Lots Owned by Estate of Adolph Sutro, Deceased, and referred to in the Report of A.S. Baldwin, May 1910. Drawn by John M. Pummett, Civil Engineer and Surveyor.

Note the additions of Sutro Baths, the railroad depot beside it, and the new Cliff House, completed in 1909.

Note also the marine lookouts on Point Lobos.

Copy of map at GGNRA.

**MAP**  
OF  
**SUTRO HEIGHTS**  
**SUTRO BATHS**  
**CLIFF HOUSE**  
**SHORE LANDS**  
AND  
**RICHMOND BLOCKS AND LOTS**

**MAP**  
**NO 1**

OWNED BY  
**ESTATE OF ADOLPH SUTRO DECEASED**  
and referred to in the Report of

**A. S. BALDWIN**

MAY, 1910

SCALE: 200 FEET TO 1 INCH



DRAWN BY JOHN M. PUNNETT, CIVIL ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR



O C E A N

P A C I F I C

**FORT MILEY**

**U. S. MILITARY RESERVE**



4  
18.46 AC.

3  
13.23 AC.

2  
2.33 AC.

5  
11.08 AC.

6  
4.80 AC.

4-4  
22.327 AC.

3  
10.06 AC.

NOTE: Parcel 6 Contains  
1.20 - U.S. Reserve  
0.15 - U.S.A. Signal Station  
0.187 - U.S.A. Depot  
0.866 - U.S.A. Right of Way  
22.327 - Balance

NOTE: Parcel 4-4 Contains  
1.20 - U.S. Reserve  
0.15 - U.S.A. Signal Station  
0.187 - U.S.A. Depot  
0.866 - U.S.A. Right of Way  
22.327 - Balance

NOTE: Parcel 3 Contains  
1.20 - U.S. Reserve  
0.15 - U.S.A. Signal Station  
0.187 - U.S.A. Depot  
0.866 - U.S.A. Right of Way  
10.06 - Balance

NOTE: Parcel 5 Contains  
1.20 - U.S. Reserve  
0.15 - U.S.A. Signal Station  
0.187 - U.S.A. Depot  
0.866 - U.S.A. Right of Way  
11.08 - Balance

NOTE: Parcel 6 Contains  
1.20 - U.S. Reserve  
0.15 - U.S.A. Signal Station  
0.187 - U.S.A. Depot  
0.866 - U.S.A. Right of Way  
4.80 - Balance

L I N C O L N

P A R K

LAKE ST

CALIFORNIA ST

SUTRO HEIGHTS AVE

46.77'

47.77'

46.77'

46.77'

44.77'

43.99'

42.97'

41.87'

40.07'

39.07'

38.07'

37.07'

36.07'

35.07'

34.07'

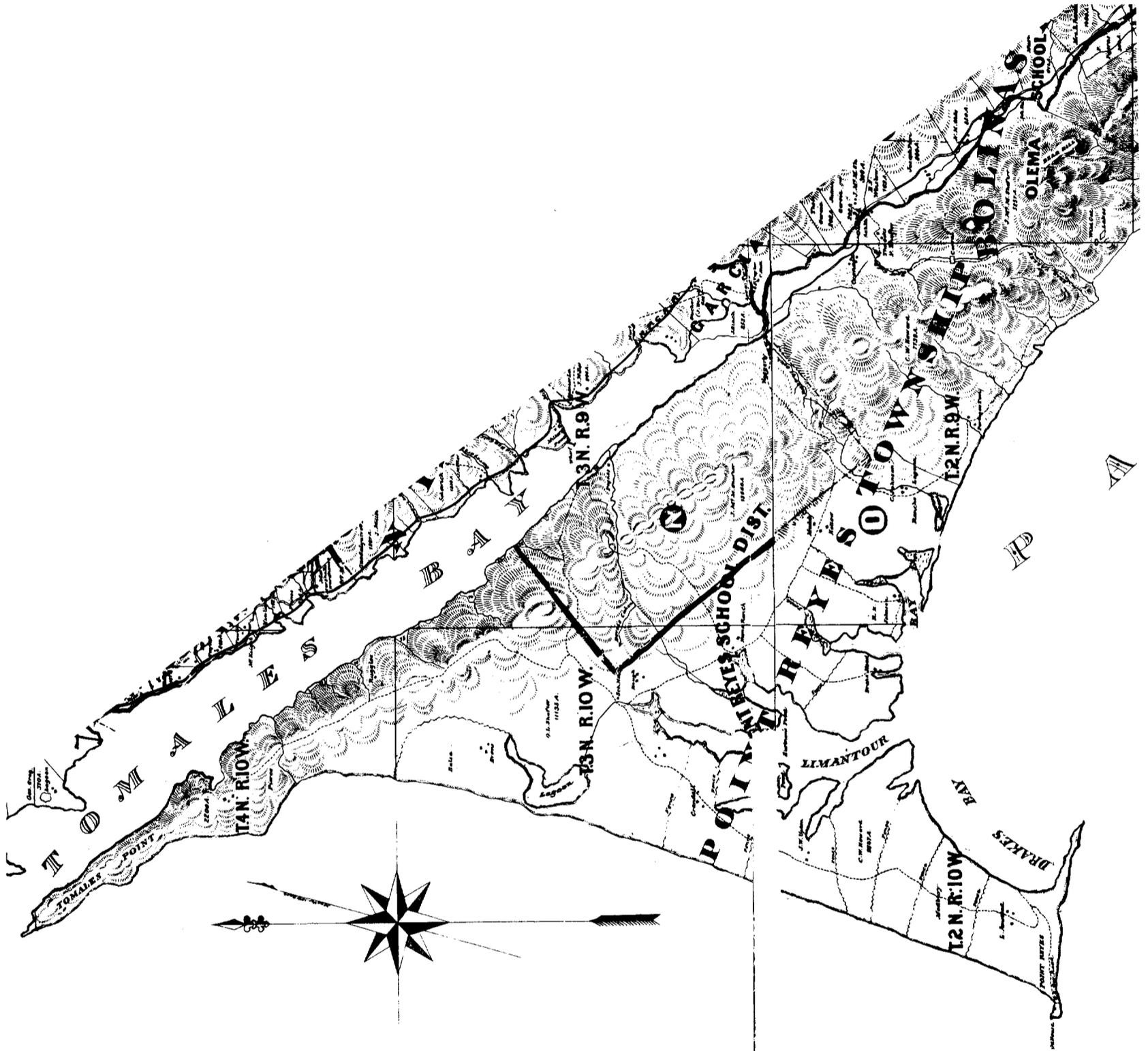
33.99'

32.99'

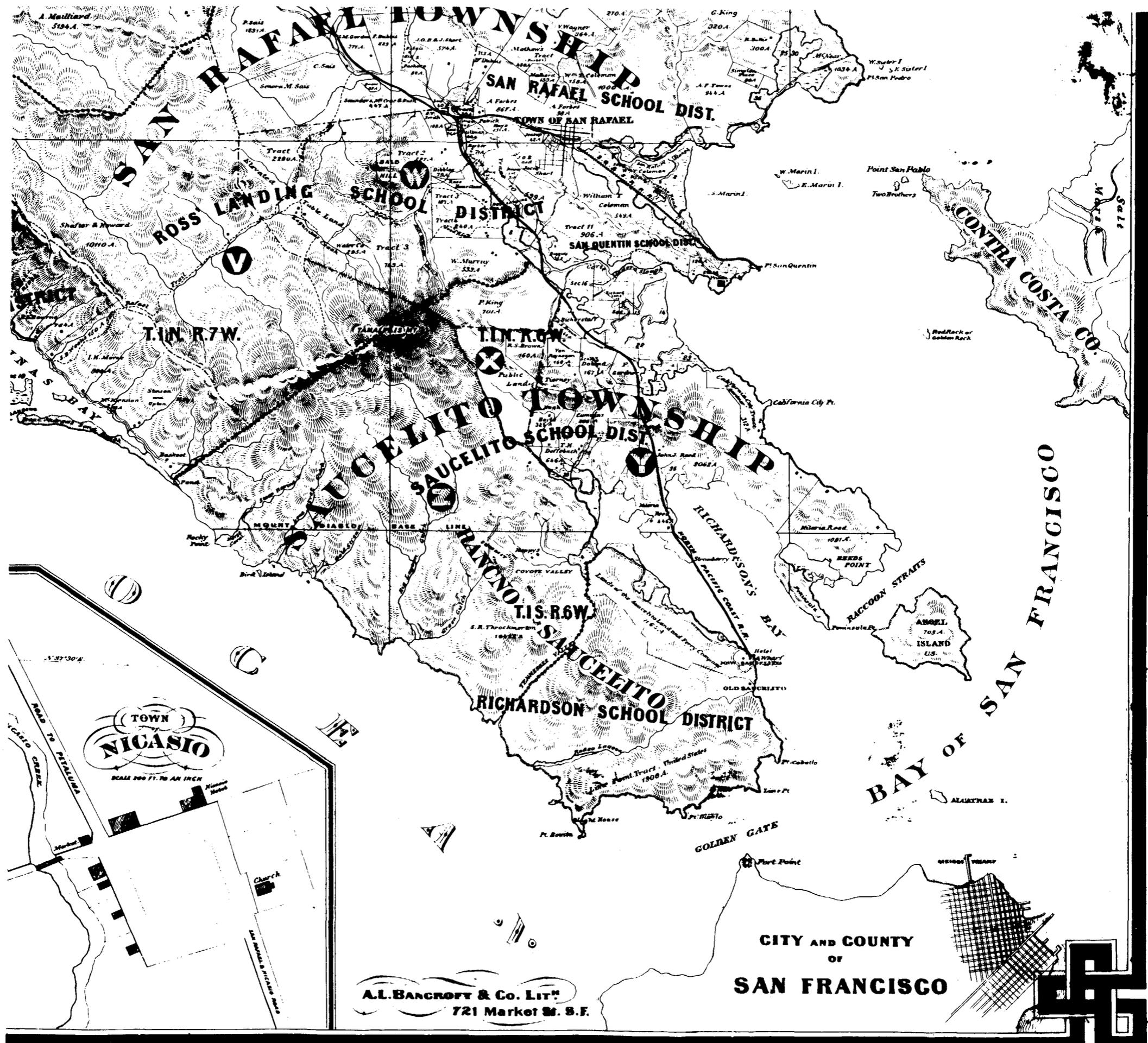
3,4,5. "Map of Marin County California," Compiled  
by H. Austin, County Surveyor, 1873. (In 3  
sheets)

The ranches and their boundaries at Point  
Reyes and Olema Valley have remained very  
close to those given on this map. Note the  
lack of structures in Rancho Sausalito.

Courtesy, California State Library,  
Sacramento, Cal.







TOWN  
**NICASIO**

SCALE 200 FT. TO AN INCH

**A.L. BANCROFT & Co. Lit<sup>rs</sup>**  
721 Market St. S.F.

CITY AND COUNTY  
OF  
**SAN FRANCISCO**

6. "Sketch of Point Reyes Light House Reservation to accompany Report dated Nov. 30th 1880."

Compare this with the subsequent map corrected by 1907.

Courtesy, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelfth District, San Francisco, Civil Engineering Branch, Map files.



7. "Sketch of Point Reyes from tower to the Fog Signal to accompany Report, dated Nov. 30, 1880."

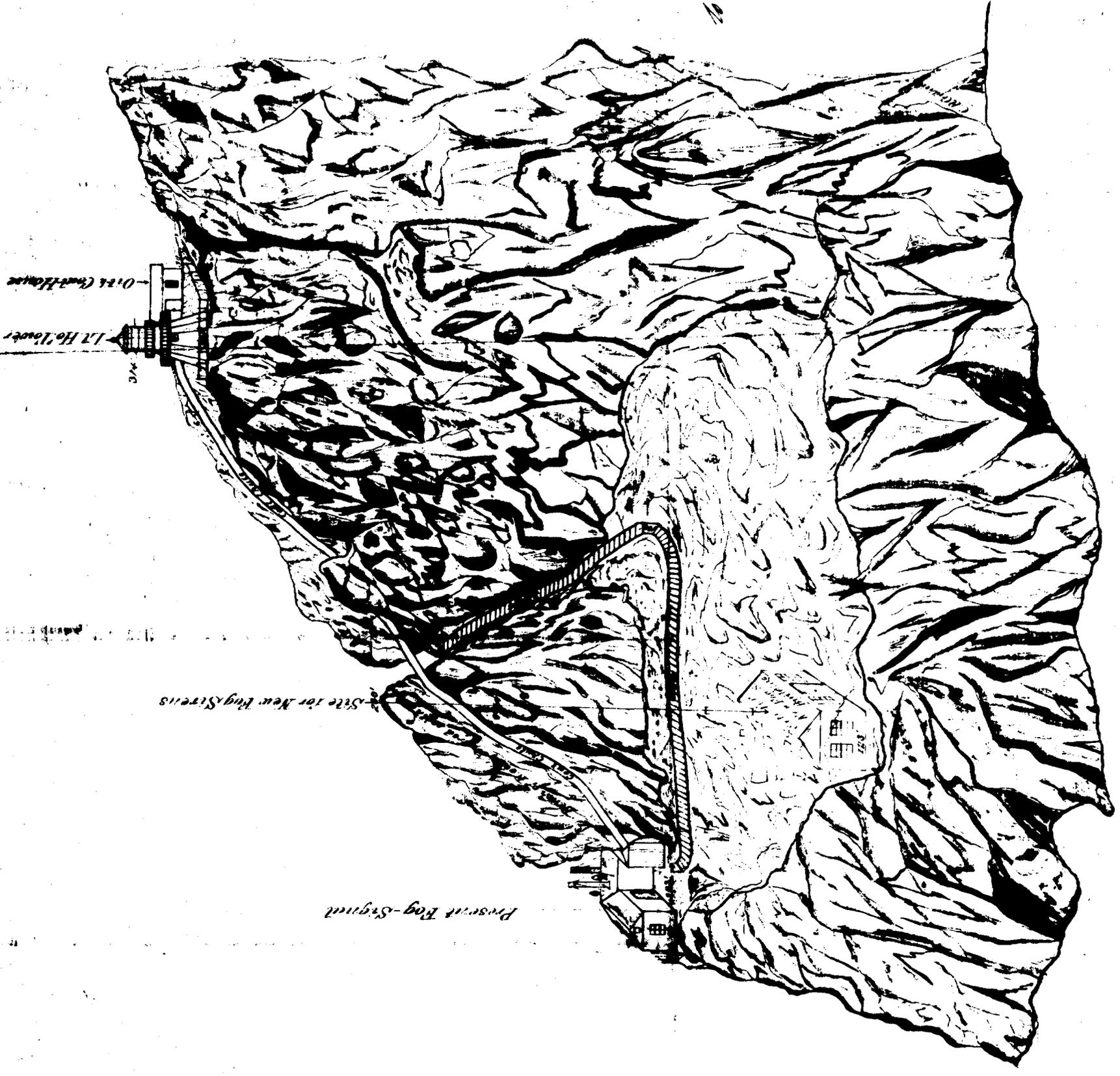
The new fog signal building was never built on this proposed site.

Courtesy, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelfth District, San Francisco, Map files.

Nov. 30, 1880

A.P.R.

Sketch of Fort. Rose  
from the Report dated Nov. 30/80  
to accompany Report dated Nov. 30/80  
Elevation given in red figures.



L.T. Ho/boer  
Old Gun House

Site for New High Steeris

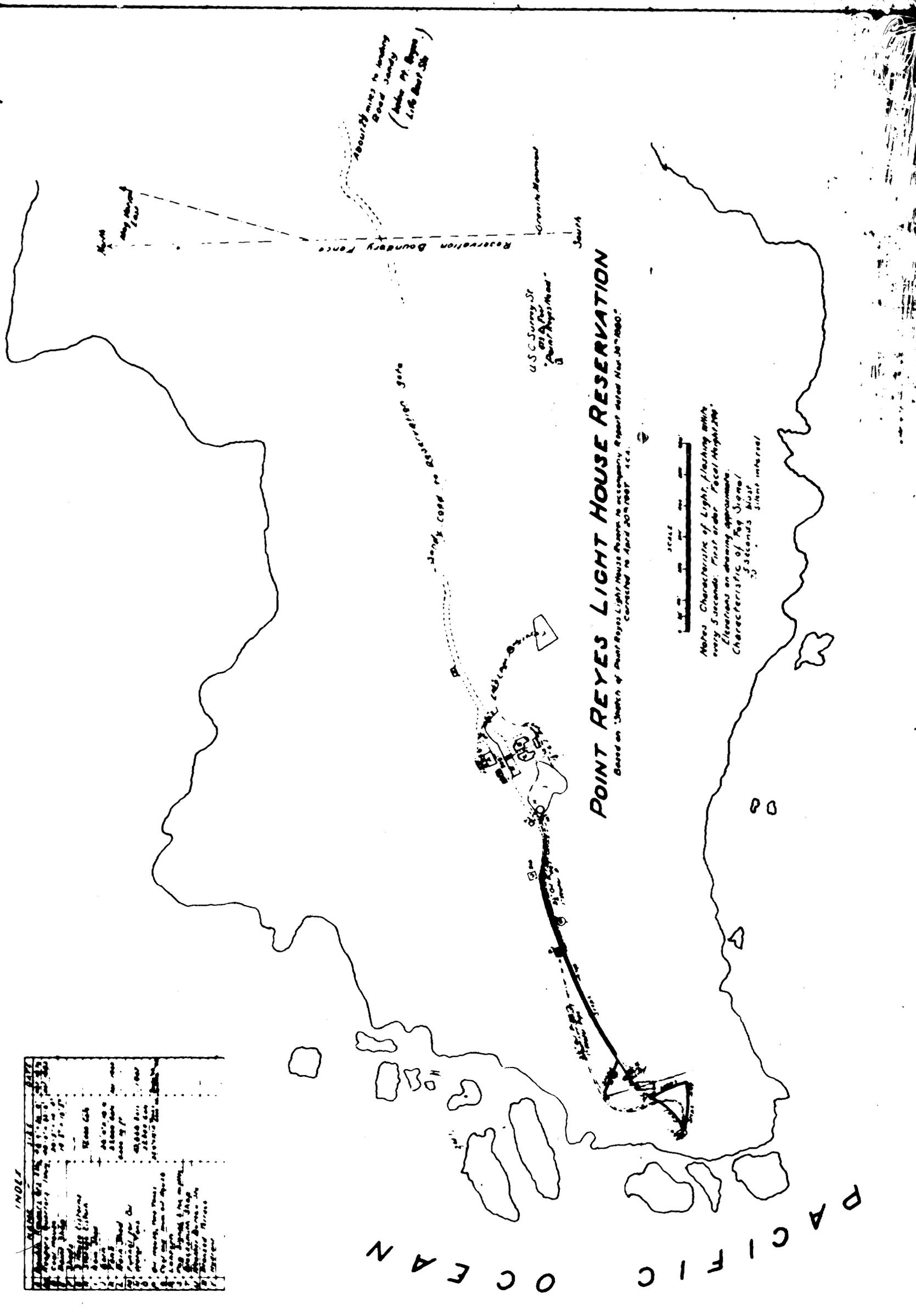
Present Bog-Seyn

8. "Point Reyes Light House Reservation." Based on Sketch of Point Reyes Light House Reserve, to accompany Report dated Nov. 30, 1880. Corrected to April 25th 1907.

Note the additions and deletions since the 1880 map.

Courtesy, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelfth District, San Francisco, Civil Engineering Branch, Map files.

Nov. 30, 1880  
 April 20, 1907



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1. Light	2. Light	3. Light	4. Light
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17. Light	18. Light	19. Light	20. Light
21. Light	22. Light	23. Light	24. Light
25. Light	26. Light	27. Light	28. Light
29. Light	30. Light	31. Light	32. Light
33. Light	34. Light	35. Light	36. Light
37. Light	38. Light	39. Light	40. Light
41. Light	42. Light	43. Light	44. Light
45. Light	46. Light	47. Light	48. Light
49. Light	50. Light	51. Light	52. Light
53. Light	54. Light	55. Light	56. Light
57. Light	58. Light	59. Light	60. Light
61. Light	62. Light	63. Light	64. Light
65. Light	66. Light	67. Light	68. Light
69. Light	70. Light	71. Light	72. Light
73. Light	74. Light	75. Light	76. Light
77. Light	78. Light	79. Light	80. Light
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85. Light	86. Light	87. Light	88. Light
89. Light	90. Light	91. Light	92. Light
93. Light	94. Light	95. Light	96. Light
97. Light	98. Light	99. Light	100. Light

**POINT REYES LIGHT HOUSE RESERVATION**

Based on Sketch of Point Reyes Light House Reservation as accompanied, Report dated Nov. 30, 1880.  
 Corrected to April 20, 1907. E.C.



Notes: Characteristic of Light Flashing with every 5 seconds. First order. Total Height, 100'.  
 Elevations on drawing approximate.  
 Characteristic of Fog Signal: 5 seconds blast 5 seconds interval.

O C E A N

POINT REYES

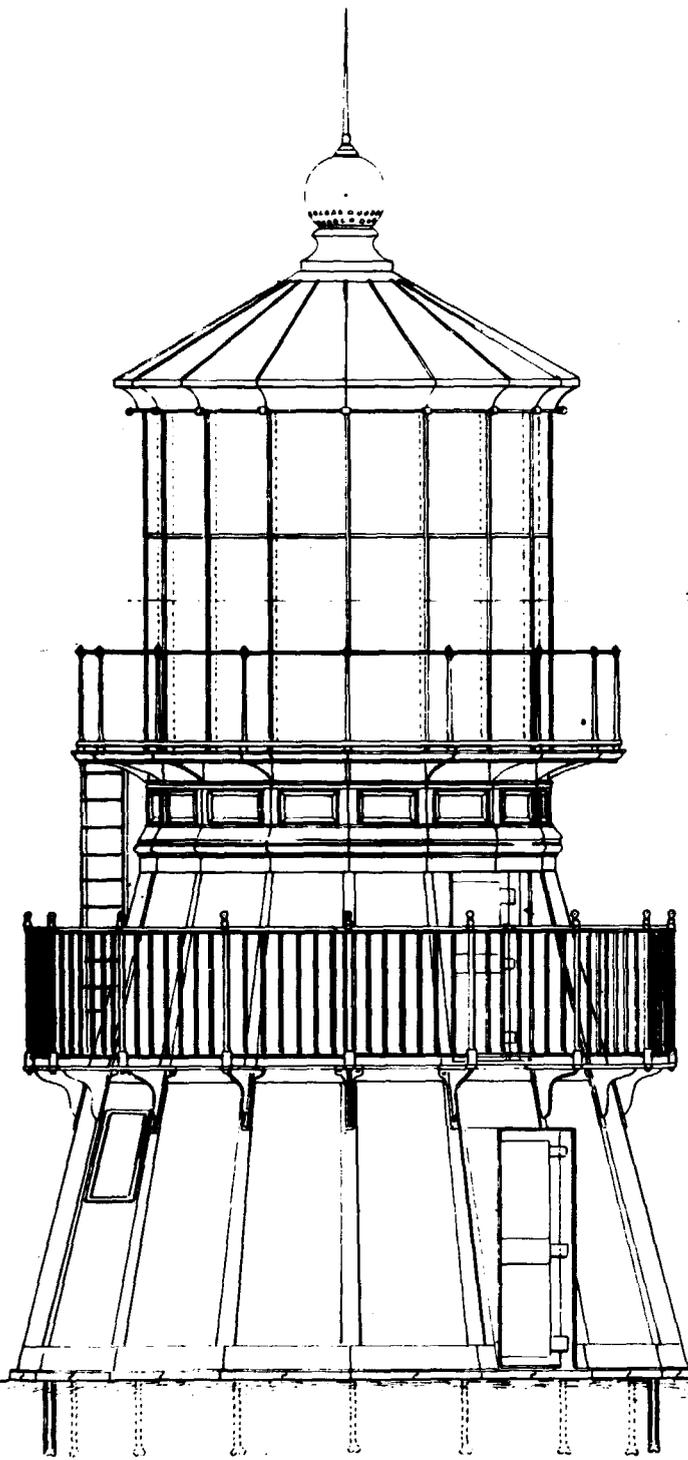
9. "First Order Light, Point Reyes, Cal." San Francisco, Cal., Apr. 24, 1907, revised Sept. 15, 1938 to show wiring.

Although converted from oil to electricity in 1938, the Point Reyes light still operated with its original fresnel lens manufactured in Paris in the 1860s.

Courtesy, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelfth District, San Francisco, Civil Engineering Branch, Map files.

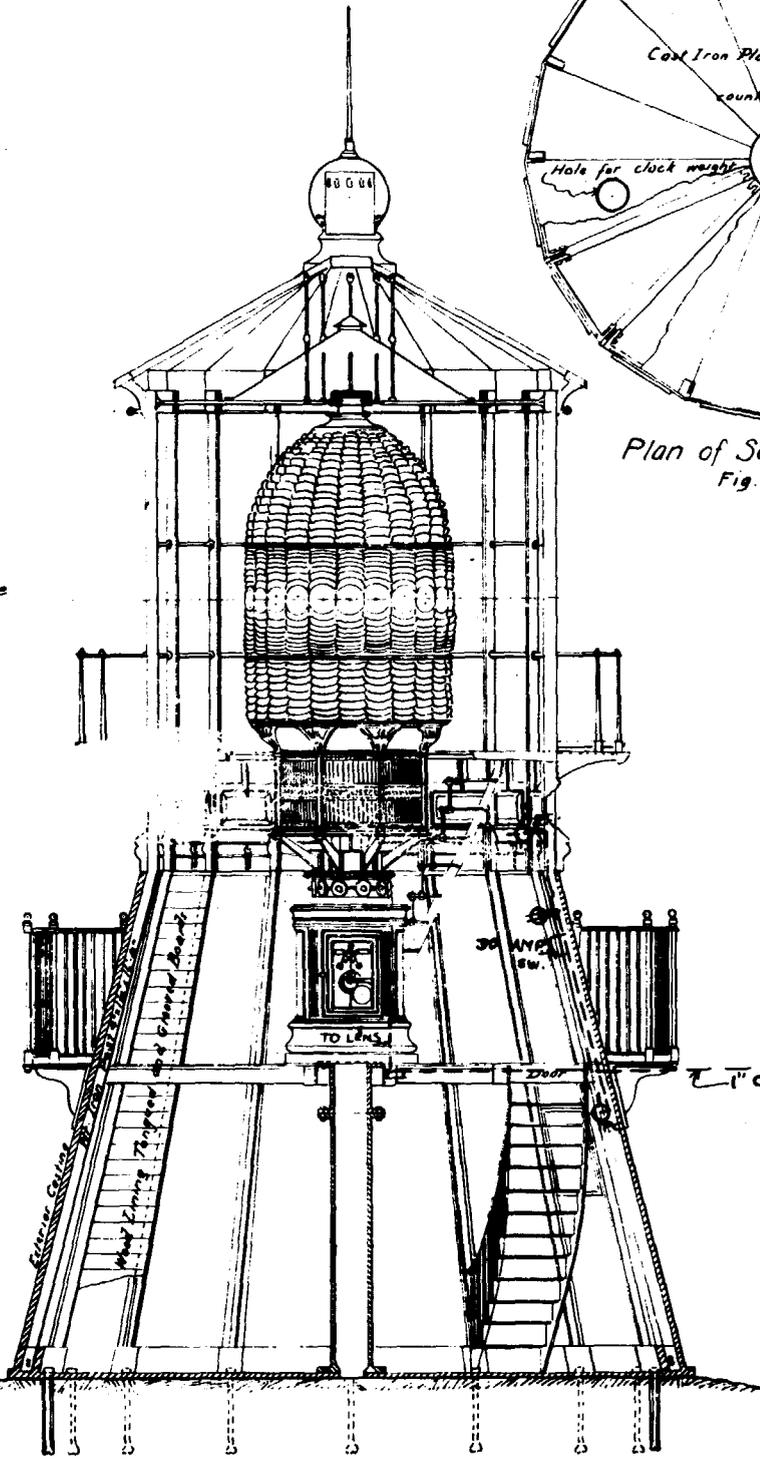
FIRST ORDER LIGHT, POINT REYES, CAL.

April, 1907  
Sept. 15, 1936

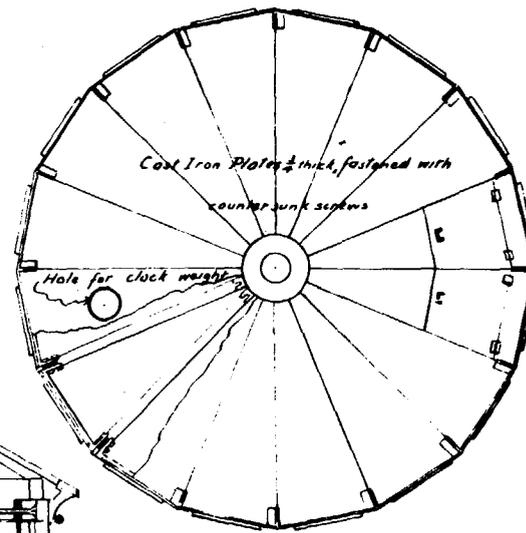


Elevation  
Fig 1

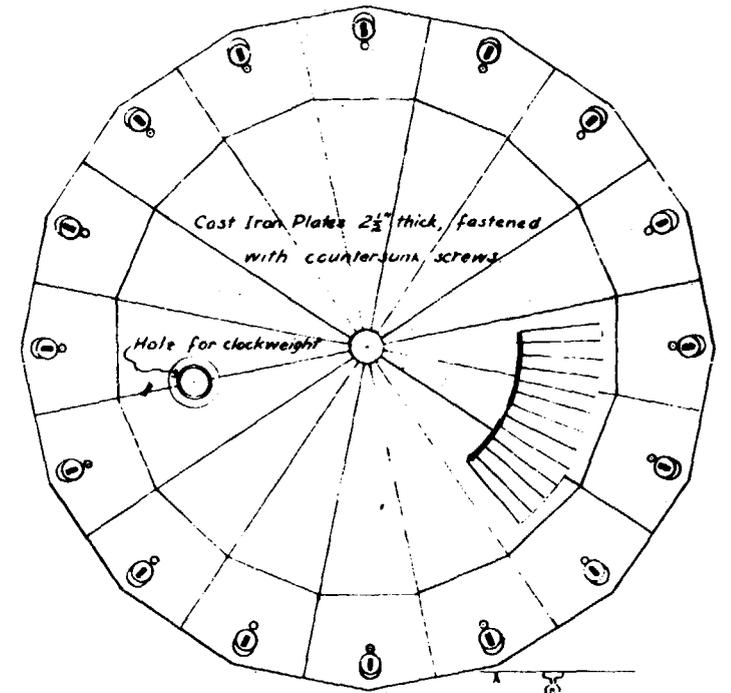
Focal Plane



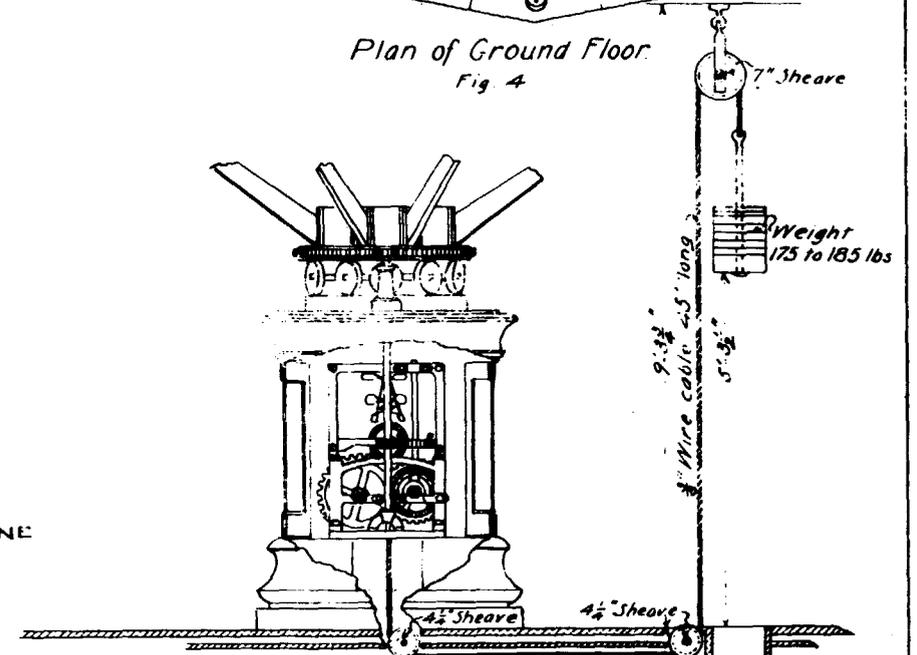
Sectional Elevation.  
Fig. 2.



Plan of Second Floor  
Fig. 3.



Plan of Ground Floor  
Fig. 4



Arrangement of Clockwork,  
Cord, Sheaves, Driving Weight  
and Fall.  
Fig. 5.

Note; Characteristic of  
Light, flashing white  
every 5 seconds.  
Lens makes one re-  
volution in 2 minutes  
Total fall 17'3"  
Time of fall 2hrs 10m.

SCALE FIGS. 1, 2, 3, 4.

SCALE FIG. 5.

San Francisco, Cal. Apr 24, 1907.  
Office U. S. Light House Engr  
12th Light House Dist.

REVISED 9-15-36 TO SHOW WIRING.

10. "Plan of Lighthouse for the new Site at Point Boneta, Cal." Forwarded to Light House Board with Letter of Sept. 24th, 1876, by R.S. Williamson, Lt. Col., U.S. Engineers, Light House Engineer. Approved by Light House Board Oct. 4, 1876.

At its lower elevation at the seaward end of Point Bonita, this lighthouse stood below the fog line which often obscured the original lighthouse on the headlands.

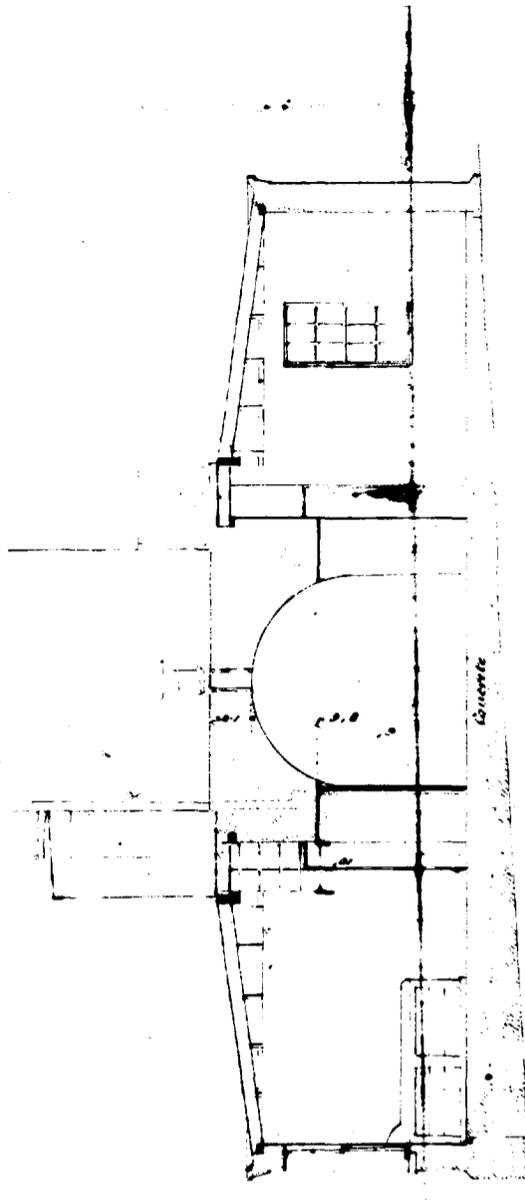
Courtesy, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelfth District, San Francisco, Civil Engineering Branch.

Sept. 21, 1876

# PLAN OF LIGHTHOUSE for the new Stear POINT BONETA, CAL.

Scale 1/4" = 1'

## LONGITUDINAL SECTION



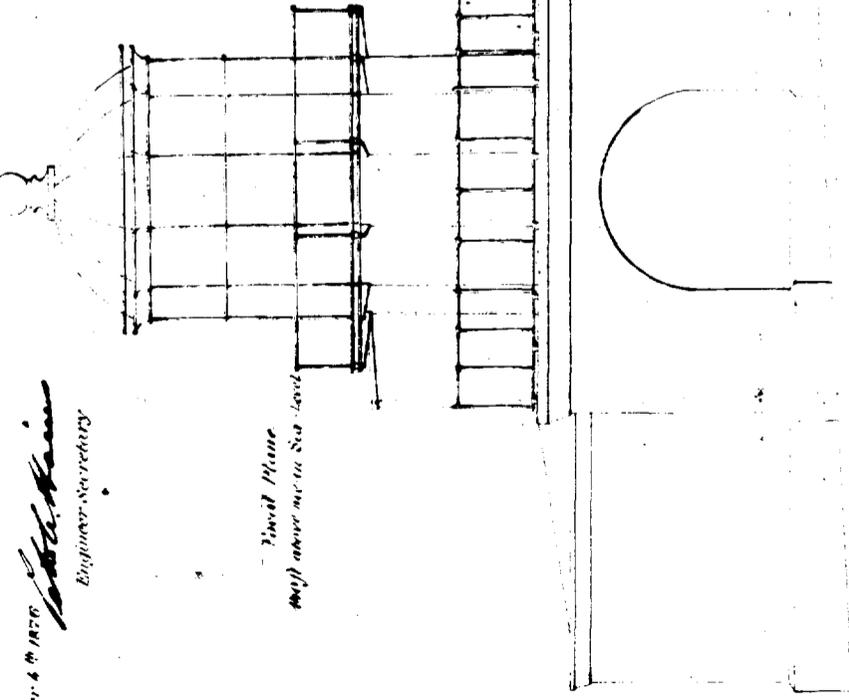
Forwarded to Light House Board  
with letter of Sept. 26<sup>th</sup> 1876, by  
R. S. Williamson  
Supt. Cal. & S. C. Engineers  
Light House Engineer

## ELEVATION

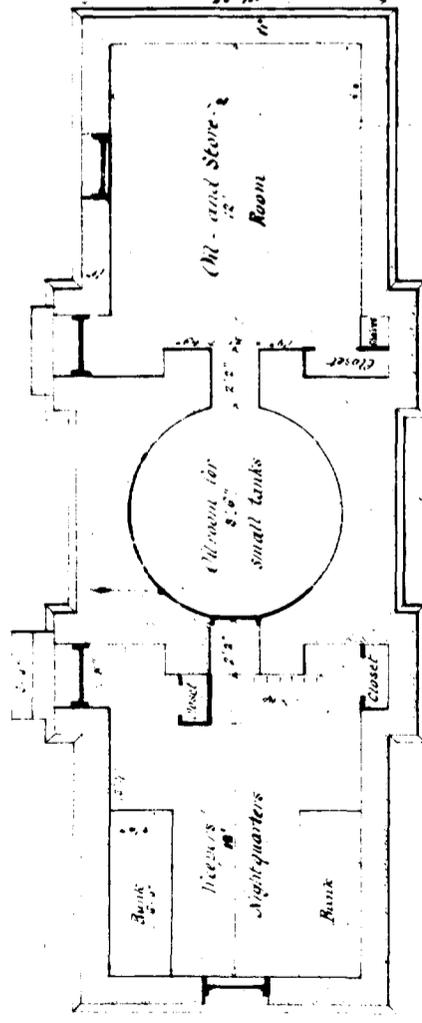
Approved by L. H. Davis

October 4<sup>th</sup> 1876

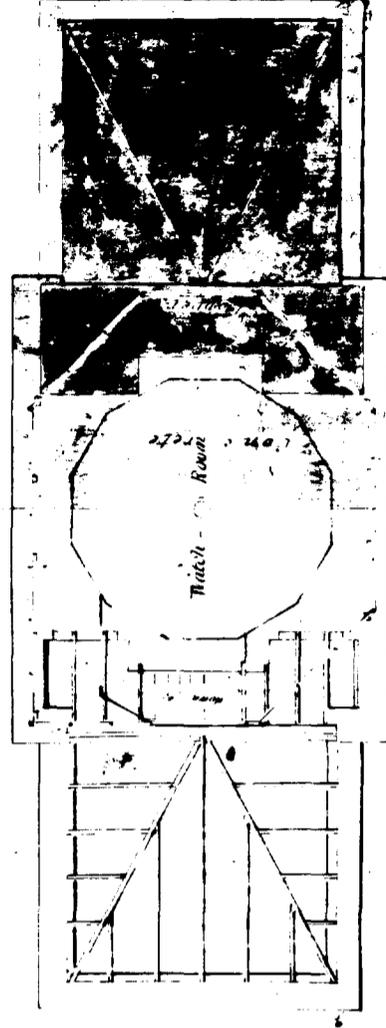
*L. H. Davis*  
Engineer Secretary



## PLAN Main Floor



## PLAN Lantern Deck



1876  
1877  
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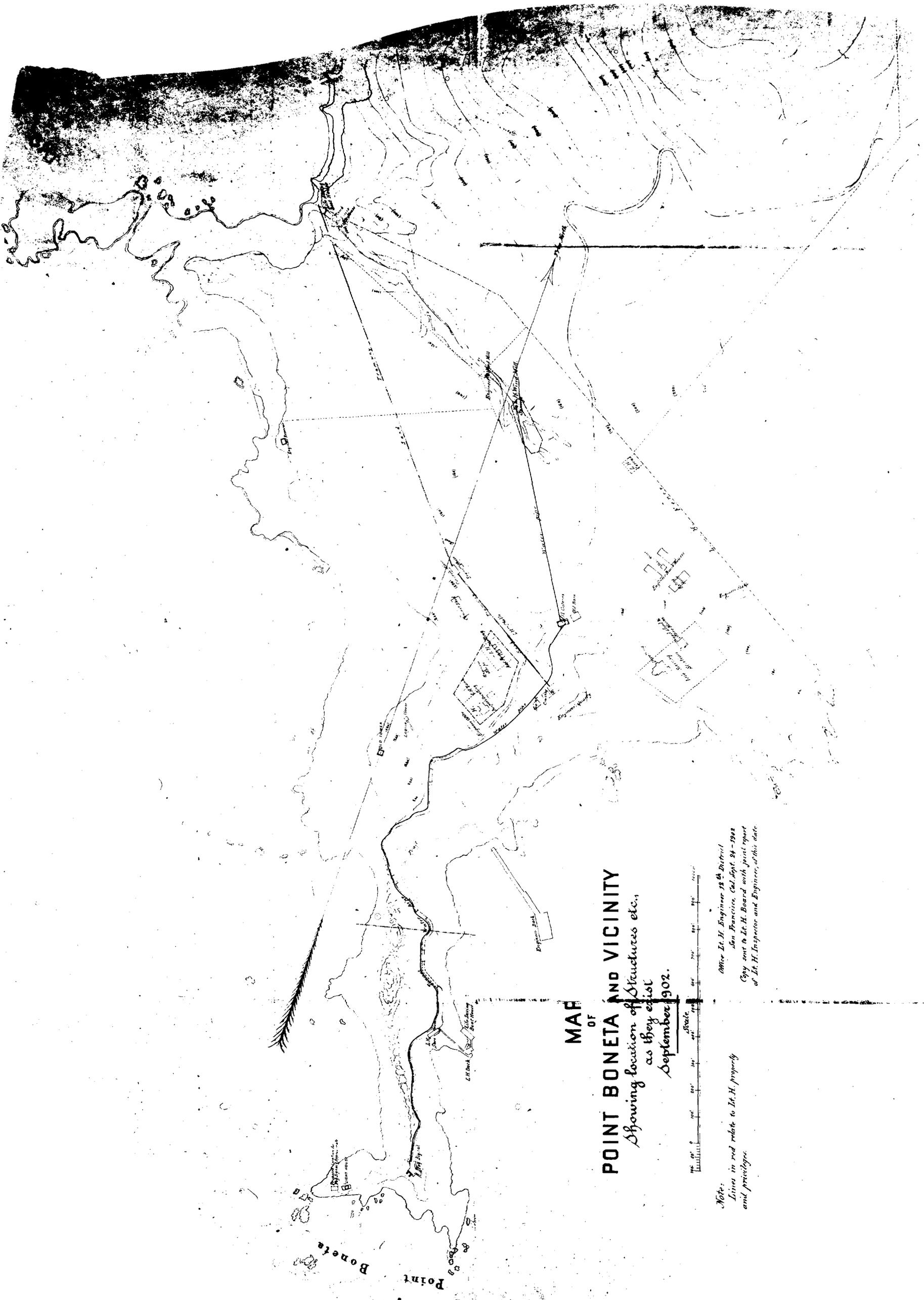
1407-1-4

11. "Map of Point Boneta and vicinity showing location of structures etc., as they exist September 1902."

Prepared just before the construction of the existing fog signal building (1903), this map shows the Point Bonita Lighthouse Life Saving Station structures in use, abandoned, or proposed in 1902.

The old light tower on the headlands above the Engineer's dock remained in use as a daymarker for ships entering the Golden Gate until 1907 when the U.S. Army requested its removal for defense measures.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 26, U.S. Coast Guard, Site File, Point Bonita Life-Saving Station.



**MAP**  
 OF  
**POINT BONETA AND VICINITY**  
 Showing location of Structures etc.,  
 as they exist  
 September 902.



Note:  
 Lines in red relate to Lt. H. property  
 and privileges.

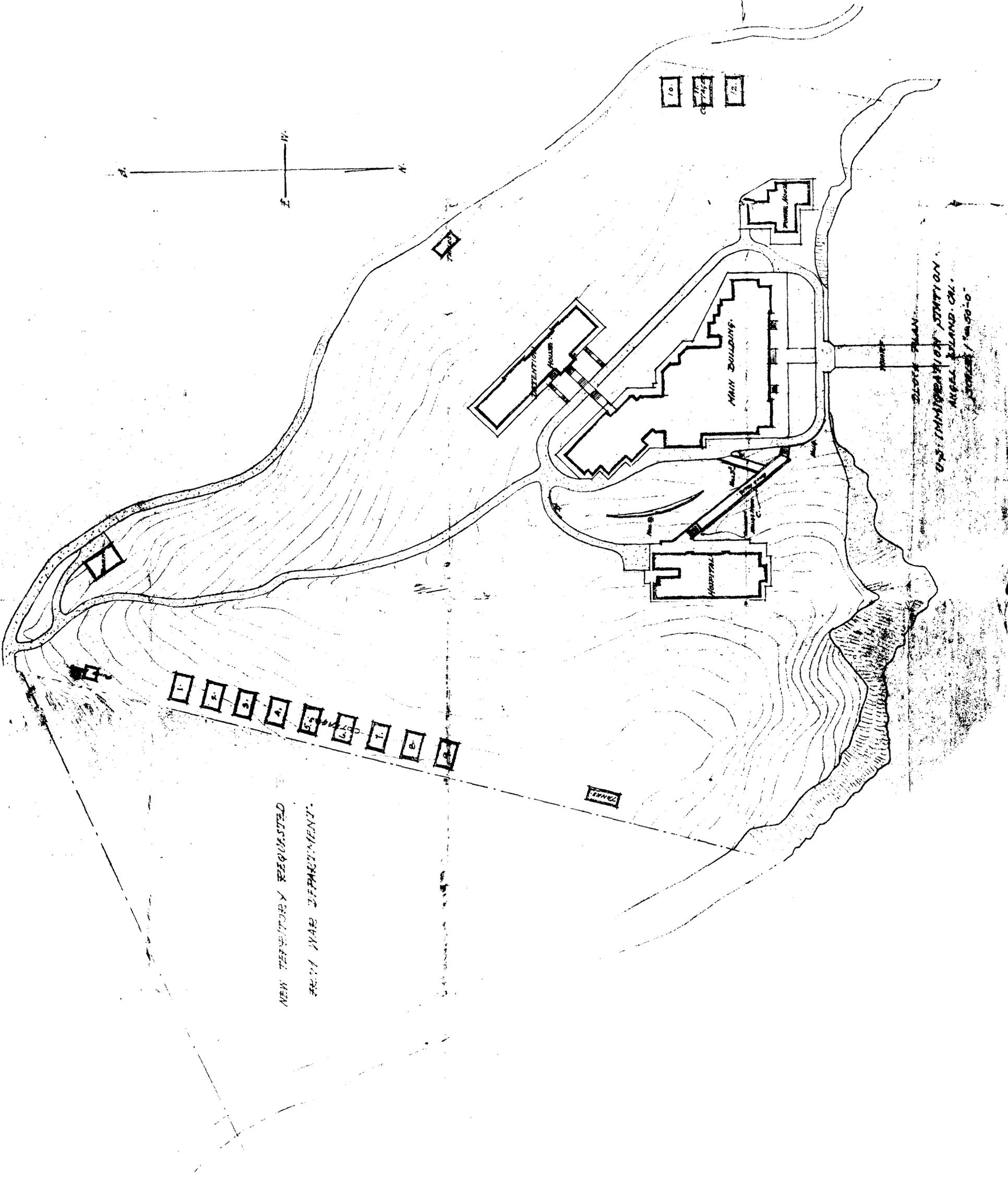
Office Lt. H. Engineer 18<sup>th</sup> District  
 San Francisco, Cal. Sept. 24 - 1902  
 Copy sent to Lt. H. Board with joint report  
 of Lt. H. Inspector and Engineer, of this date.

12. "U.S. Immigration Station." No date, Angel Island, California, c. 1910.

In 1911 the Immigration Service requested and received the new territory from the War Department.

Of the four principal buildings in the center of the reservation, only the Administration building is completely destroyed. The other three, however, have been abandoned for years and remain in very poor repair.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 85, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Central Office, Subject Correspondence, 1906-32, File 52961/26. g.



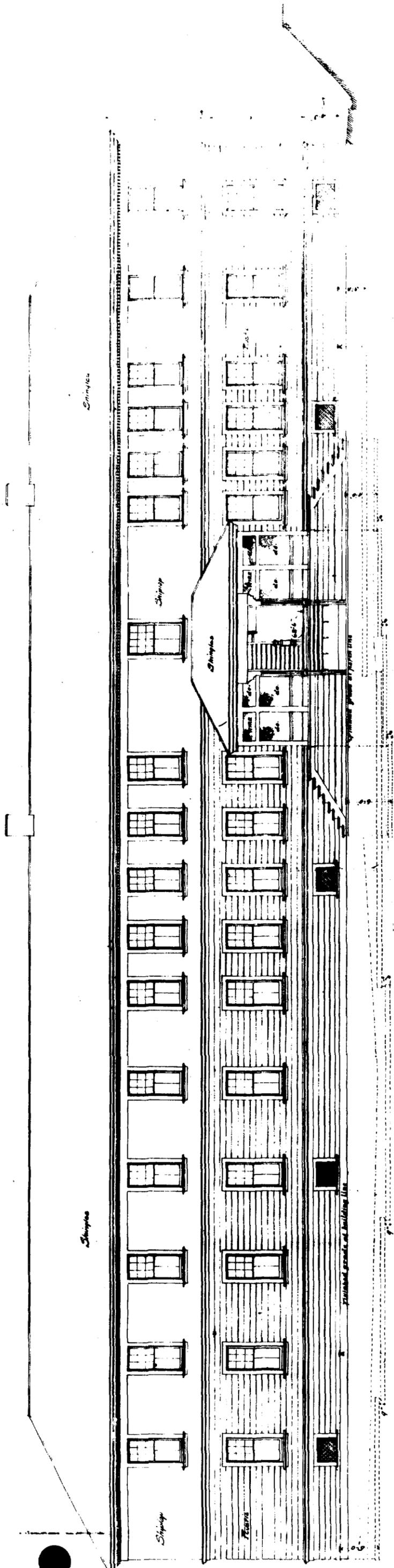
NEW TERRITORY REQUESTED  
 FROM WAR DEPARTMENT.

U.S. IMMIGRATION STATION  
 ANGEL ISLAND, CAL.  
 1900

13. "Detention Quarters for Chinese and Japanese U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, California." Drawing No. 4 by Walter J. Mathews, Architect. No Date. c. 1908 or 1909.

The Asian barracks building had to be altered frequently in the years after the Station opened in 1910 to correct the fire and health hazards resulting from its original design shown here.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 85, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Central Office, Subject Correspondence, 1906-32, File 52961/26.g.



NORTHEASTERLY ELEVATION

58-3 to top of concrete

58-3 to top of concrete

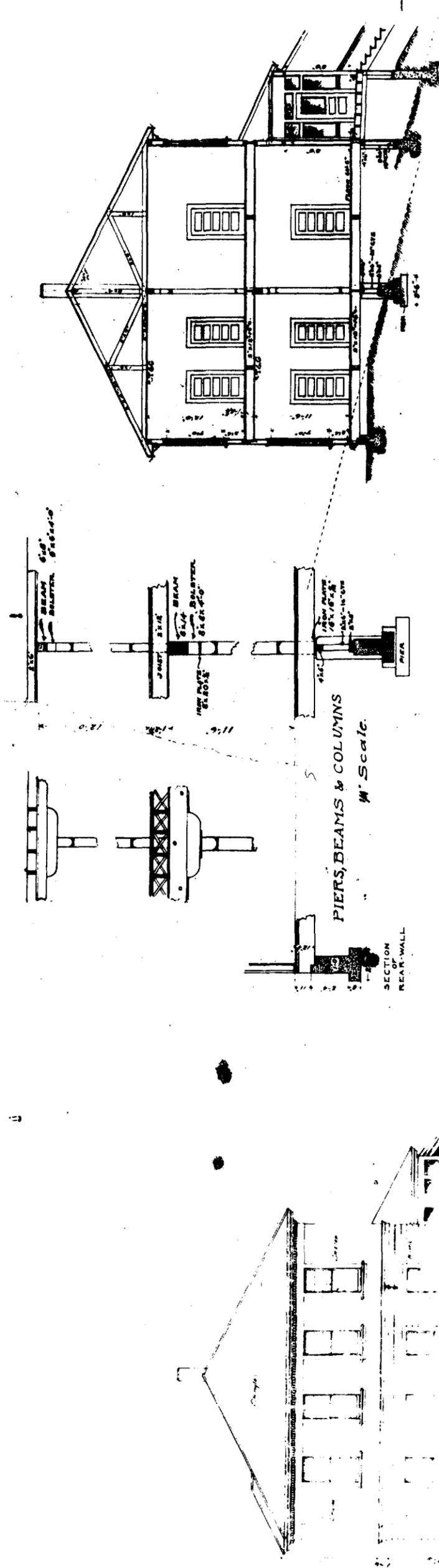
DETENTION CAMPERS FOR  
 CHINESE & JAPANESE  
 U.S. IMMIGRATION STATION  
 Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, California.  
 Drawing No. 4 Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"  
 H. W. Woodruff

H. W. Woodruff  
 M. H. ...

14. "Southeasterly Elevation of Covered Way and Detention Quarters for Chinese and Japanese Immigration Station Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, California." Drawing No. 6 by Walter J. Mathews, Architect. c. 1908 or 1909.

For their meals the Asian immigrants at the station had to walk down the enclosed staircase to the Chinese and Japanese dining room.

Courtesy, National Archives, Record Group 85, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Central Office, Subject Correspondence 1906-1932.



SECTION ON LINE A-A

SECTION ON LINE B-B  
OF MAIN ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

U.S. IMMIGRATION STATION  
 Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, California  
 Drawing by  
 Arthur J. Weston  
 Architect



Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

*Arthur J. Weston*  
*Architect*

15. "U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island, San Francisco, Cal."

Miscellaneous Drawing No. 219., June 21, 1889.

Plan, Surgeons Quarters.

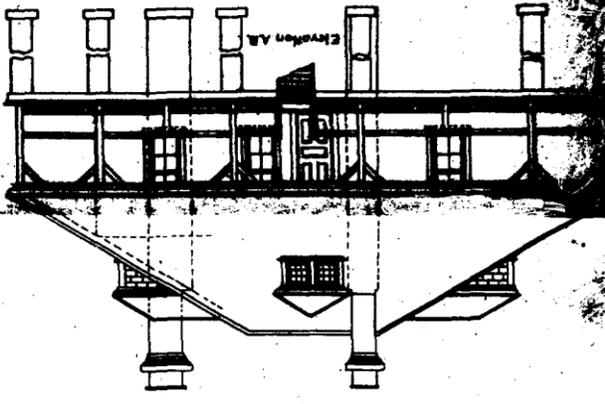
Elevation and Basement, Surgeons Quarters.

Plan, Hospital and Adjunct Building.

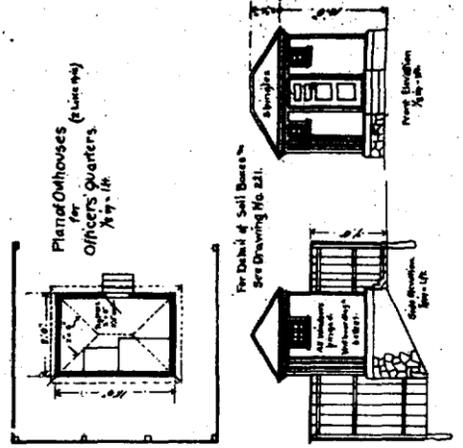
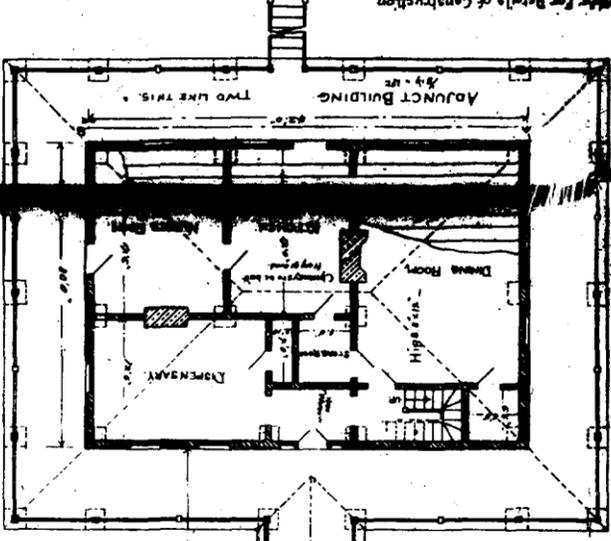
Plan of Outhouses for Officers' Quarters

Printed in, U.S. Department of Treasury, Marine Hospital Service. Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889.

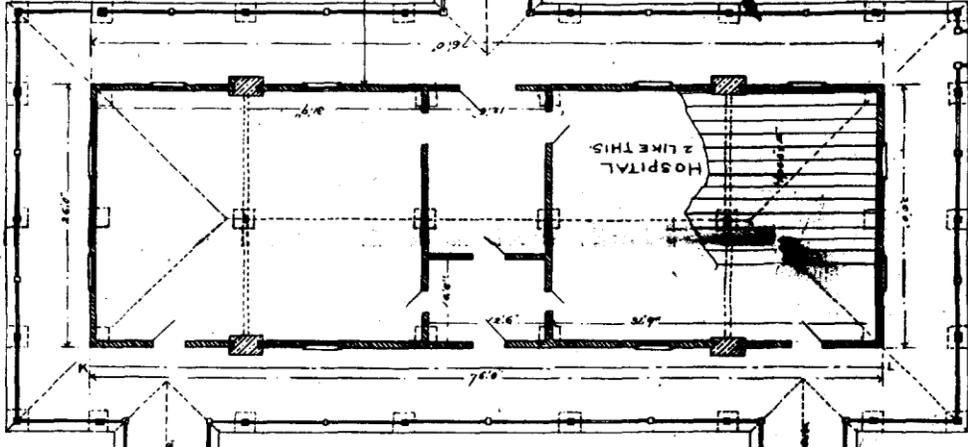
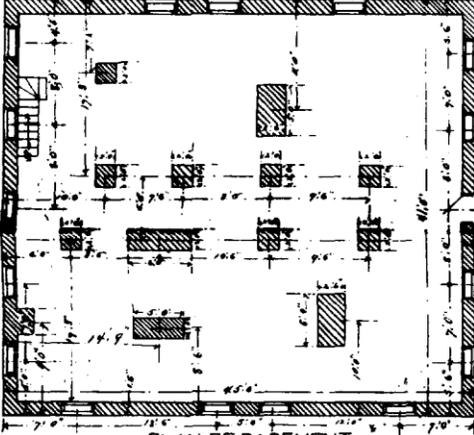
*John A. Hamilton*  
Supervising Surgeon General  
U.S. Marine Hospital Service  
Supervising Architect  
TREASURY DEPARTMENT



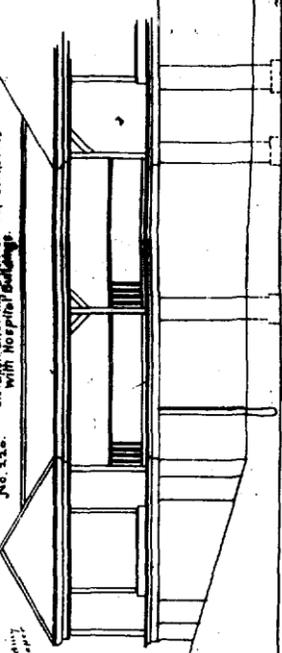
Refer for Details of Construction, See drawing No. 221.



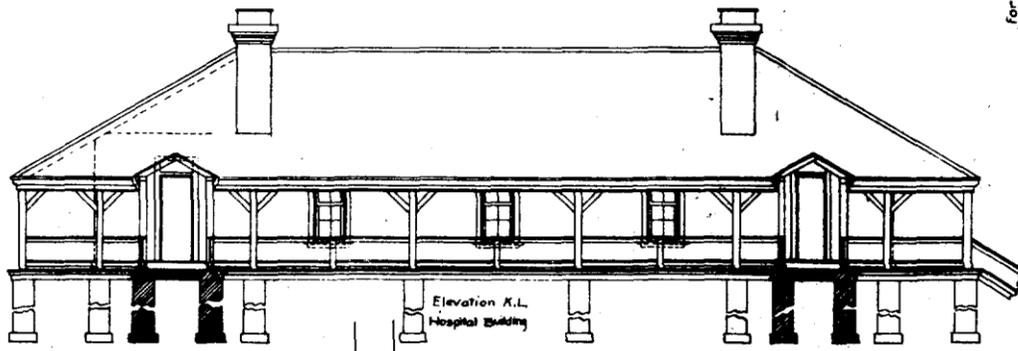
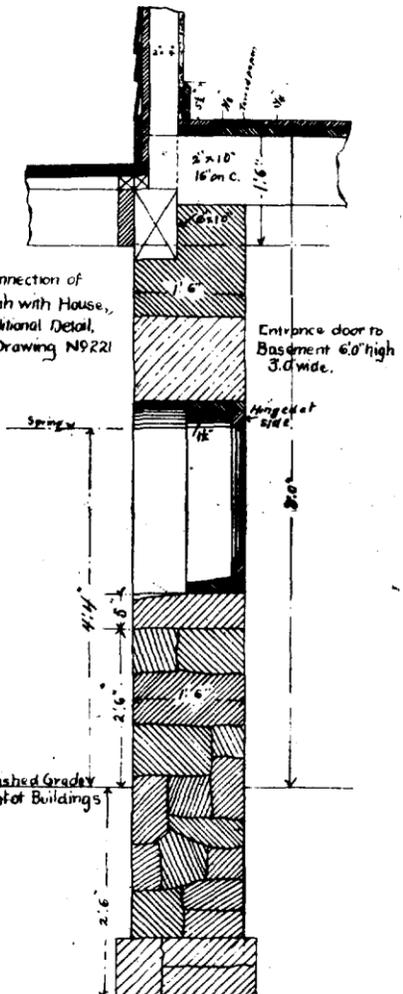
NOTE: Piers for Verandah shown on 1/2" floor plan.



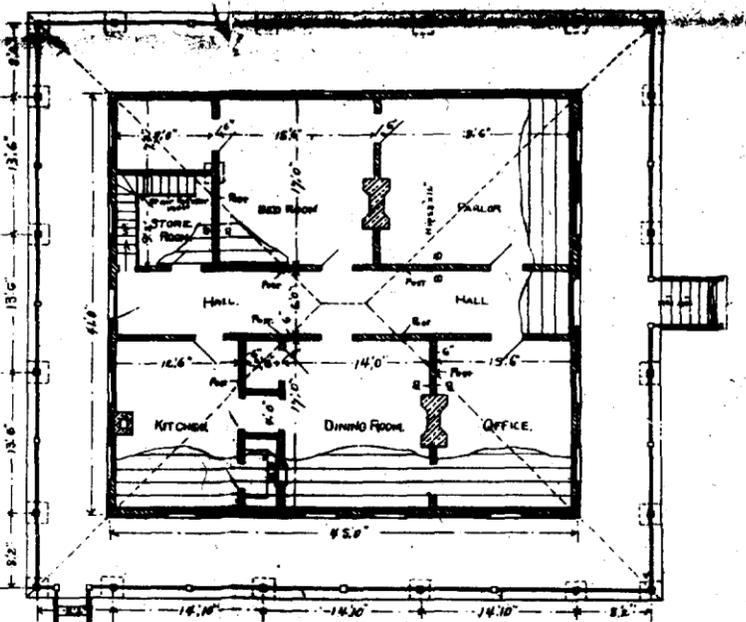
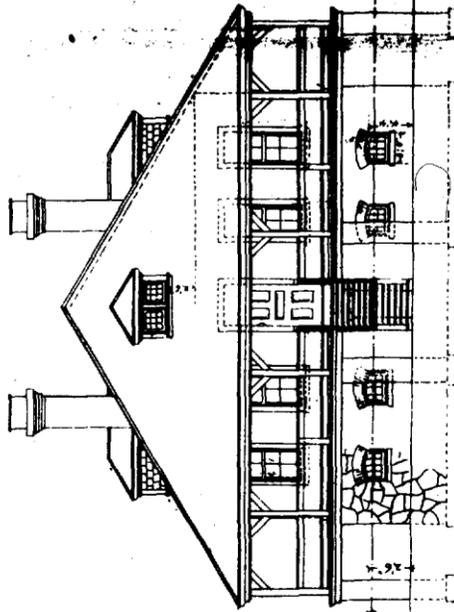
For Details of Construction of Outhouses See Drawing No. 220. Elevation showing Connection of Outhouses with Hospital Building.



For Connection of Verandah with House, and additional Detail, See Drawing N9221

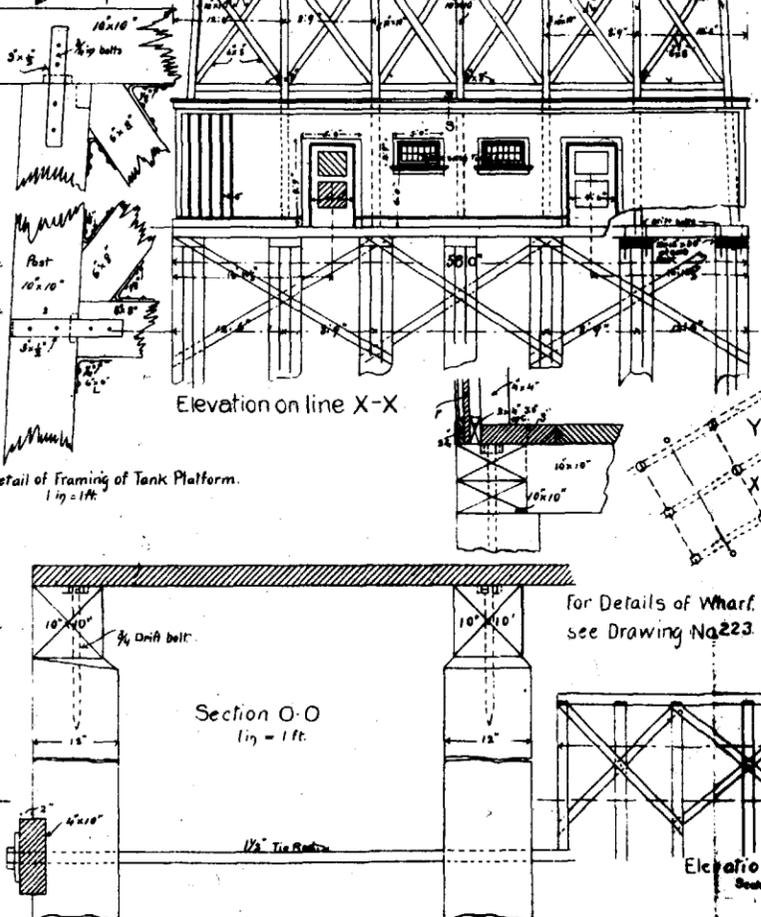
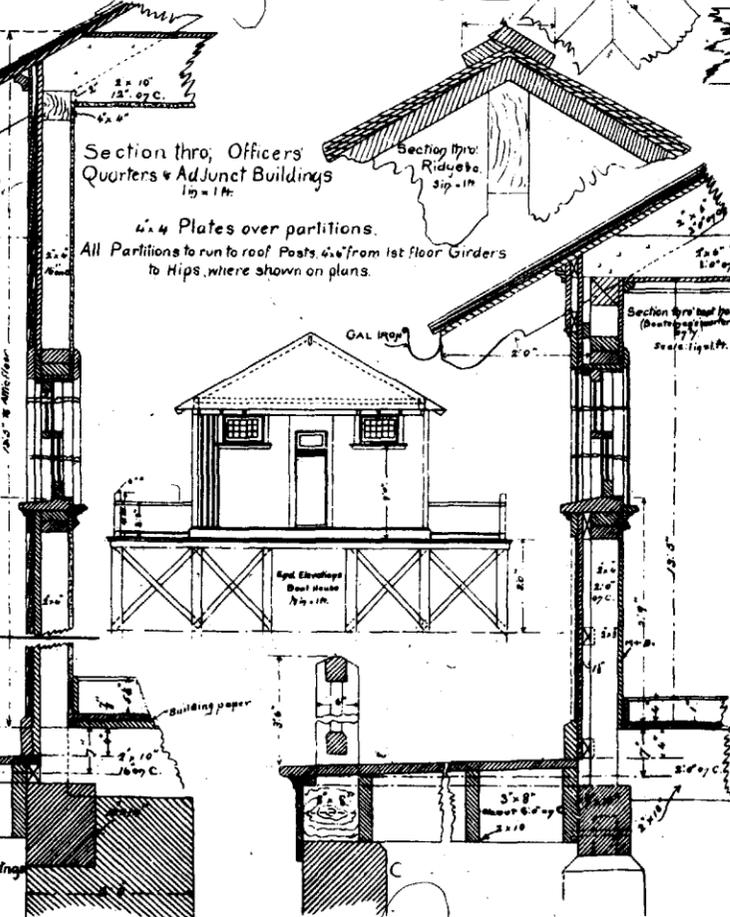
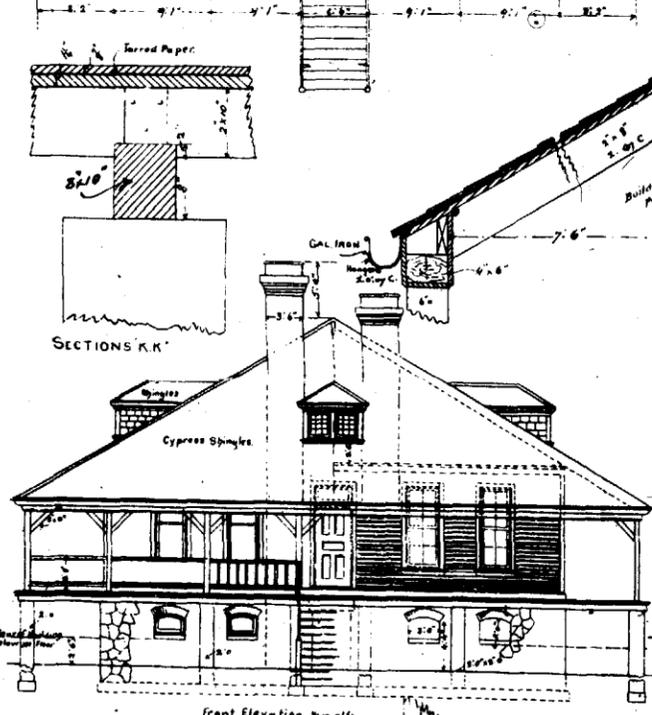
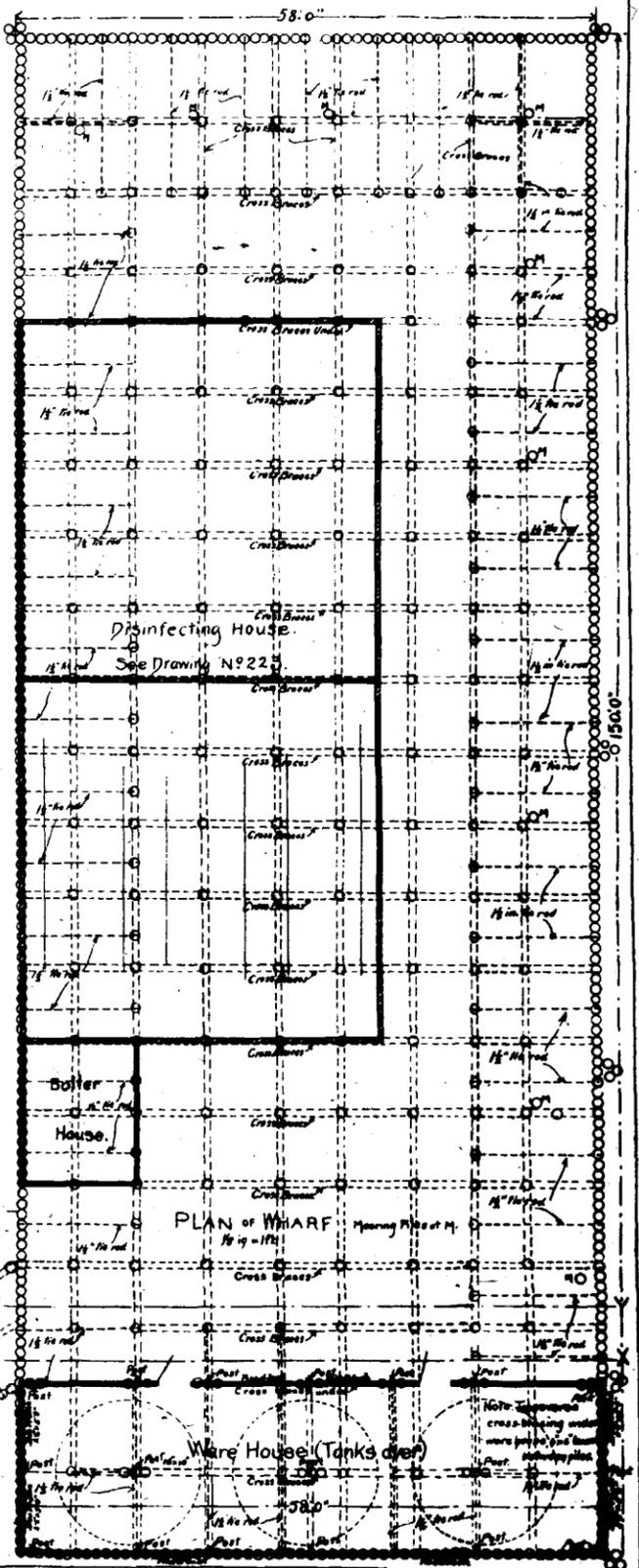
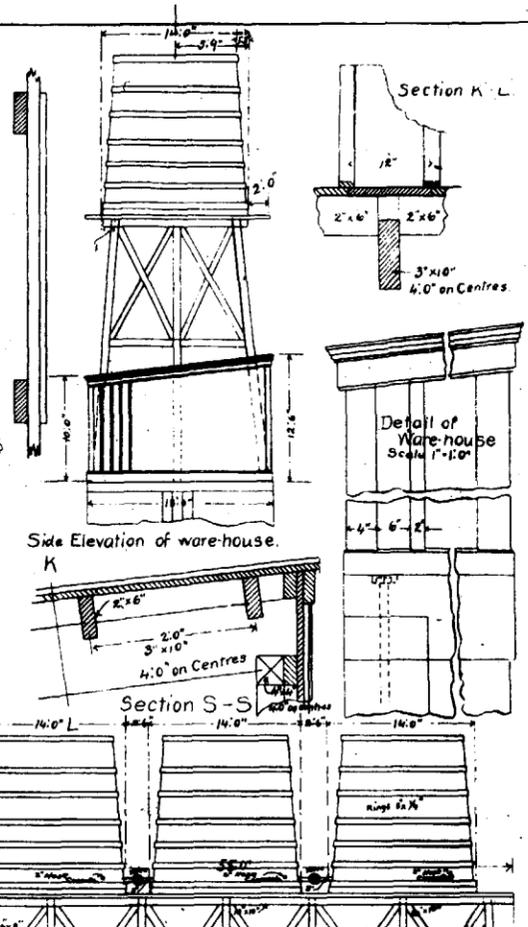
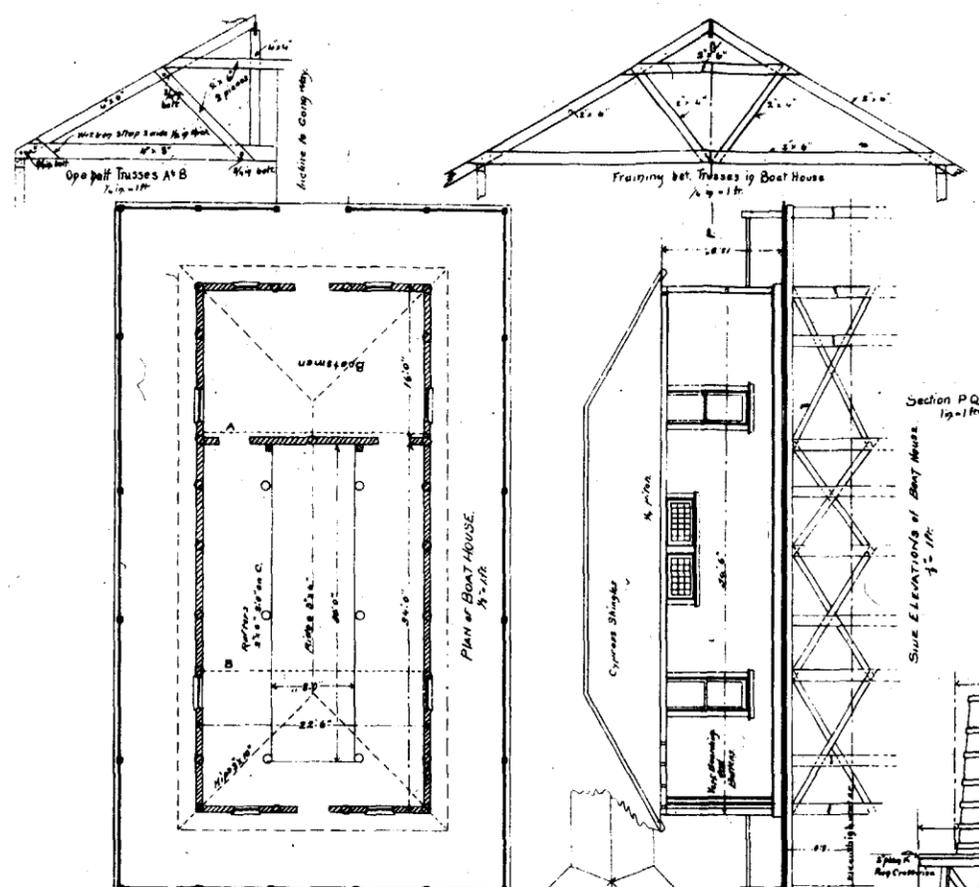
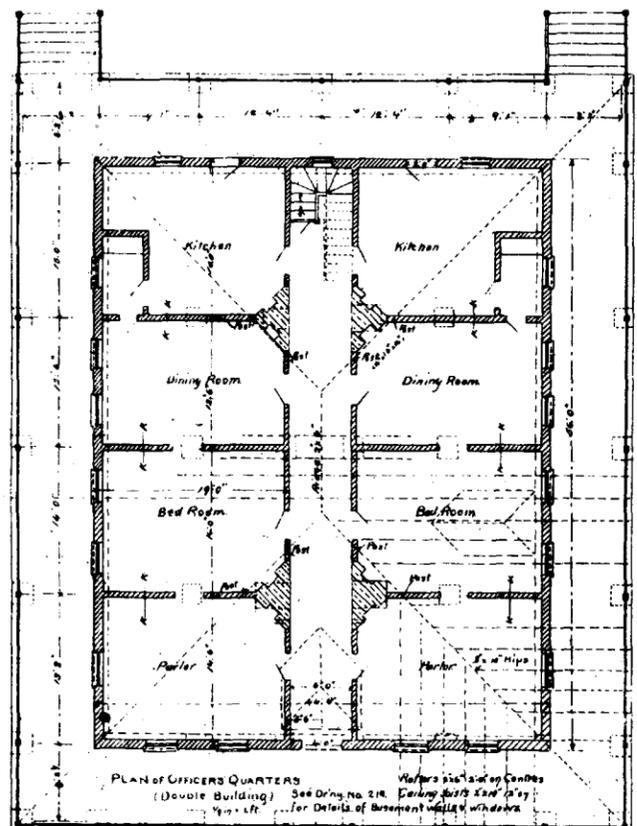


NOTE: All Basement windows to conform with Fire Department. All exterior doors 8'-0" high (including sills) 4'-0" wide.



16. "U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island, San Francisco, Cal." Miscellaneous Drawing No. 221, July 2, 1889, Plan and Elevation of Officers' Quarters, Plan and Elevation of Boat House, Plan of Wharf.

"Printed in U.S. Department of Treasury, Marine Hospital Service, Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889.



U. S. QUARANTINE STATION,  
ANGEL ISLAND.  
San Francisco, Cal.  
Miscellaneous Drawing No. 221.  
a. j. j.

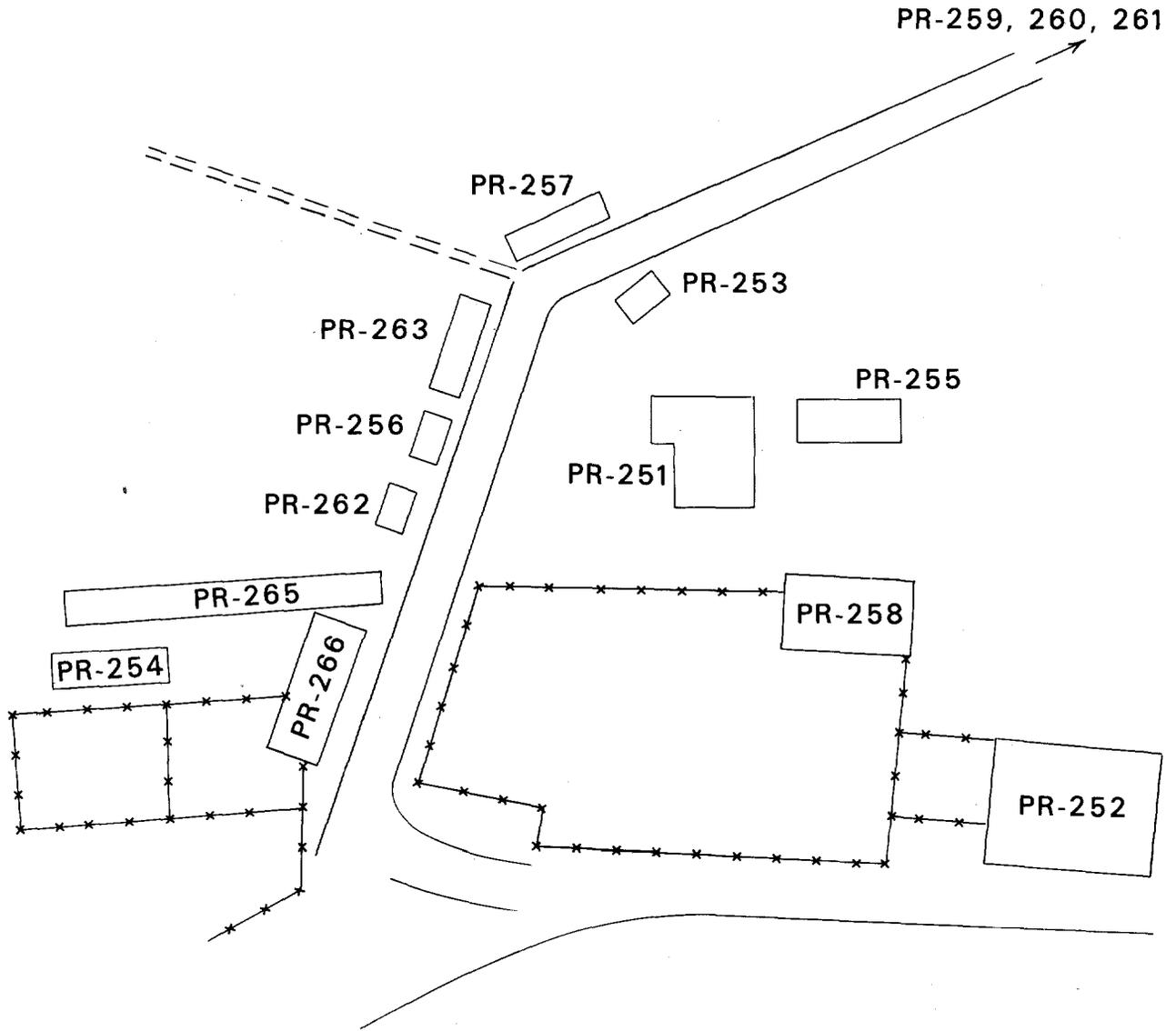
John Hamilton  
Superintending Architect  
U. S. Marine Hospital  
TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

17. Plan of Home Ranch, Point Reyes, Cal.

PR 251 Main House  
PR 252 Hay Barn and Silo  
PR 253 Storage Shed  
PR 254 Pig Shed  
PR 255 Freezer Shed  
PR 256 Residence  
PR 257 Shop  
PR 258 Hospital Barn  
PR 259 Heifer Barn  
PR 260 Old Hog Shed and Storage Shed  
PR 261 Water Tank  
PR 262 Storage Shed  
PR 263 Garage  
PR 265 Granary  
PR 266 Horse Barn

(Missing: PR 264 Pumphouse)

Courtesy, Diana Skiles, Historian, Point Reyes, N.S.



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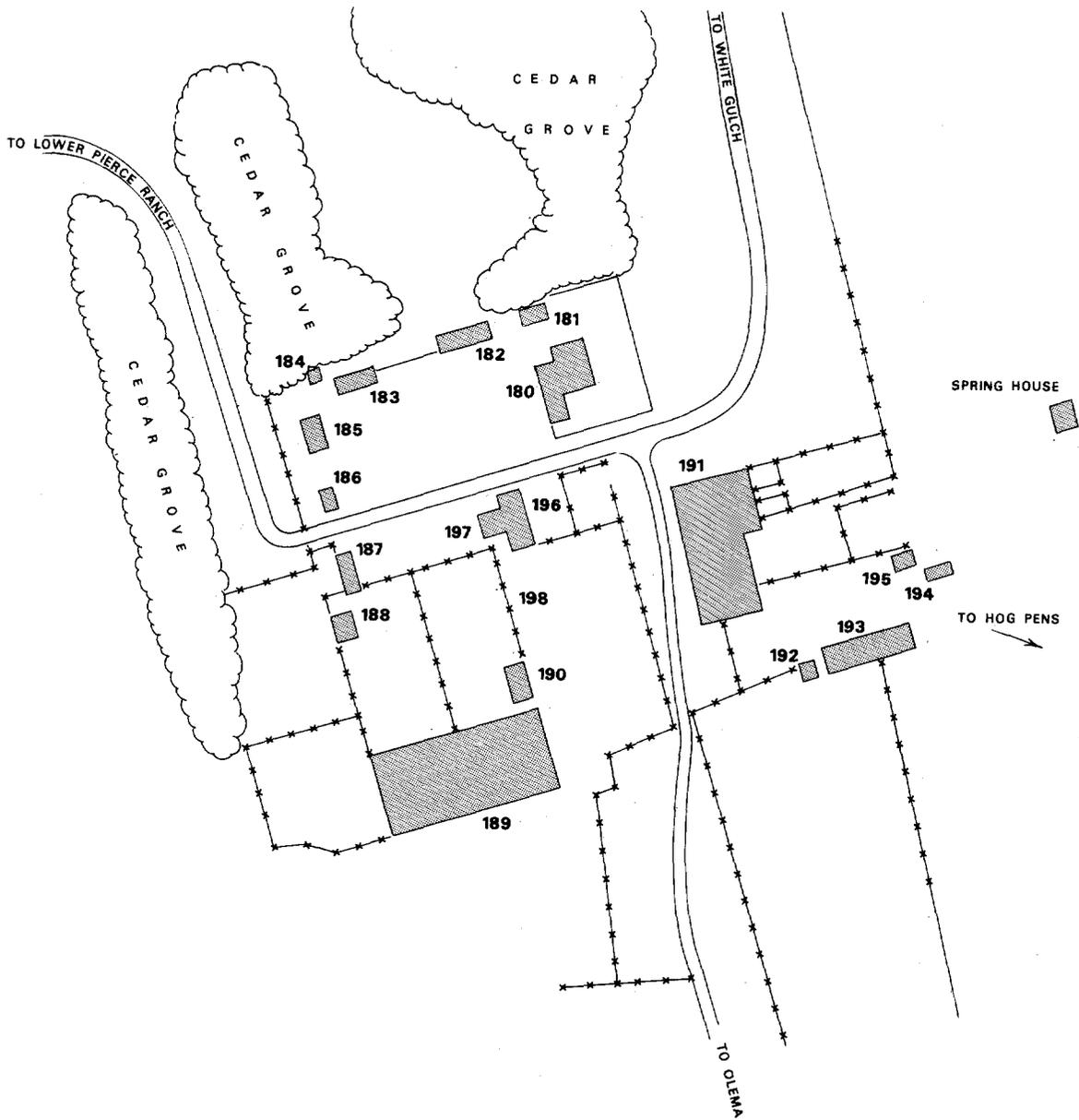
CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
 HOME RANCH, POINT REYES, CALIFORNIA, 1978

HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 17

18. Plan of Upper Pierce Ranch, 1975, with Point Reyes N.S. building numbers.

180	Main House	191	Old Horse Barn
181	Washroom	192	Old Garage
182	North Bunkhouse	193	Old Wagon Shed
183	Schoolhouse	194	Chicken House A
184	Outhouse	195	Chicken House B
185	Open Front Shed	196	Old Dairy House
186	West Bunkhouse	197	New Garage
188	Calf Shed	198	Corral Fences
189	Hay Barn	No numbers for:	
190	New Dairy House	spring house	
		hog pens	

Courtesy, Robert M. Cox, "Report, Upper Pierce Point Ranch, Point Reyes National Seashore." National Park Service, Western Regional Office, July 1975; and, freehand sketch of ranch by Erwin N. Thompson, Historian, Denver Service Center, August 1975.



**ON MICROFILM**

CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
 UPPER PIERCE RANCH, 1977 POINT REYES, CALIFORNIA  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 18

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

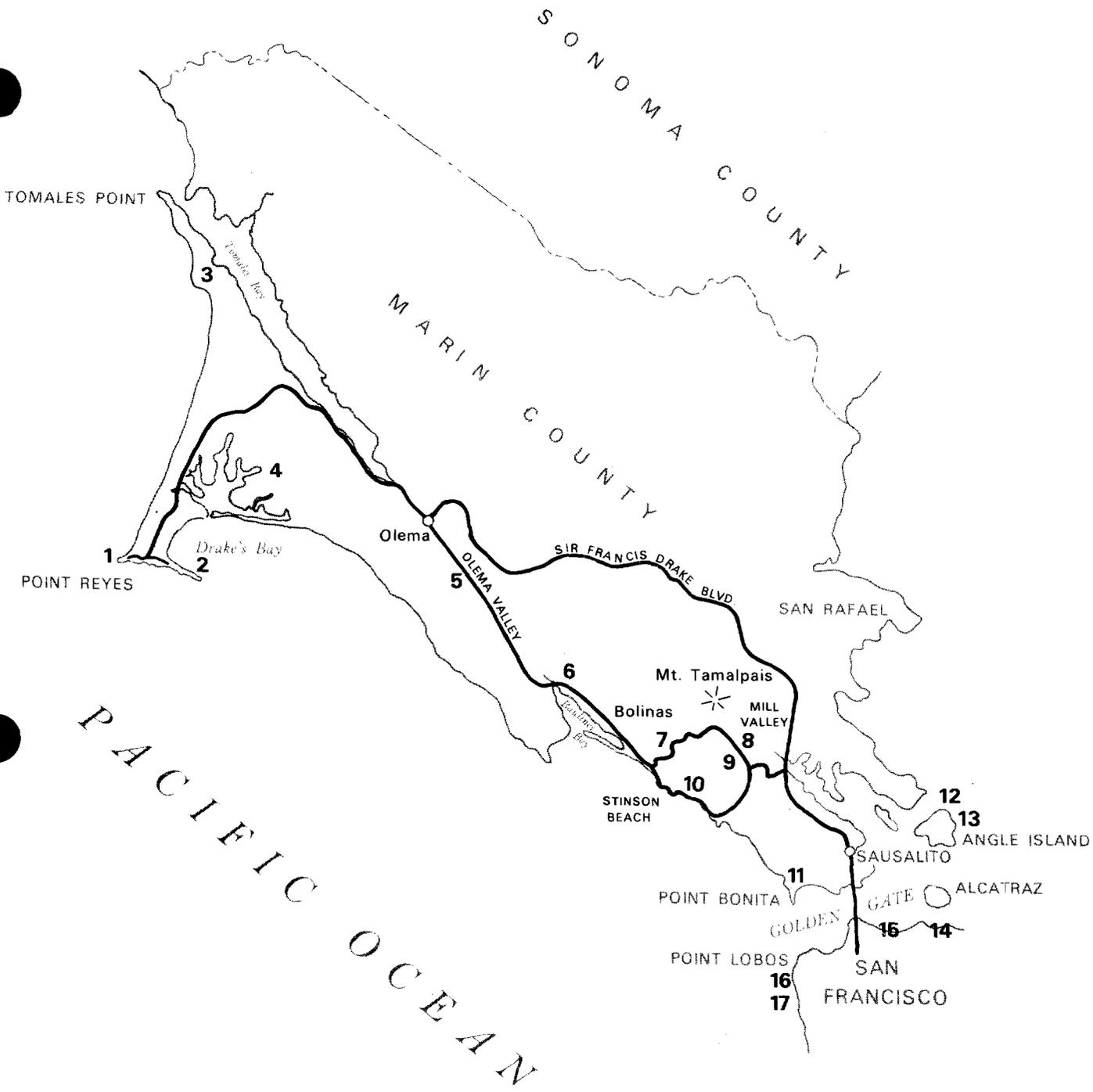
641, 28, 017  
 DEC 78' DSC



HISTORIC BASE MAPS

For U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, Cal.,  
see Maps and Drawings, no. 10

1. Historic Base Map, Historic Sites Recommended to the National Register
  1. Point Reyes Lighthouse
  2. Point Reyes Coast Guard Station
  3. Pierce Ranch
  4. Home Ranch
  5. Olema Valley Agricultural District
  6. Union Gulch Copper Mines
  7. Mountain Theater
  8. Right of Way, Mount Tamapais and Muir Woods Railway
  9. Bootjack Trail
  10. Dipsea Trail
  11. Point Bonita
  12. U.S. Quarantine Station
  13. U.S. Immigration Station
  14. Aquatic Park
  15. Marina - WPA rock work
  16. Point Lobos Marine Lookout
  17. Cliff House and Ocean Beach Area (Cliff House, Sutro Heights, Sutro Baths ruins, right of way for Cliff House and Ferries Steam Railroad, Ocean Beach esplanade.)



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**HISTORIC RESOURCES RECOMMENDED FOR NOMINATION  
 TO NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES**

HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 1

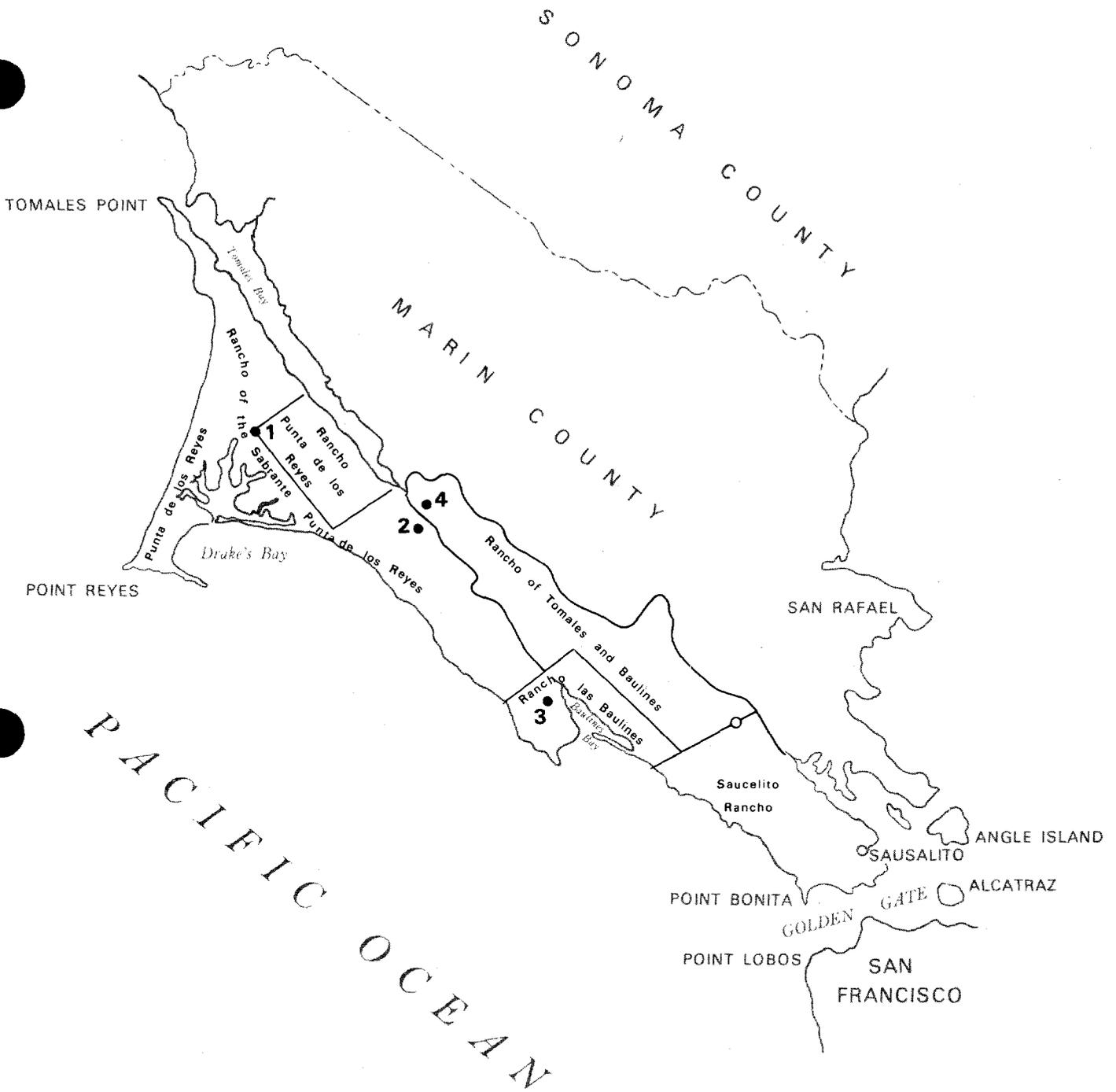
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

641, 28,004  
 DEC 78 DSC

**ON MICROFILM**



2. Historic Base Map, Mexican Ranchos, Marin County
  1. Joseph Snook's house (approximate site)
  2. Rafael Garcia's rancho (approximate site)
  3. Gregorio Briones rancho, originally Rafael Garcia's (approximate site)
  4. James Richard Berry rancho (probable site)



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↑  
NO SCALE

CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
 MEXICAN RANCHOS, WEST MARIN COUNTY  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 2

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

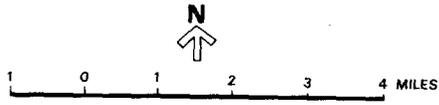
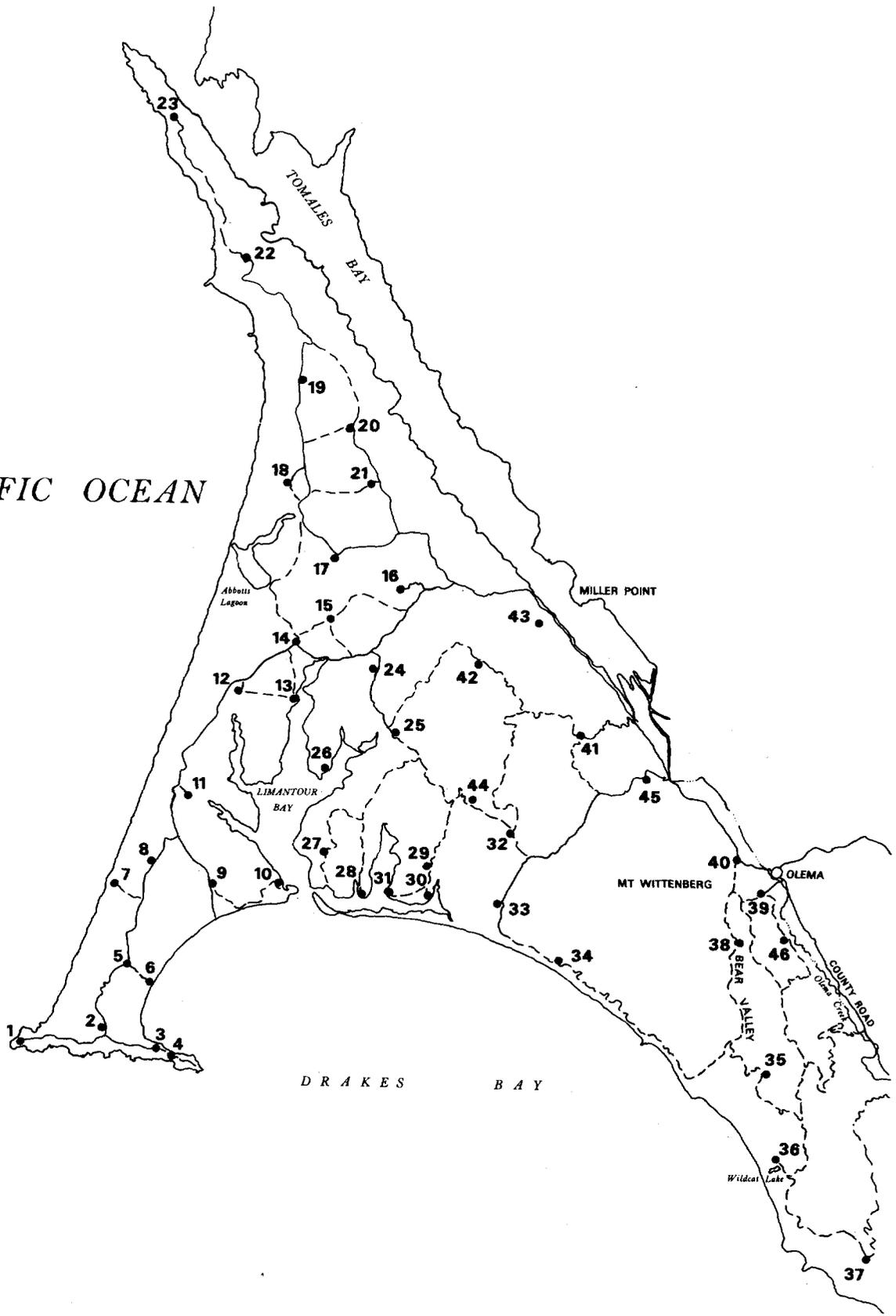
641, 28,005  
 DEC 78 DSC

**ON MICROFILM**

3. Historic Base Map, Point Reyes, 1858-1927

1. Point Reyes lighthouse and fog signal, est. 1870-71
2. "A" Ranch
3. Lighthouse landing and warehouse,  
F. E. Booth Company fishing pier, constructed c. 1921
4. Point Reyes U.S. Coast Guard Life Boat Station, 1927
5. "B" Ranch
6. Graveyard, 1879
7. Point Reyes U.S. Life Saving Station, 1890
8. "C" Ranch
9. "D" Ranch
10. Schooner Landing (site)
11. "E" Ranch
12. "F" Ranch (site)
13. Schooner landing (site)
14. "G" Ranch
15. Point Reyes schoolhouse (site)
16. "M" Ranch
17. "H" Ranch
18. "I" Ranch
19. "J" Ranch
20. "K" Ranch (site)
21. "L" Ranch
22. Upper Pierce Ranch
23. Lower Pierce Ranch (site)
24. Hough Ranch (site) ("N" Ranch?)
25. Home Ranch ("O" Ranch?)
26. Schooner landing (site)
27. New Albion Ranch (site) (P Ranch?)
28. Drakes Head Ranch (site) (Q Ranch?)
29. Steele brothers Ranch (site)
30. R. C. Johnson Ranch (site) (R Ranch?)
31. Schooner landing (site)
32. Muddy Hollow Ranch (site) (S Ranch?)
33. Laguno Ranch (site) (T Ranch?)
34. Portuguese Tom (site)
35. Glenn Ranch (site) (U Ranch?)
36. Wildcat Ranch (site) (V Ranch?)
37. Lake Ranch (site)
38. Country Club (site)
39. The Oaks, estate of James McMillan Shafter
40. "W" Ranch
41. Sunnyside Ranch (site) (X Ranch?)
42. Vision Ranch (site) (Y Ranch?)
43. Lookout Ranch (site) (Z Ranch?)
44. Glen Ranch (site)
45. Piedmont Ranch (site)
46. Sawmill

PACIFIC OCEAN



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**POINT REYES 1858-1927**  
HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 3

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 641 28.006  
DEC 78 DSC

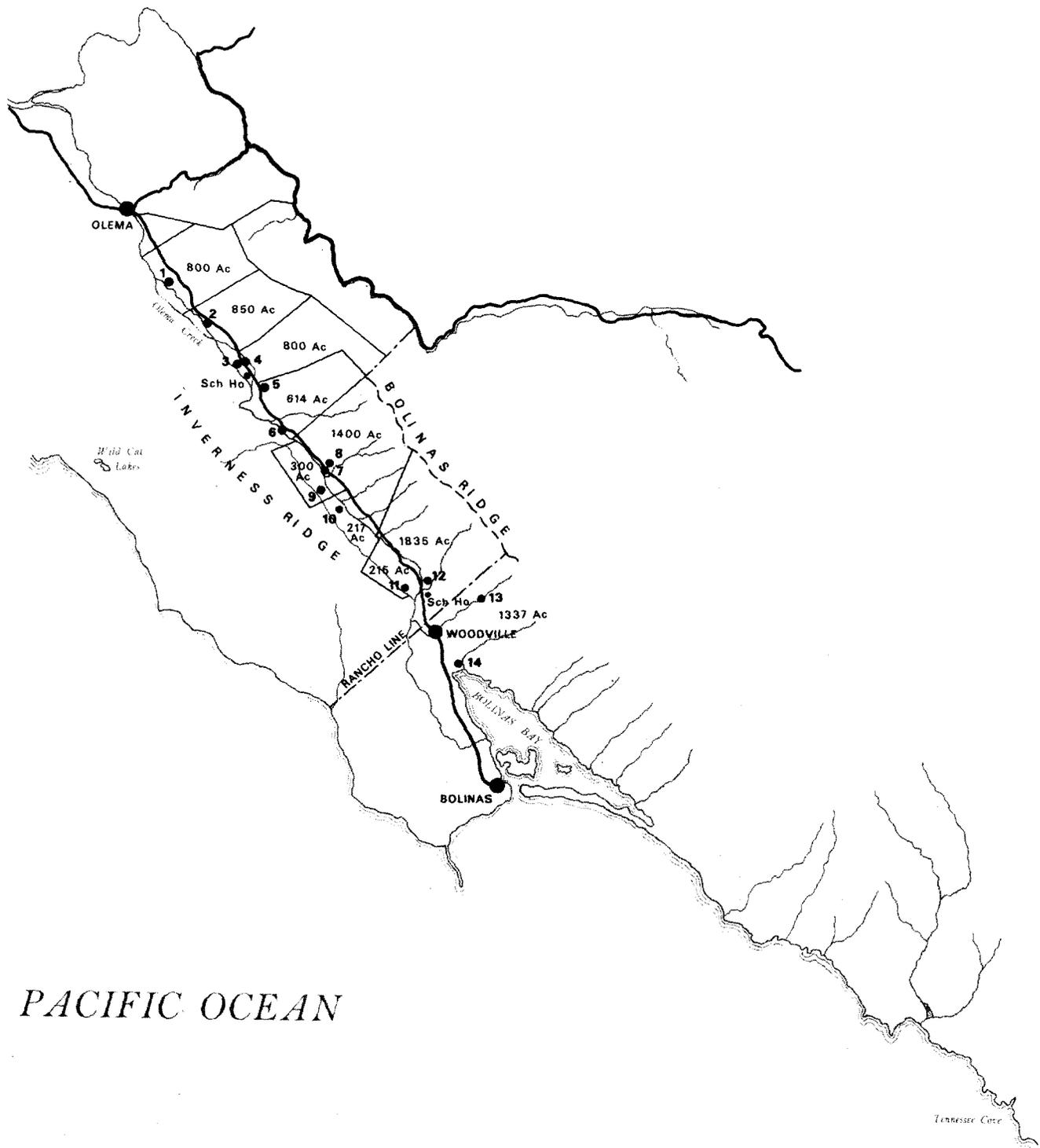
**ON MICROFILM**

4. Historic Base Map, Olema Valley, Nineteenth Century

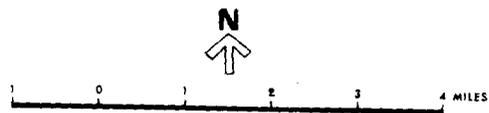
- \*1. Barnaby (?)  
L. K. Baldwin  
Joseph Fieri  
Joseph and James Bloom  
Truttman
- \*2. Johnson?  
N. H. Olds  
George Mason  
Boyd Stewart
- \*3. H. C. S. Parsons  
Minerve Parsons
- \*5. Perdotti and Musios  
Guisseppi Muscio  
Ralph Giacomini
- \*6 (Olema) Lime Kiln
- 7. Site of Original Randall Ranch
- \*8. Mrs. S. S. Randall Ranch, (erected c. 1885)
- \*9. P. Figeras  
Jos. Beisler
- \*10. B. Miller  
Henry Betten
- \*11. Henry Strain  
Texeira
- 12. McMullin and McCurdy  
Samuel S. McCurdy,
- \*13. Copper Mines, historic ruins; appeared on no maps
- \*14. W. W. Wilkins  
Las Baulenes

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\*Structures still standing



PACIFIC OCEAN



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
OLEMA VALLEY, NINETEENTH CENTURY

HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 4

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

641, 28,007  
DEC 78 DSC

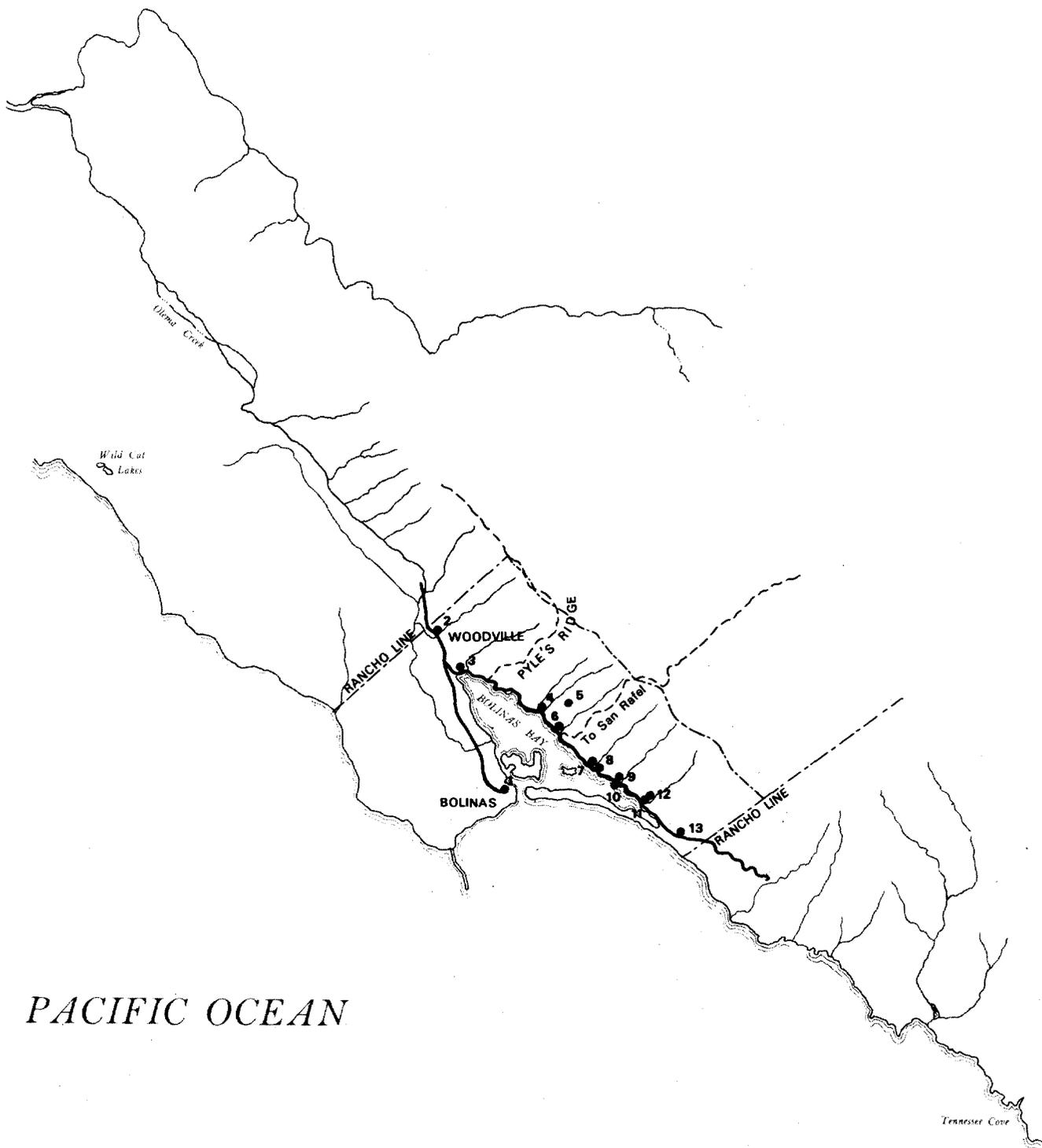
**ON MICROFILM**

5. Historic Base Map, Bolinas Bay, 1850-1873

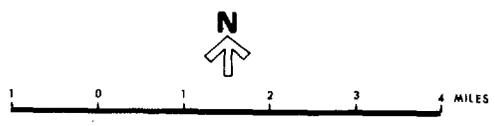
1. Bolinas lighter wharf or embarcadero
2. Steam saw mill
- \*3. W. W. Wilkins, 1397 Acres
- \*4. P. L. Bourne 764 Acres
5. " " " " "
7. J. H. Morse, 800 Acres
8. Approximate site of Johnson Brothers, boatbuilders
9. McKennon's duck ranch
10. Approximate site of "old embarcadero"
11. Stinson and Upton, 1408 Acres
- \*12. Caskoot

---

\*Structures still standing



PACIFIC OCEAN



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**BOLINAS BAY, 1858-1873**  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 5  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 641, 28,008  
 DEC 78 DSC

**ON MICROFILM**

6. Historic Base Map, Mount Tamalpais Region, 1897-1915

1. Engine house and shops, Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway (MV & MT), and Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway (MT&MW)
2. Double Bow Knot, MV&MT and MT&MW
- \*3. West Point Inn, constructed 1904
4. Tamalpais Tavern, constructed 1906
5. Observatory
- \*6. Mountain Home Inn, constructed 1912
7. Muir Inn, constructed 1908
8. Muir Inn, constructed 1913 (after first burned down)
- \*9. Road through Redwood Canyon, or Bootjack Trail
10. The Alders
11. Big Lagoon
- \*12. Lone Tree Trail, now Dipsea Trail
- \*13. White Gate Ranch
- \*14. Sidney B. Cushing Mountain Theater
15. Ranch buildings, unidentified

PACIFIC OCEAN

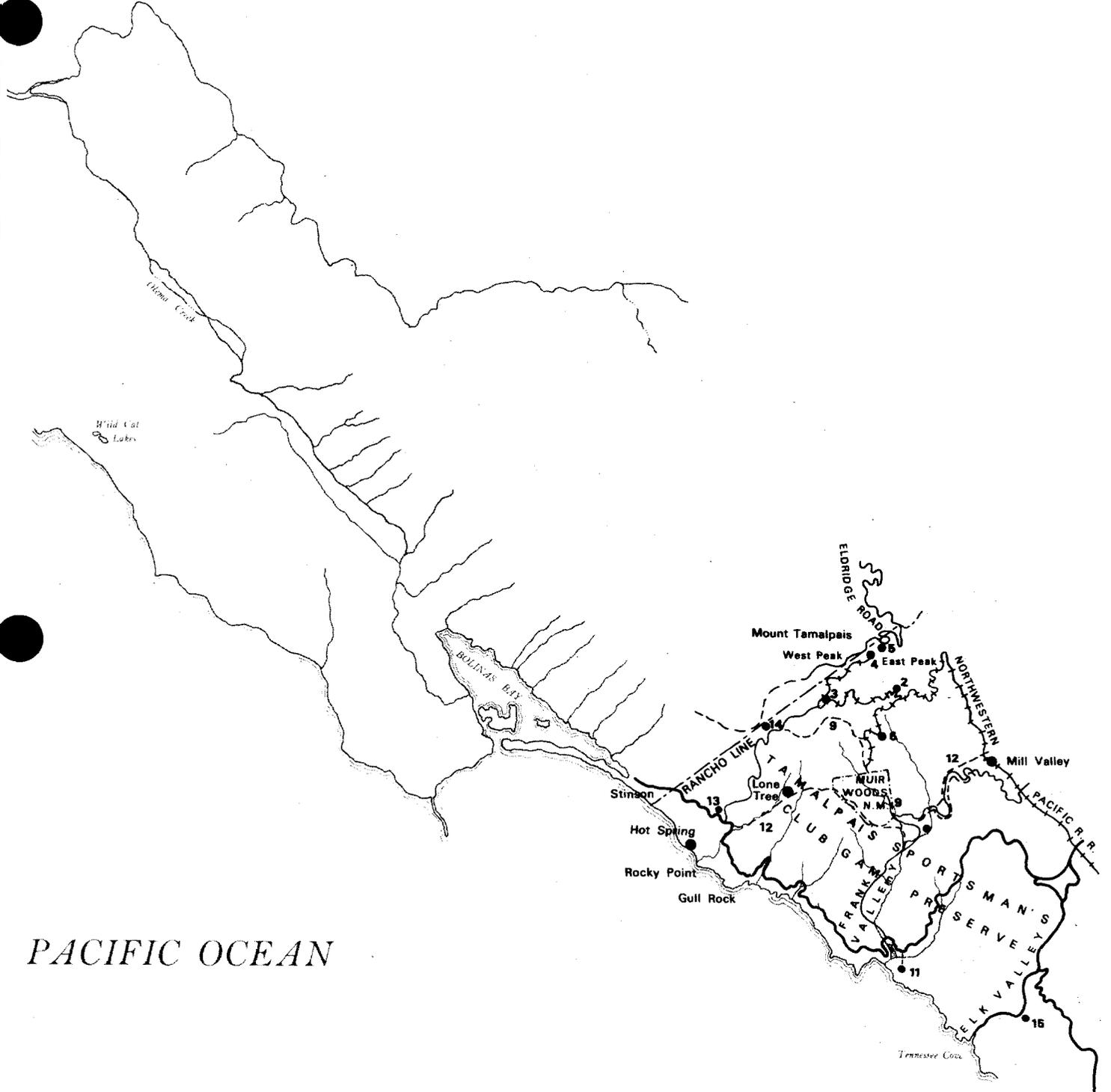


0 1 2 3 4 MILES

CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
MOUNT TAMALPAIS REGION, 1897-1915  
HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 6

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 641 28,009  
DEC 78 DSC

ON MICROFILM



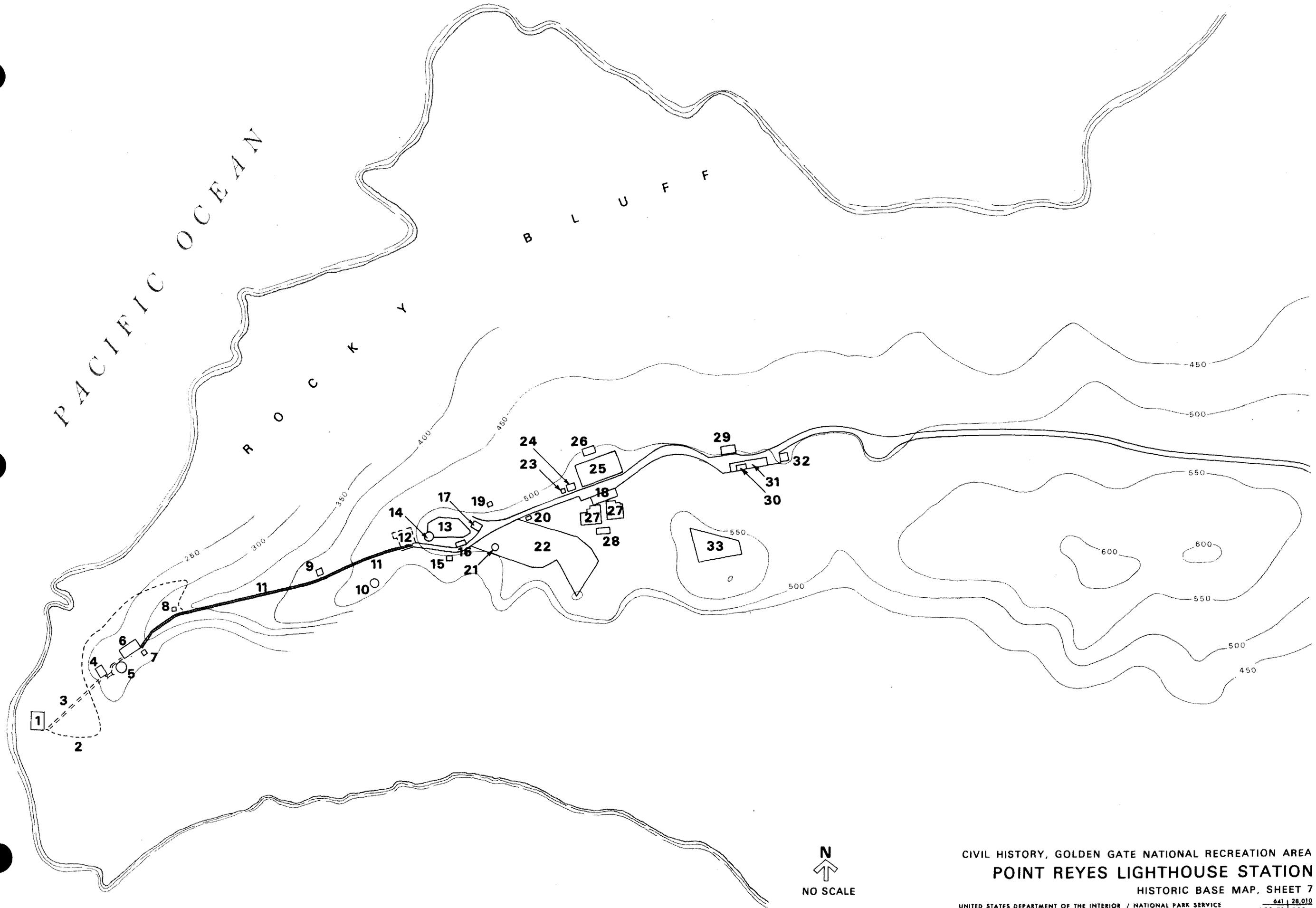
7. Historic Base Map, Point Reyes Lighthouse Reservation,  
1870-1934
1. Original fog signal, 1871
  2. Steps down to fog signal, 1871
  4. Fog signal, constructed 1934
  - \*5. Lighthouse, 1870
  6. Site of original coal and oil house; \*Power house, c. 1928
  - \*7. Transformer building, constructed 1934
  8. Oil storage house
  9. Oil house, two tanks, gasoline storage building
  10. Water tank, 42,000 gals.,
  - \*\*11. Wooden steps and chute to lighthouse officer's quarters, 1926
  12. Weather Bureau Station, 1902; Lighthouse officer's quarters,  
1926
  13. Tank and rainshed
  14. Storm warning signal pole, 1902; flagpole 1926
  15. Old washhouse, 1870(?)
  16. Garage for Weather Bureau personnel, fuel shed, 1941
  - \*17. Blacksmith shop, 1907; double garage for lighthouse  
keeper, c. 1900,
  18. Planked terrace
  19. Pump house, 1934
  - \*20. Old pump house, 1900?; storehouse by 1934-1975
  - \*21. Cistern, 1870
  - \*22. Rainshed, 1870
  23. Paint shop
  24. Coal house
  25. Double keepers' quarters, 1870
  26. Outhouses, sheds, laundry, and store buildings
  27. Keepers' cottages, 1883-1860
  28. Fuel and store building
  29. Barn, c. 1900 3-car garage
  30. Gasoline storage house, c. 1900
  31. Stable, barn, etc.,
  32. One-car garage, 1933
  33. Upper rainshed, 6000 sq. feet. 1900

- 
- \* Structures still standing;  
\*\* Structures still standing but remodeled

PACIFIC OCEAN

B L U F F

R O C K Y



N  
↑  
NO SCALE

CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
POINT REYES LIGHTHOUSE STATION

HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 7

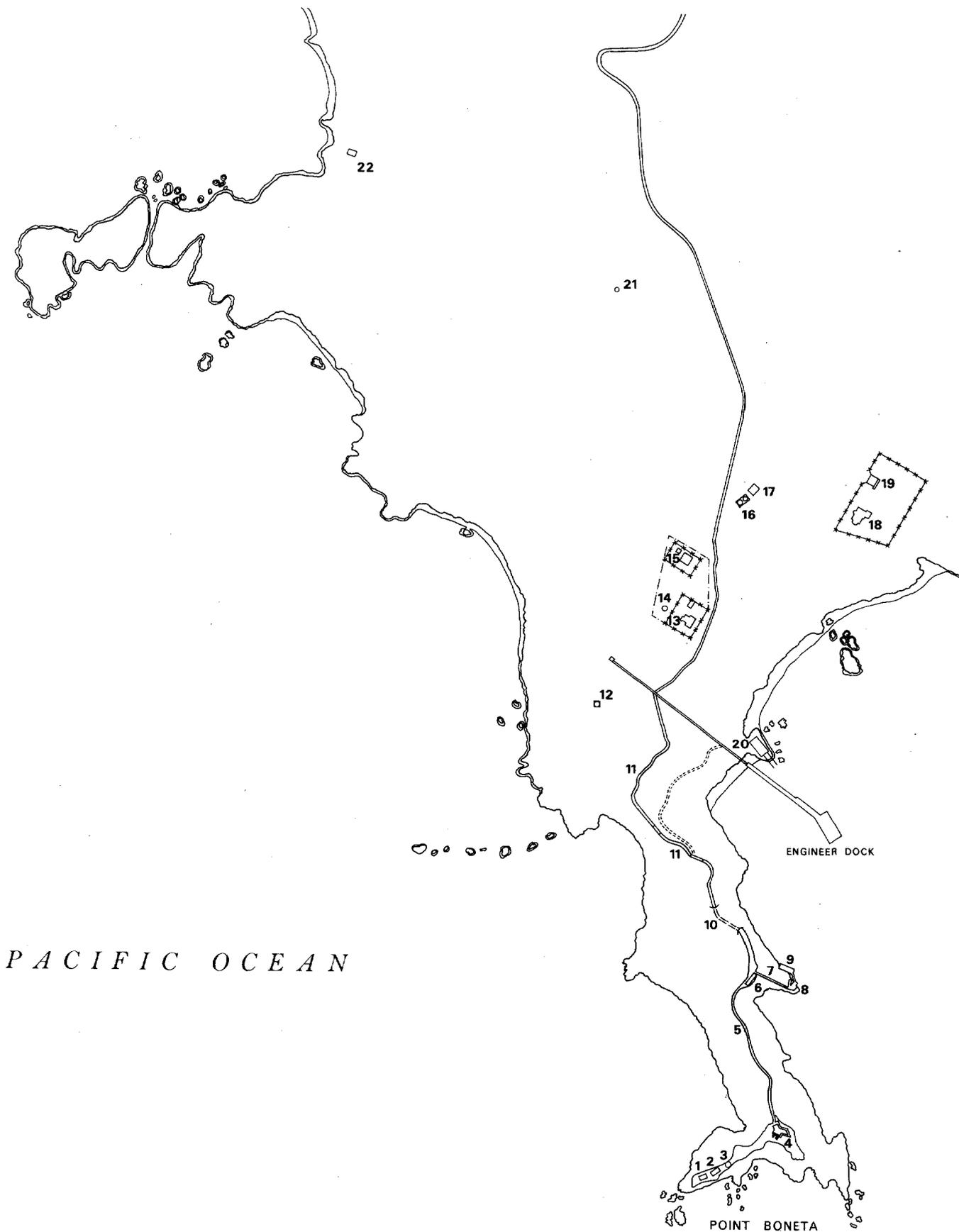
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

641-28,010  
DEC 78 DSC

ON MICROFILM

8. Historic Base Map, Point Bonita Lighthouse and Life-Saving Stations, 1855-1971

- \*1. Fog signal building, 1903
- \*2. Lighthouse
  - 3. Brick chimney for fog signal, 1903
  - 4. Fog signal building, 1874; station quarters 1903-
- \*5. Tramway for supplies, 1872
- 6. Lighthouse station storehouse
- \*\*7. Tramway for hoisting supplies from wharf, 1873
- \*\*8. Lighthouse station landing wharf and derrick, 1871
  - 9. Life-Saving station boathouse "A", 1899,
- \*10. Tunnel, 1876
- \*11. Water pipe, 1871, along, pathway, 1872
- 12. Original light tower, 1855
- 13. Lighthouse Keeper's dwelling
- 14. Lighthouse tank
- 15. Assistant Keeper's quarters, 1856
- 16. Lighthouse cisterns
- 17. Old Barn
- 18. Life-Saving station dwelling, 1899
- \*19. " " " woodshed and storehouse, 1899
- 20. Life Boat House, 1911-12
- 21. Lighthouse windmill
- 22. Life-Saving Station Boathouse "B", 1899



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
 POINT BONITA LIGHTHOUSE AND  
 LIFE-SAVING STATIONS, 1855-1912  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 8

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ON MICROFILM

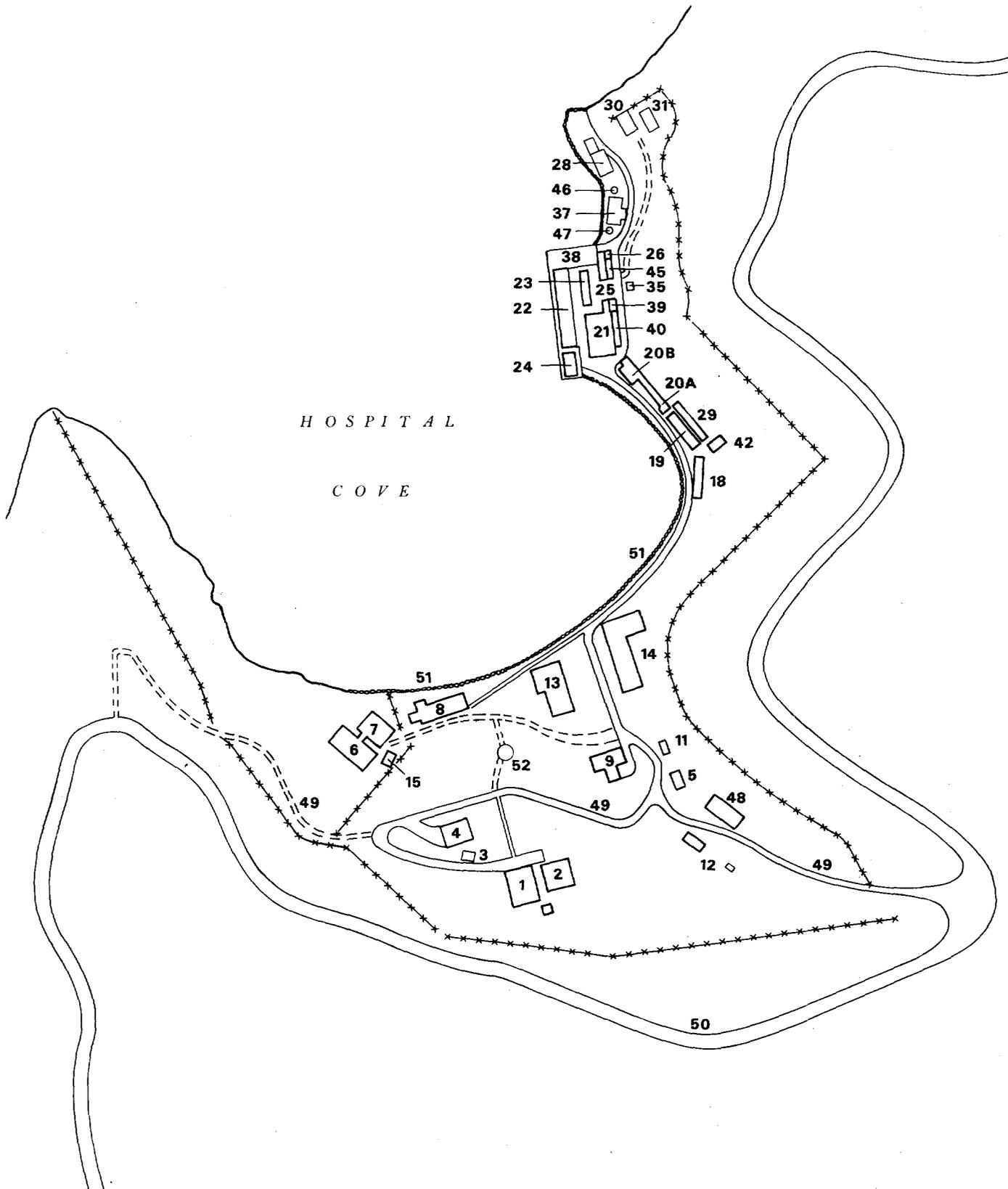
9. Historic Base Map, U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island, 1890-1948

- \*1. Assistant Surgeon's Quarters, 1890
- \*2. Quarters of Medical Officer in Charge, 1890
- 3. Green House
- \*4. Pharmacist's Quarters, 1893
- 5. White House-Attendants' Quarters
- 6. Upper Lazaretto, 1890
- 7. Lower Lazaretto, 1891
- 8. Cabin Passengers' barracks, 1901
- 9. Site of Attendants' kitchen and diningroom, 1893 (#9) and the paint shop and storeroom, 1890 (#10); replaced by \*Single Attendants' Quarters and Mess Hall, (#9), completed February 1936.
- 11. Asiatic Attendants' Quarters, 1890
- 12. Pump Houses
- 13. Administration Building and Second Class Barracks, 1893
- 14. Japanese Barracks, 1890
- 15. Laboratory, 1893
- 18. Chinese Barracks, 1892
- 20-A. Cabin Passenger Bath House, 1893
- 20-B. Attendants' Quarters, 1893
- 21. Disinfecting House, 1890
- 22. Disinfecting Shed in 1898; Wharf Shed by 1915
- 23. Steerage Bath Houses, 1893
- 24. Boat House, 1890
- 25. Carpenter and Machine Shop
- 26. Stable
- 28. Power House
- 29. Chinese Kitchen and Dining Room, 1913
- 30. Smallpox Hospital
- 31. Smallpox Attendants Quarters
- 35. Plague Camp, Lower
- 37. Laundry, 1906
- 38. Wharf
- 39. Chinese Kitchen and Junk Room
- 40. Wagon Shed, 1890
- 42. Privy for Chinese Barracks
- 45. Blacksmith Shop and Tool Shed, 1890
- 46. Unidentified
- 47. Unidentified
- 48. Unidentified
- \*49. Original army road, pre-1889
- \*50. Relocated army road, 1890
- \*51. Seawall
- \*52. Flagpole

Missing Structures

- 16. Isolation Cabin
- 17. " "
- 27. Fresh Water Tanks
- 32. Salt Water Tanks

- 33. Plague Camp, Upper
- 34. " Kitchen
- 36. Surgeon's Washing and Change House
- 39. Chinese Kitchen and Junk Room
- 41. Furnace House for Chinese Burial
- 43. Privy, on wharf, for men
- 44. " " " " women



HOSPITAL  
COVE

CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**U.S. QUARANTINE STATION, ANGLE ISLAND, 1890-1948**  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 9

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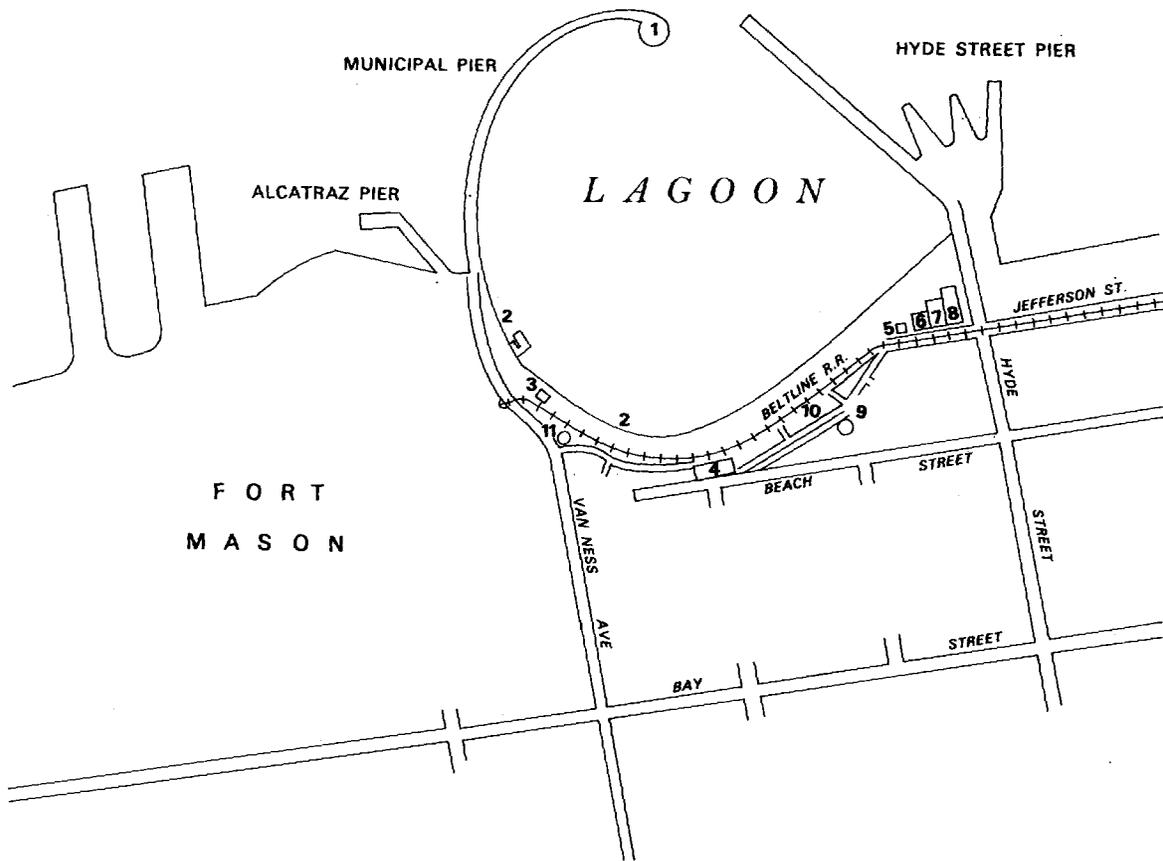
**ON MICROFILM**

10. Historic Base Map, Aquatic Park, 1931-1938

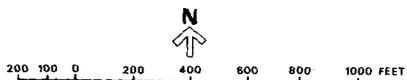
- \*1. Municipal Pier, 1933
- \*2. Seawall
- \*3. West restrooms
- \*4. Bathhouse
- \*5. East restrooms
- \*6. Ariel Rowing Club
- \*7. Dolphin Rowing and Swimming Club, 1895
- \*8. South End Rowing Club
- \*9. Speaker tower (west)
- \*10. Amphitheater
- \*11. Speaker tower, (east)

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\*Structures still standing



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**AQUATIC PARK, 1931-1938**  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 10



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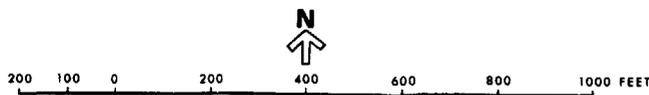
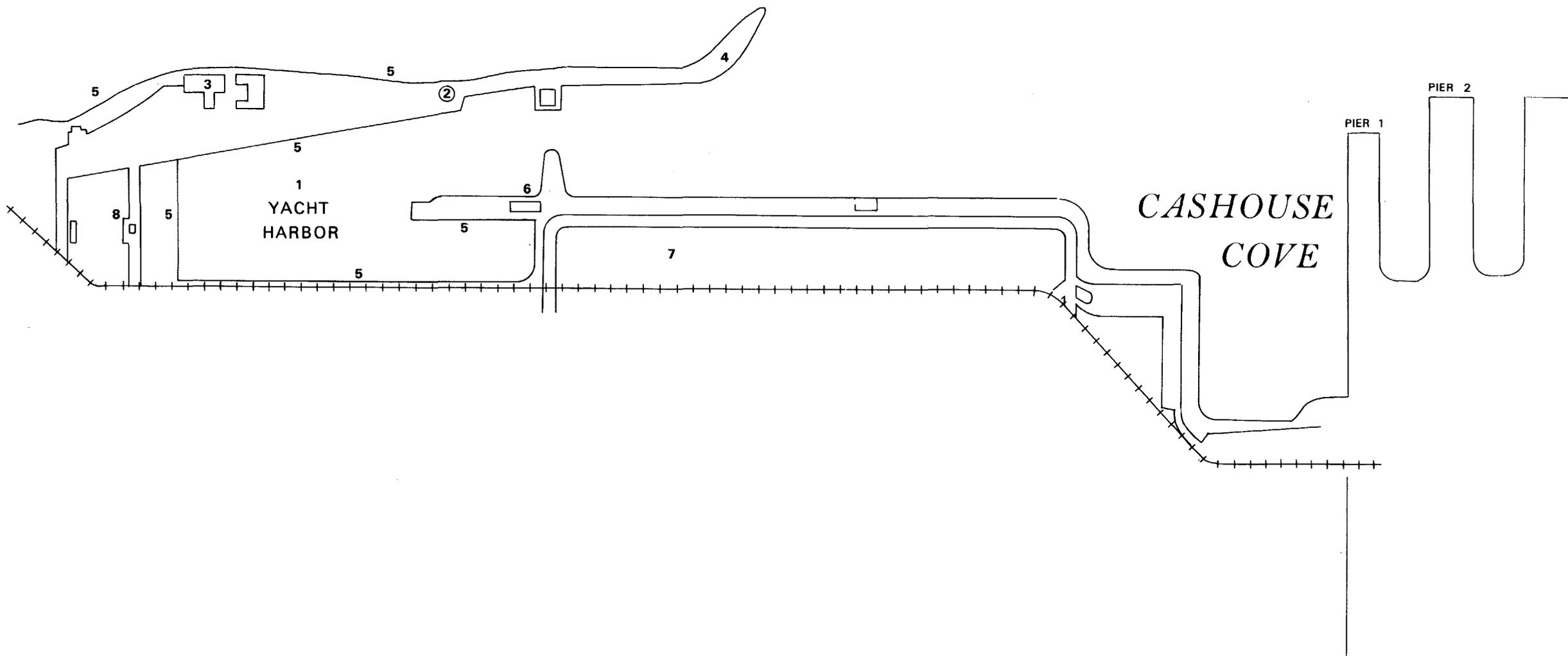
**ON MICROFILM**

11. Historic Base Map, Marina and Yacht Harbor, 1915-1938

- \*1. Yacht harbor, 1915
- \*2. Lighthouse, 1931
- 3. St. Francis Yacht Club, 1927
- \*4. Breakwater 1934
- \*5. Seawall, 1938
- \*6. Harbor Master's House, 1938; enlarged c. 1968
- \*7. Marina Green, 1915
- \*8. Unidentified structure, c. 1934, now a refreshment stand.

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\*Structures still standing



CIVIL HISTORY, GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA  
**MARINA AND YACHT HARBOR**  
 HISTORIC BASE MAP, SHEET 11

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12. Historic Base Map, Cliff House and Ocean Beach Area

Sutro Baths (1896-1966)

1. Power house
2. Salt water tank, 115,000 gals.
3. Salt water tank, 65,000 gals.
4. " " " " "
5. " " " " "
6. " " " " "
7. Main swimming tank, 1,310,000 gals.
8. Plunge (fresh water) tank, 25,000 gals.
9. Seats and promenade
10. Fresh water reservoir, 435,000 gals.
11. " " " " 155,000 gals.
- \*12. Receiving basin
- \*13. Lookout
- \*14. Canal
- \*15. Settling basin, 500,000 gals.
- \*16. Breakwater
- \*17. Tunnel
18. Tram track

Sutro Heights

19. Observatory c. 1890
20. Sutro's residence - c.1875
21. Conservatory - c. 1883
22. Dolce far niente Balcony, c. 1886, and steps down to it.
23. Sheds
24. Stables
25. Lower gate
26. Boarding house
27. The Oval
28. Rosarium
29. Hebe (canova)
30. Faun
31. Adonis
32. Mercury (Antique Florence)
33. Comic figures
34. Venus of Milo
35. Venus Genetrix (1891)
36. Venus Coming Out of the Bath (Canova)
37. Hebe (Canova)
38. Fisher Girl
39. Shady lawn
- \*40. Approximate site of well house, no date

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\* Structures still standing



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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